



Discriminatory Policing and Fair Housing

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Conference
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Understanding the Root Cause of Ferguson and Baltimore

- Cracking the surface reveals deep ties to fair housing
- Fair housing lies at the center
- Frontier: Where criminal justice and fair housing issues meet

Challenging Criminal Records Bans Under the Fair Housing Act





Incarceration & Parole Statistics

- By 2014:
 - 2.3 million people under state or federal detention
- 1970 to 2007:
 - Number of people in prison increased sevenfold

(2007, 2009, 2014 US Bureau of Justice Statistics)



National Re-entry Statistics

- Each year, over 680,000 prisoners are released from prisons
 - Roughly 95% of inmates will eventually be released

(Carson & Sobel, "Prisoners in 2011"; Pager, "The Mark of a Criminal Record")



National Re-entry Statistics (cont.)

- 30% of the U.S. adult population has a criminal record
 - Including arrests and convictions
- Housing preferences for applicants with no criminal record would exclude huge fraction of the population

(DOJ, The Attorney General's Report on Criminal History Background Checks, 2006)
(Hughes & Wilson, "Reentry Trends in the U.S.")



National Re-entry Statistics (cont.)

- Re-entry population is disproportionately African-American men (incarceration rate almost 7x that of white men)
 - US population: 13% African-American, 17% Hispanic
 - Prison and jail populations: 37% African-American, 22% Hispanic
 - Chance of going to prison: 1 in 3 for African-American men, 1 in 6 for Hispanic men, 1 in 17 for white men

(2009, 2010 Census; 2009, 2014 U.S. Bureau of Justice Statistics)



Consequences of Discriminatory Policing

“African Americans are not significantly more likely to use or sell prohibited drugs than whites, but **they are made criminals at drastically higher rates for precisely the same conduct**. In fact, studies suggest that white professionals may be the most likely of any group to have engaged in illegal drug activity in their lifetime, yet they are the least likely to be made criminals.”

— Michelle Alexander, *The New Jim Crow*



Housing & Recidivism

- Stable housing can reduce recidivism rates
 - 30% of all released prisoners are re-arrested in the first few months of release
 - 67.5% of prisoners released are re-arrested within 3 years (increase from 62.5% in 1983)
 - Each time one moves after release from prison increases chance of re-arrest by 25%

(2006, 2013 Reentry Policy Council Reports)



Access to Criminal Records

- Increased access to electronic criminal records post-9/11 → increased tenant screening
 - By 2003, 94% of criminal records maintained by state criminal history repositories were automated
 - Increased use of criminal background checks by tenant screening agencies, not just landlords



Access to Criminal Records (cont.)

- 80% of members of National Multi-Housing Council (organization of large apartment companies) report screening prospective tenants for criminal histories



Retroactive Application of the 2014 Drug Guidelines Amendment

- More than 46,000 additional federal prisoners are expected to become eligible for early release over the next few years
- 75% of the prisoners eligible to apply for early release are African-American or Hispanic

(2014 U.S. Sentencing Commission, Office of Research and Data)



The New Jim Crow

- Second-class citizenship for those re-entering society:
 - No right to vote
 - No benefits
 - Job bans
 - Housing bans



Proving Discrimination Under the Fair Housing Act



Two Theories of Liability

- Disparate Treatment
 - Requires proof of intent
- Disparate Impact
 - Focuses on effect of neutral policy or practice



The Legal Standard for Establishing Disparate Impact: “Burden-Shifting”

- Step 1: Plaintiff demonstrates neutral rule or practice has adverse disproportionate impact on protected group.
- Step 2: Burden shifts to defendant to prove its actions further “legitimate non-discriminatory goal.”
- Step 3: Plaintiff must show less discriminatory alternative that serves defendant’s interest equally well.



Challenging Criminal Records Bans

- Intentionally discriminatory if used to perpetuate desired racial balance or exclude people of color.
- Absent intent, criminal records bans operate as facially neutral policies that have adverse, disproportionate impact on people of color.



Less Discriminatory Alternative

- Rethink how landlords select potential tenants
 - Move from a blanket ban to an individualized review
 - Focus on requirements of tenancy
 - Examine mitigating factors
 - Nature of offense (minor)
 - Time of offense (long ago)
 - Tenant requirements (ability to pay)



Less Discriminatory Alternative (cont.)

- Individualized assessments: less discriminatory while still effectively protecting public safety
 - Allow housing providers to carefully review all potential tenants
 - Permit prospective tenants who have criminal records but who pose no threat to the community to obtain housing



Fortune Society v. Sandcastle Towers

Case 1:14-cv-06410 Document 1 Filed 10/30/14 Page 1 of 43 PageID #: 1

IN THE UNITED STATES DISTRICT COURT
FOR THE EASTERN DISTRICT OF NEW YORK

THE FORTUNE SOCIETY, INC.
29-76 Northern Blvd
Long Island City, NY 11101

Plaintiff,

v.

SANDCASTLE TOWERS HOUSING
DEVELOPMENT FUND CORP.
1465A Flatbush Ave.
Brooklyn, NY 11210

SARASOTA GOLD LLC
1407 48th Street
Brooklyn, NY 11219

and

WEISSMAN REALTY GROUP LLC
45 Broadway, 12th Floor
New York, NY 10006

Defendants.

Civil Action No. 1:14-cv-6410

COMPLAINT

JURY DEMAND

NATURE OF THE ACTION

1. The Fortune Society ("Fortune") brings this suit pursuant to the Fair Housing Act of 1968, as amended, 42 U.S.C. §§ 3601 *et seq.*, for injunctive, monetary and declarative relief against Defendants Sandcastle Towers Housing Development Fund Corporation ("HDFC"), Sarasota Gold LLC ("Sarasota Gold"), and Weissman Realty Group LLC ("Weissman") for engaging in a pattern or practice of illegal discrimination on the basis of race and color at The Sand Castle, a multi-building apartment complex they own and manage in Queens, New York.



Fortune Society

- Non-profit dedicated to the successful re-entry of formerly incarcerated individuals in New York City
- Serves 5,000 clients every year, offering housing, education, employment, health, and case management programs



Fortune Society (cont.)

- Provides temporary and permanent housing for formerly incarcerated individuals
 - Operates two transitional and permanent housing facilities in West Harlem – The Fortune Academy and Castle Gardens
 - Places clients in private rental housing throughout New York City
 - Leases these apartments and pays the rent itself
 - Criminal records bans diminish supply of affordable housing where Fortune can place clients
 - The bans also frustrate Fortune's mission by restricting available beds in transitional facilities



Sandcastle Towers

- Four-building apartment complex with over 900 affordable rental units in Far Rockaway, Queens
 - Safe, racially diverse neighborhood
 - Readily accessible to public transportation





Sandcastle Towers (cont.)

- Maintains and enforces a policy prohibiting anyone with a criminal record from renting or living in an apartment at Sandcastle Towers
- Refused to rent to The Fortune Society because its clients are formerly incarcerated individuals





Disparate Impact of Sandcastle's Policy

- Taking into account minimum income requirement, records ban has adverse impact on people of color in NYC
 - 12.2% of African-American men and 18% of Hispanic men who live in the City satisfy Sandcastle's income threshold but are nonetheless disqualified from living there because of the criminal records ban
 - This is in contrast to only 4.1% of white men who live in the City and satisfy the income requirement but are disqualified by the ban



Disparate Impact of Sandcastle's Policy (cont.)

- Otherwise qualified African-American men are three times as likely as white men to be disqualified by Sandcastle's blanket ban
- Otherwise qualified Latino men are nearly four and one-half times as likely to be disqualified



Less Discriminatory Alternatives for Sandcastle

- Individualized consideration:
 - Public safety can be protected by assessing the nature of an individual's conviction, the amount of time since the conviction or release, and evidence of rehabilitation
 - Less discriminatory than blanket criminal records ban



Less Discriminatory Alternatives for Sandcastle (cont.)

- Implication of blanket ban for Fortune's clients:
 - Stanley Richards, Fortune's Senior Vice President, was released from prison over 20 years ago. He has since implemented supportive re-entry programs, and currently oversees Fortune's Housing programs.
 - The Honorable Walter Strauss served two prison sentences, but following his release, he received a bachelor's and a law degree. He became a Manhattan Housing Court Judge.
- Neither of these men would have been eligible for housing at Sandcastle



Intent Inferred from Sandcastle's Policy

- The disparate impact of Sandcastle's blanket ban is so large and foreseeable – and its overbreadth so unnecessary – that Sandcastle's intent to discriminate against African Americans and Hispanics can be inferred
- Sandcastle intentionally implemented the policy for the express purpose of decreasing the number of persons of color at their property



EEOC Guidelines on Use of Criminal Records (1987)

- “[A]n employer's policy or practice of excluding individuals from employment on the basis of their conviction records has an adverse impact on Blacks and Hispanics in light of statistics showing that they are convicted at a rate disproportionately greater than their representation in the population. Consequently, the Commission has held and continues to hold that such a policy or practice is unlawful under Title VII in the absence of a justifying business necessity.”
- Determining business necessity requires the employer to consider: “(1) The nature and gravity of the offense or offenses; (2) The time that has passed since the conviction and/or completion of the sentence; and (3) The nature of the job held or sought.”



HUD Guidance

- Up until April 2016, HUD had nothing similar to EEOC Guidance

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MONDAY, APRIL 4, 2016

New York The New York Times

Federal Housing Officials Warn Against Blanket Bans of Ex-Offenders

By MIREYA NAVARRO

Private landlords who have blanket bans on renting to people with criminal records are in violation of the Fair Housing Act and can be sued and face penalties for discrimination, the federal Department of Housing and Urban Development said.

Julián Castro, the HUD secretary, is expected on Monday to announce guidance that details his agency's interpretation of how the fair housing law applies to policies that exclude people with criminal records, a group that is not explicitly protected by the act but falls under it in certain circumstances. Federal officials said landlords must distinguish between arrests and convictions and cannot use an arrest to ban applicants. In the case of applicants with convictions, property owners must prove that the exclusion is justified and consider factors like the nature and severity of the crime in assessing prospective tenants before excluding someone.

Mr. Castro said housing bans against former offenders were common.

"Right now, many housing providers use the fact of a conviction, any conviction, regardless of what it was for or how long ago it happened, to indefinitely ban

folks from housing opportunities," Mr. Castro said in a statement. "Many people who are coming back to neighborhoods are only looking for a fair chance to be productive members, but blanket policies like this unfairly deny them that chance."

The new federal housing guidance applies a legal standard that was upheld by the United States Supreme Court last year that allows plaintiffs to challenge housing practices that have a discriminatory effect without having to show discriminatory intent. The ruling allows plaintiffs to show instead that the practices both have a "disparate impact" on racial groups and are not justified. Blacks and Latinos are arrested, convicted and imprisoned in disproportionate numbers, and civil rights groups say they face equally disparate discrimination in finding housing.

Federal housing officials said the guidance was meant to emphasize to landlords that blanket bans are illegal, as well as to inform housing applicants of their

rights. Housing officials said they can investigate violations and bring discrimination charges against landlords that could result in civil penalties for them, and damages for a person denied housing.

Lawyers who represent former prisoners said they expected HUD's stance to lead landlords to revise their screening policies to avoid litigation. The guidance, which is similar to an instruction federal officials already have for public and subsidized housing, could also lead to more and stronger lawsuits against those who continue to deny housing based on criminal history.

"The agency in charge of interpreting the Fair Housing Act agrees with us, and that will have a lot of weight," said John P. Relman, a lawyer and specialist in housing discrimination cases who is representing the social services group Fortune Society in a federal lawsuit against a rental complex in New York City over screening policies.

Concern over restrictions that hinder former prisoners' efforts to find jobs and homes has taken on urgency in recent years, as pressure has built to ease the high rates of incarceration that followed decades of tough sentencing for drug offenses, which took a harsh toll on minor-

ity communities.

Research shows that obtaining housing reduces recidivism. But groups like Fortune Society said they have encountered landlords who ban tenants with criminal histories without individual reviews or any regard to evidence of rehabilitation or whether the person poses a threat to safety.

Some landlord groups said owners had

exempted under the Fair Housing Act.)

In their response to the Fortune Society lawsuit, Sandcastle Towers Housing Development Fund, the owner of a rental complex in Far Rockaway, Queens, with more than 900 units, and other co-defendants argued that the use of criminal records "serves valid business and security functions of protecting tenants and the property from former convicted criminals." (The lawsuit, filed in 2014, is pending in United States District Court for the Eastern District in Brooklyn.)

"A person who has already demonstrated a disregard for the law, upon penalty of imprisonment, is at greater risk for repeating that conduct, is a greater security risk and is a greater risk of defaulting in making rental payments or in complying with leases," the defendants said, adding that "convicted criminals lose some of their rights and privileges as a result of their convictions."

But federal housing officials said that landlords would have to take a more individualized approach to avoid violating the Fair Housing Act, which prohibits discrimination in the sale, rental or financing of housing based on race, na-

Continued on Page A17

An agency clarifies its interpretation of an anti-discrimination law.



Julián Castro

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folks from housing opportunities," Mr. Castro said in a statement. "Many people who are coming back to neighborhoods are only looking for a fair chance to be productive members, but blanket policies like this unfairly deny them that chance."

The new federal housing guidance applies a legal standard that was upheld by the United States Supreme Court last year that allows plaintiffs to challenge housing practices that have a discriminatory effect without having to show discriminatory intent. The ruling allows plaintiffs to show instead that the practices both have a "disparate impact" on racial groups and are not justified. Blacks and Latinos are arrested, convicted and imprisoned in disproportionate numbers, and civil rights groups say they face equally disparate discrimination in finding housing.

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Continued on Page A17

An agency clarifies its interpretation of an anti-discrimination law.

the right to exercise their own judgment given the liability they face from other tenants if the person commits another crime. Some have partial bans and screen only for certain crimes, such as sex offenses or arson, or allow those who were convicted of misdemeanors but not felonies.

(Landlords can continue to exclude those convicted of manufacturing or distributing drugs, the only crimes that are



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Housing officials said that landlords would have to take a more individualized approach to avoid violating the Fair Housing Act, which prohibits discrimination in the sale, rental or financing of housing based on race, national origin and other factors. *Continued on Page A17*

The New York Times

ARTHUR OCHS SULZBERGER JR., *Publisher, Chairman*

Founded in 1851

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ORVIL E. DRYFOOS
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Publisher 1963-1992

A Fair Chance After a Conviction

The Obama administration has worked diligently over the last five years to ease the marginalization of more than 70 million Americans with criminal records that can shut them out of jobs, housing, higher education or the consumer credit system — sometimes for minor offenses in the distant past or arrests that never led to conviction. By addressing this problem, Mr. Obama is pushing the country to re-evaluate longstanding policies that trap people with criminal records at the very edges of society, driving many of them right back to prison.

Last week, for example, the Department of Housing and Urban Development warned private landlords that blanket bans on renting to people with criminal convictions — common throughout the country — violate the Fair Housing Act and can lead to lawsuits and charges of discrimination.

The guidelines make clear that landlords cannot use arrests — which quite often do not lead to conviction — to disqualify applicants, and must consider the nature and severity of convictions in evaluating rental applicants and prove that any exclusions are justified. Landlords who reflexively bar people with criminal records risk being hauled into court unless they revise that policy.

The department took a similar step toward policies in public housing last year, advising local agencies that administer federally assisted housing programs against shutting out applicants based on arrests and discouraging “one strike” policies that automatically evict people for brushes with the law.

These and other policy changes can be traced to the Federal Interagency Reentry Council, a group of more than 20 federal agencies led by the attorney general and convened in 2011. The council and its member agencies have been especially focused in removing unfair barriers to employment that have become pervasive since employers turned to computer-based arrest and conviction records for job-screening purposes.

These records are notoriously inaccurate, and frequently contain mistakes, including records of arrests that either were dismissed or never led to conviction. To address this problem, the administration is creating a national clearinghouse that will teach legal aid programs how to clean up such mistakes.

The federal Equal Employment Opportunity Commission took an important step in 2012 when it updated a ruling that bars companies from automatically denying jobs to people based on arrest or conviction records. The commission’s guidance explained that companies needed to take into account the seriousness of the offense, when it had occurred and whether it was relevant to the job. The agency has since taken strong enforcement actions against companies that have failed to observe the ruling.

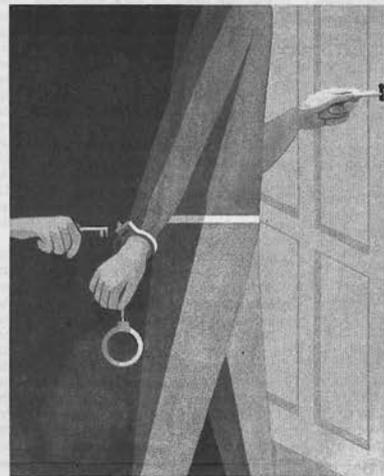
Many states and counties already forbid public agencies and in some cases private businesses from asking applicants about their criminal histories until after they have had a chance to prove their qualifications. The administra-

tion joined this “ban the box” movement last year when it ordered federal agencies to take the same approach.

Another area of marginalization has been in higher education. There is no doubt that inmates who receive college degrees in prison — or who even attend classes without graduating — are far less likely to end up back behind bars once they leave. Yet Congress disqualified inmates from getting federal Pell Grants during the “tough-on-crime” 1990s. Mr. Obama opened the door to prison education again last year with an executive order creating a pilot program that will permit a limited number of inmates to pay for college courses through federal Pell Grants. More than 200 colleges in 47 states have expressed interest in participating in the program.

In the 1990s, Congress caused great damage by denying federal grants and loans to people with minor drug convictions. It later narrowed the rule so that only people enrolled in school and receiving aid at the time of the offense would be disqualified. Both the House and the Senate are considering bills that would repeal the whole rule and bar the Department of Education from including questions about drug convictions on the federal application for financial aid, known as the Fafsa. More than 20 million people use the form each year.

By committing himself to reform in this area, Mr. Obama is leading the country away from policies that once wrote off millions of people and cast them permanently aside.



ELEN KALOROTI

The New York Times

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ELENI KALOROTI



Challenging Chronic Nuisance Ordinances



Chronic Nuisance Ordinances

- In recent years, dozens of cities have passed chronic nuisance ordinances
- Most of these ordinances share common features:
 - Police designate properties as “nuisances” if there are excessive 911 calls made within a certain time period, and they issue citations accordingly
 - Landlords face fines, property forfeiture, or even incarceration if they do not “abate the nuisance”



Chronic Nuisance Ordinances (cont.)

- Alleged purpose:
 - To assist police in addressing public nuisances
- Results:
 - Properties in heavily African-American and in transitional neighborhoods are disproportionately deemed “nuisances”
 - The vast majority of nuisance incidents involve domestic violence
 - Eviction is the preferred method of abating nuisance, and African-American women are disproportionately affected

(Matthew Desmond and Nicol Valdez, “Unpolicing the Urban Poor: Consequences of Third-Party Policing for Inner-City Women,” *American Sociological Review* 2012)



Chronic Nuisance Ordinances (cont.)

Criminal record bans:

“African-American men locked up”

Public nuisance ordinances:

“African-American women locked out”

THE NEW YORK TIMES, TUESDAY, FEBRUARY 23, 2016

Studying Families Shattered By Eviction

By JENNIFER SCHUESSLER

The first time the sociologist Matthew Desmond rode along during an eviction, he was shocked by the suddenness of “seeing your house turn into not your house in seconds.”

“You see the mover reach past someone to turn on the lights without asking, then open the fridge, open the cupboards,” he recalled recently.

Touches of home are “obliterated instantly” and often just piled up on the curb.

And it doesn’t just happen once. The movers “can be out from 8 a.m. until sundown,” he continued.

“You see one eviction and you’re overcome, but then there’s another one and another one and another one.”

Mr. Desmond, an associate pro-

Stark field reports from a Harvard sociologist.

fessor at Harvard, has spent the last eight years studying evictions from seemingly every possible angle. His research has made him a rising star in the field and last year earned him a MacArthur fellowship, the so-called genius grant.

Now, with “Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City,” to be published next Tuesday by Crown, Mr. Desmond aims to bring an overlooked aspect of American poverty and inequality to a broader audience.

“We’ve tended to look through housing to things like neighborhoods or gentrification,” he said over lunch at a deli near Bronx Housing Court, where he was about to offer a reporter a tour. But the difficulty of finding and keeping a roof over one’s head —

Continued on Page 5

A Vivid Study of Eight Families Shattered by Eviction

From First Arts Page

for many families in eviction court, rent consumes as much as 80 percent of their income, he writes — has become “not just a consequence of poverty, but a cause of poverty.”

Mr. Desmond also offered a parallel between America’s exploding prison system and the drastic growth in evictions, a once relatively rare phenomenon, he asserts, that has become “an epidemic,” particularly in poor African-American neighborhoods.

“Just as incarceration has come to define the lives of low-income black men, eviction is defining the lives of low-income black women,” Mr. Desmond said.

“Evicted” based on fieldwork Mr. Desmond did in Milwaukee while a graduate student, is already winning rave reviews. Jennifer Senior, writing in The New York Times, called it “an exhaustively researched, vividly realized and, above all, unimprovable book” that promises to transform the debate about poverty and inequality. The sociologist William Julius Wilson called Mr. Desmond’s research, which combines ethnographic observation with reams of hard-won data, “one of the most comprehensive field studies of the past half-century” and a call to action on par with Michael Harrington’s “The Other America.”

“It’s an eye-opener, even to poverty researchers,” Mr. Wilson said in an interview. “We knew evictions were a problem, but not on the scale that Matt demonstrates.”

“Evicted,” which closely follows eight families and their landlords, both black and white, mostly keeps the data to the endnotes. Written with the vividness of a novel, it offers a dark mirror of middle-class America’s obsession with real estate, laying bare the workings of the low end of the market, where evictions have become just another part of an often lucrative business model.

Mr. Desmond takes the reader inside a landlord networking meeting, where Sierra (most names in the book are pseudonyms), an African-American fourth-grade teacher turned full-time landlord, extols the money-making opportunities in the city’s poor black neighborhoods, saying, “Don’t be afraid of the North Side!”

He sits with tenants while they debate whether to hokk back rent money to pay for food or a relative’s funeral, and visits warehouses where the possessions of evicted families are held — if they haven’t just been dumped by the curb.

“There is always a lot of kids’ stuff,” Mr. Desmond said. “Seeing that piled up in the snow is really disturbing.”

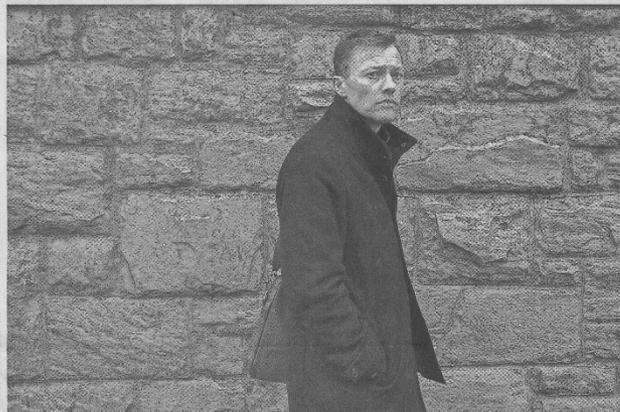
In person, Mr. Desmond, 36, mixes low-key friendliness and on-message discipline, expressing polite frustration on conversations about ethnography that focus more on the researcher than his research. An afterword titled “About This Project” — the first place the word “I” appears — was written only after the extended urging of his editor, Amanda Cook.

“He was very reluctant to say anything about himself,” said his Cook, who prevailed over more than a dozen other editors in an auction that shot into the high six figures, according to employees at other publishing houses that bid.

That afterword lifts the curtain a little, offering a few paragraphs about Mr. Desmond’s childhood in Winslow, Ariz., where his father was a nonconformist minister and his mother worked various jobs. Money was often tight, and after he left for college the



Above, Gloria Rhodes watches as employees of a moving company take out belongings from the apartment she shared with her daughter, Ara Sparkman. Below, Matthew Desmond, author of the book “Evicted: Poverty and Profit in the American City.”



JAMES LEEY FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

bank reposessed the family home.

Asked about the circumstances of the repossession and its effect on him, Mr. Desmond, an expert observer of others, said he was fuzzy on details and reluctant to “overinterpret” himself.

“The things you’re closest to are often the things you know least about,” he said.

But around that time, he started volunteering with Habitat for Humanity and hanging out with homeless people in Tempe, where he was attending Arizona State University.

“Maybe that was the ethnographic part of me,” he said. “Even growing up the way I did, I was shocked by the level of poverty I saw as a college student. I thought the best way to understand it was to get close to it on the ground lev-

el.”

Mr. Desmond’s immersion in evictions began during his graduate student days at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. For his dissertation fieldwork, he moved into a rundown trailer park on the predominantly white South Side of Milwaukee, and later to a rooming house on the city’s mainly black North Side. (Sierra, he reveals in the afterword, was his landlord.) Over 18 months, he let his voice recorder run, capturing interviews, and 17 on-the-street scenes that, when transcribed, ran to nearly 5,000 single-spaced pages.

Mr. Desmond writes with some sympathy for landlords, who face direct losses, or even foreclosure, when tenants fall behind. But he is also blunt in his moral assessment, brandishing a word that he

says has gone missing in the broader-poverty debate: exploitation.

“Poverty is not just a sad accident,” he said. Yes, it’s partly about lack of jobs, “but it’s also a result of the fact that some people make a lot of money off low-income families and directly contribute to their poverty.”

Mr. Desmond, who has created a website, justshelter.org, which gathers information about housing groups across the country, makes no bones of the advocacy component of his work. But he doesn’t shrink from depicting less than sympathetic behavior by tenants, like the decision by Larraïne, a 54-year-old woman who has just been evicted from the trailer park, to blow her monthly food stamps on a single home-cooked lobster dinner.

“I was so pissed at Larraïne,” he recalled. “I remember calling my wife and saying: ‘What do I do with this? It’s like a Reagan commercial!’ But my job is to write about these things, to help people understand.”

In an endnote, Mr. Desmond describes pressing Larraïne for an explanation. The one she finally comes up with — “because I wanted to” — may not satisfy all readers.

But for the extreme poor, Mr. Desmond argues, bad decisions are a result of poverty, more than poverty is a result of bad decisions.

“The difference between stable poverty and Larraïne’s kind of poverty is so vast,” he said. “No amount of scrimping and saving is going to get her out.”

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29 PLAYED BY TINA FEY Kim Barker on the movie of her 'Taliban Shuffle'

Book Review

The New York Times

FEBRUARY 28, 2016



PHOTOGRAPH BY JOSHUA LOFT FOR THE NEW YORK TIMES

No Place Like Home

By Barbara Ehrenreich

LAMAR, HIS SONS and some other adolescent boys from their Milwaukee neighborhood are sitting around, playing cards and smoking blunts, when there is a loud and confident knock on the door, which could be "a landlord's knock, or a sheriff's." Mercifully it is only Colin, a young white man from their church, who has come

to read them passages from the Bible, most of which Lamar knows by heart. The subject wanders off to God and the Devil, with Lamar adding, "And Earth is hell." "Well," Colin corrects him, "not quite hell." An awkward silence falls.

The burden of "Evicted," Matthew Desmond's astonishing book, is to show that the world Lamar inhabits is indeed hell, or as close an approximation as you are likely to find in a 21st-century American city. When Lamar first

EVICTED
Poverty and Profit in
the American City
By Matthew Desmond
418 pp. Crown
Publishers. \$28.

looked at his two-bedroom apartment, it was an appalling mess, "with maggots sprouting from unwashed dishes in the sink," but he tidied and cleaned it to the point of being "borderline obsessive-compulsive." The underlying problem — or one of them — is that Lamar's income is \$628 a month, while his rent is \$550, leaving \$2.19 a day for the family. He does what he can to pay off part of his rent doing handyman tasks,

CONTINUED ON PAGE 22



Structural Racism



Structural Racism

- What:
 - A practice that exploits historic discrimination and spatial segregation for private or political gain
- Why:
 - Profits and power can be extracted more easily from underserved communities made vulnerable by decades of historic discrimination and segregation



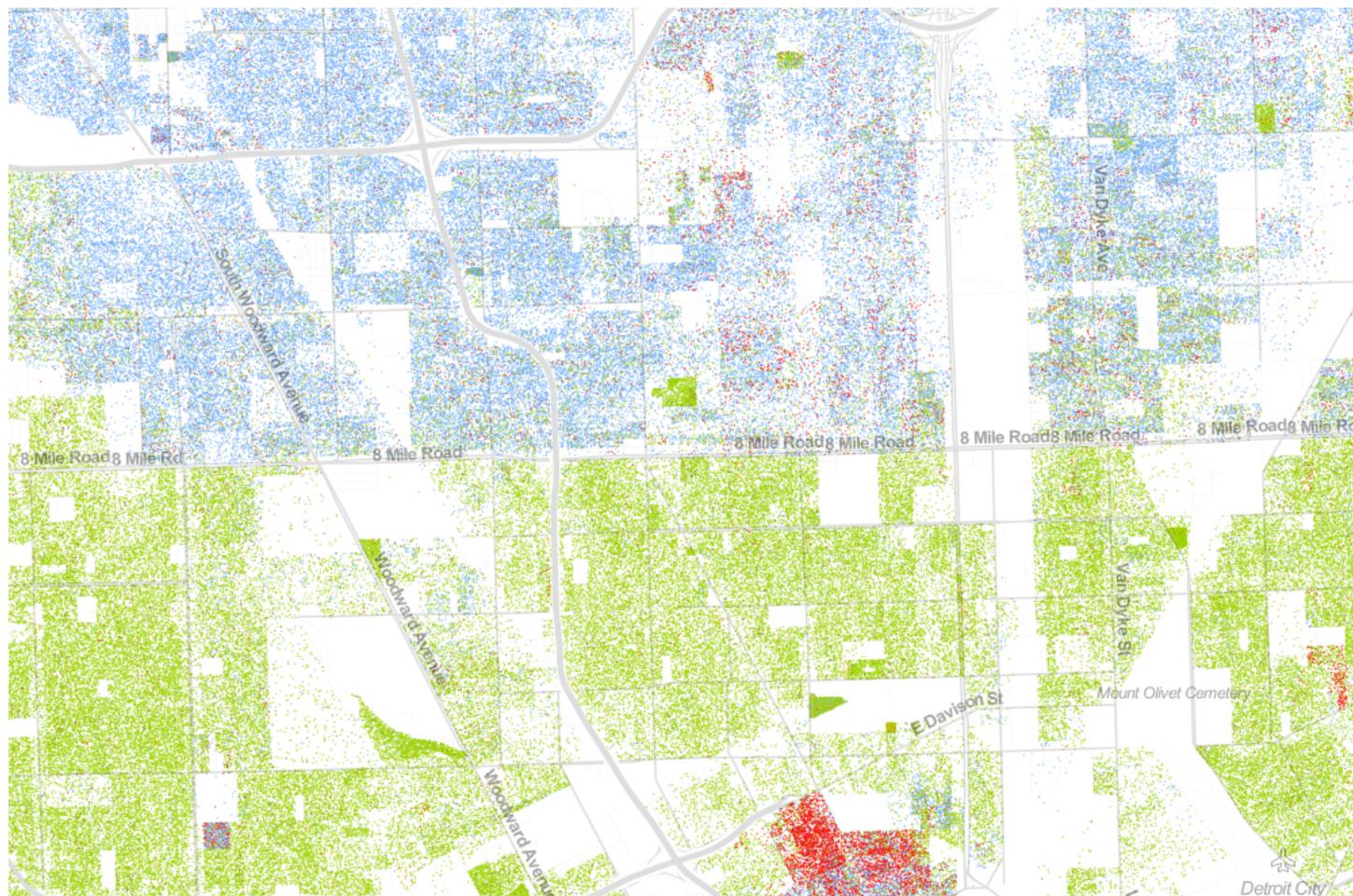
Structural Racism

- Harms:
 - Strips equity from minority/underserved communities
 - Creates new barriers to integration
 - Perpetuates segregation



Detroit

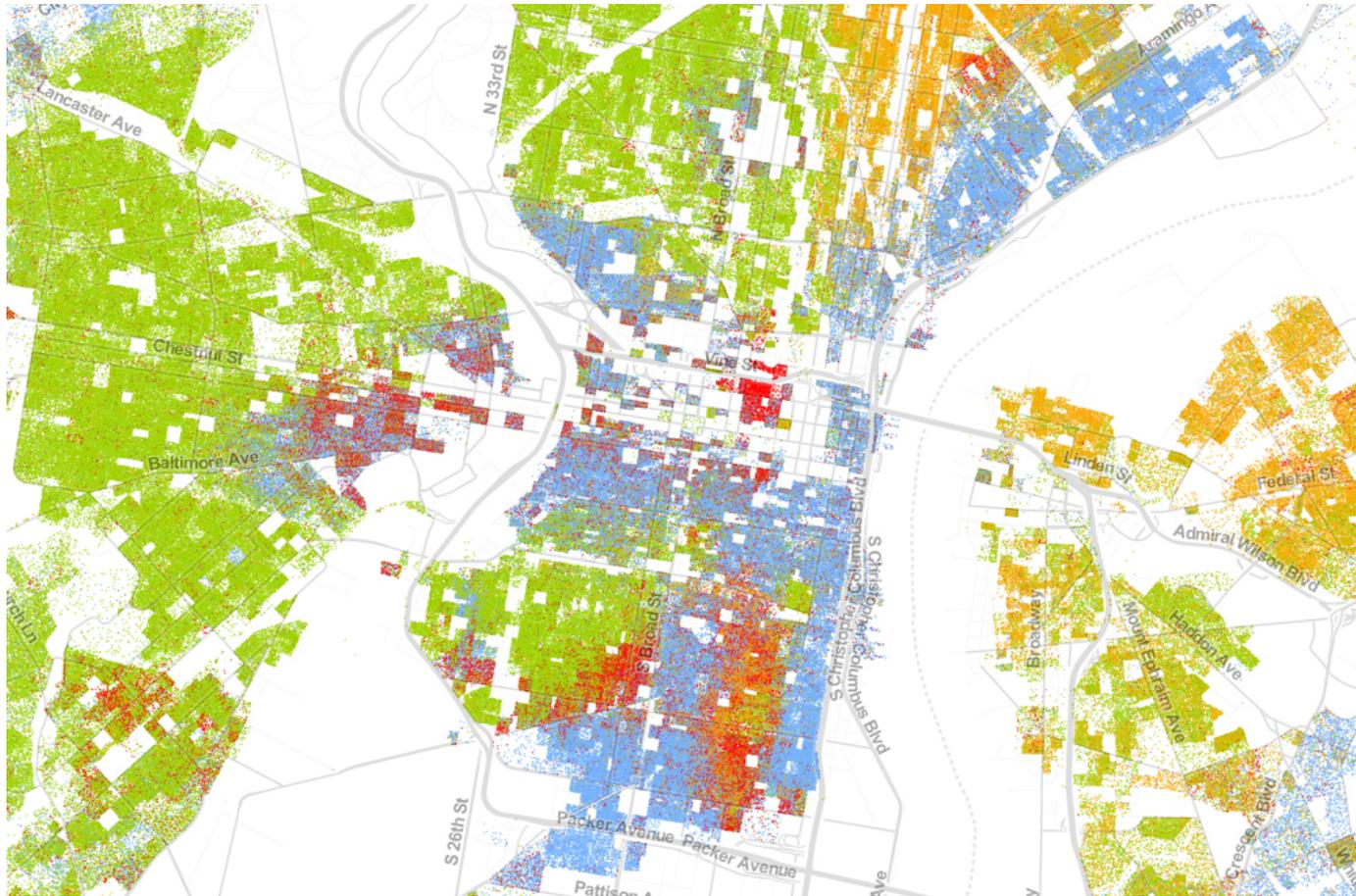
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- = All Others
- = Asian
- 1 dot = 1 person





Philadelphia

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Birmingham

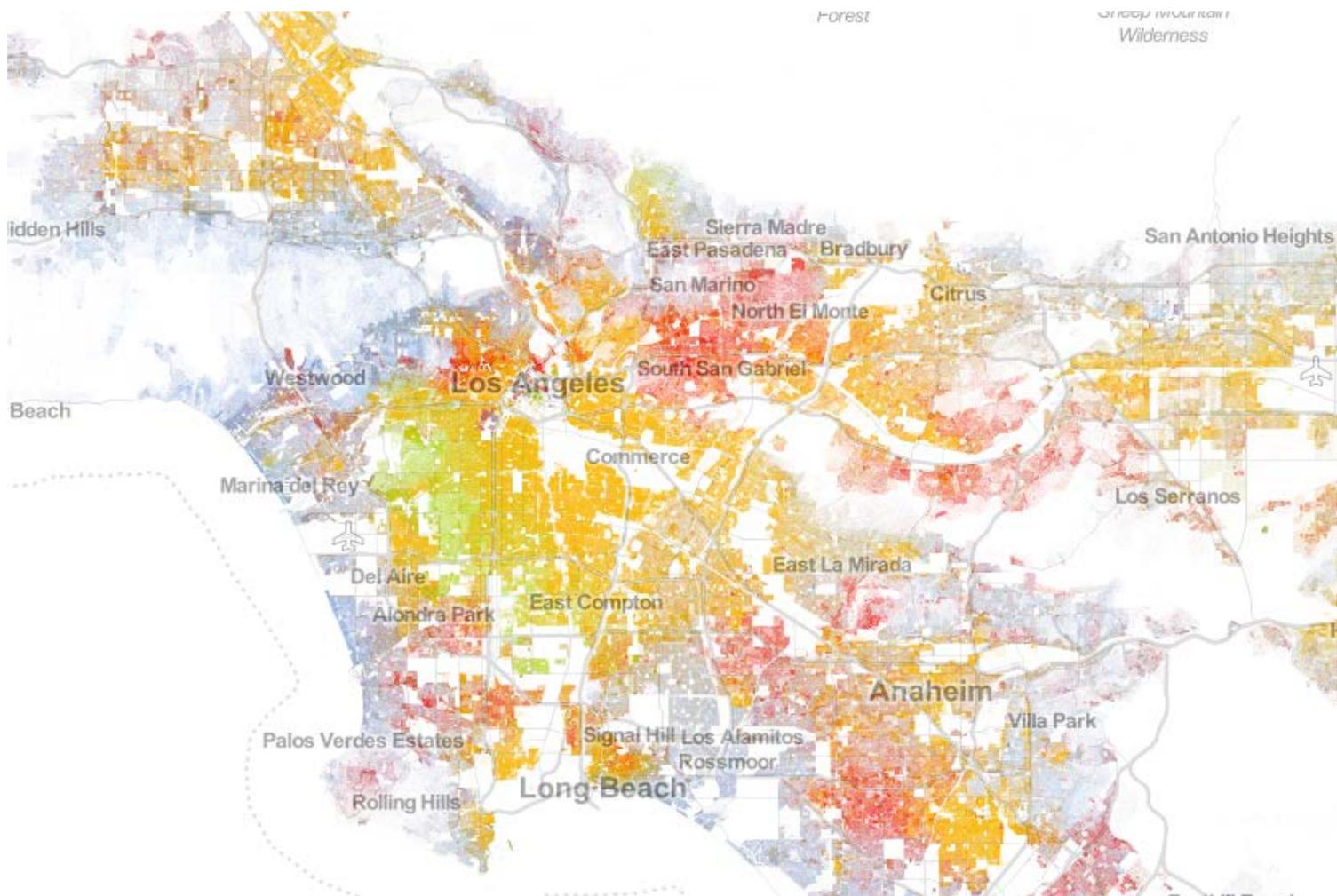
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Los Angeles, CA

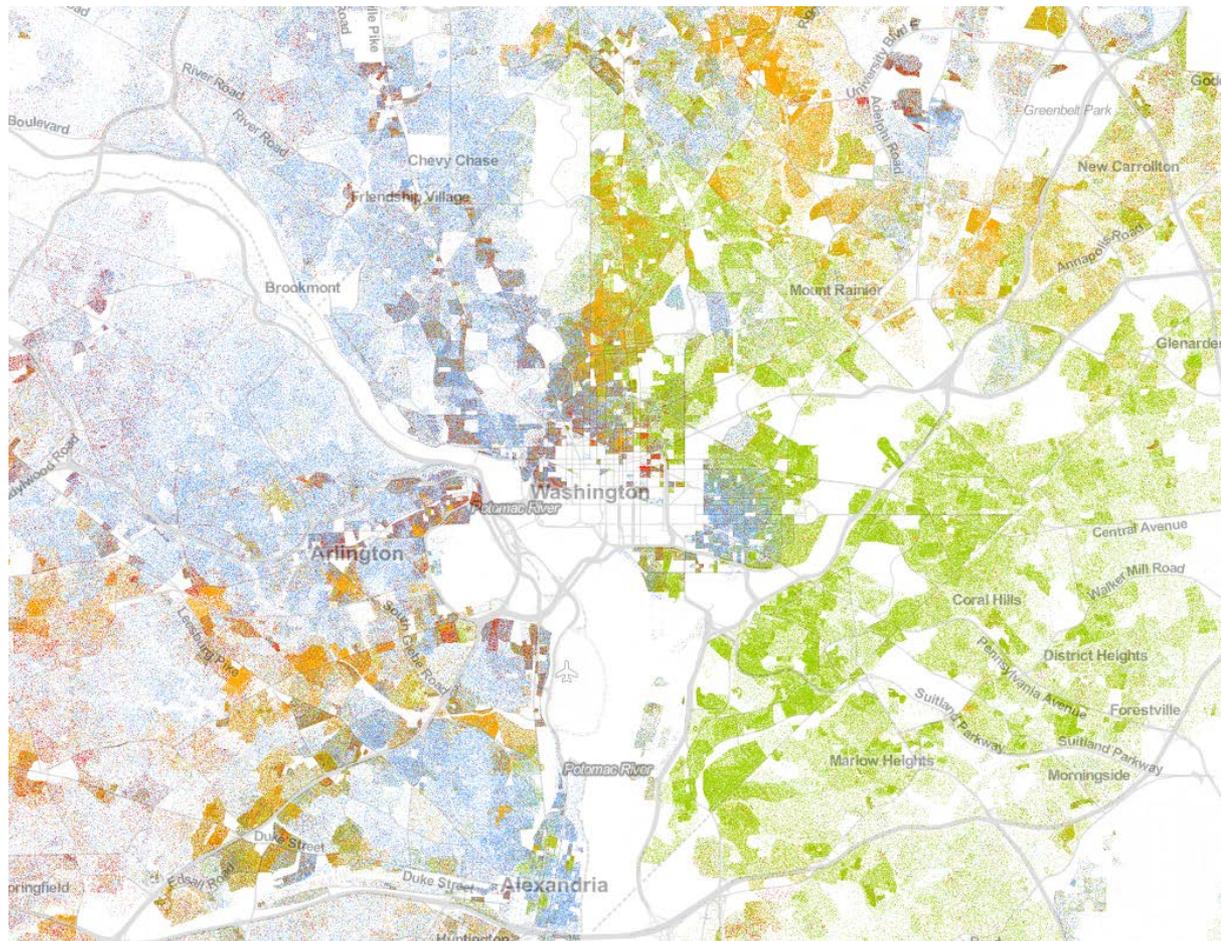
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Washington, DC and MD Metropolitan Area

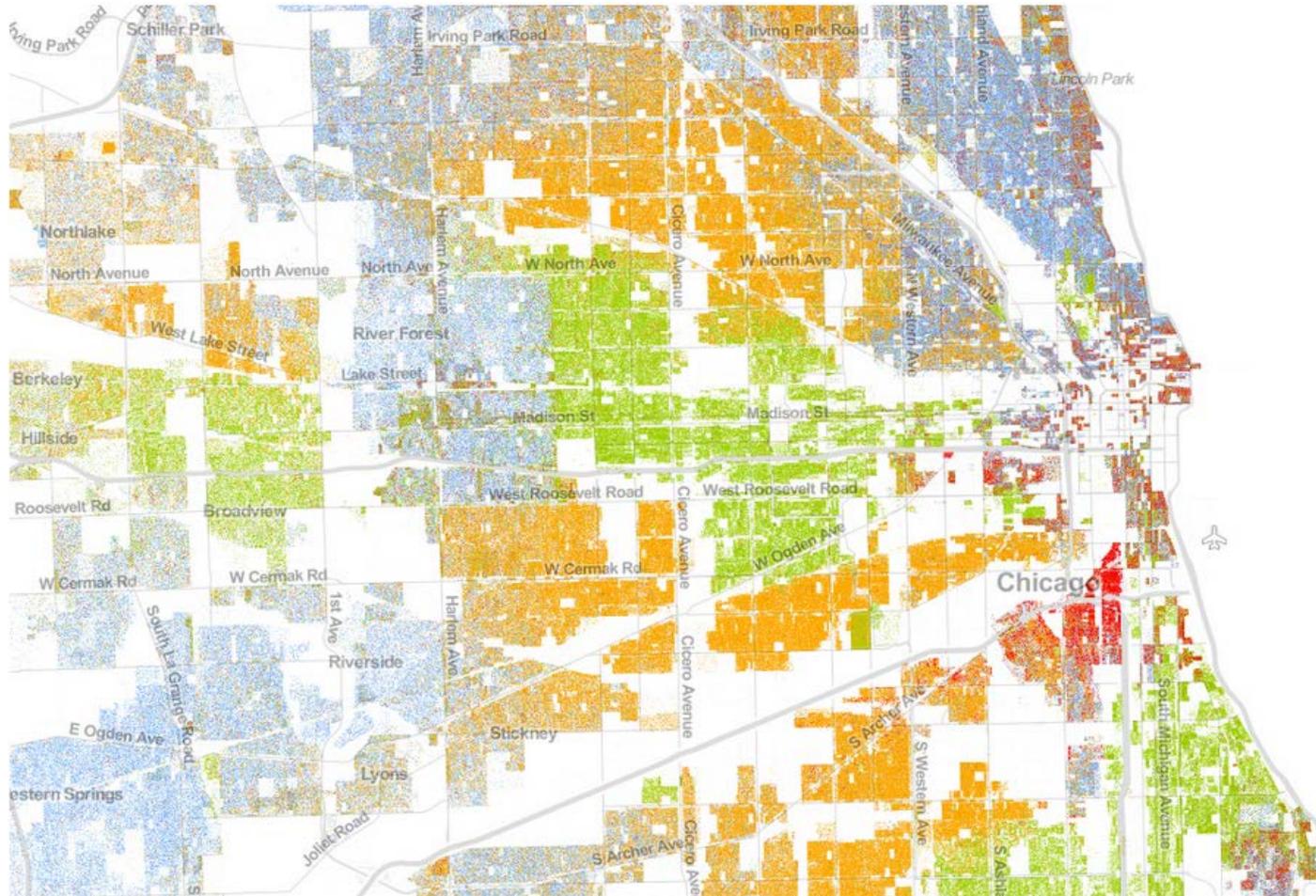
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Chicago, IL

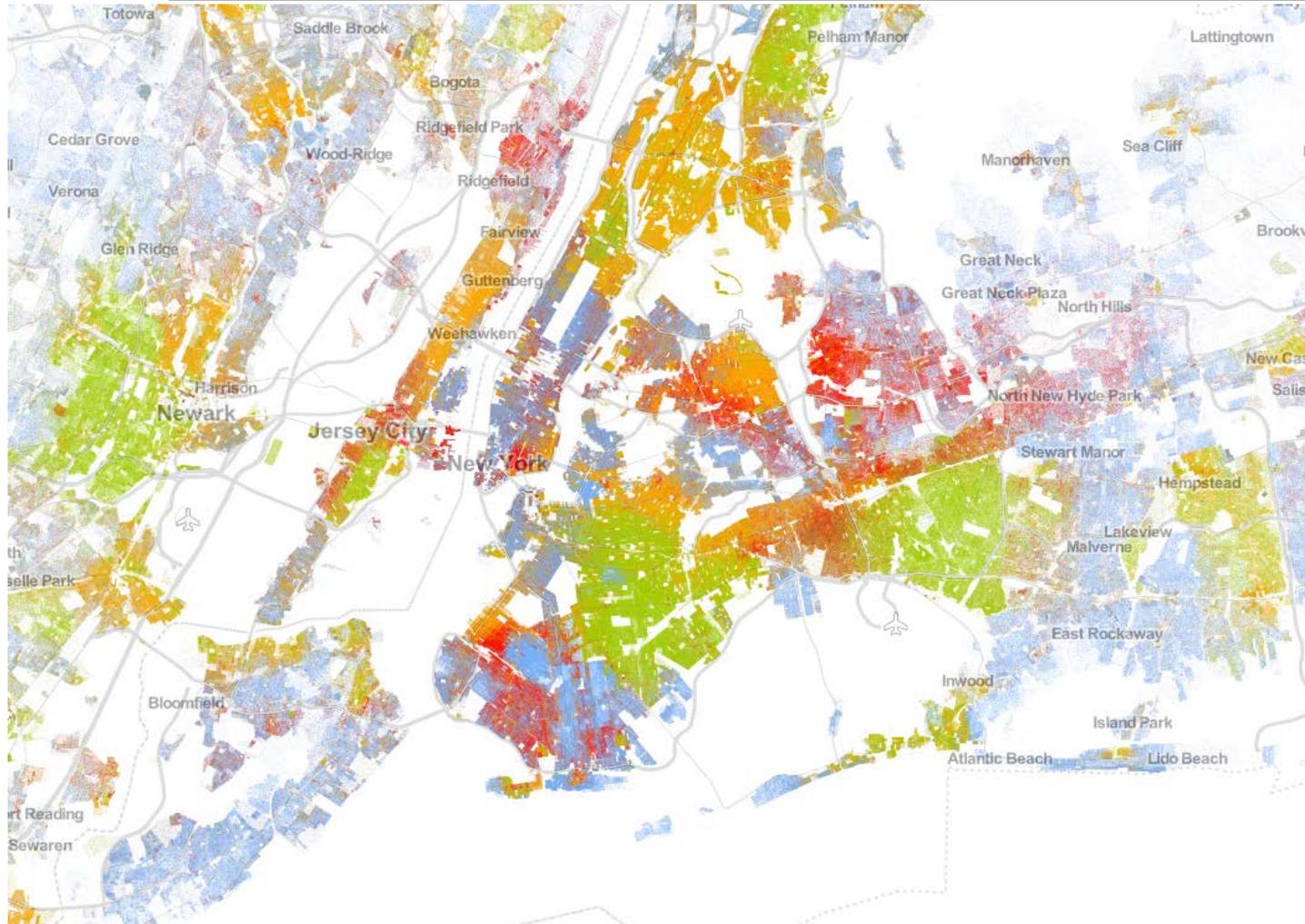
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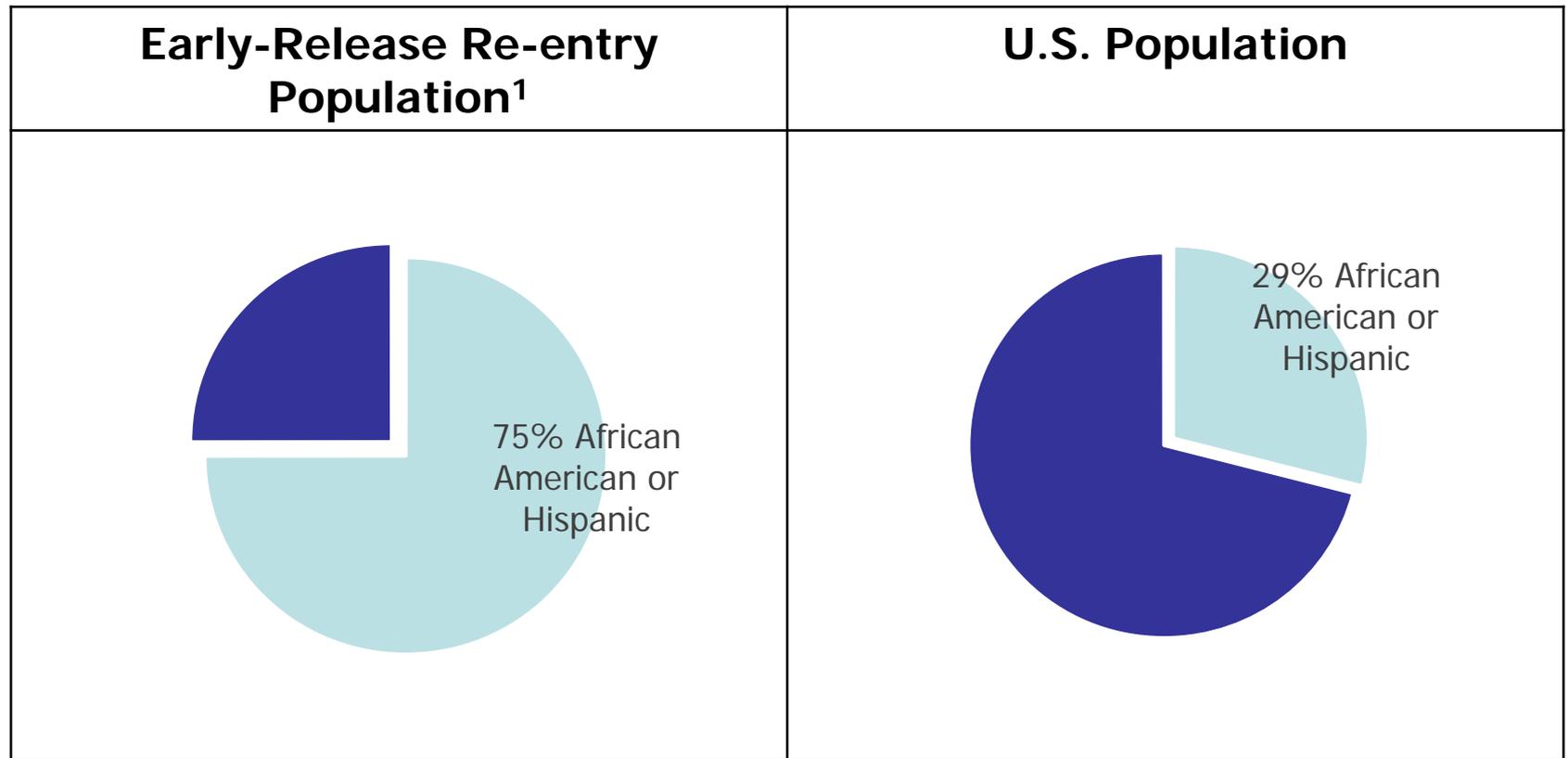
New York City

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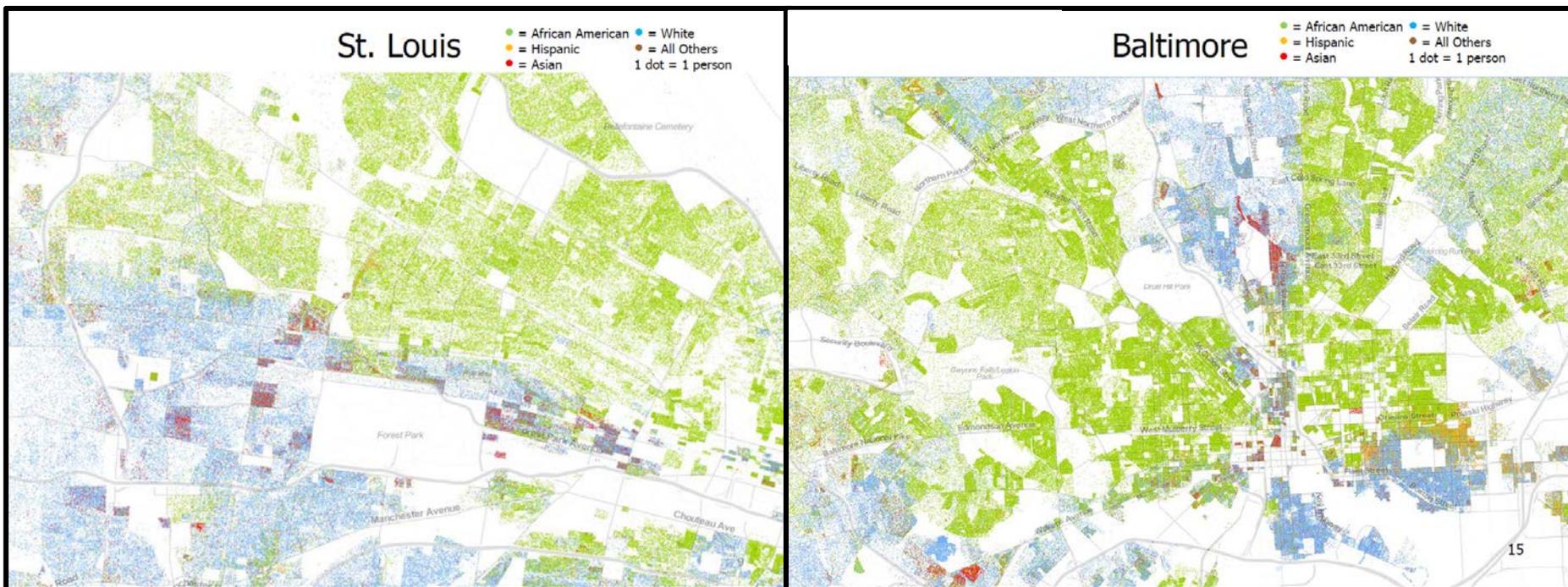
Root Causes



¹ Per the 2014 Drug Guidelines Amendment, an estimated 46,000 additional federal prisoners are expected to become eligible for early release over the next several years. See 2014 U.S. Sentencing Commission, Office of Research and Data.



Root Causes (cont.)



Healing → Understanding Root Causes → Fair Housing