

# Webinar

## ULI Philadelphia: A Conversation with Richard Rothstein

Date: July 23, 2020

00:00:00 --> 00:00:02: Good morning everyone. I'm Alan Razak.

00:00:02 --> 00:00:06: I am chair of Philadelphia District Council and principle at AthenianRazak,

00:00:06 --> 00:00:07: in the city of Philadelphia. I want to welcome everyone

00:00:07 --> 00:00:10: to today's webinar with Richard Rothstein,

00:00:10 --> 00:00:13: author of Color of Law.

00:00:13 --> 00:00:15: This is one of a series of programs and conversations

00:00:15 --> 00:00:18: we've begun with our members in partnership with Duely District

00:00:18 --> 00:00:22: councils in New York,

00:00:22 --> 00:00:23: Boston and Washington DC about understanding racism in

00:00:23 --> 00:00:27: our organization

00:00:27 --> 00:00:28: in our industry.

00:00:28 --> 00:00:32: That's the first step to bring about critically important change.

00:00:32 --> 00:00:36: In a statement ULI issued, ULI Philadelphia issued last month.

00:00:36 --> 00:00:40: We committed to an array of anti racist access for

00:00:40 --> 00:00:42: organization in our industry.

00:00:42 --> 00:00:45: We're here today for the first one of those,

00:00:45 --> 00:00:49: because we're committed to providing a forum for difficult and

00:00:49 --> 00:00:54: uncomfortable conversations about our industry's role in perpetuating the systemic

00:00:54 --> 00:00:57: racism that are communities continue to endure.

00:00:57 --> 00:01:00: When I say uncomfortable, I mean it.

00:01:00 --> 00:01:02: You will like it's a shout out and not a

00:01:02 --> 00:01:03: good one.

00:01:03 --> 00:01:07: In Mr Rothstein's book, because our organization was one of

00:01:07 --> 00:01:12: many enablers that supported and benefited from the segregationist policies

00:01:12 --> 00:01:16: that the color of law describes is sometimes demoralizing detail.

00:01:16 --> 00:01:17: As difficult as this is to hear,

00:01:17 --> 00:01:19: it's important that we hear it.

00:01:19 --> 00:01:21: It's clear to meet it before we can roll up

00:01:21 --> 00:01:24: our sleeves and do the hard work of undoing what's

00:01:24 --> 00:01:25: been done.

00:01:25 --> 00:01:28: We have to understand what it is and where it

00:01:29 --> 00:01:29: came from.

00:01:29 --> 00:01:31: This is one way in which you will.

00:01:31 --> 00:01:35: can contribute positively to solving the problem we share in

00:01:35 --> 00:01:39: common as a Premier research and education organizational and use

00:01:39 --> 00:01:39: industry.

00:01:39 --> 00:01:42: ULI can help just by doing what it does.

00:01:42 --> 00:01:45: So we'll convene us to learn and discuss so we

00:01:45 --> 00:01:46: can make a difference.

00:01:46 --> 00:01:49: And I want to emphasize that you will like is

00:01:49 --> 00:01:51: committed to making a difference.

00:01:51 --> 00:01:54: You can now read about everything going on at

00:01:54 --> 00:01:57: ULI with regards to DEI and there's a lot by

00:01:57 --> 00:01:59: going to [americas.uli.org/DEI](https://americas.uli.org/DEI).

00:01:59 --> 00:02:00: This was just posted yesterday.

00:02:00 --> 00:02:03: And it will be updated constantly.

00:02:03 --> 00:02:07: The links in your chat and will also include it

00:02:07 --> 00:02:09: in our post event survey.

00:02:09 --> 00:02:12: I hope everyone's had a chance to read the color

00:02:12 --> 00:02:12: of law.

00:02:12 --> 00:02:15: As a text, it refutes to notion I was taught

00:02:15 --> 00:02:19: as a young architecture and planning student that the housing

00:02:19 --> 00:02:22: segregation we live with today is a result of millions

00:02:22 --> 00:02:26: of individual choices, or of redlining by evil bankers.

00:02:26 --> 00:02:28: The truth is actually more disturbing.

00:02:28 --> 00:02:32: Housing segregation in the United States is a result of

00:02:32 --> 00:02:37: a century of intentional and explicitly racist government policy enforced

00:02:37 --> 00:02:40: with the willing participation of our industry.

00:02:40 --> 00:02:42: I look forward to hearing from Mr.

00:02:42 --> 00:02:45: Rothstein, engaging in conversation and working with all of

00:02:45 --> 00:02:47: you

00:02:45 --> 00:02:47: attending today's webinars.

00:02:47 --> 00:02:50: Consider how we use these lessons to affect change in

00:02:50 --> 00:02:52: our organization or industry in our communities.  
00:02:52 --> 00:02:55: And now I'd like to turn things over to Laura  
00:02:55 --> 00:02:55: Slutzky,  
00:02:55 --> 00:03:01: executive Director of Philadelphia to walk us through today's  
program.  
00:03:01 --> 00:03:04: Wonderful thank you. Good morning everyone.  
00:03:04 --> 00:03:06: I wish I could see your face is but I  
00:03:06 --> 00:03:08: want to thank you so much for being here today  
00:03:08 --> 00:03:12: and we're thrilled to have participants from around the  
country  
00:03:12 --> 00:03:14: join this really important conversation.  
00:03:14 --> 00:03:18: Thank you Alan for your leadership on this really critical  
00:03:18 --> 00:03:21: topic and thank you to the leadership of ULI District  
00:03:21 --> 00:03:22: Councils in New York City,  
00:03:22 --> 00:03:25: Boston and Washington DC for partnering with us on the  
00:03:25 --> 00:03:27: delivery of today's program,  
00:03:27 --> 00:03:30: which as Alan mentioned, is part of a joint series  
00:03:30 --> 00:03:32: on this topic and to our own local members in  
00:03:32 --> 00:03:35: Philadelphia for your dedication to making progress.  
00:03:35 --> 00:03:37: Industry.  
00:03:37 --> 00:03:40: I want to invite everyone if you are not already  
00:03:40 --> 00:03:42: part of our work at ULI to please join us.  
00:03:42 --> 00:03:44: Please give us feedback and ideas.  
00:03:44 --> 00:03:47: So here on your screen is what the program today  
00:03:47 --> 00:03:49: will look like in just a minute I will pass  
00:03:49 --> 00:03:52: things over to Eleanor Sharp and then we will hear  
00:03:52 --> 00:03:56: from our keynote presenter Richard Rothstein for about 45  
minutes  
00:03:56 --> 00:03:58: and we will conclude with a moderated Q&A.  
00:03:58 --> 00:04:00: So I want to direct everyone to the Q and  
00:04:00 --> 00:04:03: a button at the bottom of your screen.  
00:04:03 --> 00:04:06: You should feel free to submit your questions throughout the  
00:04:06 --> 00:04:07: presentation.  
00:04:07 --> 00:04:09: You don't have to wait until the end.  
00:04:09 --> 00:04:12: And then finally, at the end we will share a  
00:04:12 --> 00:04:15: survey I want to mention that we would love feedback  
00:04:15 --> 00:04:17: both on today's program and on how we,  
00:04:17 --> 00:04:20: as an organization and industry can do better,  
00:04:20 --> 00:04:24: which I hope this talk inspires you all to think  
00:04:24 --> 00:04:25: about with us.  
00:04:25 --> 00:04:28: So now I want to map before we get started,  
00:04:28 --> 00:04:32: take a moment to recognize our annual UI Philadelphia  
sponsors

00:04:32 --> 00:04:33: without their support.

00:04:33 --> 00:04:36: Our work would not be possible and this is the

00:04:37 --> 00:04:40: first group of our newly re committed fiscal year 21

00:04:40 --> 00:04:42: sponsors in Philadelphia.

00:04:42 --> 00:04:44: Thank you so much.

00:04:44 --> 00:04:46: So now I would like to turn it over to

00:04:46 --> 00:04:49: Eleanor to introduce today's guest.

00:04:49 --> 00:04:52: Eleanor Sharp is deputy director of the Division of Planning

00:04:52 --> 00:04:56: and Zoning for the city's Department of Planning and  
Development

00:04:56 --> 00:05:00: and Executive Director of the Philadelphia City Planning  
Commission.

00:05:00 --> 00:05:04: She also serves on the ULI Philadelphia Advisory Board and

00:05:04 --> 00:05:06: chairs our Philadelphia Urban Plan program.

00:05:06 --> 00:05:10: Thank you so much and welcome Eleanor.

00:05:10 --> 00:05:13: Thank you Laura. Good morning everyone and thank you Mr

00:05:13 --> 00:05:16: Rothstein for agreeing to do this with us.

00:05:16 --> 00:05:18: Welcome to everyone I see a few of your from

00:05:18 --> 00:05:20: all across the nation.

00:05:20 --> 00:05:24: I'm honored to moderate today's session and I'm looking  
forward

00:05:24 --> 00:05:29: to hearing Mr Rothstein's presentation an especially the  
conversation that

00:05:29 --> 00:05:30: will follow.

00:05:30 --> 00:05:34: For me this books falls in the category of you

00:05:34 --> 00:05:37: don't know what you don't know.

00:05:37 --> 00:05:42: I second Alan sentiments and also refute the notion.

00:05:42 --> 00:05:46: But I was taught as both an architecture and planning

00:05:46 --> 00:05:46: student.

00:05:46 --> 00:05:50: That housing segregation we live in today is a result

00:05:50 --> 00:05:55: of millions of individual choices or redlining by evil bankers.

00:05:55 --> 00:05:57: Now, in my opinion, redlining is the least,

00:05:57 --> 00:06:02: it's the end product, the byproduct of deliberate racist policies

00:06:02 --> 00:06:04: enacted for centuries at the federal,

00:06:04 --> 00:06:06: state, and local government level.

00:06:06 --> 00:06:09: And to discuss this were honored to have Mr.

00:06:09 --> 00:06:13: Rothstein here, and I'm delighted to introduce him.

00:06:13 --> 00:06:17: Richard Rothstein, who is a distinguished fellow of the  
Economic

00:06:17 --> 00:06:22: Policy Institute and a Fellow of the Thurgood Marshall  
Institute

00:06:22 --> 00:06:25: of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund and of the Haas

00:06:25 --> 00:06:29: Institute of at the University of California,

00:06:29 --> 00:06:30: Berkeley.

00:06:30 --> 00:06:31: He is, as you know,

00:06:31 --> 00:06:34: the author of the color of Law of Forgotten History,

00:06:34 --> 00:06:38: of How our Government segregated America.

00:06:38 --> 00:06:43: The book expands upon and provides a national perspective on

00:06:43 --> 00:06:47: his recent work that has documented a history of state

00:06:47 --> 00:06:50: sponsored residential segregation.

00:06:50 --> 00:06:52: I'm going to turn it over to Richard in a

00:06:52 --> 00:06:53: minute,

00:06:53 --> 00:06:55: but while we may not be able to get to

00:06:55 --> 00:06:56: every question,

00:06:56 --> 00:06:59: we hope to respond to as many as possible and

00:06:59 --> 00:07:01: we look forward to you getting them.

00:07:01 --> 00:07:04: As Laura mentioned, please put him in as a presentation

00:07:04 --> 00:07:07: unfolds and now I'll turn it over to Richard Rothstein.

00:07:07 --> 00:07:09: Thank you again for joining us.

00:07:09 --> 00:07:11: And Please remember to thank you again.

00:07:11 --> 00:07:14: Richard value. Thank you, Eleanor Laura Alan,

00:07:14 --> 00:07:18: all of you for inviting me to be with you

00:07:18 --> 00:07:19: this morning.

00:07:19 --> 00:07:22: Maybe it's not well. I guess it's still morning where

00:07:22 --> 00:07:22: you are.

00:07:22 --> 00:07:26: It's very early in the morning here.

00:07:26 --> 00:07:29: As you all know, in the 20th century we had

00:07:29 --> 00:07:32: a civil rights movement in this country.

00:07:32 --> 00:07:37: It began by challenging segregation in law schools and colleges

00:07:37 --> 00:07:38: and universities.

00:07:38 --> 00:07:41: And then went on to.

00:07:41 --> 00:07:44: Challenge and eliminate the racial segregation,

00:07:44 --> 00:07:49: legal segregation, elementary and secondary schools with the Brown versus

00:07:49 --> 00:07:50: Board of Education decision.

00:07:50 --> 00:07:53: And that Brown decision, stimulated,

00:07:53 --> 00:07:58: inspired, motivated, a movement of civil rights activists.

00:07:58 --> 00:08:02: We've recently been mourning the loss of John Lewis,

00:08:02 --> 00:08:05: who was a key figure in that.

00:08:05 --> 00:08:09: Those activists engaged in neiling marches like the Black Lives

00:08:09 --> 00:08:10: Matter movement,

00:08:10 --> 00:08:13: but demonstrations and civil disobedience.

00:08:13 --> 00:08:17: As you know, if you've read the obituaries of John

00:08:17 --> 00:08:17: Lewis.

00:08:17 --> 00:08:20: And by the end of the 1960s.

00:08:20 --> 00:08:27: It had eliminated segregation in lunch counters and buses in public accommodations of all kinds.

00:08:27 --> 00:08:30: Passed the Civil rights law that prohibited the.

00:08:30 --> 00:08:34: Segregation and employment. We passed the Fair Housing Act that

00:08:34 --> 00:08:39: prohibited ongoing segregation in the rental and sale of housing.

00:08:39 --> 00:08:44: We had come as a country at that time.

00:08:44 --> 00:08:47: Not everybody, but most people came to understand that racial

00:08:47 --> 00:08:52: segregation was wrong,

00:08:52 --> 00:08:53: immoral, harmful to both Blacks and whites.

00:08:53 --> 00:08:57: Incompatible with our self conception as a constitutional democracy.

00:08:57 --> 00:09:03: It's puzzling then having come to that conclusion.

00:09:03 --> 00:09:07: That we left untouched. The biggest segregation of all,

00:09:07 --> 00:09:10: which is that every Metropolitan area in this country is residentially segregated.

00:09:10 --> 00:09:13: We live in an apartheid society still.

00:09:13 --> 00:09:15: I've lived in many, many Metropolitan areas.

00:09:15 --> 00:09:18: I'm sure many of you have as well everyone that I lived in.

00:09:18 --> 00:09:20: Had clearly defined areas that were all white or mostly white.

00:09:20 --> 00:09:23: Clearly defined areas that were all black or mostly black.

00:09:23 --> 00:09:24: How could that be? How could it be that we

00:09:24 --> 00:09:27: understood?

00:09:27 --> 00:09:28: That racial segregation was wrong immoral harmful to both Blacks

00:09:28 --> 00:09:32: and whites incompatible with our self conception as a constitutional

00:09:32 --> 00:09:35: democracy,

00:09:35 --> 00:09:36: how could it be that we left untouched?

00:09:36 --> 00:09:39: The biggest segregation of all?

00:09:39 --> 00:09:43: Well, partly it's 'cause it's hard to undo residential segregation

00:09:43 --> 00:09:44: once we've established it.

00:09:44 --> 00:09:46: If we pass a law prohibiting segregation in buses the

00:09:46 --> 00:09:49: next day.

00:09:49 --> 00:09:54: Buses are integrated people sitting where they want.

00:09:54 --> 00:09:56: We pass a law prohibiting segregation in neighborhoods the

00:09:56 --> 00:10:01: next

00:10:01 --> 00:10:02:

00:10:02 --> 00:10:05:

00:10:05 --> 00:10:07:

00:10:08 --> 00:10:08: day they produce.

00:10:08 --> 00:10:12: Don't look much different. So what we've done,

00:10:12 --> 00:10:14: all of us liberals, Conservatives,

00:10:14 --> 00:10:18: Democrats, Republicans, Northerners Southerners.

00:10:18 --> 00:10:21: Is adopted the national rationalization,

00:10:21 --> 00:10:26: an excuse? We give ourselves as American citizens for failure

00:10:26 --> 00:10:31: to redress the residential segregation that we our government created.

00:10:31 --> 00:10:34: The Miss the rationalization goes something like this.

00:10:34 --> 00:10:38: We tell ourselves at the segregation of colleges and universities,

00:10:38 --> 00:10:43: or elementary and secondary schools or lunch counters or buses.

00:10:43 --> 00:10:46: That was all done by government by ordinance,

00:10:46 --> 00:10:51: by regulation, by law. If the federal government was doing it,

00:10:51 --> 00:10:51: it,

00:10:51 --> 00:10:53: we know it's a civil rights violation.

00:10:53 --> 00:10:55: A violation of the 5th Amendment,

00:10:55 --> 00:10:58: and we know we have an obligation to.

00:10:58 --> 00:11:01: Redress civil rights violations. State local government was doing it.

00:11:01 --> 00:11:04: We know that was a violation of the 14th Amendment.

00:11:04 --> 00:11:08: Also, a civil rights violation that we have an obligation

00:11:08 --> 00:11:09: to undo.

00:11:09 --> 00:11:14: But residential segregation we tell ourselves that was entirely different.

00:11:14 --> 00:11:17: That wasn't done by government or law or regulation or

00:11:17 --> 00:11:20: private activity that was done by that.

00:11:20 --> 00:11:22: That was done by private activity.

00:11:22 --> 00:11:26: It was not done by law and regulation.

00:11:26 --> 00:11:30: Residential segregation happened because bigoted homeowners and renters.

00:11:30 --> 00:11:33: Didn't want to sell or rent to black families in

00:11:33 --> 00:11:35: white neighborhoods.

00:11:35 --> 00:11:37: Or maybe as Alan mentioned before,

00:11:37 --> 00:11:40: it was banks that red lines and discriminated.

00:11:40 --> 00:11:45: The private businesses, real estate agents discriminating another private activity.

00:11:45 --> 00:11:49: Maybe we tell ourselves it's because Blacks and whites just

00:11:49 --> 00:11:52: like to live with each other of the same race

00:11:52 --> 00:11:54: where we feel more comfortable that way.

00:11:54 --> 00:11:57: Or maybe we tell ourselves it's all the result of

00:11:57 --> 00:11:59: income differences.

00:11:59 --> 00:12:02: It's most African Americans. Can't afford to live in in  
00:12:02 --> 00:12:05: middle class white neighborhoods.  
00:12:05 --> 00:12:06: Not all of them, but you know,  
00:12:06 --> 00:12:11: most can't. And that's the reason we have residential  
segregation  
00:12:11 --> 00:12:11: today.  
00:12:11 --> 00:12:15: All of these individual bigoted but private sector decisions  
and  
00:12:15 --> 00:12:18: activities is what's created residential segregation.  
00:12:18 --> 00:12:21: We give a name to this rationalization.  
00:12:21 --> 00:12:24: We say it's de facto segregation that just sort of  
00:12:24 --> 00:12:25: happened by accident,  
00:12:25 --> 00:12:28: and we tell ourselves it's too bad.  
00:12:28 --> 00:12:31: But what happened by accident can only on happened by  
00:12:31 --> 00:12:32: accident.  
00:12:32 --> 00:12:36: It's not our responsibility. To do anything about it.  
00:12:36 --> 00:12:39: Well, I spent much of the last 30 years as  
00:12:39 --> 00:12:42: a writer about education policy.  
00:12:42 --> 00:12:47: I didn't know much about your field planning about housing.  
00:12:47 --> 00:12:49: I was writing with education policy.  
00:12:49 --> 00:12:52: I was an education columnist at the New York Times.  
00:12:52 --> 00:12:58: And I began to write articles denouncing the.  
00:12:58 --> 00:13:02: Common contemporary theory of of our educational  
problems in this  
00:13:02 --> 00:13:04: country and that was a theory that the reason we  
00:13:05 --> 00:13:08: had an achievement gap between black and white children.  
00:13:08 --> 00:13:11: Was because teachers just didn't expect very much of black  
00:13:11 --> 00:13:11: children.  
00:13:11 --> 00:13:14: They didn't try very hard to teach them.  
00:13:14 --> 00:13:18: And if only we could raise teacher expectations and force  
00:13:18 --> 00:13:19: them to try hard.  
00:13:19 --> 00:13:22: The differences in achievement between black and white  
children would  
00:13:22 --> 00:13:23: be eliminate.  
00:13:23 --> 00:13:25: It was an absurd ridiculous theory.  
00:13:25 --> 00:13:29: But many who may remember it was an active international  
00:13:29 --> 00:13:29: on 2001.  
00:13:29 --> 00:13:32: We passed the No Child Left Behind Act,  
00:13:32 --> 00:13:36: which required that all children in school be tested every  
00:13:36 --> 00:13:40: year that the schools and teachers be held accountable for  
00:13:40 --> 00:13:41: those test scores.  
00:13:41 --> 00:13:45: And if we only hold teachers in the schools accountable  
00:13:45 --> 00:13:46: for those test scores,



00:13:46 --> 00:13:50: the achievement gap would disappear.

00:13:50 --> 00:13:52: In very short order, in fact.

00:13:52 --> 00:13:53: Well, the columns I wrote,

00:13:53 --> 00:13:55: as I say, denounced that theory.

00:13:55 --> 00:13:59: I remember writing one about asthma.

00:13:59 --> 00:14:03: As you may know. African American children in urban areas

00:14:03 --> 00:14:07: in this country typically have asthma at four times the

00:14:07 --> 00:14:09: rate of middle class children.

00:14:09 --> 00:14:12: They have asthma at four times rate because they live

00:14:12 --> 00:14:13: in more polluted neighborhoods.

00:14:13 --> 00:14:16: More diesel trucks driving through their neighborhoods,

00:14:16 --> 00:14:20: more dilapidated homes, more vermin in the environment.

00:14:20 --> 00:14:22: And I tried to explain in this column that if

00:14:22 --> 00:14:24: a child has asthma,

00:14:24 --> 00:14:26: not all children that their child has asthma,

00:14:26 --> 00:14:29: that child is more likely than other children to be

00:14:29 --> 00:14:30: up at night.

00:14:30 --> 00:14:32: We see come to school the next day,

00:14:32 --> 00:14:35: drowsy, maybe sleepless. And I tried to explain if you

00:14:35 --> 00:14:39: have two groups of children who are identical in every

00:14:39 --> 00:14:39: respect,

00:14:39 --> 00:14:42: same racial breakdown, same social economic background,

00:14:42 --> 00:14:45: same family structure, but one group has a higher rate

00:14:45 --> 00:14:47: of asthma than the other.

00:14:47 --> 00:14:50: That groups could have lower average achievement than

00:14:50 --> 00:14:54: matter.

00:14:50 --> 00:14:54: How high teacher expectations are teachers can expect

00:14:54 --> 00:14:56: children to

00:14:54 --> 00:14:56: be wide awake if they come to school drowsy from

00:14:56 --> 00:14:57: asthma,

00:14:57 --> 00:14:59: and there are so many of these conditions.

00:14:59 --> 00:15:01: I'm not going to go into the obviously now,

00:15:01 --> 00:15:03: that's not what this talk is about,

00:15:03 --> 00:15:06: but asthma lead poisoning. Homelessness,

00:15:06 --> 00:15:10: economic insecurity. You take those conditions altogether

00:15:10 --> 00:15:14: and they pretty

00:15:10 --> 00:15:14: much explain the achievement gap that we have today,

00:15:14 --> 00:15:15: and that is really immovable.

00:15:15 --> 00:15:17: But for the most part,

00:15:17 --> 00:15:19: between black and white children,

00:15:19 --> 00:15:21: well, I soon came to realize this one thing.

00:15:21 --> 00:15:24: If a child has has asthma or lead poisoning or

00:15:24 --> 00:15:25: homelessness,

00:15:25 --> 00:15:28: or economic insecurity, it's another thing entirely.

00:15:28 --> 00:15:31: If you have a school where all children have either

00:15:31 --> 00:15:33: asthma with lead poisoning or homelessness,

00:15:33 --> 00:15:37: or economic insecurity, how can a school like that every

00:15:37 --> 00:15:38: be expected?

00:15:38 --> 00:15:40: To achieve at the same level of a school where

00:15:41 --> 00:15:43: children come to school well rested in good health,

00:15:43 --> 00:15:47: well nourished, insecure homes, you can't have that

00:15:47 --> 00:15:49: expectation,

00:15:49 --> 00:15:53: no matter how many laws you right.

00:15:53 --> 00:15:56: Requiring it. Well, we call those schools segregated schools

00:15:56 --> 00:15:58: where

00:15:58 --> 00:16:00: we concentrate children like that and the reality is that

00:16:00 --> 00:16:03: schools today are more segregated.

00:16:03 --> 00:16:06: They happen anytime in the last 50 years in this

00:16:06 --> 00:16:09: country and the reason the more segregated is because the

00:16:09 --> 00:16:10: neighborhoods in which they located the segregated.

00:16:10 --> 00:16:12: So I began to think that perhaps neighborhood segregation

00:16:12 --> 00:16:14: was

00:16:14 --> 00:16:17: an educational problem.

00:16:17 --> 00:16:19: That's how it came to this topic.

00:16:19 --> 00:16:23: As they say, I was not a planner.

00:16:23 --> 00:16:25: I was not a housing expert.

00:16:25 --> 00:16:29: Well, as an education policy analyst in 2007,

00:16:29 --> 00:16:32: I read the Supreme Court decision.

00:16:32 --> 00:16:35: Involved two school districts. Louisville,

00:16:35 --> 00:16:38: Ky and Seattle, WA. Both of those districts have

00:16:38 --> 00:16:40: implemented

00:16:40 --> 00:16:43: the very token desegregation plan,

00:16:43 --> 00:16:46: trying to address the problems I've just described.

00:16:46 --> 00:16:50: The plan gave parents the choice of which school their

00:16:50 --> 00:16:52: child with attend.

00:16:52 --> 00:16:55: But if the choice was going to further exacerbate segregation,

00:16:55 --> 00:16:57: that choice wouldn't be honored in the favor of the

00:16:57 --> 00:17:00: choice of parents whose choice would not exacerbate

00:17:00 --> 00:17:03: segregation.

00:17:03 --> 00:17:06: So if you had an all white and mostly white

00:17:06 --> 00:17:09: school,

00:17:09 --> 00:17:12: you had one place left in both the black and

00:17:12 --> 00:17:15: the white child applied for it.

00:17:15 --> 00:17:18: The black child, given slight preference for that last place.

00:17:18 --> 00:17:21: A trivial program. You don't have one place left in

00:17:21 --> 00:17:24: the school in both the black and white child applying

00:17:06 --> 00:17:07: for it very often.

00:17:07 --> 00:17:09: But the Supreme Court examined this case,

00:17:09 --> 00:17:12: denounced the. The plans in both Louisville in Seattle said

00:17:12 --> 00:17:14: they were unconstitutional.

00:17:14 --> 00:17:18: The controlling opinion was written by Chief Justice John Roberts,

00:17:18 --> 00:17:21: just Chief Justice Roberts explained that it's true the schools

00:17:21 --> 00:17:23: in Louisville and Seattle is segregated.

00:17:23 --> 00:17:26: He said the schools are segregated because the neighborhoods in

00:17:27 --> 00:17:28: those cities segregated.

00:17:28 --> 00:17:31: I thought that was a pretty wise observation on the

00:17:31 --> 00:17:32: Chief Justice's part.

00:17:32 --> 00:17:36: And then he explained that the neighborhoods in Louisville in

00:17:36 --> 00:17:37: Seattle,

00:17:37 --> 00:17:40: a segregated defacto, was the term he used because of

00:17:40 --> 00:17:44: private bigotry and economic differences and people self choice and

00:17:44 --> 00:17:47: actions of businesses in the private economy.

00:17:47 --> 00:17:50: And he said, if you have something that was not

00:17:50 --> 00:17:52: created by government,

00:17:52 --> 00:17:56: government is prohibited from taking explicit action to undo it.

00:17:56 --> 00:17:59: Well, I remember that after reading this decision or while

00:17:59 --> 00:18:02: reading this decision that concern one of the districts was

00:18:02 --> 00:18:06: Louisville or remembered reading about something that happened in Louisville,

00:18:06 --> 00:18:08: Ky some years before.

00:18:08 --> 00:18:11: There was a white homeowner in the single family home

00:18:12 --> 00:18:13: in a suburb of Louisville,

00:18:13 --> 00:18:17: an all white suburb called Shively.

00:18:17 --> 00:18:20: He had an African American friend living in the Center

00:18:20 --> 00:18:22: City of Louisville renting an apartment.

00:18:22 --> 00:18:25: The African American friend was a decorated Navy veteran,

00:18:25 --> 00:18:28: had a good job, wife and family wanted to move

00:18:28 --> 00:18:30: to a single family home.

00:18:30 --> 00:18:32: But nobody would sell him one,

00:18:32 --> 00:18:35: so the white home owner in this suburb of Shively

00:18:35 --> 00:18:39: bought a second home and resold it to his African

00:18:39 --> 00:18:40: American friend.

00:18:40 --> 00:18:43: That was the only way he could buy it.

00:18:43 --> 00:18:46: With the African American friend and his wife and daughter

00:18:46 --> 00:18:50: moved into their home and angry mobs surrounded the home,

00:18:50 --> 00:18:53: protected by the police, the mob threw rocks,  
00:18:53 --> 00:18:55: threw rocks through the windows.  
00:18:55 --> 00:18:58: The police made no effort to stop them.  
00:18:58 --> 00:19:00: The mob dynamited and firebombed the home.  
00:19:00 --> 00:19:03: The police made no effort to stop it.  
00:19:03 --> 00:19:05: But when this riot was all over the state of  
00:19:05 --> 00:19:06: Kentucky arrested,  
00:19:06 --> 00:19:09: tried, convicted, and jailed with a 15 year sentence,  
00:19:09 --> 00:19:12: the white homeowner for sedition.  
00:19:12 --> 00:19:15: For having provoked a riot by selling a home in  
00:19:15 --> 00:19:17: a white neighborhood to a black family.  
00:19:17 --> 00:19:18: And I said to myself,  
00:19:18 --> 00:19:22: this doesn't sound to me much like the facto segregation  
00:19:22 --> 00:19:22: if the police,  
00:19:22 --> 00:19:26: the criminal justice system, the courts are being used to  
00:19:26 --> 00:19:30: enforce racial boundaries in the city of Louisville in the  
00:19:30 --> 00:19:32: Metropolitan area of Louisville.  
00:19:32 --> 00:19:36: Perhaps I thought there's something more to the story of  
00:19:36 --> 00:19:39: Louisville than Chief Justice John Roberts new.  
00:19:39 --> 00:19:40: And as I investigated it further,  
00:19:40 --> 00:19:44: I found that there were hundreds and hundreds of cases  
00:19:44 --> 00:19:45: in this country,  
00:19:45 --> 00:19:47: not just in border states like Kentucky,  
00:19:47 --> 00:19:51: but in Philadelphia in New York and Chicago and Detroit  
00:19:51 --> 00:19:53: and San Francisco and Los Angeles.  
00:19:53 --> 00:19:55: Where mobs protected by the police,  
00:19:55 --> 00:19:59: sometimes even organized and instigated by the police.  
00:19:59 --> 00:20:04: Drove African Americans out of homes that they had  
legitimately  
00:20:04 --> 00:20:06: purchased or rented in white neighborhoods.  
00:20:06 --> 00:20:10: Every one of these where the police were involved was  
00:20:10 --> 00:20:11: a civil rights violation.  
00:20:11 --> 00:20:15: An action by government to enforce racial boundaries,  
00:20:15 --> 00:20:19: and was unconstitutional and has never been remedied.  
00:20:19 --> 00:20:21: And then as I looked into it further,  
00:20:21 --> 00:20:23: I found it was not just police.  
00:20:23 --> 00:20:27: Activity that was designed and intended and effectively  
segregated the  
00:20:27 --> 00:20:28: country,  
00:20:28 --> 00:20:30: but there were many, many federal,  
00:20:30 --> 00:20:34: state, and local policy's explicitly racial.  
00:20:34 --> 00:20:38: That give a light to the myth of de facto

00:20:38 --> 00:20:42: segregation designed in force maintain.

00:20:42 --> 00:20:46: Segregation in this country let me in the few minutes

00:20:46 --> 00:20:50: I have this morning describe a few of those.

00:20:50 --> 00:20:54: Activities of federal, state, and local governments all talk particularly

00:20:54 --> 00:20:55: about federal government.

00:20:55 --> 00:20:58: In the mid 20th century were not a suburban country

00:20:58 --> 00:20:59: suburbs.

00:20:59 --> 00:21:01: If anyone lived in the suburbs,

00:21:01 --> 00:21:04: there were affluent people, but it was not the place

00:21:04 --> 00:21:08: for working class or lower middle class families to live.

00:21:08 --> 00:21:10: But in the Post World War Two period,

00:21:10 --> 00:21:13: the federal government began a program.

00:21:13 --> 00:21:16: To suburbanize the entire white working class population that was

00:21:16 --> 00:21:19: previously living in urban areas and move them at the

00:21:19 --> 00:21:21: single family homes in the suburbs.

00:21:21 --> 00:21:24: It was an explicitly racial program.

00:21:24 --> 00:21:27: The most famous of these the is the Levittown,

00:21:27 --> 00:21:28: not the one near you,

00:21:28 --> 00:21:31: but the the one East of New York City.

00:21:31 --> 00:21:34: That was the first one that left it built.

00:21:34 --> 00:21:36: Levittown East of New York City.

00:21:36 --> 00:21:39: 17,000 homes in one place.

00:21:39 --> 00:21:43: William Levitt, the developer, could never have assembled the capital

00:21:43 --> 00:21:46: to build 17,000 homes in one place for which he

00:21:46 --> 00:21:48: had no buyers as yet,

00:21:48 --> 00:21:50: and nobody thought he would have buyers.

00:21:50 --> 00:21:53: We were not, as Isaiah suburban country.

00:21:53 --> 00:21:56: Nobody thought that it would be.

00:21:56 --> 00:21:59: Logical to think that that working class families wanted to

00:21:59 --> 00:22:02: move out of the cities into these suburbs.

00:22:02 --> 00:22:04: The only way that left it could build this development,

00:22:04 --> 00:22:07: and this is true of all the developments he built

00:22:07 --> 00:22:09: as well as suburbs like Shively.

00:22:09 --> 00:22:13: And outside Louisville or suburbs outside the Los Angeles or

00:22:13 --> 00:22:14: San Francisco,

00:22:14 --> 00:22:17: or Chicago or Detroit, or any of the other cities

00:22:17 --> 00:22:18: in this country.

00:22:18 --> 00:22:20: The only way they could be built was by when

00:22:20 --> 00:22:24: developers like Levitt went to the Federal Housing Administration,

00:22:24 --> 00:22:27: submitted their plans for the development.  
00:22:27 --> 00:22:30: The plans had to include the architectural materials they would  
00:22:30 --> 00:22:32: use the design of the homes,  
00:22:32 --> 00:22:34: that, layout of the streets,  
00:22:34 --> 00:22:36: and a commitment never to sell a home to an  
00:22:36 --> 00:22:37: African American,  
00:22:37 --> 00:22:42: without which the Federal Housing Administration would not guarantee its  
00:22:42 --> 00:22:44: bank loans to build the development.  
00:22:44 --> 00:22:49: The Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration and this.  
00:22:49 --> 00:22:53: Also required that the developers place a clause in the  
00:22:53 --> 00:22:57: deed of every home prohibiting resale to African Americans or  
00:22:57 --> 00:23:01: rental to African Americans and those deeds as you know,  
00:23:01 --> 00:23:03: remain in those homes today.  
00:23:03 --> 00:23:07: Many of you live in homes today that whose deeds  
00:23:07 --> 00:23:12: prohibit resale or rental to anything but Caucasians as the  
00:23:12 --> 00:23:13: deeds frequently said.  
00:23:13 --> 00:23:15: With that bank guarantees left,  
00:23:15 --> 00:23:18: it was able to go ahead and build a development.  
00:23:18 --> 00:23:21: This policy was not the action of rogue bureaucrats in  
00:23:21 --> 00:23:23: the Federal Housing Administration.  
00:23:23 --> 00:23:24: It was a written policy.  
00:23:24 --> 00:23:27: The Federal Housing Administration. As many of you know,  
00:23:27 --> 00:23:30: had an underwriting manual at that time.  
00:23:30 --> 00:23:35: Giving guidance to appraisers everywhere about the conditions under which  
00:23:35 --> 00:23:39: they should recommend Federal Bank guarantees for builders who wanted  
00:23:39 --> 00:23:42: to construct subdivisions anywhere in the country.  
00:23:42 --> 00:23:45: The manual not only prohibited the extension of Federal Bank  
00:23:45 --> 00:23:49: guarantees to developers who would sell to African Americans who  
00:23:49 --> 00:23:51: built integrated developments.  
00:23:51 --> 00:23:55: The manual even prohibited in all white development located near  
00:23:55 --> 00:23:57: where African Americans were living,  
00:23:57 --> 00:24:00: because in the words of the manual that would run  
00:24:00 --> 00:24:01: the risk of infiltration.  
00:24:01 --> 00:24:04: I and harmonious racial groups.  
00:24:04 --> 00:24:05: That's what the manual says,

00:24:05 --> 00:24:08: written manual written federal policy manual.  
00:24:08 --> 00:24:11: In my book the Color of Law I have a  
00:24:11 --> 00:24:14: photo of a 6 foot high half mile long concrete  
00:24:14 --> 00:24:17: wall built by a developer in Detroit who had to  
00:24:17 --> 00:24:20: put up that wall to separate his development from a  
00:24:20 --> 00:24:24: nearby African American neighborhood in order to get the  
bank  
00:24:24 --> 00:24:29: guarantee that he was requesting from the Federal Housing  
ministration.  
00:24:29 --> 00:24:34: And with that wall he got the bank guarantee.  
00:24:34 --> 00:24:36: That's how we came to be suburbanized.  
00:24:36 --> 00:24:39: That's how a white noose got to be created around  
00:24:39 --> 00:24:41: every Metropolitan area in this country.  
00:24:41 --> 00:24:44: Let me give you another example of a federal policy  
00:24:45 --> 00:24:45: that created,  
00:24:45 --> 00:24:51: sustained and perpetuated the segregation earlier than this  
Post World  
00:24:51 --> 00:24:52: War Two.  
00:24:52 --> 00:24:55: Suburbanization policy  
00:24:55 --> 00:24:58: public housing something we all misunderstand.  
00:24:58 --> 00:25:01: Even experts like you, I know don't know its history  
00:25:01 --> 00:25:03: for the most part.  
00:25:03 --> 00:25:06: Public housing we think of is something for poor people.  
00:25:06 --> 00:25:09: Lots of single mothers with children.  
00:25:09 --> 00:25:12: Lots of young men without jobs in the formal economy  
00:25:12 --> 00:25:14: deteriorated buildings.  
00:25:14 --> 00:25:19: Lots of police activity. That's not how public housing began  
00:25:19 --> 00:25:20: in this country.  
00:25:20 --> 00:25:23: Public housing began in this country,  
00:25:23 --> 00:25:25: excuse me.  
00:25:25 --> 00:25:28: Public housing began in this country as a program not  
00:25:28 --> 00:25:29: for poor people,  
00:25:29 --> 00:25:31: but for working class families.  
00:25:31 --> 00:25:35: Lower middle class families, people who had jobs in the  
00:25:35 --> 00:25:39: depression in the New Deal in the Roosevelt administration.  
00:25:39 --> 00:25:41: But who could not find housing?  
00:25:41 --> 00:25:46: We have because simply. There was so little construction  
being  
00:25:46 --> 00:25:46: done.  
00:25:46 --> 00:25:47: Excuse me, I'm sorry.  
00:25:51 --> 00:25:54: Because there was so little construction being done during  
the  
00:25:55 --> 00:25:55: depression.

00:25:58 --> 00:26:01: We had a high unemployment rate at that time.  
00:26:01 --> 00:26:04: 25% unemployed public housing was not for that 25%.  
00:26:04 --> 00:26:05: It was for the 75%  
00:26:05 --> 00:26:09: who had good jobs. Stable incomes could afford to pay  
00:26:09 --> 00:26:11: the full rent in public housing.  
00:26:11 --> 00:26:15: It wasn't subsidized. The Public Works administration.  
00:26:15 --> 00:26:18: The first New Deal agency of the Roosevelt administration,  
00:26:18 --> 00:26:21: built the first civilian public housing in this country,  
00:26:21 --> 00:26:24: and everywhere it built it segregated it frequently,  
00:26:24 --> 00:26:29: frequently creating segregation where it hadn't previously  
existed.  
00:26:29 --> 00:26:34: The great African American poet novelist playwright  
Langston Hughes.  
00:26:34 --> 00:26:37: Describes in his autobiography how he grew up in an  
00:26:37 --> 00:26:40: integrated Cleveland neighborhood.  
00:26:40 --> 00:26:43: This was unusual in the mid 20th century,  
00:26:43 --> 00:26:45: early 20th century, he said.  
00:26:45 --> 00:26:48: In high school, his best friend was Polish.  
00:26:48 --> 00:26:49: He dated the Jewish girl,  
00:26:49 --> 00:26:53: not surprising if he lived in an integrated neighborhood and  
00:26:53 --> 00:26:55: went to an integrated high school.  
00:26:55 --> 00:26:58: The reason that we had so much integration in the  
00:26:58 --> 00:27:02: mid 20th century and early 20th century in working class  
00:27:02 --> 00:27:06: neighborhoods was we were manufacturing economy and  
factories had to  
00:27:06 --> 00:27:10: be located in the single concentrated area near deep water  
00:27:10 --> 00:27:12: port or a railroad terminal.  
00:27:12 --> 00:27:14: In order to get their parts and ship their final  
00:27:14 --> 00:27:15: products.  
00:27:15 --> 00:27:18: And if you had a factory district that was employing  
00:27:18 --> 00:27:19: both black and white workers,  
00:27:19 --> 00:27:22: they all had to live close enough to be able  
00:27:22 --> 00:27:23: to walk to work.  
00:27:23 --> 00:27:25: Maybe take short streetcar rides,  
00:27:25 --> 00:27:29: but they certainly didn't have automobiles to work and so  
00:27:29 --> 00:27:33: you had integrated downtown neighborhoods in that  
Cleveland neighborhood where  
00:27:33 --> 00:27:36: Langston Hughes grew up the Public Works,  
00:27:36 --> 00:27:40: Administration, demolished integrated housing and built two  
separate projects,  
00:27:40 --> 00:27:43: one for whites, one for African Americans,  
00:27:43 --> 00:27:46: creating a pattern of segregation in Cleveland with that,  
00:27:46 --> 00:27:50: and with other projects elsewhere in Cleveland that the



created,  
00:27:50 --> 00:27:52: sustained and reinforced the pattern.  
00:27:52 --> 00:27:56: The segregation that exists to this day.  
00:27:56 --> 00:27:58: In my book, I like to talk about the self  
00:27:59 --> 00:27:59: satisfied,  
00:27:59 --> 00:28:03: smug places that think they're better than everybody else.  
00:28:03 --> 00:28:04: Some of you live in some of them.  
00:28:04 --> 00:28:08: Cambridge, MA for example. You've probably heard of it.  
00:28:08 --> 00:28:11: The area between Harvard and MIT in the 1930s was  
00:28:11 --> 00:28:15: a fully integrated neighborhood called the Central Square  
Neighborhood Public  
00:28:15 --> 00:28:16: Works Administration.  
00:28:16 --> 00:28:20: Demolished housing there to build 2 separate projects,  
00:28:20 --> 00:28:21: one for whites, one for Blacks,  
00:28:21 --> 00:28:25: creating with that and other projects in the Boston  
Metropolitan  
00:28:25 --> 00:28:26: area.  
00:28:26 --> 00:28:29: Apparently segregation that hadn't previously existed.  
00:28:29 --> 00:28:34: During World War Two. The federal government's efforts to  
create  
00:28:34 --> 00:28:39: segregation intensified hundreds of thousands of workers  
flocked the centers  
00:28:39 --> 00:28:43: of war production to take jobs in the war industries.  
00:28:43 --> 00:28:45: Jobs hadn't existed during the depression.  
00:28:45 --> 00:28:49: If the government wanted the tanks and the ships and  
00:28:50 --> 00:28:52: the aircraft carriers to be produced.  
00:28:52 --> 00:28:55: It had to provide housing for these workers and it  
00:28:55 --> 00:28:57: did always on the segregated basis,  
00:28:57 --> 00:29:02: creating separate projects for African Americans and whites.  
00:29:02 --> 00:29:04: Workers who are in the same defense plant,  
00:29:04 --> 00:29:08: same war plants but having to live separately everywhere  
where  
00:29:08 --> 00:29:11: a war production facility existed throughout this country.  
00:29:11 --> 00:29:15: This was the primary cause of segregation on the West  
00:29:15 --> 00:29:15: Coast.  
00:29:15 --> 00:29:18: Because of some of you may know from from reading  
00:29:19 --> 00:29:22: the history and historians divide up the migration of African  
00:29:22 --> 00:29:26: Americans out of a former slave holding states into the  
00:29:26 --> 00:29:29: rest of the country into two big periods.  
00:29:29 --> 00:29:32: The first migration that took place.  
00:29:32 --> 00:29:35: Largely to take jobs and munitions factories in World War  
00:29:35 --> 00:29:38: One and the second Great Migration that took place during  
00:29:38 --> 00:29:40: World War Two as I just described.

00:29:40 --> 00:29:43: There were very few African Americans on the West Coast  
00:29:43 --> 00:29:44: before World War Two,  
00:29:44 --> 00:29:47: before the 2nd Great Migration.  
00:29:47 --> 00:29:51: There were no existing patterns to speak of racial  
segregation  
00:29:51 --> 00:29:52: in West Coast cities.  
00:29:52 --> 00:29:56: So when the federal government built housing for war  
workers  
00:29:56 --> 00:29:59: during World War Two in Portland and Seattle and San  
00:29:59 --> 00:30:01: Francisco and Los Angeles,  
00:30:01 --> 00:30:04: it was creating segregation for the first time,  
00:30:04 --> 00:30:06: creating a pattern that exists to this day,  
00:30:06 --> 00:30:09: and that otherwise would not have existed if workers in  
00:30:10 --> 00:30:12: the same war plants could have lived in the same  
00:30:12 --> 00:30:14: communities in San Francisco,  
00:30:14 --> 00:30:18: for example, the federal government built 5 projects.  
00:30:18 --> 00:30:21: Four for whites only, one for African Americans,  
00:30:21 --> 00:30:24: creating that pattern that I say still exist to this  
00:30:24 --> 00:30:26: day throughout the West Coast.  
00:30:30 --> 00:30:34: After the public housing after World War Two and the  
00:30:34 --> 00:30:38: public housing that was built during the depression and the  
00:30:38 --> 00:30:40: war after World War Two,  
00:30:40 --> 00:30:42: we had another housing crisis,  
00:30:42 --> 00:30:48: affordability crisis, homelessness crisis. As millions of  
returning war veterans  
00:30:48 --> 00:30:52: returned to the country with jobs in the Post War  
00:30:52 --> 00:30:53: economy.  
00:30:53 --> 00:30:56: But needing housing, no housing had been built,  
00:30:56 --> 00:31:00: except for those few public projects for working class families  
00:31:00 --> 00:31:04: during the depression and during World War Two was illegal  
00:31:04 --> 00:31:08: to use construction materials for civilian purposes except for  
war  
00:31:08 --> 00:31:11: workers housing. And then, as I say,  
00:31:11 --> 00:31:14: the returning war veterans added to the problem by coming  
00:31:14 --> 00:31:16: home and needing housing.  
00:31:16 --> 00:31:19: President Truman had to address this housing crisis,  
00:31:19 --> 00:31:22: and he did. He proposed a vast expansion of the  
00:31:22 --> 00:31:26: National Public Housing program and Remember we're  
talking about pro  
00:31:26 --> 00:31:29: housing for working class families who had jobs.  
00:31:29 --> 00:31:32: Public housing at that time was the most desirable housing  
00:31:32 --> 00:31:32: available.  
00:31:32 --> 00:31:35: It was not for poor people are very few people

00:31:35 --> 00:31:36: allowed into public housing.

00:31:36 --> 00:31:39: These were people paying the full cost of the housing

00:31:39 --> 00:31:40: in their rents.

00:31:40 --> 00:31:44: President Truman proposed a vast expansion of this public housing

00:31:44 --> 00:31:46: program to take care of the housing needs of returning

00:31:46 --> 00:31:48: war veterans and their families,

00:31:48 --> 00:31:50: the baby boom.

00:31:50 --> 00:31:55: And Conservatives in Congress wanted to defeat the National Public

00:31:55 --> 00:31:57: Housing program expansion.

00:31:57 --> 00:32:00: The Truman proposed they wanted to defeat it,

00:32:00 --> 00:32:03: not for racial reasons.

00:32:03 --> 00:32:06: That wasn't the reason, it was always segregated and they

00:32:06 --> 00:32:08: didn't object to that they didn't want it to feel

00:32:08 --> 00:32:10: this day in like poor people as they say,

00:32:10 --> 00:32:12: poor people weren't allowed in public housing.

00:32:12 --> 00:32:15: They just thought that public housing was socialistic.

00:32:15 --> 00:32:18: The private sector should take care of the housing needs

00:32:18 --> 00:32:19: of returning board veterans,

00:32:19 --> 00:32:22: not that the private sector was doing so anymore than

00:32:22 --> 00:32:25: the private sector is taking care of the needs of

00:32:25 --> 00:32:27: working class families today.

00:32:27 --> 00:32:29: But they came up with a device to try to

00:32:29 --> 00:32:30: defeat that Bill,

00:32:30 --> 00:32:33: called the which we refer to as a poison pill

00:32:33 --> 00:32:34: strategy.

00:32:34 --> 00:32:39: A poison pill strategy in Congress is 1 where opponents

00:32:39 --> 00:32:40: of a bill.

00:32:40 --> 00:32:42: Propose an amendment that they think can gain a majority,

00:32:42 --> 00:32:45: but when the amendment is attached to the bill and

00:32:45 --> 00:32:47: the full amended bill comes up on the floor of

00:32:48 --> 00:32:49: the House and Senate,

00:32:49 --> 00:32:51: a different majority then finds the bill.

00:32:51 --> 00:32:53: Unpalatable. Because of an amendment.

00:32:53 --> 00:32:57: So Conservatives in Congress proposed an amendment along the following

00:32:57 --> 00:32:58: lines.

00:32:58 --> 00:32:59: They said from now on,

00:32:59 --> 00:33:02: public housing has to be nondiscriminatory.

00:33:02 --> 00:33:04: No more racial discrimination in public housing.

00:33:04 --> 00:33:09: It was, of course, a cynical proposal then on public

00:33:09 --> 00:33:10: housing at all.

00:33:10 --> 00:33:12: They plan to vote for the amendment,  
00:33:12 --> 00:33:16: though they thought they would be joined by North and  
00:33:16 --> 00:33:20: Liberals who were in favor of nondiscrimination in public housing.  
00:33:20 --> 00:33:23: That would create a majority for the amendment and then  
00:33:23 --> 00:33:25: when the full bill came up on the floor of  
00:33:25 --> 00:33:26: Congress,  
00:33:26 --> 00:33:29: the Conservatives would flip and vote against the final bill.  
00:33:29 --> 00:33:32: They would be joined by Southern Democrats who were all  
00:33:32 --> 00:33:35: in favor of segregated public housing but not non segregated  
00:33:35 --> 00:33:35: public housing.  
00:33:35 --> 00:33:38: And the bill will get down to the defeat.  
00:33:38 --> 00:33:42: So liberals had a very difficult choice to make.  
00:33:42 --> 00:33:47: Were they going to support the non discrimination bill as  
00:33:47 --> 00:33:48: they?  
00:33:48 --> 00:33:51: Wanted to do. But ensuring that no public housing would  
00:33:51 --> 00:33:54: be built that they would not do anything to redress  
00:33:54 --> 00:33:56: the housing crisis.  
00:33:56 --> 00:33:58: Or would they oppose the amendment?  
00:33:58 --> 00:34:01: The non discrimination amendment of in order to ensure that  
00:34:01 --> 00:34:04: more public housing would be built well,  
00:34:04 --> 00:34:05: they chose the latter course.  
00:34:05 --> 00:34:07: It was a difficult decision.  
00:34:07 --> 00:34:11: I'm not the minimizing the difficulty of the choice they  
00:34:11 --> 00:34:11: faced.  
00:34:11 --> 00:34:15: But it's the same choice we face today.  
00:34:15 --> 00:34:18: They decided no to ensure the creation of more housing  
00:34:18 --> 00:34:20: for working class families.  
00:34:20 --> 00:34:24: They would oppose nondiscrimination in public housing  
leading liberal in  
00:34:25 --> 00:34:28: the center at that time was Senator Paul Douglas.  
00:34:28 --> 00:34:30: He got up on the floor of the Senate,  
00:34:30 --> 00:34:32: made a speech along the following lines,  
00:34:32 --> 00:34:34: he said, I want to say to my knee,  
00:34:34 --> 00:34:36: grow friends.  
00:34:36 --> 00:34:38: That you'll be better off.  
00:34:38 --> 00:34:43: If the non segregation amendment is defeated then you will  
00:34:43 --> 00:34:46: be if that amendment is passed and you get no  
00:34:46 --> 00:34:47: housing at all.  
00:34:47 --> 00:34:51: Well. I don't think we would have been better off  
00:34:51 --> 00:34:54: as a result of the vast expansion that took place  
00:34:54 --> 00:34:58: under that the 1949 Housing Act on the segregated basis.

00:34:58 --> 00:35:01: The federal government, for example,  
00:35:01 --> 00:35:05: used that vote in Congress against the Non Discrimination  
Amendment  
00:35:05 --> 00:35:10: to justify its continued segregation of all Federal Housing  
programs,  
00:35:10 --> 00:35:14: not just public housing, for the next 15 years.  
00:35:14 --> 00:35:17: Under that program, we have the giant towers that were  
00:35:17 --> 00:35:19: built all across the country of Pruitt Igoe,  
00:35:19 --> 00:35:21: for example, in Saint Louis.  
00:35:21 --> 00:35:24: The most famous of, but in Philadelphia in Chicago,  
00:35:24 --> 00:35:26: that Robert Taylor Homes Cabrini Green at,  
00:35:26 --> 00:35:29: which allows written about.  
00:35:29 --> 00:35:32: Soon after this fast expansion of public housing on a  
00:35:32 --> 00:35:34: continued segregated basis,  
00:35:34 --> 00:35:37: a development occur that was quite surprising.  
00:35:37 --> 00:35:40: The planners like yourselves to housing experts.  
00:35:40 --> 00:35:44: All the white projects developed large numbers of vacancies.  
00:35:44 --> 00:35:47: All the black projects have long waiting lists.  
00:35:47 --> 00:35:50: Pretty soon the situation became so conspicuously.  
00:35:50 --> 00:35:51: Even the most big of it.  
00:35:51 --> 00:35:56: Public housing official. Could no longer justify having half  
empty  
00:35:56 --> 00:35:59: projects and long waiting lists for others,  
00:35:59 --> 00:36:04: so all the projects became open to African Americans.  
00:36:04 --> 00:36:08: Pretty soon another development of curd that was surprising  
and  
00:36:08 --> 00:36:12: that was all of the jobs on which the African  
00:36:12 --> 00:36:16: Americans who are now predominantly living in urban areas  
as  
00:36:16 --> 00:36:21: whites left all the jobs in the factories of disappeared.  
00:36:21 --> 00:36:24: Because they no longer needed to be located near deep  
00:36:24 --> 00:36:24: water.  
00:36:24 --> 00:36:27: Ports are railroad terminals. The highways were being built.  
00:36:27 --> 00:36:30: So the residents of public housing became poorer,  
00:36:30 --> 00:36:33: import with no longer access to good industrial jobs.  
00:36:33 --> 00:36:37: Once that happened, the government stopped investing in  
public housing  
00:36:37 --> 00:36:38: becausw it could.  
00:36:38 --> 00:36:41: The residents could no longer pay their rent.  
00:36:41 --> 00:36:42: They had to be subsidized,  
00:36:42 --> 00:36:46: the projects deteriorated and that's how we got the urban  
00:36:46 --> 00:36:49: slums that became public housing in later years.  
00:36:49 --> 00:36:51: That's not how it started.

00:36:51 --> 00:36:56: Why did those white projects develop large numbers of vacancies?

00:36:56 --> 00:37:00: Well, that was because of the program I described before,

00:37:00 --> 00:37:05: where the federal government subsidized the suburbanization of white families

00:37:05 --> 00:37:07: only out of urban areas,

00:37:07 --> 00:37:09: not just in public housing,

00:37:09 --> 00:37:14: but private housing as well and apartments and into single

00:37:14 --> 00:37:17: family home suburbs that exist to this state.

00:37:17 --> 00:37:19: Um?

00:37:19 --> 00:37:22: We know what to do about this.

00:37:22 --> 00:37:24: It it didn't happen accidentally.

00:37:24 --> 00:37:26: De facto segregation is a myth.

00:37:26 --> 00:37:31: It didn't happen accidentally, it won't UN happen on accidentally

00:37:31 --> 00:37:35: segregation that we know in every Metropolitan area in this

00:37:35 --> 00:37:36: country was created,

00:37:36 --> 00:37:41: sustained, supported by public policy and public policy can undo

00:37:41 --> 00:37:41: it,

00:37:41 --> 00:37:45: but it's difficult, so there only or it's more difficult

00:37:45 --> 00:37:49: to undo residential segregation is to undo segregation in buses

00:37:49 --> 00:37:52: so much counters it's going to take a.

00:37:52 --> 00:37:57: Policy is aggressive. And is committed to redress segregation as

00:37:57 --> 00:37:59: it was to create it.

00:37:59 --> 00:38:02: For example, I will give you an example of a

00:38:02 --> 00:38:07: very narrowly targeted constitutional remedy for those policies of the

00:38:07 --> 00:38:11: federal government followed in the mid 20th century,

00:38:11 --> 00:38:13: to suburbanize the white population.

00:38:13 --> 00:38:16: Those homes in those suburbs.

00:38:16 --> 00:38:21: Levittown East in New York City Levittown outside Philadelphia suburbs

00:38:21 --> 00:38:23: in every Metropolitan area,

00:38:23 --> 00:38:27: this country were were created at the time for working

00:38:27 --> 00:38:30: class families and say they were inexpensive.

00:38:30 --> 00:38:34: The first levittown's were about 750 square feet.

00:38:34 --> 00:38:37: Modest homes. They sold at the time for about \$8000,

00:38:37 --> 00:38:39: nine, \$1000 in today's money,

00:38:39 --> 00:38:42: that's about. Oh, ninety \$200,000.

00:38:42 --> 00:38:46: There were four. The bull at the time for working

00:38:46 --> 00:38:50: class families returning war veterans of either race black or

00:38:50 --> 00:38:50: white.

00:38:50 --> 00:38:54: In fact, the returning black veterans could get VA mortgages

00:38:54 --> 00:38:58: which required No Down Payment for homes costing \$100,000,

00:38:58 --> 00:39:00: about twice median national income.

00:39:00 --> 00:39:03: Any war veteran with a job in the Post War

00:39:03 --> 00:39:06: economy black or white code before those homes,

00:39:06 --> 00:39:08: only whites were permitted.

00:39:08 --> 00:39:10: Over the next couple of generations,

00:39:10 --> 00:39:15: though, those whites gained equity as those homes appreciating the

00:39:15 --> 00:39:15: value.

00:39:15 --> 00:39:18: Homes in Levittown no longer sell for \$100,000 as you

00:39:18 --> 00:39:21: know or in any of the other suburbs that were

00:39:21 --> 00:39:25: created by the Federal Housing Administration and Veterans Administration.

00:39:25 --> 00:39:29: They now sell for 304 hundred \$500,000 depending on the

00:39:29 --> 00:39:30: area of the country.

00:39:30 --> 00:39:33: In some places, \$1,000,000.

00:39:33 --> 00:39:35: Of the white families who owned those homes,

00:39:35 --> 00:39:37: working class families became middle classes.

00:39:37 --> 00:39:41: They gained wealth from the equity appreciation in their homes.

00:39:41 --> 00:39:43: They use that wealth too.

00:39:43 --> 00:39:45: Send their children to college.

00:39:45 --> 00:39:48: They use that wealth to take care of perhaps emergencies.

00:39:48 --> 00:39:49: So if you have wealth,

00:39:49 --> 00:39:51: you can weather temporary unemployment.

00:39:51 --> 00:39:53: If you don't have wealth,

00:39:53 --> 00:39:55: temporary unemployment pushes you down.

00:39:55 --> 00:39:59: The social economic scale. They use that wealth to finance

00:39:59 --> 00:40:02: their retirements and they use that wealth to make the

00:40:02 --> 00:40:05: quest to their children and grandchildren,

00:40:05 --> 00:40:07: who then had down payments for their own homes.

00:40:07 --> 00:40:11: African Americans gain no such wealth from this federal policy,

00:40:11 --> 00:40:13: and the result is that today,

00:40:13 --> 00:40:16: while African American incomes, family incomes,

00:40:16 --> 00:40:17: on average or about 60%

00:40:17 --> 00:40:21: of white incomes, African American wealth is about.

00:40:21 --> 00:40:25: 5% of white wealth today and that enormous disparity between

00:40:25 --> 00:40:26: the 60%

00:40:26 --> 00:40:27: income ratio and the 5%

00:40:27 --> 00:40:33: wealth ratio is entirely attributable to unconstitutional Federal Housing policy

00:40:33 --> 00:40:36: that was practiced in the mid 20th century.

00:40:36 --> 00:40:39: That's never been remedied. Well,

00:40:39 --> 00:40:43: the remedy is obvious. We need an affirmative action program

00:40:43 --> 00:40:44: in housing.

00:40:44 --> 00:40:48: The federal government should be purchasing at market rates.

00:40:48 --> 00:40:50: The homes that come up for sale now,

00:40:50 --> 00:40:54: often few homes that come up for sale in Levittown

00:40:54 --> 00:40:57: and other suburbs like this and resell them to African

00:40:57 --> 00:41:00: Americans at something like \$100,000.

00:41:00 --> 00:41:04: The cost that their ancestors would have paid in today's

00:41:04 --> 00:41:07: dollars in order to live in a single family home.

00:41:07 --> 00:41:11: Suburbs Levittown for example. Now as a result of the

00:41:11 --> 00:41:13: Fair Housing Act which prohibits.

00:41:13 --> 00:41:18: Future discrimination has an African American population of about 2%.

00:41:18 --> 00:41:22: In a broader area, brother community that has an African

00:41:22 --> 00:41:23: American population,

00:41:23 --> 00:41:26: about 15%. That difference between 2%

00:41:26 --> 00:41:30: of 15% is the segregation that still exists today that's

00:41:30 --> 00:41:35: attributable to unconstitutional Federal Housing policy that we need to

00:41:35 --> 00:41:36: remedy,

00:41:36 --> 00:41:40: and the private sector should be contributing to these subsidies

00:41:40 --> 00:41:43: for formative action program as well.

00:41:43 --> 00:41:47: It contributed as well as the federal government to these

00:41:47 --> 00:41:50: policies at the lower end of the income scale,

00:41:50 --> 00:41:55: we have obvious remedies, so that also should be implemented.

00:41:55 --> 00:41:57: The biggest, as you know,

00:41:57 --> 00:42:00: the biggest federal program to subsidize the housing of low

00:42:01 --> 00:42:06: income families who are disproportionately minority African American and Hispanic.

00:42:06 --> 00:42:09: Is the low income housing tax credit program that low

00:42:09 --> 00:42:12: income housing tax credit program is run by the Treasury

00:42:12 --> 00:42:13: Department,

00:42:13 --> 00:42:16: whose regulations for the program place a priority in placing

00:42:17 --> 00:42:21: more low income housing and existing low income neighborhoods?



00:42:21 --> 00:42:23: That reinforces segregation. That's crazy.  
00:42:23 --> 00:42:25: We should be reversing that priority.  
00:42:25 --> 00:42:28: Not that we shouldn't place more affordable housing and low  
00:42:29 --> 00:42:30: income neighborhoods.  
00:42:30 --> 00:42:32: We shortly should be placing more of it in high  
00:42:32 --> 00:42:36: opportunity places where families have access to better jobs,  
00:42:36 --> 00:42:39: to transportation to grocery stores that sell healthy food to  
00:42:39 --> 00:42:41: healthy air in the environment.  
00:42:44 --> 00:42:48: There are few communities that have started to place some  
00:42:48 --> 00:42:54: low income housing tax credit developments in higher  
opportunity places,  
00:42:54 --> 00:42:58: but most of those higher opportunity places maintain zoning  
laws  
00:42:58 --> 00:43:02: that you are industry helped to design that restrict the  
00:43:02 --> 00:43:06: communities to single family homes only often on large lot  
00:43:06 --> 00:43:11: sizes where you can't build apartments or townhouses or  
duplexes  
00:43:11 --> 00:43:12: that could house.  
00:43:12 --> 00:43:16: People who work in those communities but can't afford to  
00:43:16 --> 00:43:17: live in them.  
00:43:17 --> 00:43:22: The. Other big program that the federal government operates  
to  
00:43:22 --> 00:43:26: subsidize the housing of low income families is the Section  
00:43:26 --> 00:43:33: 8 program housing choice voucher program that also  
disproportionately reinforces  
00:43:33 --> 00:43:36: segregation. Because the.  
00:43:36 --> 00:43:40: Zoning ordinances prohibit the construction of apartments  
that would be  
00:43:40 --> 00:43:43: accessible to a Section 8 voucher holders.  
00:43:43 --> 00:43:47: The design of the program doesn't provide the sufficient  
subsidies  
00:43:47 --> 00:43:49: to move into higher opportunity.  
00:43:49 --> 00:43:54: More expensive neighborhoods, only sufficient to move into  
lower opportunity  
00:43:54 --> 00:43:56: of lower income neighborhoods.  
00:43:56 --> 00:43:59: That program also reinforced the segregation.  
00:43:59 --> 00:44:03: In fact, we're making the same choice that Senator Douglas  
00:44:03 --> 00:44:04: made in 1949.  
00:44:04 --> 00:44:09: We're building housing for minority families in places where  
it's  
00:44:09 --> 00:44:10: easiest to build.  
00:44:10 --> 00:44:13: And giving up the imperative to do it on a  
00:44:13 --> 00:44:16: non segregated basis in order to build more fit than  
00:44:17 --> 00:44:17: it's easiest.

00:44:17 --> 00:44:21: We're not going to change these priorities in this country  
00:44:22 --> 00:44:25: unless we have a new civil rights movement that's as  
00:44:25 --> 00:44:27: aggressive as militant,  
00:44:27 --> 00:44:31: as determined as the civil rights movement of was in  
00:44:31 --> 00:44:31: the 1960s.  
00:44:31 --> 00:44:34: It has to begin at a local level.  
00:44:34 --> 00:44:38: It can simply begin with national policy because there's no  
00:44:38 --> 00:44:42: political support for the kinds of aggressive national policy's.  
00:44:42 --> 00:44:45: The necessary to desegregate the society.  
00:44:45 --> 00:44:49: But if that civil rights movement emerges.  
00:44:49 --> 00:44:52: If you, I hope, become part of it along with  
00:44:52 --> 00:44:54: millions of other Americans.  
00:44:54 --> 00:44:57: If the Black Lives matter movement.  
00:44:57 --> 00:45:02: Evolves into one that really takes seriously the racial  
segregation  
00:45:02 --> 00:45:04: of our housing policy in this country.  
00:45:04 --> 00:45:08: Then I'm hopeful that we can begin finally to take  
00:45:08 --> 00:45:12: upon ourselves the constitutional obligation to undo the civil  
rights  
00:45:12 --> 00:45:16: violations and housing that created the apartheid system that  
we  
00:45:16 --> 00:45:19: have today. I want to thank you very much for  
00:45:20 --> 00:45:21: your attention,  
00:45:21 --> 00:45:24: and I look forward to the discussion that's going to  
00:45:24 --> 00:45:25: follow.  
00:45:25 --> 00:45:25: Thank you.  
00:45:29 --> 00:45:30: Thank you Richard.  
00:45:35 --> 00:45:35: Can  
00:45:41 --> 00:45:43: I see lots of Qs there  
00:45:43 --> 00:45:45: Yes, there's quite a few.  
00:45:45 --> 00:45:48: Thank you that was very informative and I advise everyone  
00:45:48 --> 00:45:51: who's on the webinar and R if they haven't had  
00:45:51 --> 00:45:53: a chance to fully read the book,  
00:45:53 --> 00:45:56: I highly recommend and suggest that you do so.  
00:45:56 --> 00:45:59: There's lots more details that Richard wasn't able to cover  
00:45:59 --> 00:46:01: in his 40 minute presentation,  
00:46:01 --> 00:46:04: which I think you will find very useful.  
00:46:04 --> 00:46:06: But before we get to the questions Richard,  
00:46:06 --> 00:46:09: I just have a I wanted this all the time  
00:46:09 --> 00:46:11: and I'm not sure you will.  
00:46:11 --> 00:46:12: Have an answer per say,  
00:46:12 --> 00:46:15: but I'm curious about your thoughts on this.  
00:46:15 --> 00:46:19: Why? Why?

00:46:19 --> 00:46:22: Why the venom? Why the hatred?  
00:46:22 --> 00:46:28: Why the anger towards people of color or black people?  
00:46:28 --> 00:46:31: To just advance in life because as you mentioned,  
00:46:31 --> 00:46:33: you started off looking in education,  
00:46:33 --> 00:46:36: but this seems to be systemic and hopefully the Black  
00:46:36 --> 00:46:39: Lives movement will get to all of the issues there  
00:46:39 --> 00:46:41: focused on the funding,  
00:46:41 --> 00:46:44: the police now, but you mentioned it's education.  
00:46:44 --> 00:46:47: It's in help. We have a few questions that ascribe  
00:46:47 --> 00:46:48: it to transportation,  
00:46:48 --> 00:46:50: which you also mentioned in your book,  
00:46:50 --> 00:46:53: but add. After all of this,  
00:46:53 --> 00:46:57: at the bottom my question is why?  
00:46:57 --> 00:47:01: Well. You know, we never dealt with the legacy of  
00:47:01 --> 00:47:03: slavery in this country.  
00:47:03 --> 00:47:06: There was an excellent article in the New York Times  
00:47:06 --> 00:47:10: Magazine a couple of weeks ago by Isabel Wilkerson about  
00:47:10 --> 00:47:12: how we really have a caste system.  
00:47:12 --> 00:47:16: That was created in in the period of slavery.  
00:47:16 --> 00:47:20: And you know, once African Americans are put into a  
00:47:20 --> 00:47:22: lower caste first,  
00:47:22 --> 00:47:25: the slaves and the sharecroppers,  
00:47:25 --> 00:47:28: then in the lowest possible jobs.  
00:47:28 --> 00:47:32: The society developed stereotypes based on reality,  
00:47:32 --> 00:47:35: and those stereotypes became become circular.  
00:47:35 --> 00:47:40: People see African Americans in subordinated positions and  
they begin  
00:47:40 --> 00:47:44: to think I'm talking about white people and they begin  
00:47:44 --> 00:47:48: to think that African Americans are subordinated class and  
should  
00:47:48 --> 00:47:52: be treated that way. The other thing I'd say is  
00:47:52 --> 00:47:57: that the the the Democratic Party in the 20th century  
00:47:57 --> 00:47:58: up until.  
00:47:58 --> 00:48:01: 1970s, Nineteen, 80 was a segregationist party.  
00:48:01 --> 00:48:03: I'm not just talking about the South,  
00:48:03 --> 00:48:06: I'm talking about the North.  
00:48:06 --> 00:48:09: In my book, is as you may may remember,  
00:48:09 --> 00:48:13: I talk about how in 1912 the first Democrat from  
00:48:13 --> 00:48:18: the South was elected president after the Civil War.  
00:48:18 --> 00:48:21: Woodrow Wilson. Prior to his election,  
00:48:21 --> 00:48:25: the Federal Civil Service had been an integrated civil service,  
00:48:25 --> 00:48:29: so they've been integrated and grew in the previous  
Republican

00:48:29 --> 00:48:33: administrations of McKinley and Teddy Roosevelt and William Howard Taft.

00:48:33 --> 00:48:38: And Wilson embarked on a program to segregate the federal

00:48:38 --> 00:48:40: Civil Service for the first time.

00:48:40 --> 00:48:44: He, his department's, had to put up curtains in the

00:48:44 --> 00:48:49: Federal Office building separate black and white clerical workers,

00:48:49 --> 00:48:55: African Americans who were supervising whites were fired because that

00:48:55 --> 00:48:57: was no longer permitted.

00:48:57 --> 00:49:02: Separate washing facilities where were separated were created in basements

00:49:02 --> 00:49:05: of federal office buildings for black and for black workers.

00:49:05 --> 00:49:10: Well, the biggest Federal Department of that time in Washington

00:49:10 --> 00:49:12: was the Navy Department.

00:49:12 --> 00:49:14: The one of the biggest Navy Department,

00:49:14 --> 00:49:20: the official responsible for segregating Navy Department was the Assistant

00:49:20 --> 00:49:22: Secretary of the Navy.

00:49:22 --> 00:49:25: His name was Franklin Roosevelt.

00:49:25 --> 00:49:29: And I'm not suggesting that Franklin Roosevelt like the policy.

00:49:29 --> 00:49:33: Maybe that maybe didn't. He certainly didn't oppose it.

00:49:33 --> 00:49:37: And this was the assumption of of normal behavior that

00:49:37 --> 00:49:39: he took into office with him.

00:49:39 --> 00:49:45: It was not just Southern Democrats who insisted on segregation.

00:49:45 --> 00:49:49: It was North and Democrats as well the.

00:49:49 --> 00:49:54: Roosevelt, I'll give you this example of Roosevelt was surrounded

00:49:55 --> 00:49:59: by advisers who were built in segregationists,

00:49:59 --> 00:50:04: the his chief domestic advisor during the New Deal was

00:50:04 --> 00:50:06: a senator from South Carolina.

00:50:06 --> 00:50:10: Jimmy Burns James F Byrnes.

00:50:10 --> 00:50:14: Burns was the leading was the leader of the movement

00:50:14 --> 00:50:17: in the Senate to defeat the only civil rights bill

00:50:17 --> 00:50:20: that came before the Senate in 1930s,

00:50:20 --> 00:50:24: or the bill that prohibited lynching.

00:50:24 --> 00:50:28: Send the Burns Roosevelt's closest advisor the press frequently refer

00:50:28 --> 00:50:29: to him as Mr.

00:50:29 --> 00:50:33: Assistant president. Senator Burns got up on the floor of

00:50:33 --> 00:50:36: the Senate and they said that mention was necessary to

00:50:36 --> 00:50:40: keep black men from raping white women that didn't inhibit  
00:50:40 --> 00:50:45: the Roosevelt from then appointing Jimmy Burns to the  
Supreme  
00:50:45 --> 00:50:46: Court.  
00:50:46 --> 00:50:47: And during World War Two,  
00:50:47 --> 00:50:50: he was such a close adviser to Roosevelt the estimate  
00:50:50 --> 00:50:53: to leave the Supreme Court and won the domestic economy,  
00:50:53 --> 00:50:56: which he did. And then he later became a governor  
00:50:56 --> 00:50:59: of South Carolina and leader of massive resistance to the  
00:50:59 --> 00:51:02: Brown for support of education decision.  
00:51:02 --> 00:51:05: So this was the Democratic Party at the time.  
00:51:05 --> 00:51:06: Let me say this though,  
00:51:06 --> 00:51:08: and this is not exact.  
00:51:08 --> 00:51:11: This doesn't have to do with your question,  
00:51:11 --> 00:51:13: but it's something we need to remember.  
00:51:13 --> 00:51:17: You know, African Americans voted largely for Herbert  
Hoover in  
00:51:17 --> 00:51:18: 1932.  
00:51:18 --> 00:51:21: They did not vote for Roosevelt because of those stance  
00:51:22 --> 00:51:24: of Democratic Party at that time.  
00:51:24 --> 00:51:27: And because the Republicans were the Party of Lincoln.  
00:51:27 --> 00:51:31: By 1936, when Roosevelt came up for reelection,  
00:51:31 --> 00:51:33: they entirely flipped.  
00:51:33 --> 00:51:37: From Republican to Democrat and the reason they flipped  
was  
00:51:37 --> 00:51:41: that the federal government had never given any benefits to  
00:51:42 --> 00:51:44: African Americans prior to the New Deal.  
00:51:44 --> 00:51:50: So African Americans experienced public housing on a  
segregated basis.  
00:51:50 --> 00:51:55: They experience jobs in the Works Progress Administration  
in federal  
00:51:55 --> 00:52:00: work crews during the first term of the Roosevelt  
administration.  
00:52:00 --> 00:52:03: It was always on the segregated basis.  
00:52:03 --> 00:52:05: But they they were comparing,  
00:52:05 --> 00:52:07: they compared and still do today,  
00:52:07 --> 00:52:13: compared benefits that they receive from the federal  
government.  
00:52:13 --> 00:52:17: During the New Deal to know benefits prior to that  
00:52:17 --> 00:52:18: they had they,  
00:52:18 --> 00:52:22: they chose benefits on a segregated basis to no benefits.  
00:52:22 --> 00:52:25: Nobody can quarrel with that choice,  
00:52:25 --> 00:52:28: but that's how the.  
00:52:28 --> 00:52:30: Solved it if also.

00:52:32 --> 00:52:35: I think that answers one of the first questions that  
00:52:35 --> 00:52:38: we saw that who was the architect of the FHA  
00:52:38 --> 00:52:39: policies and did it?  
00:52:39 --> 00:52:40: How far up did it go?  
00:52:40 --> 00:52:43: They'd go as far as the Cabinet secretary,  
00:52:43 --> 00:52:45: the President and Congress, etc.  
00:52:45 --> 00:52:49: So I think that pretty much covers it and there's  
00:52:49 --> 00:52:51: more detail in your book.  
00:52:51 --> 00:52:54: Can I search one thing about what goes directly to  
00:52:54 --> 00:52:56: the Urban Land Institute?  
00:52:56 --> 00:53:01: Who populated the Federal Housing Administration at that  
time?  
00:53:01 --> 00:53:04: Who are the officials like today?  
00:53:04 --> 00:53:08: It was a revolving door of the housing industry.  
00:53:08 --> 00:53:12: It was developers. It was planners who were recruited to  
00:53:12 --> 00:53:18: take positions in the Federal Housing Administration who  
implemented this  
00:53:18 --> 00:53:18: policy.  
00:53:18 --> 00:53:21: Roosevelt didn't oppose it. He and.  
00:53:21 --> 00:53:24: And it wasn't official policy as I indicated in my  
00:53:24 --> 00:53:27: talk that it was written out in the federal underwriting  
00:53:27 --> 00:53:27: manual,  
00:53:27 --> 00:53:31: but these are. These were people from the industry.  
00:53:31 --> 00:53:35: Who took these positions in the Roosevelt administration in  
the  
00:53:35 --> 00:53:39: Federal Housing Administration Veterans Administration to  
implement this policy?  
00:53:41 --> 00:53:44: So lots of minions, lots of work happening.  
00:53:44 --> 00:53:48: We have a few questions about current housing policies  
across  
00:53:48 --> 00:53:52: the nation and your view on how rent is determined  
00:53:52 --> 00:53:53: in light tag.  
00:53:53 --> 00:53:57: Program your view on current public housing programs that  
they  
00:53:57 --> 00:53:58: was mixed income.  
00:53:58 --> 00:54:02: Can you talk a little bit about that and I'll  
00:54:02 --> 00:54:05: just add you mentioned at the time when public housing  
00:54:05 --> 00:54:09: was more market rates and there were segregated for whites  
00:54:09 --> 00:54:13: and for Blacks. That the whites was empty and there  
00:54:13 --> 00:54:16: was a long waiting list for the black,  
00:54:16 --> 00:54:19: but I think in a lot of housing authorities today  
00:54:19 --> 00:54:23: there's still a long waiting list to just get into  
00:54:23 --> 00:54:24: public housing,

00:54:24 --> 00:54:27: so it's it's your thoughts on the public housing and  
00:54:27 --> 00:54:30: light tech and our current market.  
00:54:30 --> 00:54:33: Yes, as you say, even though the public housing has  
00:54:33 --> 00:54:36: now been opened to African Americans,  
00:54:36 --> 00:54:38: there's still a long way.  
00:54:38 --> 00:54:41: List is not enough of it.  
00:54:41 --> 00:54:46: Let me you refer to mixed income housing and let  
00:54:46 --> 00:54:49: me say something about that.  
00:54:49 --> 00:54:52: When we talk about mixed income or affordable housing in  
00:54:52 --> 00:54:53: this country,  
00:54:53 --> 00:54:56: we typically talk about what most people mean and  
understand  
00:54:56 --> 00:54:57: by those terms,  
00:54:57 --> 00:55:00: as housing that mixes market rate affluent.  
00:55:00 --> 00:55:05: Frequently affluent families with the lowest income families.  
00:55:05 --> 00:55:11: As you know, the light tech program permits.  
00:55:11 --> 00:55:15: 60% of average median income.  
00:55:15 --> 00:55:19: In some cases it permits an average of 60%,  
00:55:19 --> 00:55:21: so some can go as high as 80%  
00:55:21 --> 00:55:25: of average median income in a community,  
00:55:25 --> 00:55:29: but in practice it becausw the waiting list for so  
00:55:30 --> 00:55:30: long,  
00:55:30 --> 00:55:34: many so-called mixed income projects.  
00:55:34 --> 00:55:39: Are composed of market rate affluent families and 30%  
00:55:39 --> 00:55:41: am I or below families?  
00:55:41 --> 00:55:46: Because the waiting list is so long.  
00:55:46 --> 00:55:49: In this country, as in.  
00:55:49 --> 00:55:53: Then the depression, as in the Post World War Two  
00:55:53 --> 00:55:54: period,  
00:55:54 --> 00:56:00: the private sector. Is incapable of building workforce housing.  
00:56:00 --> 00:56:02: And so when we talk about mixed income housing,  
00:56:02 --> 00:56:04: we're not really talking bout mixed income housing.  
00:56:04 --> 00:56:07: We're talking about housing that mixes the very poor in  
00:56:07 --> 00:56:08: the very rich.  
00:56:08 --> 00:56:11: In many of the most hottest housing markets in this  
00:56:11 --> 00:56:11: country,  
00:56:11 --> 00:56:15: the only way you can have mixed income housing.  
00:56:15 --> 00:56:20: That includes the missing middle workforce housing  
teachers,  
00:56:20 --> 00:56:24: nurses, people with jobs and communities where they can't  
afford  
00:56:25 --> 00:56:25: to live.  
00:56:25 --> 00:56:31: Hotel workers, restaurant workers. The only way you can

include

00:56:31 --> 00:56:34: housing for those people is with.

00:56:34 --> 00:56:39: Local programs that subsidize the housing because the federal government

00:56:39 --> 00:56:42: only subsidizes housing for the very poor.

00:56:42 --> 00:56:46: So I think the mixed income name is very misleading.

00:56:46 --> 00:56:49: We are building very unhealthy projects.

00:56:49 --> 00:56:54: Unhealthy because the way to create healthy.

00:56:54 --> 00:56:57: Non segregation in this country is not simply to mix

00:56:57 --> 00:57:00: the two extremes in single projects where they have the

00:57:00 --> 00:57:04: people there have very little in common on social class

00:57:04 --> 00:57:08: spaces, but we need mixed income projects that include the

00:57:08 --> 00:57:10: full range of incomes.

00:57:10 --> 00:57:14: Middle and working class workforce housing as well as the

00:57:14 --> 00:57:17: rich and the poor in the private sector,

00:57:17 --> 00:57:20: is incapable today of doing that and doesn't do it.

00:57:20 --> 00:57:24: So we need. There are some places where there are

00:57:24 --> 00:57:26: truly mixed income projects,

00:57:26 --> 00:57:29: but they all depend on local bond issues or or

00:57:29 --> 00:57:34: local subsidies that supplement what the federal government provides.

00:57:36 --> 00:57:39: I'm going to be aspirational.

00:57:39 --> 00:57:42: Based on all your research.

00:57:42 --> 00:57:45: If you could paint a picture of what the policies

00:57:45 --> 00:57:48: could be should be starting at the local state,

00:57:48 --> 00:57:52: federal level, 'cause I imagine they're all intertwined,

00:57:52 --> 00:57:55: what ideas do you have and how to proceed to

00:57:55 --> 00:57:58: undo some of the damage that's been done and to

00:57:59 --> 00:58:02: ensure that it's not continued and perpetuated?

00:58:02 --> 00:58:05: Well, I think the the programs I described earlier are

00:58:05 --> 00:58:06: aspirational,

00:58:06 --> 00:58:10: but they are certainly constitutionally required.

00:58:10 --> 00:58:14: And they can be achieved with if we develop the

00:58:14 --> 00:58:16: popular support the subsidies.

00:58:16 --> 00:58:19: Yeah we have some token programs now that don't go

00:58:19 --> 00:58:20: very far,

00:58:20 --> 00:58:23: but there are steps in the right direction.

00:58:23 --> 00:58:28: We have some municipalities in the federal government that has

00:58:28 --> 00:58:32: some experimental programs for down payment assistance.

00:58:32 --> 00:58:37: For first time, homeowners who are disproportionately

00:58:37 --> 00:58:41: minority to be able to move into homes and neighborhoods and otherwise



are  
00:58:41 --> 00:58:42: unaffordable to them.  
00:58:42 --> 00:58:47: Many, many cases these families can afford mortgages on homes  
00:58:47 --> 00:58:51: but don't have the down payments because of the wealth  
00:58:51 --> 00:58:53: gap that I described earlier.  
00:58:53 --> 00:58:55: So we need a program so like,  
00:58:55 --> 00:58:57: well, I referred to earlier,  
00:58:57 --> 00:59:01: is affirmative action in housing that enable a minority families.  
00:59:01 --> 00:59:05: I'm talking particularly about African Americans who are the objects  
00:59:05 --> 00:59:09: of this exclusion that enable them to move to healthier  
00:59:09 --> 00:59:10: neighborhoods.  
00:59:10 --> 00:59:12: So some cases the single family homes.  
00:59:12 --> 00:59:15: We need.  
00:59:15 --> 00:59:18: To abolish single family zoning in this country,  
00:59:18 --> 00:59:24: I think it's unconstitutional. It's unconstitutional because it perpetuates.  
00:59:24 --> 00:59:28: A exclusion that was created unconstitutionally,  
00:59:28 --> 00:59:32: and I think, a program that exists to perpetuate an  
00:59:33 --> 00:59:35: unconstitutional program,  
00:59:35 --> 00:59:38: even though it itself is not on its face.  
00:59:38 --> 00:59:43: Racially Discriminatory is unconstitutional and I think that the in  
00:59:43 --> 00:59:45: light of this history.  
00:59:45 --> 00:59:49: Someday we're going to have a Supreme Court that recognizes  
00:59:49 --> 00:59:53: that as well as policy makers that recognize that I've  
00:59:53 --> 00:59:56: already explained that I think we need to do in  
00:59:56 --> 01:00:00: for lower income families black and Hispanic families.  
01:00:00 --> 01:00:02: We need to completely redesign.  
01:00:02 --> 01:00:05: The light tech program as well as the housing choice  
01:00:06 --> 01:00:09: voucher program but we can't do it unless we first.  
01:00:09 --> 01:00:14: Abolish single family zoning and require every community to have  
01:00:14 --> 01:00:16: a mix of affluent workforce,  
01:00:16 --> 01:00:19: middle class and low income housing.  
01:00:19 --> 01:00:22: That should be the goal of every community.  
01:00:22 --> 01:00:26: If we're going to have a healthy democracy.  
01:00:26 --> 01:00:28: Can we talk about zoning?  
01:00:28 --> 01:00:32: 'cause a lot of our cities are?  
01:00:32 --> 01:00:36: Except Houston perhaps have built in zone in an in  
01:00:36 --> 01:00:40: my planning education the way it was presented,  
01:00:40 --> 01:00:44: it was part of the.

01:00:44 --> 01:00:47: For the betterment of the health of this society to  
01:00:47 --> 01:00:51: move people away from industry so they can live.  
01:00:51 --> 01:00:53: Well and better but.  
01:00:53 --> 01:00:56: In retrospect, it was only talking about white people,  
01:00:56 --> 01:00:58: right? Because?  
01:00:58 --> 01:01:02: African Americans ended up living next to these industries  
and  
01:01:02 --> 01:01:04: suffering and zoning is used,  
01:01:04 --> 01:01:08: and perhaps I'm not sure to what degree it's continued.  
01:01:08 --> 01:01:13: It's being perpetuated today as the weapon to maintain these  
01:01:13 --> 01:01:18: structures that zoning was utilized for prior to the official  
01:01:18 --> 01:01:22: establishment of the nationwide zoning effort.  
01:01:22 --> 01:01:25: Thoughts on that will absolutely,  
01:01:25 --> 01:01:30: you're right. Single family zoning perpetuates racial  
segregation.  
01:01:30 --> 01:01:33: It provides it as you say,  
01:01:33 --> 01:01:38: the enables a white. Families who in previous generations  
and  
01:01:38 --> 01:01:42: enabled white families to move out of areas that were  
01:01:43 --> 01:01:48: industrial or or had the heavy commercial density into  
residential  
01:01:48 --> 01:01:51: only communities of single family homes.  
01:01:51 --> 01:01:56: But African Americans did not benefit from that policy.  
01:01:56 --> 01:02:02: And that's why I say single family zoning is unconstitutional  
01:02:02 --> 01:02:06: because it perpetuates that exclusion.  
01:02:06 --> 01:02:08: The federal government, as you know.  
01:02:11 --> 01:02:16: Empowered communities to zone without limit in these ways  
and  
01:02:16 --> 01:02:20: in a decision that Supreme Court decision in 1926.  
01:02:20 --> 01:02:23: But that decision was misguided.  
01:02:23 --> 01:02:27: Yeah, it was misguided, and it should be overturned,  
01:02:27 --> 01:02:31: and I I'm confident will be overturned someday.  
01:02:31 --> 01:02:34: When the.  
01:02:34 --> 01:02:39: Popular pressure and a changed understanding of this  
history seeps  
01:02:40 --> 01:02:42: up to up to the courts,  
01:02:42 --> 01:02:45: so I think and certainly.  
01:02:45 --> 01:02:49: Well, the zoning movement.  
01:02:49 --> 01:02:52: In this country, if I describe in the book,  
01:02:52 --> 01:02:57: began in the 1920s as a reaction to the prohibition  
01:02:57 --> 01:03:01: of explicitly racial zoning and a race neutral form of  
01:03:01 --> 01:03:06: zoning was promoted during the 1920s by Secretary of  
Commerce

01:03:06 --> 01:03:11: Herbert Hoover Anna Committee, he formed that was made up

01:03:11 --> 01:03:17: of people who are explicitly advocating racial segregation planners who

01:03:17 --> 01:03:21: are explicitly advocating racial segregation.

01:03:21 --> 01:03:24: Of course, the Republican administrations the 1920s,

01:03:24 --> 01:03:28: as I said earlier, weren't putting any money into housing.

01:03:28 --> 01:03:32: So they couldn't force much of the segregation of the

01:03:32 --> 01:03:35: first administration and put money into housing.

01:03:35 --> 01:03:40: Was the Roosevelt Administration New Deal that took the zoning?

01:03:40 --> 01:03:45: And another exclusionary policies that have been developed in the

01:03:45 --> 01:03:50: 1920s and put them into action with real money behind

01:03:50 --> 01:03:51: housing programs?

01:03:51 --> 01:03:54: So here's the irony of it.

01:03:54 --> 01:03:57: Also, white flight ensued during our history,

01:03:57 --> 01:04:03: and now the reverse is happening where suburban white folks

01:04:03 --> 01:04:08: are moving back into the inner cities and their presence

01:04:08 --> 01:04:13: oftentimes displaces the African Americans who were left behind.

01:04:13 --> 01:04:17: And we have what is a phenomenon called gentrification?

01:04:17 --> 01:04:21: And how, as professionals who there's a lot of different

01:04:21 --> 01:04:24: industries on on the web and are today.

01:04:24 --> 01:04:26: How do we?

01:04:26 --> 01:04:29: Have knowledge of this, but do better Anna,

01:04:29 --> 01:04:33: Nate course 'cause it's a free will society people can

01:04:33 --> 01:04:36: choose to sell and to move into live how they

01:04:36 --> 01:04:36: want.

01:04:36 --> 01:04:39: But how do we start to arrest a lot of

01:04:39 --> 01:04:42: what has come down the Pike?

01:04:42 --> 01:04:44: Well, let me say two things about that.

01:04:44 --> 01:04:48: First, it's not the case that suburbanites are moving into

01:04:48 --> 01:04:49: service urban areas.

01:04:49 --> 01:04:53: Most white middle class people are still living in suburbs

01:04:53 --> 01:04:55: and they're not moving into urban areas.

01:04:55 --> 01:04:58: The people who are moving into urban areas or young

01:04:59 --> 01:05:02: or mostly young professionals who have not yet formed families

01:05:03 --> 01:05:04: or just begun to form families.

01:05:04 --> 01:05:09: It's not the suburbanites who are changing their lifestyles and

01:05:09 --> 01:05:13: suddenly moving into this chair into gentrifying neighborhoods.

**01:05:13 --> 01:05:17:** But you know, I think every community should be gentrified.  
**01:05:17 --> 01:05:19:** Every community in the country should be gentrified.  
**01:05:19 --> 01:05:21:** Every community, as I said,  
**01:05:21 --> 01:05:23:** should have a mix. Of market rate,  
**01:05:23 --> 01:05:28:** affluent middle class working class and low income families  
that  
**01:05:28 --> 01:05:30:** would make a healthy democracy.  
**01:05:30 --> 01:05:33:** What's happening now, as you say,  
**01:05:33 --> 01:05:37:** is as gentrification develops in many of the hottest markets  
**01:05:37 --> 01:05:38:** in this country,  
**01:05:38 --> 01:05:44:** low income, minority segregated neighborhoods flip into  
higher income.  
**01:05:44 --> 01:05:48:** Segregated neighborhoods adding the previous residents are  
forced out because  
**01:05:48 --> 01:05:51:** they can no longer afford in the place to live  
**01:05:51 --> 01:05:53:** in the places that they have previously lived in.  
**01:05:53 --> 01:05:56:** But again, the policy's are well known,  
**01:05:56 --> 01:05:57:** you know what the policies are.  
**01:05:57 --> 01:06:00:** All of you know better than anybody else,  
**01:06:00 --> 01:06:03:** what the policies are to resist gentrification that this place  
**01:06:03 --> 01:06:06:** is large numbers of the previous residents of these  
communities.  
**01:06:06 --> 01:06:10:** What's missing is not knowledge of policy is what's missing  
**01:06:10 --> 01:06:12:** is the political will to implement them.  
**01:06:12 --> 01:06:15:** Rent control limits on condominium conversions.  
**01:06:15 --> 01:06:18:** Inclusionary zoning that does not simply require,  
**01:06:18 --> 01:06:21:** as I've said so many times you need to does  
**01:06:21 --> 01:06:25:** not simply require the inclusion of the lowest income families  
**01:06:25 --> 01:06:26:** and market rate developments,  
**01:06:26 --> 01:06:31:** but inclusionary zoning that requires a mix of incomes in  
**01:06:31 --> 01:06:34:** new developments in these communities and.  
**01:06:34 --> 01:06:39:** A freeze on property taxes so that homeowners African  
American  
**01:06:39 --> 01:06:43:** homeowners in particular who may have lived in these  
communities  
**01:06:43 --> 01:06:44:** for 2030 years,  
**01:06:44 --> 01:06:48:** have paid off their homes.  
**01:06:48 --> 01:06:50:** Can no longer who can no longer afford to live  
**01:06:50 --> 01:06:53:** in their homes because they can't pay the property taxes.  
**01:06:53 --> 01:06:56:** So we need to freeze property taxes on.  
**01:06:56 --> 01:06:59:** For existing homeowners and and by the way,  
**01:06:59 --> 01:07:03:** as you all know, I'm sure California has a property  
**01:07:03 --> 01:07:07:** tax freeze on existing homeowners had disastrous effects in  
terms

01:07:07 --> 01:07:12: of revenue for schools and fire departments and libraries.

01:07:12 --> 01:07:16: Doesn't need to the loss property taxes from property tax

01:07:16 --> 01:07:18: freezes can be recouped.

01:07:18 --> 01:07:20: It paused at point of sale.

01:07:20 --> 01:07:23: So that the public Treasury doesn't in the long run,

01:07:23 --> 01:07:25: suffer from a property tax freeze.

01:07:25 --> 01:07:27: So if you have a homeowner in the.

01:07:29 --> 01:07:34: Segregated the urban area who maybe bought her home for

01:07:34 --> 01:07:38: \$50,000 thirty years ago and now finds that she can

01:07:38 --> 01:07:42: no longer afford to live in it because it sells

01:07:42 --> 01:07:47: for 100,000 for \$1,000,000 or \$500,000.

01:07:47 --> 01:07:50: When that homeowner decides to sell.

01:07:50 --> 01:07:54: Instead, the loss property taxes at point of sale can

01:07:54 --> 01:07:57: be recouped for the for the local Treasury,

01:07:57 --> 01:08:00: so instead of making if she bought the home for

01:08:00 --> 01:08:03: \$50,000 and now sells it for 500,

01:08:03 --> 01:08:06: instead of making a \$450,000 capital gains,

01:08:06 --> 01:08:08: she only makes a 350,000 capital gain.

01:08:08 --> 01:08:11: The loss, the tax revenue is returned so you can

01:08:11 --> 01:08:13: design A policy like this,

01:08:13 --> 01:08:15: so this is by the way,

01:08:15 --> 01:08:19: not my original ideas is promoted by.

01:08:19 --> 01:08:21: The last

01:08:21 --> 01:08:25: IRS Commissioner John Koskinen, who's been promoting this idea.

01:08:25 --> 01:08:29: So the policy's are are well known to resist gentrification,

01:08:29 --> 01:08:33: to ensure that communities can be healthy and diversified,

01:08:33 --> 01:08:36: non segregated under these pressures.

01:08:36 --> 01:08:40: What's missing is a new civil rights movement that's going

01:08:40 --> 01:08:42: to create the political pressure.

01:08:42 --> 01:08:44: Is it political? Well, yes.

01:08:44 --> 01:08:47: Do you have hope that we will get there?

01:08:47 --> 01:08:51: I have great hope I wouldn't be.

01:08:51 --> 01:08:53: Spending my 8th decade doing this if I didn't have

01:08:53 --> 01:08:54: great health,

01:08:54 --> 01:08:56: great hope. I also have great health.

01:08:56 --> 01:08:58: I'm lucky.

01:08:58 --> 01:09:01: Yes, yes, you know that we're having a more accurate

01:09:01 --> 01:09:04: and passionate discussion about race in this country today in

01:09:04 --> 01:09:05: our history,

01:09:05 --> 01:09:08: the legacies of slavery and Jim Crow than we've ever

01:09:08 --> 01:09:09: before had in American history.

01:09:09 --> 01:09:14: It started well before the Black Lives Matter movement of  
01:09:14 --> 01:09:16: the last couple of months.  
01:09:16 --> 01:09:20: Many books that document this history people are learning  
from.  
01:09:20 --> 01:09:23: It's not just minor. Michelle Alexander's book.  
01:09:23 --> 01:09:28: The new synchro Bryan Stevenson's book Just Mercy.  
01:09:28 --> 01:09:31: Yep, uh, the many books that got people talking about  
01:09:31 --> 01:09:35: these things of what's needed now is moving from  
understanding  
01:09:35 --> 01:09:35: to action.  
01:09:35 --> 01:09:38: Yeah, that's a difficult step to take,  
01:09:38 --> 01:09:40: so I'm not confident, but I'm hopeful,  
01:09:40 --> 01:09:42: OK, I like that, Richard.  
01:09:42 --> 01:09:44: We have like 80 something questions here,  
01:09:44 --> 01:09:47: so I'm going to try and.  
01:09:47 --> 01:09:50: Do a round Robin here to make sure that I  
01:09:50 --> 01:09:55: can represent well all these interested parties on the line.  
01:09:55 --> 01:09:56: So one of them is.  
01:09:58 --> 01:10:02: Reparations, and you've kind of mentioned that in your  
example  
01:10:02 --> 01:10:06: about purchasing homes at lower cost for African Americans,  
01:10:06 --> 01:10:09: but anything else to add on what is turning out  
01:10:09 --> 01:10:12: to be a hot and more relevant topic these days  
01:10:13 --> 01:10:14: in terms of reparations?  
01:10:14 --> 01:10:19: Well, you know, I. I prefer the term remedies.  
01:10:19 --> 01:10:22: OK, I think we need more than monetary payments,  
01:10:22 --> 01:10:26: not that monetary payments aren't justified.  
01:10:26 --> 01:10:30: But many of the policies that we need to follow  
01:10:30 --> 01:10:35: go beyond monetary payments to to African Americans  
doesn't cost  
01:10:36 --> 01:10:39: anything to abolish single family zoning,  
01:10:39 --> 01:10:43: for example. That would be a very powerful remedy of  
01:10:43 --> 01:10:44: that.  
01:10:44 --> 01:10:49: You all have some influence in promoting.  
01:10:49 --> 01:10:52: It doesn't cost anything.  
01:10:52 --> 01:10:53: 2.  
01:10:55 --> 01:10:59: Change the way in which we.  
01:10:59 --> 01:11:02: Design the low income housing tax credit program cost very  
01:11:03 --> 01:11:06: little to change the design or the housing Choice voucher  
01:11:06 --> 01:11:07: program,  
01:11:07 --> 01:11:10: but some things we need to do will cost a  
01:11:10 --> 01:11:13: lot of money for your firm of action program I  
01:11:13 --> 01:11:14: talked about before.

01:11:14 --> 01:11:18: Perhaps you want to call that a form of reparations?  
01:11:18 --> 01:11:20: I don't disagree with that.  
01:11:20 --> 01:11:25: That subsidizes heavily subsidizes African Americans to move to communities  
01:11:25 --> 01:11:27: that were once affordable to them,  
01:11:27 --> 01:11:29: to to people like them,  
01:11:29 --> 01:11:33: but. Now an affordable to working class families of either  
01:11:33 --> 01:11:34: race,  
01:11:34 --> 01:11:38: but that would be an expensive program is something we're  
01:11:38 --> 01:11:39: obligated to do,  
01:11:39 --> 01:11:42: so I think we immediately the mix of expenditures and  
01:11:43 --> 01:11:45: policy's that don't cost anything.  
01:11:45 --> 01:11:48: And I think it's important to to think clearly about  
01:11:48 --> 01:11:50: the range of policies we need,  
01:11:50 --> 01:11:55: and I think that focusing only on reparations right remedies  
01:11:55 --> 01:11:55: is good.  
01:11:55 --> 01:11:59: It keeps us from thinking about the specifics of these  
01:11:59 --> 01:12:00: policies.  
01:12:00 --> 01:12:02: So we have a couple of students on line.  
01:12:02 --> 01:12:06: I think, I believe because you're asking what is your  
01:12:06 --> 01:12:10: ideal planning curriculum for this new generation that are currently  
01:12:10 --> 01:12:12: in schools and not let your planner.  
01:12:12 --> 01:12:14: But I'm not sure how you answered my question,  
01:12:14 --> 01:12:18: but I would suggest your book as part of their  
01:12:18 --> 01:12:19: curriculum.  
01:12:19 --> 01:12:20: But that's what they're at.  
01:12:20 --> 01:12:23: Well, I'm going to learn from you on this.  
01:12:23 --> 01:12:25: I'm not a planner, I know,  
01:12:25 --> 01:12:27: you know. Whatever I know about it,  
01:12:27 --> 01:12:30: you know now, yeah.  
01:12:30 --> 01:12:32: I asked me about education policy.  
01:12:32 --> 01:12:33: I've got lots of, well,  
01:12:33 --> 01:12:36: you have one about education as well and the question  
01:12:36 --> 01:12:36: is.  
01:12:36 --> 01:12:40: Well, let me phrase it properly based on your research.  
01:12:40 --> 01:12:44: Is there an opportunity to bring a new case regarding  
01:12:44 --> 01:12:50: educational segregation before the Supreme Court regarding the 2007 decision?  
01:12:50 --> 01:12:55: Well, the Supreme Court is a famous journalist,  
01:12:55 --> 01:12:58: said 100 years ago. 120 years ago,  
01:12:58 --> 01:13:01: the Supreme Court follows the election returns.  
01:13:01 --> 01:13:03: And.

01:13:03 --> 01:13:06: Before we start thinking about bringing new cases to the  
01:13:06 --> 01:13:07: Supreme Court,  
01:13:07 --> 01:13:10: we've got to change public opinion.  
01:13:10 --> 01:13:14: So that the Supreme Court's views become conventional in a  
01:13:14 --> 01:13:14: new way.  
01:13:14 --> 01:13:18: So I don't think that starting litigation is going to  
01:13:18 --> 01:13:21: accomplish anything with the present Supreme Court.  
01:13:21 --> 01:13:24: But the Supreme Court has been wrong many,  
01:13:24 --> 01:13:27: many times. Has sometimes corrected its errors,  
01:13:27 --> 01:13:32: as in Brown versus Board of Education after it's supported.  
01:13:32 --> 01:13:37: Housing after it supported school segregation on a separate  
but  
01:13:37 --> 01:13:39: equal basis for the previous 80 years.  
01:13:39 --> 01:13:43: It will change its mind on this as well with  
01:13:43 --> 01:13:44: new public opinion.  
01:13:44 --> 01:13:50: Um? The well, I guess that's so I wouldn't start.  
01:13:50 --> 01:13:53: I wouldn't start with litigation we have.  
01:13:57 --> 01:13:59: The segregation of schools today,  
01:13:59 --> 01:14:01: as I said, is not legal the way it was  
01:14:01 --> 01:14:03: before Brown versus Board of Education.  
01:14:03 --> 01:14:06: It's based on neighborhood segregation based on the fact  
that  
01:14:06 --> 01:14:08: children go to neighborhood schools,  
01:14:08 --> 01:14:12: which is quite appropriate for children should go to  
neighborhood  
01:14:12 --> 01:14:16: schools with their parents can be involved with the  
community.  
01:14:16 --> 01:14:18: Can takes ownership of those schools.  
01:14:18 --> 01:14:21: But the neighborhood should be non segregated.  
01:14:21 --> 01:14:25: They should be communities where everybody has an  
opportunity to  
01:14:25 --> 01:14:26: attend a good school.  
01:14:26 --> 01:14:28: I I second that so we need to.  
01:14:28 --> 01:14:31: We need to address this primarily housing policy.  
01:14:31 --> 01:14:35: There are some things we can do.  
01:14:35 --> 01:14:39: Around the margins for.  
01:14:39 --> 01:14:44: The school desegregation today that we can fiddle with  
attendance,  
01:14:44 --> 01:14:48: boundaries and borderline areas we can create magnet  
schools in  
01:14:48 --> 01:14:49: the borderline areas,  
01:14:49 --> 01:14:54: but the vast majority of white children and black children  
01:14:54 --> 01:14:56: today live so far from each other.



01:14:56 --> 01:15:00: That fiddling around with the borderline areas is not going  
01:15:00 --> 01:15:01: to accomplish much.  
01:15:01 --> 01:15:05: It will accomplish something, but it's not going to accomplish  
01:15:05 --> 01:15:08: much in the area of desegregation,  
01:15:08 --> 01:15:10: so we've got to desegregate housing.  
01:15:10 --> 01:15:12: You know, to accomplish that,  
01:15:12 --> 01:15:15: and segregation, let me just say one thing though about  
01:15:15 --> 01:15:17: the policy in real estate,  
01:15:17 --> 01:15:20: which I think perhaps you don't directly control,  
01:15:20 --> 01:15:23: but you might have some influence on,  
01:15:23 --> 01:15:26: and that is one of the things that is reinforcing  
01:15:27 --> 01:15:28: segregation today.  
01:15:28 --> 01:15:32: Is the stance of the real estate industry to characterize  
01:15:33 --> 01:15:38: neighborhoods as quality neighborhoods by the test scores  
of their  
01:15:38 --> 01:15:38: schools.  
01:15:38 --> 01:15:42: That is a I think a violation of the Civil  
01:15:43 --> 01:15:47: Rights Act of the 14th Amendment when they,  
01:15:47 --> 01:15:53: when they do such a thing because what education policy  
01:15:53 --> 01:15:54: makers no.  
01:15:54 --> 01:15:57: Is that the average test scores of a school I  
01:15:57 --> 01:16:01: primarily attributable to the education level and social class of  
01:16:02 --> 01:16:02: the parents,  
01:16:02 --> 01:16:05: not of the quality of the school.  
01:16:05 --> 01:16:08: As I indicated, the very beginning of my talk.  
01:16:08 --> 01:16:11: That's where you get test score changes from and to  
01:16:11 --> 01:16:16: tell people that neighborhood is a better neighborhood  
because it  
01:16:16 --> 01:16:17: has high test scores,  
01:16:17 --> 01:16:21: is simply to tell people that it's a better neighborhood  
01:16:21 --> 01:16:24: because it has affluent white parents in it.  
01:16:24 --> 01:16:26: Who are well educated? Yes,  
01:16:26 --> 01:16:31: and that it's a powerful force in intensifying segregation  
today,  
01:16:31 --> 01:16:35: and the advertising of homes by the test scores of  
01:16:35 --> 01:16:40: their neighborhoods should be considered a violation of the  
Fair  
01:16:40 --> 01:16:41: Housing Act.  
01:16:43 --> 01:16:47: I thought you were gonna stop at the qualifications of  
01:16:47 --> 01:16:47: Neighborhoods.  
01:16:47 --> 01:16:50: As good or bad, but I like the segue.  
01:16:50 --> 01:16:52: It's I totally agree with you.  
01:16:52 --> 01:16:56: We have a lot of questions 'cause there's a lot

01:16:56 --> 01:16:58: of doers on on this panel of.

01:16:58 --> 01:17:01: What can they do? What can you like do to

01:17:01 --> 01:17:04: appeal to local government?

01:17:04 --> 01:17:07: Appeal to developers? What can developers do?

01:17:07 --> 01:17:10: What can each bucket of people?

01:17:10 --> 01:17:14: What can people do to advance this agenda?

01:17:17 --> 01:17:19: As citizens.

01:17:19 --> 01:17:22: You can be part of a new civil rights movement

01:17:22 --> 01:17:26: I'm working actually with a group of national civil rights

01:17:26 --> 01:17:29: leaders to try to create a something we call National

01:17:29 --> 01:17:34: Committee to redress segregation, which is going to be.

01:17:34 --> 01:17:38: We were about to launch it before social distancing started

01:17:38 --> 01:17:39: something yeah,

01:17:39 --> 01:17:42: and the row now is what I call it the

01:17:42 --> 01:17:43: Rona right?

01:17:43 --> 01:17:46: Yeah yeah, I was trying to figure out how to

01:17:46 --> 01:17:50: restart it but we will restart it and we will

01:17:50 --> 01:17:55: be creating local civil rights groups and in local communities

01:17:55 --> 01:17:58: hopefully and let me say to those of you who

01:17:58 --> 01:18:01: are in this web and R if you want to

01:18:01 --> 01:18:04: be notified when this committee.

01:18:04 --> 01:18:07: Gets launched again. Send me an email note and I'll

01:18:08 --> 01:18:10: put you on the list to be notified.

01:18:10 --> 01:18:12: But what can you do?

01:18:12 --> 01:18:16: Well, as I said, this is although the federal government

01:18:16 --> 01:18:21: was primarily responsible for creating segregation without the

01:18:21 --> 01:18:22: without federal

01:18:21 --> 01:18:22: government control,

01:18:22 --> 01:18:24: it could not have happened.

01:18:24 --> 01:18:27: For example, Leavitt was a bigot.

01:18:27 --> 01:18:30: To take the example I was using earlier left to

01:18:31 --> 01:18:32: his own devices.

01:18:32 --> 01:18:35: He would have segregated Levittown on his own.

01:18:35 --> 01:18:38: He would not have sold to African Americans.

01:18:38 --> 01:18:41: He was in out now bigger but.

01:18:41 --> 01:18:43: If the federal government said will only guarantee your bank

01:18:44 --> 01:18:46: loans if you sell a nondiscriminatory basis,

01:18:46 --> 01:18:48: he would have had to do it.

01:18:48 --> 01:18:51: Whether bigoted or not, or abandon the project.

01:18:51 --> 01:18:55: So I don't want to minimize the role of the

01:18:55 --> 01:18:58: federal government here nonetheless.

01:18:58 --> 01:19:02: Private sector contributed mightily to this program.

01:19:02 --> 01:19:07: The banks to finance these single family homes developments the

01:19:07 --> 01:19:08: developers,

01:19:08 --> 01:19:12: the real estate agencies. Many of them have successors by

01:19:12 --> 01:19:13: different names.

01:19:13 --> 01:19:16: Today, those institutions, the banks,

01:19:16 --> 01:19:21: the real estate agencies, the developers that created these segregated

01:19:21 --> 01:19:22: neighborhoods,

01:19:22 --> 01:19:26: also have an obligation to contribute to funds that will

01:19:26 --> 01:19:30: subsidise the desegregation of these neighborhoods.

01:19:30 --> 01:19:34: And that's something that you as as planners can advocate

01:19:34 --> 01:19:39: to your constituencies or something that does need to be

01:19:39 --> 01:19:39: done.

01:19:39 --> 01:19:42: All of these contemporary developers that.

01:19:44 --> 01:19:47: Contributed to segregation in the 20th century.

01:19:47 --> 01:19:51: Now have websites that talk about the contributions they make

01:19:51 --> 01:19:53: to their communities,

01:19:53 --> 01:19:55: how, how much they care about them.

01:19:55 --> 01:19:58: But in fact they're not doing anything in practice to

01:19:58 --> 01:20:00: redress segregation,

01:20:00 --> 01:20:03: and that's something that you all can have influence in

01:20:03 --> 01:20:05: helping them to do.

01:20:05 --> 01:20:08: As Alan said at the very beginning and my book,

01:20:08 --> 01:20:11: I do talk about the role of the Urban Land

01:20:11 --> 01:20:11: Institute.

01:20:11 --> 01:20:15: Yeah, is is contributing to the segregation.

01:20:15 --> 01:20:17: In the.

01:20:17 --> 01:20:19: When was it in the?

01:20:19 --> 01:20:22: I think it was 1958.

01:20:22 --> 01:20:24: That you are elected as your president.

01:20:24 --> 01:20:27: The developer named David Bohannon.

01:20:27 --> 01:20:30: Who is the leading developer on the West and in

01:20:30 --> 01:20:33: the San Francisco Bay Area to insist on segregation?

01:20:33 --> 01:20:37: He went so far not only in creating developments with

01:20:37 --> 01:20:41: deeds in the homes that excluded sales to African Americans.

01:20:41 --> 01:20:44: He went so far as to Sue developers.

01:20:44 --> 01:20:47: Who wanted to build integrated developments?

01:20:47 --> 01:20:50: They never succeeded, and lobby,

01:20:50 --> 01:20:53: and in one case that I described in the book,

01:20:53 --> 01:20:57: he lobbied just, uh, two years before you elected him

01:20:57 --> 01:20:58: as your president.

01:20:58 --> 01:21:02: He lobbied a local City Council and Sanitary district to

01:21:02 --> 01:21:06: raise those sewer connection fees so high for a proposed

01:21:06 --> 01:21:11: integrated development that made it impossible for it to be

01:21:11 --> 01:21:15: built. So the Urban Land Institute and I'm not saying

01:21:15 --> 01:21:16: you had a major role,

01:21:16 --> 01:21:20: but you the whole industry contributed to the segregation.

01:21:20 --> 01:21:24: Nobody has clean hands here.

01:21:24 --> 01:21:26: There's there's lots of questions,

01:21:26 --> 01:21:28: and in the last few minutes I'll we have to

01:21:28 --> 01:21:29: turn it over soon.

01:21:29 --> 01:21:33: But transportation you mentioned that briefly in your book

and

01:21:33 --> 01:21:36: how it evolved from then and how it still impacting

01:21:36 --> 01:21:39: especially African American populations today.

01:21:39 --> 01:21:41: Any thoughts on that? Well yes,

01:21:41 --> 01:21:46: we have transportation policies that perpetuate the

segregation and disadvantage

01:21:46 --> 01:21:46: of low income,

01:21:46 --> 01:21:51: particularly African American neighborhoods, because we

don't provide access from

01:21:51 --> 01:21:55: those neighborhoods to good jobs that will enable people.

01:21:55 --> 01:21:58: To be upwardly mobile. In fact,

01:21:58 --> 01:22:02: we place a much more well in in Maryland,

01:22:02 --> 01:22:05: for example, the Governor of Maryland,

01:22:05 --> 01:22:10: Larry Hogan, upon his election several years ago,

01:22:10 --> 01:22:16: removed funding. From a rail line that was going to

01:22:16 --> 01:22:16: bring.

01:22:16 --> 01:22:21: Transportation access to good jobs to the West Baltimore

neighborhood

01:22:21 --> 01:22:24: that was predominantly African American,

01:22:24 --> 01:22:29: and reallocated that funding to more highways to bring

suburbanites

01:22:29 --> 01:22:31: to jobs in downtown areas.

01:22:31 --> 01:22:35: That's an ongoing policy of that is followed in many

01:22:35 --> 01:22:40: cities at disproportionate investment in housing and and

disinvestment,

01:22:40 --> 01:22:44: or lack of investment in in public transportation.

01:22:44 --> 01:22:47: But during the period of creating segregation.

01:22:47 --> 01:22:51: The Federal Highway system was used as a way of

01:22:51 --> 01:22:53: implementing segregation.

01:22:53 --> 01:22:58: Many of the planners. Who designed the Interstate Highway

System

01:22:58 --> 01:23:03: used it to create barriers between black and white

neighborhoods?

**01:23:03 --> 01:23:06:** Perhaps the most obvious one and best well known is

**01:23:06 --> 01:23:08:** the Dan Ryan Expressway.

**01:23:08 --> 01:23:12:** On the Southside of Chicago that was explicitly designed to

**01:23:12 --> 01:23:17:** separate to create a barrier between black and white neighborhoods

**01:23:17 --> 01:23:19:** on the South side of Chicago.

**01:23:19 --> 01:23:22:** In other cases, as I described in the color of

**01:23:22 --> 01:23:23:** law,

**01:23:23 --> 01:23:26:** highways were routed through.

**01:23:26 --> 01:23:29:** Black neighborhoods in order to destroy.

**01:23:29 --> 01:23:32:** Excuse me in Philadelphia as well.

**01:23:32 --> 01:23:34:** Yeah, Philadelphia is a good example.

**01:23:34 --> 01:23:38:** Yes Camden outside of Philadelphia is another good example.

**01:23:38 --> 01:23:41:** Miami that I talk about great details.

**01:23:41 --> 01:23:46:** Another good example. Highways with designed explicitly to demolish black

**01:23:46 --> 01:23:50:** neighborhoods and force the residents to move farther distant to

**01:23:51 --> 01:23:54:** new segregated neighborhoods away from downtown areas.

**01:23:54 --> 01:23:59:** So the transportation also needs to have some remedies that

**01:23:59 --> 01:24:01:** it's obligated to impose.

**01:24:01 --> 01:24:03:** Richard, this has been a pleasure,

**01:24:03 --> 01:24:05:** hasn't been enough time at all.

**01:24:05 --> 01:24:07:** There's so many questions left unanswered.

**01:24:07 --> 01:24:10:** I apologize to everyone. I suggest reading the book,

**01:24:10 --> 01:24:13:** reaching out to Richard so you're on his email list

**01:24:13 --> 01:24:15:** that when things are moving,

**01:24:15 --> 01:24:18:** you're aware of it. It's been my pleasure and my

**01:24:18 --> 01:24:18:** honor.

**01:24:18 --> 01:24:20:** So thank you so much an if you have any

**01:24:21 --> 01:24:21:** last words,

**01:24:21 --> 01:24:23:** I'll let you stay in it,

**01:24:23 --> 01:24:25:** otherwise I'll turn it over to Laura Laura.

**01:24:25 --> 01:24:27:** Just thank you very much.

**01:24:27 --> 01:24:27:** Thank you.

**01:24:30 --> 01:24:32:** Wonderful thank you so much.

**01:24:32 --> 01:24:36:** This was fascinating. Amazing to see the level of participation.

**01:24:36 --> 01:24:39:** Huge, almost well over 500 folks.

**01:24:39 --> 01:24:41:** The level of questions, an engagement.

**01:24:41 --> 01:24:44:** So we're really, really grateful for this.

01:24:44 --> 01:24:48: We will find out specifically how to get on this  
01:24:48 --> 01:24:51: list because I have a feeling you have a lot  
01:24:51 --> 01:24:53: of interested parties here,  
01:24:53 --> 01:24:56: so we will include that in our follow up email  
01:24:56 --> 01:24:58: that goes to this group.  
01:24:58 --> 01:25:00: How to get on the list so that we can  
01:25:00 --> 01:25:01: all.  
01:25:01 --> 01:25:02: Really continued to do this work,  
01:25:02 --> 01:25:05: which I know there are many here that are committed  
01:25:05 --> 01:25:06: to doing so.  
01:25:06 --> 01:25:09: I just want to close by thanking everybody for joining  
01:25:09 --> 01:25:10: us today.  
01:25:10 --> 01:25:12: Of course a special thank you to Richard for sharing  
01:25:12 --> 01:25:14: your unbelievable expertise.  
01:25:14 --> 01:25:18: An Eleanor for moderating this really important conversation  
and I  
01:25:18 --> 01:25:19: just want to reiterate,  
01:25:19 --> 01:25:22: you allies commitment to continuing to move this forward so  
01:25:22 --> 01:25:25: you'll receive an email with a link to a survey  
01:25:25 --> 01:25:26: about today's program,  
01:25:26 --> 01:25:29: but please feel free to use that opportunity to give  
01:25:29 --> 01:25:31: us any other thoughts that you have.  
01:25:31 --> 01:25:33: We can put it in the chat right now and  
01:25:34 --> 01:25:38: then finally we invite you to visit our website  
Philadelphia.uli.org  
01:25:38 --> 01:25:40: or your local district Council's  
01:25:40 --> 01:25:42: website and we know we have a lot of folks  
01:25:43 --> 01:25:45: here from around the country to view activities.  
01:25:45 --> 01:25:49: Ways that you can get involved through our organization and  
01:25:49 --> 01:25:51: you can share any feedback that you have.  
01:25:51 --> 01:25:55: We all have email addresses but ours is Philadelphia.uli.org  
and  
01:25:55 --> 01:25:56: at uli.org.  
01:25:56 --> 01:25:58: We obviously have a lot of work to do.  
01:25:58 --> 01:26:01: I think everybody here agrees with that.  
01:26:01 --> 01:26:04: And so we're looking forward to continuing to educate folks.  
01:26:04 --> 01:26:07: Bring this information to people who don't have it so  
01:26:07 --> 01:26:10: that we can learn our history and move forward.  
01:26:10 --> 01:26:12: So with that, I want to thank you all for  
01:26:12 --> 01:26:13: being here today,  
01:26:13 --> 01:26:15: and please take care. I hope you enjoyed.

---

*This video transcript has been machine-generated, so it may not be accurate. It is for personal use only. Reproduction or use without written permission is prohibited. If you have a correction or for permission inquiries, please contact [\[email protected\]](#).*