

THE SQUARE ONE PROJECT
ROUNDTABLE ON THE FUTURE OF JUSTICE POLICY
EXAMINING JUSTICE REFORM AND THE SOCIAL CONTRACT
IN THE UNITED STATES:
IMPLICATIONS FOR
JUSTICE POLICY AND PRACTICE

Zoom meeting

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PARTICIPANTS:

Aisha McWeay | Executive Director, Still She Rises Tulsa

Ananya Roy | Professor of Urban Planning, Social Welfare, and Geography and the Meyer and Renee Luskin Chair in Inequality and Democracy, UCLA

Bruce Western | Co-Founder, Square One Project; Co-Director, Justice Lab; Bryce Professor of Sociology and Social Justice, Columbia University

Chas Moore | Founder and Executive Director, Austin Justice Coalition

Courtney Robinson | Founder, Excellence and Advancement Foundation

Danielle Allen | James Bryant Conant University Professor and Director, Edmond J. Safra Center for Ethics, Harvard University

David Garland | Arthur T. Vanderbilt Professor of Law Professor of Sociology, New York University

Deanna Van Buren | Co-Founder, Executive Director, Design Director, Designing Justice + Designing Spaces

Dona Kim Murphey | Director of Medical Initiatives, Project Lifeline; Neurologist

Eddie Bocanegra | Senior Director, READI Chicago Heartland Alliance

Elizabeth Hinton | Associate Professor of History and African and African American Studies, Harvard University

Emily Wang | Associate Professor of Medicine, Yale School of Medicine; Director, Health Justice Lab; Co-Founder, Transitions Clinic Network

Erik Bringswhite | Co-Founder and Executive Director, I. Am. Legacy Center

Fatimah Loren Dreier | Executive Director, The Health Alliance for Violence Intervention (HAVI)

Gabriel Salguero | Founder, National Latino Evangelical Coalition

Heather Rice-Minus | Vice President of Government Affairs and Church Mobilization, Prison Fellowship

Hedwig "Hedy" Lee | Associate Professor of Sociology,
University of Washington in Seattle

Imara Jones | Co-creator and Senior Advisor, Social
Contract Project, National Economic and Social Rights
Initiative

Jeremy Travis | Co-Founder, Square One Project; Executive
Vice President of Criminal Justice, Arnold Ventures;
President Emeritus, John Jay College of Criminal Justice

Jorge Renaud | Regional Director of Policy and Advocacy
for the Southwest, LatinoJustice PRLDEF; Senior Policy
Analyst, Prison Policy Initiative

Katharine Huffman | Executive Director, Square One
Project; Founding Principal, The Raben Group, LLC

Kimá Joy Taylor | Founder and Managing Principal, Anka
Consulting LLC

Kristian Caballero | Community Outreach Coordinator,
Texas Appleseed

Lynda Zeller | Senior Fellow of Behavioral Health,
Michigan Endowment Fund

Marcia Rincon-Gallardo | Executive Director, NOXTIN

Vesla Weaver | Bloomberg Distinguished Associate
Professor of Political Science and Sociology, Johns
Hopkins University

Vivian Nixon | Executive Director, Community and College
Fellowship

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P R O C E E D I N G S

1
2 MS. HUFFMAN: So I think we are going to go
3 ahead and get started.

4 MR. WESTERN: That is a good idea.

5 MS. HUFFMAN: Jeremy, unfortunately, is having
6 some trouble with his router at home, and even his
7 cellphone isn't working at the moment. So he has asked us
8 to go ahead and get started, and then will -- and
9 hopefully, he will be joining us again shortly. But we
10 will get this show on the road, in order to respect
11 everyone's time, and hope that our fearless facilitator
12 will be joining us again in just a few moments.

13 So I will start us off and get us going. And
14 then, we will move into our conversation. So starting
15 with, again, a huge welcome to everyone. It is great to
16 see you all and to be together again for the third session
17 of this roundtable.

18 This is starting to feel comfortable in a
19 wonderful way, as we begin to get to know each other a
20 bit. And it is great to be able to continue our
21 conversation together and feel like this is part of a
22 continued conversation on the future of justice reform and
23 the social contract.

24 Speaking of the connectivity of this group, we
25 really appreciate everyone's enthusiasm to join this

1 conversation in a lot of different ways. And we have been
2 taking to heart and thinking, and talking over the course
3 of the last week, your interest in having more ways to
4 connect and to share thoughts with each other.

5 So with that in mind, a couple of updates for
6 everyone. First, thank you to all who joined our
7 roundtable Slack conversation. That has already begun to
8 be a place where folks can share thoughts and post links
9 and ask questions. And we are seeing that happen.

10 And we encourage everyone to continue to use
11 that to talk in between our sessions -- talk in between
12 our sessions, and to keep building relationships, and to
13 keep sharing ideas. Keep this conversation going.

14 Second, in the same spirit, we have decided to
15 make a change in the "no chat in the chat" rule during
16 these sessions. We realize that they are short and
17 consolidated. And we want to make sure that we have as
18 many different ways as possible to capture everyone's
19 thoughts while they are fresh, and to ensure that as many
20 people as possible can weigh in, as often as possible.

21 So in an about face from last week, we invite
22 you all to chat in the chat if you have a thought you
23 would like to contribute. We ask you to please try to
24 keep that as part of the ongoing conversation. We will be
25 incorporating the comments from the chat into the record

1 for the -- to the transcript from the roundtable and will
2 be matching up the timestamp.

3 So if you were responding to something that
4 someone is saying, we will be doing our best to try to
5 keep that coherent in the record of the discussion, so
6 that we can still maintain one conversation. But please,
7 do feel free to share with the group, if you have
8 something you would like to add in real time, in that way.

9 Still, please, raise your hand. All of the
10 rules about how to get into the conversation lineup still
11 apply. So this is in addition, not in place of that.

12 So moving on to get us started on our
13 conversation today, first I have some regretful news to
14 share, pertaining to our discussion today, and our group
15 moving forward. Unfortunately, Vesla Weaver, who joined
16 us as our participant -- one of our participants already,
17 has had to step away from the roundtable for personal
18 reasons.

19 And so, she will not be able to join us over
20 the next few sessions. That is a loss for our group, not
21 having her perspective in the discussion every day. And
22 also, she will not be able to share a paper and present
23 during our conversation next week.

24 So given that, we have shifted the schedule
25 slightly. Vivian has graciously agreed to move her

1 discussion of educational opportunity over to next week,
2 which will be a terrific complement to the conversation
3 that we were already planning to have next week, with
4 Bruce's discussion on employment and economic opportunity.

5 And today, we will be focusing specifically on the two
6 important topics of housing and health care as they relate
7 to the social contract.

8 And again, nothing else has changed in terms of
9 sort of the format of the discussion and the overviews.
10 We will be starting off -- we will be starting off with
11 presentations from our authors, and then moving into a
12 conversation there.

13 Just really quickly, before we move into that
14 discussion, I want to just acknowledge a few folks. We
15 have observers, again, as we have in the past. A special
16 welcome to Nancy Fishman from the Schusterman Foundation,
17 who has joined us today. Great to have you here.

18 And we are also going to be joined by Ananya's
19 co-authors for her paper, Terra Graziani, and Pamela
20 Stephens. Hedy's co-authors are Liza Weiss and Finola
21 Prendergast. So thanks to them for their great work on
22 these papers, as well. And we are just really excited to
23 have the full discussion.

24 So with that, I will just invite us -- and I
25 want to just quickly reference back to Jeremy's words last

1 week. As we think about our goal over our time together,
2 of really weaving this tapestry of thoughts together, and
3 bringing threads from our past conversations to bear
4 today, and to think about where we are going.

5 I just mention that, so that as you are
6 listening to the presentations today, and as you are
7 thinking about what you are hearing, please do think what
8 we talked about before. Feel free to take what resonates
9 with you from these papers. Hearken back to papers from
10 last week, and to the conversation of last week, and build
11 upon those thoughts by responding as our conversation goes
12 along.

13 We certainly don't want -- you know, this is
14 not an academic paper defense session by any means. It is
15 quite different from that. And we really want to
16 encourage people to take the conversation where you will,
17 and to tie the thoughts together as you will, and to move
18 us forward.

19 So with that, we will get started, unless Sukyi
20 or Bruce has anything that I have missed in my attempt to
21 play the role of Jeremy Travis, very briefly here.

22 MR. WESTERN: No. That was right on.

23 MS. HUFFMAN: Great. Well, in that case, we
24 will turn it over to Ananya, to get us started in our
25 conversation. And Ananya, we will let you introduce your

1 colleagues as well, and share with us your thoughts.

2 And just so everyone knows, Ananya will
3 present. Then, we will move pretty quickly. We will ask
4 any direct questions of you, Ananya, with regard to the
5 paper, as we always do.

6 Then, we will turn to Hedy, and do the same
7 with you. And then, open up for our conversation on the
8 broad subject together.

9 So with no further ado, Ananya.

10 MS. ROY: Good afternoon, everyone. This
11 paper, which is titled, "Unhousing the Poor: Interlocking
12 Regimes, Operationalized Policing," is part of ongoing
13 research at the UCLA Luskin Institute on Inequality and
14 Democracy to analyze new geographies, operational
15 segregation in Los Angeles, and in other U.S. cities.

16 The paper is co-authored by Terra Graziani of
17 the Anti-eviction Mapping Project, and Pamela Stephens, a
18 [audio skip] student at UCLA. As with all of the work of
19 the Institute, we acknowledge that we are on stolen lands,
20 and that we owe accountability to the communities and
21 movements that are on the front lines of what we call
22 racial banishment.

23 In my very brief presentation today, I want to
24 focus on a key aspect of the analysis in the paper, which
25 is the relationship between property and personhood. I

1 will argue that police, specifically, what Nikhil Pal
2 Singh has called "the whiteness of police," is essential
3 to this relationship between property and personhood.
4 Whiteness, Singh argues, and I am quoting, "emerges from
5 the government of property and its interests in
6 relationship to those who have no property and were
7 therefore imagined to harbor a potentially criminal
8 disregard of property toward" -- [audio skip]

9 Together, property, personhood, and police,
10 constitute a key structuring logic of racial capitalism,
11 and what I call its lifelong companion, liberalism. So
12 let's ground ourselves in the City of Angels with an LA
13 icon, Nipsey Hussle. A member of the Rollin 60's Crips
14 since his teenage years, Nipsey Hussle came to be known
15 for his extraordinary contributions to hip hop, and for
16 his vision of community power.

17 At the heart of that vision was the strip mall
18 at Crenshaw and Slauson in South Central Los Angeles,
19 where he opened The Marathon Clothing Company Store in
20 2007. And I hope some of you are thinking about "Grinding
21 All My Life" as you listen to me today.

22 On March 31, 2019, Nipsey Hussle was shot dead
23 outside that store. One of LA's writers, Sahra Sulaiman,
24 has noted that the fight to claim place and space at
25 Crenshaw and Slauson would become the defining struggle of

1 Nipsey Hussle's life. It was also the site of his death.

2 Days after his death, the *New York Times* broke
3 the story of an ongoing criminal investigation, by the LA
4 Police Department, of Nipsey Hussle. Soon, David Gross,
5 Nipsey Hussle's business partner, posted on Instagram the
6 nuisance abatement demand letter that the LA City
7 Attorney's Office had sent to The Marathon Clothing
8 Company a few months before Nipsey Hussle's death, noting
9 that the artist and activist had been subject to
10 persistent criminalization by the City.

11 I knew the letter. At the Institute on
12 Inequality in Democracy, we had just procured scores of
13 nuisance abatement lawsuits filed by the LA City
14 Attorney's Office against property owners. That regime of
15 policing, nuisance abatement, is in turn, part of a
16 broader process that we have come to call racial
17 banishment.

18 Racial banishment reminds us that
19 gentrification and displacement are not just market-driven
20 processes, but rather, enabled by state organized banners
21 that expels and even kills Black, Brown, and Indigenous
22 people. So one example of this is the ongoing national
23 discussion of how Breonna Taylor's murder must be
24 understood in the context of what many have called a major
25 gentrification makeover, which involved a police operation

1 called Place Based Investigations, presumably focused on
2 narcotics crimes. But it was more about speeding up
3 Louisville's multimillion-dollar Vision Russell
4 development plan.

5 In our paper, we analyze the territorial logic
6 of interlocking regimes of racialized policing, and argue
7 that such regimes have played a key role in the systematic
8 unhousing of the poor in U.S. cities. And let me just
9 mention two of these regimes of policing.

10 The first is the proliferation of municipal
11 ordinances that criminalize those who are seen to be
12 outside of, or a threat to, propertied order. Namely,
13 people experiencing homelessness. In Los Angeles, such
14 ordinances enable the confiscation and destruction of the
15 personal property of the unhoused by sanitation workers in
16 collaboration with the police, what are known as sweeps.

17 Other ordinances prohibit vehicle dwelling,
18 illegalizing a really important form of shelter for the
19 unhoused. What is at stake is the use of legal reason and
20 legal authority to carry out the criminalization of
21 innocent behavior. This phrase was used in a Ninth
22 Circuit ruling against an earlier version of the vehicle
23 dwelling ordinance.

24 We argue that such ordinances have created a
25 state of civil death, social death, actual death. In Los

1 Angeles, the unhoused, disproportionately Black, are
2 subject to the forms of premature death that abolitionist
3 scholar Ruthie Gilmore views as a hallmark of racism. So
4 today, the average life expectancy of an unhoused woman in
5 LA is 48 years. And the average life expectancy of an
6 unhoused man is 51 years.

7 The second regime of policing returns us to
8 Nipsey Hussle, and it is nuisance abatement. In the
9 paper, we focus on something called CNAP, or the Citywide
10 Nuisance Abatement Program in Los Angeles, which started
11 in 1997, and targets properties.

12 Typically, CNAP cases imbues a combination of
13 narcotics abatement, public nuisance, and unfair
14 competition law to enact what they call the reformation of
15 property and uses what -- nuisance as a well-recognized
16 established exercise of the state's police power. CNAP is
17 part of a variegated national landscape of crime-free
18 rental housing ordinances and nuisance ordinances whereby
19 landlords are required to evict tenants who are found to
20 be causing nuisance.

21 So as evidenced in a series of legal challenges
22 mounted by the ACLU, these nuisance ordinances have often
23 become punishment for those experiencing domestic
24 violence. What I term the criminalization of
25 vulnerability. Our research in Los Angeles shows that an

1 overwhelming number of nuisance abatement cases have been
2 filed against properties in South Central Los Angeles,
3 specifically in census tracts where Black residents make
4 up 30 percent or more of the population.

5 What is at stake, we argue, in such filings, is
6 the construction of an intimate relationship between
7 police and property. So, narcotics and nuisance abatement
8 serve as the pretext for a vast expansion of police
9 presence and surveillance, from the inspection of guest
10 and tenant records, upon request and without warrant, to
11 multi-camera video monitoring systems with direct 24-hour
12 feeds to police departments, to key fobs, codes, and
13 clickers for specific police officers to all access points
14 at these properties.

15 Essentially, a CNAP demand letter, such as the
16 one sent to Nipsey Hussle, places the property in the
17 direct control of the City Attorney's Office, and the LA
18 Police Department, who then determine the maintenance of
19 security and safety. Behind each demand letter stands a
20 police investigation, typically, into gang activity.

21 So recently, information activist Michael Kohas
22 [phonetic] revealed that in 2018-2019, the City Attorney's
23 Office filed 13 nuisance abatement lawsuits in LA for the
24 office issued 479 demand letters against properties in the
25 same period.

1 We view city-level programs such as CNAP as the
2 consolidation of what the Stop LAPD Spying Coalition has
3 called, the Stalker State: a sprawling apparatus of
4 surveillance systems, predictive policing algorithms, and
5 spatialized imaginations of crime and terror. It is our
6 assessment that such programs concentrated in
7 neighborhoods that are on the frontlines of gentrification
8 enact racial banishment.

9 We also argue in the penultimate section of the
10 paper, and in keeping with the work of Elizabeth Hinton,
11 that this kind of restructuring of public housing that
12 we've seen with the war on drugs sets the stage for the
13 legal and carceral regimes that are now being implemented
14 through nuisance abatement ordinances. In particular,
15 nuisance abatement has become, as the LA City Attorney's
16 Office itself would say, gang injunctions by another name,
17 at a time when gang injunctions and gang databases are
18 under increasing scrutiny.

19 Now the paper itself, of course, provides this
20 analysis as a way for us to collectively think about
21 housing as a social contract. The paper was written in
22 quite a different moment.

23 So let me conclude by saying that what we are
24 facing now in Los Angeles and in many other U.S. cities,
25 and what we've been trying to sound the alarm on, is going

1 to be possibly the largest mass displacement in the
2 history of the region, since Indigenous genocide and
3 dispossession. Our research shows that nearly half a
4 million renter households are at the risk of eviction in
5 Los Angeles this year, when the eviction courts reopen,
6 which will most likely be on September 1st.

7 The paper concludes with the discussion of what
8 it might mean to think about rights -- housing rights
9 without conditions, and what it might mean to reimagine
10 social housing in the United States. But I think we face
11 a somewhat different moment now, where the struggle for
12 housing justice, of course, conjoined with the uprising
13 for racial justice requires mass mobilization. And that
14 mass mobilization is underway in LA with rent strikes,
15 eviction blockades, and a reimagining of housing itself.

16 So we might very well be on the cusp of mass
17 displacement. But I think we are also on the cusp of a
18 necessary reimagining of housing as a part of the social
19 contract in the U.S. And that, I would argue, entails,
20 necessarily, a reimagining of the relationship between
21 property, personhood, and police.

22 So let me stop here and turn it back to
23 Katharine.

24 MS. HUFFMAN: Great. Thank you, Ananya, so
25 much, for that overview. Does anyone have any clarifying

1 questions for Ananya, before we continue?

2 (No response.)

3 MS. HUFFMAN: I would like to very happily note
4 that we are joined by Jeremy Travis, who is with us, and
5 hopefully will not have connectivity issues. But to be on
6 the safe side, I will sort of continue to help manage the
7 queue during our conversation today.

8 Jeremy will jump in as a participant and with
9 any thoughts he might want to contribute as well, but we
10 will just continue to move forward with everything. So
11 Jeremy, welcome. And glad things worked out.

12 So with that then, we will turn it over to
13 Hedy. And Hedy, you can give us a little bit of an
14 overview to follow that. And then, we will open up for
15 group discussion.

16 Hedy.

17 MS. LEE: Great. Thanks. Please stop me if
18 you can't see or hear me. I am also having trouble with
19 my internet. So just let me know. Just shout it out.
20 Because I am using headphones to listen to you and talk,
21 and then the video to see people.

22 So today, I am going to be talking about health
23 care as justice reform. And I want to thank everyone for
24 the opportunity to engage with you. I have really learned
25 a lot over the past two meetings already. And my comments

1 reflect and are shaped by the conversations that we have
2 already had, as you will see.

3 I also want to recognize my co-authors, who are
4 joining the meeting. Liza Weiss, who is Executive
5 Director of Missouri Appleseed, and Finola Prendergast,
6 who is Director of Research at Missouri Appleseed.
7 Missouri Appleseed focuses on the health and health care
8 of those impacted by the criminal justice system.

9 And we have been working together on several
10 initiatives in the State of Missouri, related to the
11 health and wellbeing of individuals in jails and prisons,
12 but also their families. And some of that was discussed
13 in the paper. And I am happy to talk more about that, as
14 we talk through some of these issues, as well.

15 I am going to try to be brief with my comments,
16 to ensure we have time for discussion and debate. Sukyi
17 said to try to stick to five minutes. So I am going to
18 try to stick to my notes, and not be the academic that
19 talks on and on. So you can hold me on it. Stop me
20 anytime, if I am starting to do that.

21 So I think from the perspective of a
22 sociologist, and a demographer who studies population,
23 health, and health disparities -- so, if you got a chance
24 to read the paper before today, you might notice that we
25 put care in parenthesis in our title around Health(care)

1 as Justice Reform. And that was on purpose.

2 Because although healthcare matters, and we
3 really do need to focus on healthcare, thinking about and
4 talking about health also matters, and care for persons
5 outside of the healthcare context might matter even more
6 than healthcare. And I think Ananya's point kind of
7 alluded to that already.

8 Unhoused populations having much lower levels
9 -- higher levels of mortality and lower life expectancy
10 means there is other kinds of things that are impacting
11 our health, more than just the doctors we see. And I
12 actually spent a lot of time talking about the fact that
13 even if we were able to equalize healthcare in the United
14 States, we would continue to see health disparities. That
15 is not to say that we shouldn't be focusing on and
16 thinking about equal access to healthcare to all.

17 But, we should know and be clear about the fact
18 that even in countries we compare ourselves to for having
19 superior welfare states, some of the countries that David
20 discussed last week, most of which do have universal
21 health care, we still see very significant racial, ethnic,
22 and socioeconomic disparities in their health and
23 mortality. So even in populations that have healthcare
24 access for everyone, we are still seeing poorer health
25 outcomes for marginalized populations.

1 And this is because of the many reasons we have
2 been discussing, some of which were outlined in our paper.

3 And I think one of the major points that, you know, we
4 want to talk about is that we cannot address health
5 disparities until we address social structural upstream
6 factors, like economic, criminal justice, housing,
7 educational, and environmental policies that make us sick
8 way before we ever get to the doctor's office or the
9 emergency room.

10 The COVID-19 pandemic has brought this idea, I
11 think, or we think, into sharp relief. Containing the
12 virus, and protecting people from infection and the
13 negative consequences of infection, requires attention to
14 things like conditions of confinement, job conditions,
15 housing conditions, as well as the things that we often
16 talk about in the news, like testing and health care. And
17 it also requires us to imagine in a more inclusive way
18 what community and safety mean.

19 Because for a community to be resilient, every
20 member of that community has to be resilient. And for a
21 community to be safe, everybody in that community also has
22 to be healthy.

23 In our essay, we suggest that policies to
24 improve the health of communities need to target
25 individuals in prison and jail, both during incarceration

1 and after release. But policies must also aid
2 incarcerated people's families and communities. Families
3 and communities aren't usually the unseen collateral
4 damage in discussions around mass incarceration.

5 And these policies have to extend beyond
6 healthcare interventions to focus on some of the
7 structural changes that I mentioned. So we must begin to
8 see health in all of our policies, not just in our
9 healthcare policies. And in many cases, and as our
10 examples show in the paper, the kind of policies that will
11 support individuals, their families, and communities are
12 usually beyond the scope of healthcare, or even
13 traditional public health activities.

14 So things like alternative sentencing
15 practices, that keep families together, can positively
16 impact the health and well-being of families and children
17 in both the short and the long term, by allowing a
18 caretaker to remain in the household and in their
19 community, and support and provide for their community as
20 well.

21 And also, importantly, is that it is imperative
22 to bring narratives of public health and public safety
23 together. Since public health is a matter of public
24 safety, policies that threaten public health, including
25 mass incarceration, cannot be considered a public safety

1 win.

2 Another issue not talked about in the paper,
3 but important to this discussion is that good health is
4 also, fundamentally, a human rights issue. Of course,
5 healthcare, again, is an important piece of the story.
6 But when we are thinking about health as a human right, we
7 can't just be talking about healthcare.

8 Our country has yet to fully recognize health
9 as a human right, in our policies or our practices. And
10 lack of universal health care is just one example of why
11 that is the case.

12 Many groups often clamor to say that the U.S.
13 government champions human rights around the world. We
14 insist that other countries protect human rights. We even
15 impose sanctions on other countries who fail to support
16 human rights. But we don't do the same job in our own
17 home front.

18 So effective changes to improve health are
19 going to be unlikely until health advocates can leverage a
20 framework broader than health to mobilize political
21 action. So they need to be able to collaborate with non-
22 healthcare sector advocates, including those in housing,
23 which was talked about today, and education, which will be
24 talked about next week.

25 Achieving good health for all, how will we

1 define health, which is a whole another bag we can talk
2 about. It may seem like an elusive goal. But like the
3 many things we have talked about in these roundtables, it
4 requires outside-of-the-box thinking, opportunities to
5 test new ideas, and to fail forward.

6 Okay, I am going to stop there, so that we can
7 have our conversation. Hopefully, you heard me, and I am
8 not talking to nobody right now.

9 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes, you came through. You came
10 through loud and clear, Hedy. Thank you so much.

11 Anyone have any clarifying questions for Hedy,
12 before we open up for conversation?

13 (No response.)

14 MS. HUFFMAN: All right. Seeing none. One
15 other quick note, our colleague Erik Bringswhite has
16 joined us. He is on by phone, so you are not seeing his
17 face on the video. But Erik is here as well.

18 Erik, it is great to have you. And Erik, feel
19 free to kind of pipe in, if you want to get into the
20 conversation. And we will make sure to pause, since you
21 are not able to raise your hand on the chat.

22 So with that, I will invite folks to raise your
23 hand. Reminder that you do that through -- by clicking on
24 the participants button below. And then, you can click to
25 raise your hand. And we'll be recognizing folks in the

1 order that your hands are raised.

2 Reminder that if you do have a comment that you
3 would like to make out loud, right in the moment, the
4 insistent wave is always available to you. And feel free
5 to do that. Just literally, physically raising, waving
6 your hand so that I can see you, and we will bring you
7 into the conversation right then, if you need to speak.

8 So with that, I will open it up for folks who
9 have a thought prompted by those papers, and
10 presentations, and by other conversations that we have had
11 over our time together.

12 (Pause.)

13 MS. HUFFMAN: Kristian, why don't you get us
14 started?

15 MS. CABALLERO: Happy to. Can you all hear me
16 okay?

17 MS. HUFFMAN: Perfectly.

18 MS. CABALLERO: So again, as far as my
19 background is concerned, you know, not just a longtime
20 community activist and organizer on a variety of social
21 justice issues, but I also served on the Human Rights
22 Commission here in the city of Austin.

23 And one of the many issues that I continuously
24 try to address through the Human Rights Commission is that
25 housing is a human right. And so, in the city of Austin

1 of course, like many other cities across the country, we
2 are struggling with the effects of gentrification and
3 displacement, especially in our historically Black and
4 Latino neighborhoods.

5 And you know, with COVID right now, I think we
6 are just seeing that a lot of these issues that have been
7 issues for a while being magnified. And the rate of
8 displacement, you know, being exacerbated even more so.
9 But what I would like to go back to the hope of the time
10 that we are going through right now is that while these
11 issues are being magnified and exacerbated, hopefully, we
12 take it more seriously, and actually start defining these
13 as a human right.

14 Not only a human rights issue, but that we have
15 a right -- that people have a right to housing, and they
16 have a right to access to resources. Especially with the
17 intersection of you know, healthcare and you know, access
18 to food, access to education, technology, transportation,
19 and so forth.

20 I think one thing that I really appreciate
21 about both of these topics is that you all are kind of
22 showing the intersection of a lot of these issues. So
23 from housing to you know, policing. And then of course,
24 healthcare to criminal justice. But also back again, how
25 it goes back to housing.

1 I think one of the things that we are seeing
2 here in Austin is a push -- especially in response to
3 COVID, is a push to making a lot of these resources more
4 accessible, and mobilizing things, where we typically
5 expect people to go to, to receive services. We are
6 actually seeing more of a push and a need to mobilize
7 those services to where people are being displaced, and
8 being pushed further out of the inner city core.

9 So I think that is all I have to add for now.
10 That is my hope and my optimism with these issues being
11 magnified, is that hopefully, we do become a little bit
12 more innovative in how we address these issues, and making
13 sure that people have access to the resources that they
14 need.

15 MS. HUFFMAN: Great. Thank you, Kristian. So
16 we will go next to Emily. And just so folks know, next up
17 will be Danielle, and then Eddie will follow that.

18 Emily?

19 MS. WANG: Great. So I really appreciated kind
20 of reading both of these papers as well. And really
21 appreciated, kind of racial banishment. That kind of is a
22 term that is not familiar to me. And just this whole
23 concept. I just found that piece really powerful.

24 My comments are mostly directed towards, I am
25 looking for you, Hedy, on the screen, and I don't see you

1 now -- Hedy and your co-authors are really thinking about
2 health and healthcare as a driver, an important piece of
3 how it is that we reimagine a just society. And there is
4 two places that I want to reflect on.

5 And I think oftentimes, I mean, I am, as a
6 practicing physician -- I see a sign saying my internet is
7 unstable, and I am at Yale, so that is disappointing.

8 MS. HUFFMAN: We hear you, Emily.

9 MS. WANG: Okay. Good. So I will keep going.

10 I want us to push us thinking about -- I mean, I am a
11 physician. I see patients at the individual level. I
12 think it is really important I am the first to say is
13 that, you know, healthcare is a small little bit, but it
14 is critically important of how it is that we are in --
15 really kind of create healthier communities.

16 But people do need healthcare. And it should
17 be a human right and it isn't. And also, you know, the
18 health system is a huge actor. And it is never ever
19 discussed as an actor in criminal justice reform or how we
20 reimagine a just and safe society.

21 And I just, I want to bring into this space,
22 that, you know, accounts for right now, 20 percent of our
23 gross domestic product every year, 20 percent, one out of
24 six new jobs is in the healthcare industry. It is a force
25 in New Haven and in many of the communities where we have

1 Transitions Clinic Networks, a major force for
2 gentrification and for this racial banishment. A major
3 force.

4 And so, you know, I want to introduce this
5 important piece, is that, you know, it is not just the
6 provision of -- the delivery of services, the healthcare
7 delivery. It is, I think, an infinitely blown up
8 industry. You know, like it is profiteering at all levels
9 and also, it drives our economy. It creates spaces that
10 are -- where some people exist and can exist safely, and
11 others cannot.

12 And so, I just wanted to say that first and
13 foremost, is that many of the settings that we have been
14 in are thinking about, and I think it is important, the
15 patient, or the individual. I mean, it is not the patient
16 to you guys, but for me it is. And the people that have
17 been incarcerated, their families, their communities. But
18 it is a mammoth that has ties in all sorts of ways. So
19 that is the first big piece.

20 And then, for Hedy, and I still don't see you,
21 within healthcare, and I will be the first to say is,
22 again, I think insurance is deeply necessary and deeply
23 not sufficient. There are two good papers out there that
24 show that with the expansion of the Affordable Care Act,
25 it did move the needle.

1 And increasing insurance rates, you know, using
2 national data, showing that individuals that have criminal
3 justice involvement did get insured, and also at increased
4 rates, compared to those never incarcerated. And also,
5 they just didn't make it to primary care. They don't know
6 how to make it to primary care, that this is a place that
7 is not trusted. It is not a place that invites people in.

8 And so, the work that has to be done is
9 critical, but Medicaid, healthcare expansion, the
10 Affordable Care Act, what has happened brilliantly in
11 Missouri is critical to this. At the individual level,
12 there is something profound. I actually do think it is
13 one of the biggest piece of criminal justice legislations
14 we have had in the last decade is the Affordable Care Act.

15 And I also will say is that the literature that
16 crosses over looking at healthcare interventions and how
17 it impacts future justice involvement is growing, but it
18 is small. And the work that we have done in Transitions
19 Clinic Network shows that, you know, even in a study where
20 we had people in Transitions, compared to those never in
21 Transitions, and maps them.

22 People that were in Transitions, this is a
23 program that you know, exists across the country, that
24 Hedy references in her paper, and which I deeply believe
25 in. We hire people with histories of incarceration to

1 work in the health system, you know. Felony records, in
2 the health system, working alongside primary care doctors.

3 It reduces future criminal justice contact, as
4 we might all expect. You know, that people go in less.
5 They spend less time in. And even, you know, any amount
6 of time is worthy of an investment, kind of, in our
7 primary care infrastructure to kind of get people out.

8 And so to me, some of that I think is important
9 is that we haven't pushed what can be done within
10 healthcare systems, both as the delivery agent of
11 services, nor as a huge economic engine. Huge. Like,
12 think about all the barriers for hiring people to work in
13 the healthcare system if you have a felony record.

14 That is kind of a lot of what we do in
15 Transitions. It is huge. One out of six every new jobs.

16 You know, and so, to me, it is that piece also
17 that is really critically important. It is something
18 profound, and has -- reaches way beyond just the delivery
19 of services.

20 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Emily. And I will
21 just let folks know, it looks like Hedy is still on, but
22 she is not on by video at the moment. So when you are
23 speaking to her, she is hearing you. But just, you don't
24 see her face.

25 MS. WANG: Good to know. I was trying to make

1 Zoom eye contact, and I couldn't.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Right. Right. The magic of Zoom
3 eye contact. So Danielle, our queue is growing. Danielle
4 is up next, then Eddie. And then after that, Deanna,
5 Fatimah and Dona are in the queue.

6 And I encourage others to join in. We are
7 going to be going through, in this one session, to the end
8 of our time together today. So we will be able to fit
9 more folks into the conversation.

10 So Danielle?

11 MS. ALLEN: Thanks a lot. Thank you for two
12 really super interesting papers. I want to make just some
13 observations about resonances across conversations. And
14 then I have a question for Ananya.

15 So I mean, I just -- when we get to my paper,
16 you will see that the kind of concept of banishment is
17 important to me, too. So I really appreciated seeing it
18 come out so concretely in your paper. And I think it is a
19 very useful concept, racial banishment, for talking about
20 what is at the core of a cluster of contemporary practices
21 linking policing and incarceration.

22 And you know, and in some sense, the kind of
23 job is to reconnect the conversation about public safety
24 to the opposite of that. And your paper does a great job
25 of kind of articulating the opposite. And that is also

1 what I am trying to do and I think many of us are trying
2 to do.

3 And I think, relatedly, Hedy's paper does a
4 beautiful job of really making the point that you know,
5 incarceration -- and this is a point others make, that it,
6 you know, degrades health. And in that regard, we have to
7 measure its negative public safety impact. And it has a
8 kind of measurable, you know, impact on public safety,
9 that there is sort of broad communities of health, where
10 health is degraded as a consequence of incarceration.

11 As I just wanted to sort of say out loud, that
12 it is beautiful to see this sort of field of -- coming
13 together. That sort of across the spaces of the
14 relationship between policing and housing, incarceration
15 and health, and so forth, you can have a kind of negative
16 picture of the damage done to health and wellbeing across
17 these policy domains. And therefore, also the inverse, a
18 sort of positive picture.

19 So, okay now -- so, the question is very
20 specific. But it is one I always myself get personally
21 stuck on. So this is kind of a plea for help. It was
22 super interesting to read about the way in which the
23 nuisance abatement procedure has replaced, or you know, is
24 building on a kind of gang databases and approaches [audio
25 skip] race-based investigations, stuff like that.

1 And you know, LA's history is obviously
2 extraordinary on that front. And the thing I am
3 wondering, is something along the lines of the folly. It
4 is sort of -- within this network of research, I really am
5 curious to know what the sort of state of the art on
6 thinking about gangs is, at this point in time, insofar as
7 you know, in my own, the way I sort of thought about
8 gangs, sort of work I have done about sort of gangs in the
9 '90s.

10 I have tended to focus on gangs as offering a
11 kind of alternative principle of social, sociology,
12 socialization, and so forth. So that you know, people who
13 are participating are making a choice between different
14 structures of social participation. And so, that -- you
15 know, if we are sort of serious about reimagining how
16 policy tools support community health and the strength of
17 social relations, I think we actually have to take
18 seriously the challenge of gangs, too.

19 So in other words, you know, fully recognizing
20 the problematic nature of the tools that have been used,
21 because they are part of this field of banishment,
22 basically, because they are racial banishment, sort of
23 like the conversation with violence.

24 We -- what is our answer, then, to how to think
25 about the ways in which gangs do pull people into an

1 alternative form of sociality. It has some benefits,
2 granted, but also has a whole lot of negatives, so --

3 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes.

4 MS. ALLEN: I sort of, right. I don't know
5 where that question went --

6 MS. HUFFMAN: Right. Thank you, Danielle. You
7 know, given the length of our session, normally, we would
8 say, you know, Hedy. Hang on to those questions. You are
9 going to get a chance to respond to them. Let's get a few
10 folks, more folks in the conversation.

11 And then Hedy, and Ananya, maybe we will pause
12 for a moment, and give you guys a minute, kind of halfway
13 through, to respond to some of the ideas that are coming
14 up. Just so we can keep you in the conversation in that
15 way as well, if that works for everybody. Great. Thank
16 you, Danielle.

17 So Eddie, and then, Deanna.

18 MR. BOCANEGRA: Yes. Thanks, Katharine. I
19 appreciate the -- both reports that were shared right now.
20 I want to just take a couple of minutes, just to kind of
21 piece together what I -- what that kind of resonated for
22 me.

23 So if I think about, you know, I managed one of
24 those large antiviolence programs in our city, here in
25 Chicago. And you know, we are very explicit in terms of

1 who we serve. And so, just to kind of give you a
2 snapshot, the men in our program have 17, 18 arrests.
3 Four or five of them are fighting the arrest. 60 percent
4 of them are fathers. 60 percent of them have done prison
5 time. And over 80 percent are victims of violence, which
6 about 200 of them have been victims of gun violence,
7 right.

8 So there is a lot that I know about, about our
9 men. This is not self-reporting. This is police and
10 hospital data that helps inform, right, the profiles of
11 the men that we work.

12 And ironically, there is a few things that I
13 wanted to lift up, right, when we think about this kind of
14 framework around health and justice, right. So one of the
15 biggest concerns that we continue to see in our state is
16 that if you have done your time, you completed your time.

17 And yet, you have nowhere to parole to.

18 You are violated at the door, right. The
19 minute you are going to step out that door, you are
20 violated, and you are held in the corrections for a longer
21 duration of time. And that to me is an injustice, right,
22 in many ways.

23 Because the onus is pretty much, like, they are
24 stating that if you aren't able to parole somewhere,
25 right, you could have done 20, 30 years, and you have no

1 family to go to, because of that, right, we are going to
2 further punish you. Because of your inability, right, to
3 access housing, ultimately. And that is just -- it is an
4 injustice in so many ways, right.

5 And then, the other part too. COVID, for
6 example. You know, by standard definition, which is the
7 Chicago Public School definition, 17 percent of our men
8 are homeless. But really, in terms of unstable housing,
9 it is a little bit over 80 percent.

10 And by that, I mean 80 percent of the men in
11 our program, despite of the fact that they are receiving a
12 job through us, they are couch surfing. They are living
13 with their sister, their grandmother, you know, a friend.

14 Most of the time, it is actually friends they are living
15 with.

16 And in some cases, some of these friends or
17 family members, and this is what COVID taught us. That
18 while they were received, right, in these homes, homes
19 that, you know, 800, 900 square foot apartments, that
20 often you would find, you know, between five and twelve
21 people living, including kids. Because of COVID and
22 because of the restrictions of our state, of not being
23 able to, you know, shelter in place, and so on, they were
24 stuck in these homes.

25 And so, we saw an increase of domestic violence

1 as a result of that and we are continuing to see an
2 increase of violence in our city. So between Memorial Day
3 weekend and the 4th of July weekend, we have had 153
4 people killed in Chicago. Five of them were the men in my
5 program. And those aren't the ones that are in the
6 treatment group, right. Those that are in the control
7 group are probably twice as much.

8 So housing has to -- it is the inability of
9 housing, right. One of the fundamental Maslow hierarchy
10 of needs, right, the housing, safety, it is something that
11 we are unable to really provide for many of our men in our
12 program. And then we're shocked and surprised why we see
13 an increase of violence, right.

14 And I think the more that we frame it around
15 kind of a health disparity, right, I believe, based on
16 what I heard right now, allows us, right, to think about
17 different frameworks and different opportunities for
18 funding streams. Whether it is through philanthropy or
19 the public sector.

20 But I just think that there is an injustice
21 there, right. That we further punish those who aren't
22 able to move forward or to find stable housing. And I am,
23 you know, curious.

24 And I am taking notes from other people's
25 comments. Danielle, your comments right now were really,

1 really well. I am taking notes, so I can bring that to my
2 team.

3 Because I just think about even today, when we
4 are thinking about the census. It's where we are trying
5 to collect more names and numbers. I think about, our men
6 are often excluded from there. Not just simply because of
7 the housing, which is a major part, but the other parts.
8 Because they are already marginalized. They are already
9 excluded from direct service.

10 They are not social service seekers. Like, our
11 men in READI are not social service seekers. Like, I am
12 going out to them, and finding them in the streets to
13 bring them in, right. And that is another major challenge
14 as is associated to the housing.

15 So I just wanted to say thank you for that. No
16 question, but just more of a comment.

17 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Eddie. Yes. It is
18 really, you know, kind of hearing in all of these comments
19 and questions, the ways that these systems are both --
20 they are part of the answer, but they are also part of the
21 problem. And you know, the sort of ways in which they can
22 be part of a punishment system as well.

23 We'll turn to Deanna, and then, Fatimah, you
24 will be up next. Deanna.

25 MS. VAN BUREN: Thanks, Katharine. Both of

1 these presentations and papers are really resonating with
2 me, particularly the housing piece.

3 I have just been thinking about housing a lot,
4 and in particular, reentry housing for folks coming home,
5 since there are no financing structures for that, is a big
6 gap in the market. And then just sort of -- just have
7 a -- just a comment, but also some queries. And maybe
8 just a plea for help, with the brain trust we have here.

9 We also advocate for housing as a human right.

10 It just is, as it is a base for our lives. And I think
11 the gentrification piece, wherever we go, is the biggest
12 source of trauma for a lot of communities.

13 Usually people are incredibly terrified of
14 that. And it sort of is something we are constantly
15 having to address and deal with, and often don't know the
16 answer.

17 And you know, while we are even looking at
18 reentry housing, also been approached by housing
19 developers, non-profit housing developers, and the non-
20 profit housing developer complex, right. Because that
21 system itself is a whole host of problems that don't
22 actually help people get out of poverty. They don't
23 actually help people own their housing.

24 So we have been inviting them into conversation
25 about what can we actually do to make this form of housing

1 equitable, and to sit down at the table. So the design of
2 these facilities, but also the financing of them. It is
3 just not equitable, right. It is not culturally relevant.

4 It is not culturally responsible. There is no pathways
5 to ownership. All of that. And so, whatever.

6 I had just a question for Ananya, in terms of
7 this policing piece that you have brought into it, the
8 banishment piece. I almost felt a little down, because I
9 hadn't even thought about that. Like, there is so many
10 challenges for the housing piece.

11 Like, here is another one. And I am curious
12 about its intersection with NIMBYism, Not In My Back Yard,
13 which is a huge issue for our work. We can get something.

14 We can get a housing, a reentry housing project shut down
15 in five seconds with that piece alone, and how that ties
16 into the calling of the police.

17 And I am also curious about ownership versus
18 renting. And do those things -- are those things
19 impacting what you are seeing in your research?

20 And then, my plea for help is always, like,
21 just hoping that folks can -- we can come together as a
22 community and begin to resolve, or at least brainstorm and
23 think about how to address some of these housing issues.
24 Because I think there is a lot of layers that we have to
25 talk through and work through. And it just has to be

1 done.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Deanna. Thanks a lot.

3 And Ananya, like I said, we will circle back in a few
4 minutes to give both you and Hedy a chance to answer some
5 questions directly. But that plea for help was to
6 everyone. So you are all up.

7 And we will turn to -- let's do this. We will
8 turn to Fatimah, Dona, Kimá and Lynda. And then, we will
9 pause for a moment, give our authors a chance to respond
10 to what they are hearing at that point. And then we will
11 continue the conversation.

12 So Fatimah?

13 MS. DREIER: This has been incredibly useful.
14 I also really enjoyed the papers and the discussion thus
15 far. You know, Emily, I appreciate what you said. And
16 Eddie, I want to thank you for also sharing about your
17 clients.

18 I do note, I actually just came from a talk I
19 gave to the American Hospital Association to talk about
20 community violence and racial equity. And beginning this
21 conversation about the default white supremacist ways in
22 which healthcare kind of views or operates, without
23 questioning or without interrogating its own history and
24 understanding of kind of the impact on communities of
25 color. Healthcare's impact on communities of color.

1 But then also, thinking about it as a place of
2 power, as Emily said. And where there are opportunities,
3 and we actually talked explicitly about housing, and about
4 where hospitals as investors can align around community
5 strategies for housing. And to do this equitably, right.

6 And so, we got into the minutiae of, well, what
7 would this -- you know, how do you hire a private equity
8 firm that actually is aligned around certain practices and
9 principles in communities. What are, you know -- talking
10 to -- sorry.

11 Let me take a step back, for those of you who
12 don't know me. So I run the Health Alliance for Violence
13 Intervention. And we are a national network of hospital-
14 based violence intervention programs. So we are talking
15 about violence.

16 We are talking about those who were at great
17 risk were largely boys and men of color. Many of our
18 clients overlapped with the sorts of patients that Eddie
19 referred to. And their needs for housing are huge.

20 So we have programs that have found investors
21 and are taking on housing projects. And they have to
22 address the question -- I was just talking to someone
23 today about this, addressing questions of risk and
24 liability. That is always what comes up.

25 And so, how do you talk about equity? How do

1 you ensure that people get the support they need when --
2 and what are the financial vehicles to allow this to
3 happen equitably? And how do you get healthcare on board
4 as a player that is not just looking out for its own
5 interests, but actually aligning with community needs?

6 These are really big questions. But I do think
7 that it is taking the thinking here, and asking questions
8 like, in what ways could healthcare be mitigated with the
9 impacts of racial banishment as a healthcare issue, right.
10 As something we can look at it in healthcare.

11 We see police entering hospitals, right. And
12 particularly for our patients. And thinking about ways in
13 which health professionals are mitigating and buffering at
14 the site at which people are being harmed. So this is
15 happening in some ways.

16 So there is kind of a lot to be thinking about
17 here. I want to also just talk about -- I will say one
18 last thing. Danielle, you raised a question about gangs.

19 And you know, obviously, folks in the violence
20 intervention and prevention space have thought a lot about
21 gang intervention, how do you redirect?

22 How do you -- and what does it mean to bring
23 that work to scale in ways that encourage those who are
24 most impacted to be employed by programs to actually do
25 the work of redirecting. That is labor and work that is

1 really important, without professionalizing itself,
2 becoming a tool to -- that can have deleterious effects.

3 So how do you keep the integrity of this
4 incredible work on the ground, but also scale it
5 commensurate to the need. Right. That has to -- so how
6 do you structuralize this.

7 And as we think, I am excited to think with all
8 of you, about in this new social contract, when you bring
9 something to scale, what are the consequences for the
10 intentional work that happens in small batches?

11 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes. Thank you, Fatimah. That
12 is a really interesting additional quandary. Dona, you
13 are up.

14 MS. MURPHEY: So I wanted to share some
15 perspective that I have on a topic that I think we haven't
16 really discussed here explicitly but is very relevant.
17 The idea of banishment and racial banishment specifically,
18 or deliberate displacement, intentional displacement of
19 people, and the ways in which that intersects with health,
20 healthcare, and the lack thereof.

21 So I do work with Doctors for America. We are
22 right now building on a medical/legal collaborative
23 between physicians and attorneys who work in immigration
24 law and also in criminal justice. And we are trying to
25 ensure that the people who have unmet health needs

1 basically have somebody to attend to those needs, but
2 those people to be in conversation also with lawyers who
3 might benefit from the input of physicians in doing
4 advocacy, legal advocacy for those people.

5 So this project actually grew out of work that
6 we do in Matamoros, which we started in December of last
7 year, as the result of -- or yes. In order to meet some
8 unmet needs there, after the U.S. Government had put into
9 place a policy called the Migrant Protection Protocols,
10 which we often refer to -- those of us who do advocacy
11 around those refer to as the Migrant Persecution
12 Protocols. And this was a policy to very deliberately
13 displace people.

14 They would have otherwise come into the United
15 States. They are asylum-seeking families. And there are
16 somewhere around 60,000 people who have now been
17 deliberately put across the border.

18 And these are people who aren't going to leave
19 because they are fleeing circumstances that are far more
20 dire. And they are willing to risk what they are risking
21 now, in very dangerous communities, actually, along the
22 border. So in some cases, many thousands of people in
23 outdoor open-air encampments, where they are subject to,
24 you know, all sorts of violence, in those communities.

25 And something that we observed there, actually,

1 is that, you know, I was part of a medical relief effort.

2 So we have recruited physicians to come in and provide
3 relief in the encampment itself, to meet, you know, basic
4 needs. People who have chronic illnesses, to make sure
5 those people are doing okay, and then, acute needs as
6 well, as they came up. Now, they are dealing with COVID,
7 actually, in the encampment.

8 What I had noticed is that Customs and Border
9 Protection actually, the way that they enforce -- we would
10 have people going to the bridge, the International Bridge,
11 to get across the bridge to come into the United States,
12 with attorneys, with physicians advocating for children
13 who were seizing, who were septic. And the judgment that
14 would be made about whether those people would receive
15 care on the U.S. side, because that was not possible with
16 the small medical relief effort that we had at the
17 encampment. And it was left to somebody without any
18 medical expertise.

19 And that was also, I am sure, very intentional.

20 It is very intentional, the way that it is done. The way
21 that health care is delivered. Or the way -- the many
22 ways in which it is actually not delivered within the
23 immigration detention industrial complex, is super
24 problematic. As it is also in the criminal justice
25 system, I have no doubt. But I was familiar with that.

1 So I did want to share that. The other thing I
2 wanted to speak to is what Emily had mentioned about, just
3 the monstrosity of healthcare.

4 In my community, I learned this in Pearland,
5 Texas, right. I have learned this on a smaller scale, but
6 I feel like this probably is true in other communities,
7 the way in which healthcare gets instantiated here. And
8 it is a huge industry. I think it is one of the biggest
9 industries in Houston, if not the biggest.

10 I mean, we often claim that we have the largest
11 medical center in the entire world, and Pearland is just
12 south of the medical center. A lot of the people who live
13 here are professionals working in medicine. And in my
14 community in Pearland, the people who run the hospitals,
15 okay, those executives -- the people who work in those
16 hospitals, they live in our community.

17 And they are very imbedded with the people in
18 local government, with the people who run our schools,
19 everything. The religious communities, the social
20 communities, they are all intertwined -- inextricably
21 intertwined with one another.

22 So the problem, I think, far exceeds just
23 addressing what is happening within healthcare itself.
24 Because those people are so integrated into other very
25 broken and problematic systems. So yes, that is basically

1 what I wanted to share.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you for that, Dona. Thanks
3 a lot. So we are going to hear from Kimá and Lynda, and
4 then we will pause for a moment.

5 Others should feel free to get in the queue.
6 We have several people already jumping in to follow that
7 discussion. So we will keep things going.

8 Also, just a reminder, if you do have comments,
9 if you folks are putting resources and quick thoughts in
10 the chat, which is really working well. So please
11 continue to do that, for folks who have thoughts or things
12 they want to capture in real time.

13 Kimá, over to you.

14 MS. TAYLOR: Thanks. And I have a comment, and
15 then something that I struggle with. And since Danielle
16 threw that out, I am going to take her lead.

17 But I would say, you know -- and another
18 healthcare comment. But truly, the current health care
19 system -- even in areas where there is opportunity, and
20 there is ways to create the breadth of health -- cannot be
21 part of the new social contract.

22 It is broken. It has mass disparities. It was
23 created in a way that really embraces a system of racism
24 and wants to continue these disparities. And so really, I
25 want us to be very thoughtful.

1 There is a reason some places have Medicaid and
2 expanded and some places don't. And a lot of times -- and
3 I do tons of work with looking at opportunities. I
4 understand the incremental approach. I will work through
5 the incremental approach until we find a new one.

6 But if we are really thinking of a square one,
7 that system cannot be part of the fundamental structure
8 and needs to be changed in a way that really cares for
9 people, individuals, families, communities in a holistic,
10 culturally effective, culturally relevant way. So I have
11 to say that, because I spent a lot of my lifetime to get
12 there.

13 But it actually leads me to another kind of
14 question in a lot of the conversations we have had, you
15 know, talking about housing. How do you provide
16 culturally relevant, culturally effective housing?

17 And I am really not using the cultural
18 competency word, for reasons that I could go off on, for
19 many ways. But long story short, you are never going to
20 be competent in all ways, right. So how do you provide
21 culturally effective services in housing and healthcare,
22 and this and that.

23 And I think that really speaks to how do we
24 care for one another? And that gets back to that
25 fundamental social contract.

1 And so, my question is, which I alluded to in
2 my comment, which I don't think came across as clear. So
3 I will be as concrete as possible. What I alluded to in
4 my first comment, it is like, even if we have these
5 conversations, we are talking about people who are
6 invisible, people who are not able to get their voices
7 heard.

8 Talking about, even as we recreate systems, how
9 do we make sure that we are not remarginalizing people?
10 Because we have taken so much of what history has taught
11 us unwittingly. And I really think we need to talk about
12 that.

13 Because if we are creating new structures, if
14 we talk about absolutely all of the land has been stolen,
15 so then, on the next level, how are you giving it out to
16 different people, when you fundamentally recognize it has
17 been stolen, right. Like there is real deep conversations
18 that need to happen as we are reinventing this structure.

19 And this is a place where I do not have
20 answers, but I struggle with it consistently. And I think
21 it is a conversation that we should have here, elsewhere,
22 all the time, and think through.

23 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Kimá. Thanks for
24 that. And you know, it's bringing back what Chas said to
25 us, gosh, I think the very first time we were together.

1 You know, as we think about reimagining, as we think about
2 Square One, how do we not bring all the problems that are
3 in our current existing structures just along with us,
4 into new ideas.

5 Lynda, shed some light on all of this for us,
6 please.

7 MS. ZELLER: Well, what a great conversation.
8 I wanted to go back to something Emily said, and then
9 actually something I heard from Matt yesterday, as part of
10 the Raben Group conversation, just to be challenged to
11 dream big around housing in particular, because I think
12 that is one of the toughest nuts to crack.

13 Because depending on the geography you are
14 talking about, or the health status of mental illness, or
15 the safety status of groups, it gets very, very complex.
16 So what is starting to crystallize in my mind -- and when
17 we talk about social contract, the components of the
18 social contract, all of these should be available to
19 everybody.

20 And the reality is, different groups would
21 identify what is missing in their lives -- to feel safe,
22 to feel heard, to feel they can get the care that they
23 need -- is different. So when you think about the needs
24 of neighborhoods or groups of people, what needs to move
25 first, if you are talking about a group of people have

1 high levels of addiction, or a neighborhood who has really
2 high eviction rates, we have got to think about this all
3 as a matrix.

4 And we should think, from Emily's perspective,
5 that 20 percent is already being invested in healthcare.
6 And there is almost always a lever to be pulled in
7 healthcare to meet the needs. If we could think about the
8 voices of the people we are trying to get the policies
9 moved for, for one group, we may need to lead with housing
10 and safety issues, or changing supervision issues. With a
11 different group, we may want to lead with housing that
12 affects -- or lead with healthcare that affects housing
13 policy.

14 We have got examples in Michigan where we have
15 matched mega datasets and super prioritized housing
16 supports that are completely publicly funded for different
17 groups of people. But the social contract is complicated
18 in my head because we first have to hear the voice of the
19 people or the group of people that is needing to see the
20 contract move, before we start pulling levers.

21 And it is different levers for different
22 neighborhoods, for different groups of people, for
23 different sets. So that is what I think is so difficult
24 about the social contract. It is a set of things.

25 And different levers need to be pulled, based

1 on what we hear from the voice of those people. So that
2 is what I think is so complicated about the social
3 contract.

4 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes. Thank you for that, Lynda.
5 So we are going to turn to our two writers and ask you
6 each just to take just two minutes to react to what you
7 are hearing, to answer the questions that were raised here
8 about, you know, there was a question raised about the
9 alternatives to the social supports that are provided by
10 gangs. And I am dramatically oversimplifying. Sorry,
11 Danielle.

12 Ananya, the intersection of policing and
13 NIMBYism, and what are you seeing in your research with
14 regard to that and, in particular, in relation to renting
15 versus ownership. But any other quick reactions you have
16 about what you are hearing. And then we will turn back to
17 the group with Courtney up next.

18 So let's see. Hedy, why don't you go first,
19 since Ananya got to go first last time? Just a couple of
20 minutes. Any thoughts.

21 (No response.)

22 MS. HUFFMAN: No, not yet. Okay.

23 MS. ALLEN: I think she is trying to speak,
24 but --

25 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes. Let Ananya go first. Okay.

1 Ananya, you go first.

2 MS. ROY: All right. Well, thank you for these
3 wonderful comments and questions, everyone. I am really
4 enjoying the discussion.

5 So I will start with Deanna's points. You
6 know, I am a urban studies scholar. I didn't think I
7 would be as [audio skip] policing. And yet, precisely, I
8 don't think there is a way to study housing insecurity in
9 the U.S., especially in Los Angeles, without thinking
10 about the logic and territoriality of policing.

11 This goes back to Eddie's points about how,
12 what we have attained is not only decades of systematic
13 disinvestment in housing, also systematic
14 disenfranchisement from housing. And I am going to argue
15 that the historical conjuncture of the war on drugs, which
16 is a pretty drawn out moment, is crucial.

17 For me then, if we are to take up Kristian's
18 really important point, about, well, how then do we
19 imagine housing as a human right? For me, it requires two
20 kinds of reframings.

21 One is a reframing of gentrification. And we
22 argue that a reframing of gentrification as racial
23 banishment -- and Danielle, I look forward to continuing a
24 discussion of banishment. In other words, gentrification
25 is not just a market-driven process of displacement. It

1 is the forced removals of people of color.

2 So in our paper, if you look at that map of the
3 shift in the Black population of Los Angeles that comes
4 out of the work of Pamela Stephens, it is a pretty
5 extraordinary map. And it is not unique to Los Angeles.
6 We are looking at the expulsion of working-class
7 communities of color from cities to the far peripheries of
8 urban life.

9 And that dispossession is really crucial. Hedy
10 put in the chat the book by Herbert and Beckett, **Banished**,
11 which is a starting point for us. But I think what they
12 miss is how banishment is a legal process, but it is part
13 of racialized dispossession in the U.S.

14 As I started writing about racial banishment,
15 when I was doing work on the south side of Chicago with
16 the Chicago Anti Eviction campaign, they didn't talk about
17 gentrification or removal from public housing. They
18 talked about this as an ethnic cleansing, as a sort of a
19 racial destruction.

20 Pete White out of the LA Community Action
21 Network, therefore, keeps talking about how displacement
22 is when you have somewhere else to go. Banishment, Pete
23 argues, is when you have nowhere else to go. And
24 sometimes, Pete will add, except jail or death.

25 So it is that kind of social and civil death,

1 that disappearing, and the territorial logic of it that I
2 think we have to keep in mind as we are talking about
3 housing, which also takes us back to Deanna's point. That
4 this is not going to be solved by a non-profit housing
5 industrial complex by trickle-down affordable housing, or
6 any of that stuff. And that is my polite word for it.

7 But it also means a reimagining of public
8 safety. And Danielle, thank you for raising the question
9 of gangs, which is really essential to the imagination and
10 practice of nuisance abatement.

11 If you look at these nuisance abatement
12 lawsuits, and I am an ethnographer, so I read legal
13 records with an ethnographic imagination. You get the
14 most sensationalist descriptions of years long
15 surveillance by the police, what they consider to be gang
16 activity.

17 I'm really interested, then, in
18 counternarratives. And for me, that counternarrative
19 comes from hip hop. So I could have written the whole
20 paper around Nipsey Hussle's music, for example.

21 I think in LA, in particular, hip hop gives us
22 a really brilliant counter-imagination and
23 counternarrative of public safety, communities, violence,
24 and structures of violence. And it would be interesting
25 to think more about that.

1 Finally, going back to Kristian's point about
2 hope, and this political opening. So I invite you all to
3 take a look at the website of the Institute on Inequality
4 and Democracy. We have been working a hectic pace since
5 the onset of COVID-19 to expose the deepening of
6 inequality that is taking place, especially through
7 housing dispossession.

8 I also head a National Science Foundation
9 network, global network on housing justice in unequal
10 cities. A lot of the work we do there is fair, but two
11 openings that matter.

12 We are at a moment of quite unusual legal
13 openings in the U.S. around the housing question. And
14 that is a set of challenges with private property
15 relations. Courts across the U.S. have ruled recently
16 that the eviction bans are not physical or regulatory
17 takings, under the U.S. Constitution.

18 Legal experts have ruled that government
19 executives have extraordinary legal authority in a time of
20 public health emergencies to commandeer private property.

21 They are not doing it, as yet. But they will have to, at
22 some point, as mass mobilizations take hold.

23 And so the other political opening is precisely
24 the emergence of massive tenant power, and tenant
25 movements. And such political demands, that to me -- that

1 give me tremendous hope.

2 One of those is rent cancellation. Not rent
3 forgiveness or rent relief. That is rethinking tenancy
4 itself, and what tenancy on stolen land, going to that
5 important comment by Kimá, might mean.

6 The other is a reimagination of social housing.
7 Not as trickle-down affordable housing, but as the
8 decommodification of land and housing.

9 These ideas have been present for a very long
10 time here, and elsewhere. But I think we are at a
11 critical moment, when these ideas that once seemed radical
12 are becoming common sense. But none of this is possible
13 without also tackling how state organized violence in the
14 form of policing keeps these property relationships in
15 place.

16 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Ananya. Thanks a lot.
17 Hedy, do you want to weigh in for --

18 MS. LEE: Can you hear me now?

19 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes. We can. Wonderful.

20 MS. LEE: Yes. Okay. I -- there was a lot of
21 really great comments. I am probably not going to do as
22 good of a job as Ananya, identifying where they all came
23 from. A lot of them were very synergistic.

24 I will start with Emily's beginning of some of
25 the comments around thinking about the health care system

1 as an institution. Not always focusing on the individual
2 level, but, you know, thinking at the macro level of the
3 ways in which our health care system as its own monster
4 drives inequalities and may potentially serve to improve
5 health of communities.

6 There is, you know, you were, when you are
7 talking about stuff that is a fail, just think about a lot
8 -- the health care system as an institution. But as was
9 also discussed in conversations, as we continue to have
10 conversations around these topics, is the health care
11 system has been a hurting institution.

12 The history of the health care system has been
13 one of racism and racial oppression. It has worked in
14 tandem with other institutions to maintain racial
15 hierarchy. So how do we now use the health care system as
16 tool for justice? How do we use it as a tool to improve
17 outcomes for communities?

18 I think that is a big question. I think Kimá,
19 you know, had put a big question mark on that idea itself.
20 Can we do that. Should we be doing that. I think we
21 need to have more conversations around those topics.

22 I think it also links to ideas around delivery
23 of care. You know, why are certain populations less apt
24 to reach out to primary care physicians? What about those
25 institutions make them untrusting. What about those

1 institutions place them in areas that don't allow for easy
2 access, et cetera.

3 I think those are other interesting questions.

4 I think the intersection between housing and healthcare
5 is an important one. I think the big point I tried to
6 make, or we tried to make in our paper is that we really
7 can't be thinking about these systems separately. We need
8 to be thinking of them, as Lynda talked about, in this
9 matrix.

10 And even when we are thinking about housing, I
11 think Eddie talked -- you know, he was talking about some
12 of the men he works with. When they leave, they are going
13 to family members homes and they are couch surfing.

14 What about the homes of those family members?
15 They are also living -- they are also housing insecure.
16 They also sometimes face sanctions for even having people
17 who are on probation or parole in their homes.

18 So when we are thinking about housing too, and
19 the criminal justice system, and health, we can't just be
20 thinking about individuals who are being released, et
21 cetera. But we have to be thinking about the families
22 they are connected to, pre- and post-incarceration.

23 So I think the story just gets, you know, more
24 complicated and intertwined. I am going to stop there.
25 But those are just some of the themes I was seeing.

1 Please correct me, or add more, for whatever I missed.

2 MS. HUFFMAN: Yes. No. Thank you. Thank you,
3 Hedy, so much. It is -- you know, we are sort of hearing
4 some of the same thoughts about intersectionality, about
5 sort of what is used. What powers can be used for good,
6 which powers are used for evil.

7 Kimá posed a question about the incrementalism
8 versus the sort of square one approach. Are those two
9 different things, in fact? Or how do those fit together?

10 So it is great to have this discussion
11 continuing in that way. We are going to turn to Courtney.

12 And then, Gabe, you will be up next. And then we will
13 continue from there.

14 Courtney?

15 MS. ROBINSON: So many people sort of addressed
16 some of the things that I was thinking about. Kimá and
17 Lynda, and some things that Chas said in our first
18 meeting. And Hedy and Ananya both addressed some of the
19 issues.

20 I just want to sort of point out again, I
21 guess, that in reading, there was something that really
22 stuck out for me. And that was that housing justice is
23 impossible without racial justice.

24 And so, I keep coming back to how all of these
25 systems are sort of rooted in racial injustice. And there

1 is no real way for us to try and deal with a system if we
2 haven't dealt with the structural racism within the
3 society.

4 And I think Ms. Vivian, yesterday -- was that
5 yesterday? My days are blending together. But Ms. Vivian
6 talked about it beautifully. Talked about the trail of
7 justice, on the trail of justice, during the panel.

8 And then, the other thing that really stuck out
9 for me was, in reading about health outcomes for families,
10 and in people who are connected to those people who are
11 incarcerated, really stuck out to me. And one of the
12 things I kept sort of trying to grapple with is that there
13 was this pre-incarceration, non-custodial service
14 caregiver policy.

15 And I think that at one point, I may have
16 thought that that was very innovative and thoughtful. But
17 where we are right now, and the families and youth that I
18 serve every day, there isn't one parent, necessarily, that
19 is more important than the other. And when we take out
20 one, we have already, in effect, influenced that child's
21 entire life.

22 And so, I think when we start talking about
23 reimagining policies, I don't -- I think that as -- I
24 think it was Matt who said it yesterday, we have to really
25 dream big. We can't sort of think about, this is much

1 better than what we had. I think we have to think about,
2 what is the best that we can do, versus, this is just a
3 small step closer to sort of chipping away at this very
4 awful and dangerous problem.

5 MS. HUFFMAN: Courtney, thank you. You were
6 not repeating what anyone else had said. Thank you very
7 much. We are going to turn now to Gabe, and then followed
8 by Aisha.

9 We have some other hands in the queue. And
10 encourage folks, if you haven't had a chance to say
11 anything yet, then by all means, jump in. We would love
12 to hear from you.

13 So with that, Reverend Gabe.

14 MR. SALGUERO: Thank you. So just a few
15 things. I appreciate this conversation about
16 incrementalism. This is Square One. And I think I am
17 learning a lot and whatever my contribution or, perhaps,
18 maybe my learning is.

19 In civil society, a lot of faith-based actors
20 run part of the housing industrial complex, so to speak.
21 And the healthcare industrial complex, from clinics to
22 kind of storefront aid, to -- there is a whole list,
23 right, between Catholics and Protestants, and Jewish and
24 Muslim.

25 And so, I think what I am thinking is, what is

1 the role, or how do we see the reimagining of civil
2 society, in both housing and healthcare? In this kind of
3 incremental -- so, there are thousands of churches who --
4 or organizations or FBOs who have hospitals [audio skip].

5 It is one of the largest employers. Advent Health is
6 probably one of the largest ones.

7 When I lived in New Jersey, Catholic hospitals
8 were some of the -- and not to mention clinics, and things
9 like that. And I think they -- let me not speak for
10 anyone. Many of us see ourselves as part of the solution.

11 But we have not done the deep work and great
12 work that we hear here, about contributing to the further
13 marginalization, alienization, or non-inclusion of these
14 people. And so, how do we move actors who are part of the
15 incremental response into the Square One response?

16 How do I talk to fellow faith-based leaders or
17 civil society leaders, who say hey, I am here. I live in
18 North New Jersey. It is where I live. So I will just use
19 my own example. I lived in Newark, New Jersey.

20 Come on, Fatimah, don't make me. Don't let the
21 Reverend fool you, girl. Don't let him do it. I will
22 start a party with nothing. Yes. You all thought I was
23 just an evangelical preacher.

24 MS. DREIER: All right.

25 MR. SALGUERO: And so, the reality is, that we

1 are in this space. We are conversing with limited levels
2 of knowledge and analysis. And we are trying to be part
3 of the solution. But we are also, paradoxically, part of
4 the problem.

5 And so my question is, how do we move people
6 who may see themselves as part of the incremental, or even
7 part of the initial stage of the Square One reimagining,
8 both around the housing industrial complex, right. And
9 so, a lot of churches have low-income to mixed-income
10 housing projects. A lot of churches have clinics.

11 A lot of major denomination -- Presbyterian
12 Hospital in New York City. Catholic Hospital in Newark,
13 where my son was born. Advent Health, here in Orlando,
14 Florida.

15 How do we shift that? And how do we help them
16 shift that. Where do we get them into this conversation,
17 if they are not already? And again, I am confessing my
18 ignorance.

19 So -- and that is very important. Because I
20 think that oftentimes, I don't remember who it was that
21 said -- I think it was Emily talked about the health
22 system is a huge actor. Well, the health system in faith-
23 based organizations and civil societies is a huge actor.

24 This is not to mention the clinics that Latino
25 Evangelicals are running in Tornillo, Texas, for

1 unaccompanied alien children, as the government calls
2 them. The refugee services and world relief. The clinics
3 for formerly incarcerated persons of Teen Challenge and
4 other organizations.

5 And so, I think my question is, I am learning.
6 I am hearing. If we are really talking about shifting, I
7 think that was last week, talking about shifting the
8 political economy. Now we are talking about shifting the
9 housing and the healthcare industrial complexes. How do
10 we do that with actors who think they are actually part of
11 the shift, and they may be part of the problem?

12 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you for that. That was --
13 thank you very much. So we are going to turn now to
14 Aisha, and then Bruce. And we have quite a few folks in
15 the queue. Just to let everyone know where we are.

16 We are going to be continuing this conversation
17 until about five after 6:00 or so. And then, we will turn
18 to Bruce for some wrap-up. Ananya and Hedy, I won't ask
19 you to come back in again, unless you have one last point
20 that you would like to make. In which case, just chat me,
21 and let me know.

22 But we do have -- this way, we can hopefully
23 get to most of the folks who are still in the queue, or
24 all the folks. And please do raise your hand, if you are
25 interested in piping in.

1 So Aisha, and then Bruce. And then Vivian will
2 be next after that.

3 MS. MCWEAY: So thanks. I have really enjoyed
4 today's discussion. And I really enjoyed both of these
5 papers, in a way that, like, keeps you up at night kind of
6 enjoyed.

7 So I think that several things that folks have
8 said resonate with me. And one of the things that stuck
9 with me, from what Kimá said. She dropped the word,
10 holistic. And I think that that is really emblematic of
11 what this entire conversation has to be, right.

12 I am struggling with, as I think through
13 David's paper last week, and also Elizabeth's paper, into
14 this conversation of how you shift the values of a country
15 when it is built on capitalism. And all of the systems
16 that we are talking about are sort of propped up by
17 capitalism.

18 And so, when we are talking about a sort of
19 think-through in Hedy's conclusion, where she says, you
20 know, all Americans should have the opportunity for -- to
21 make choices to have a long, healthy life, right. What
22 happens when people don't actually think that, right?
23 Like, how do you engage with that?

24 And let's even step back from, I think, it just
25 being sort of racially structured, right. You have got

1 this capitalistic structure of like, hey, which I do think
2 is racist. But like, let's see if we can separate that
3 out, right.

4 I think that folks can tell themselves
5 narratives about why it is okay to feel that someone
6 shouldn't -- to feel that someone doesn't deserve housing,
7 or healthcare, or an education, or any of that, right.
8 And so I am struggling in reading these papers, of trying
9 to think through, really, how do you address shifting
10 values? Right?

11 Like, how do you get to the heart of that? It
12 absolutely has to happen in a holistic way. But how do
13 you get this country to see the dignity and humanity of
14 everyone as being something that is a responsibility. And
15 I think it has to start with some shifts.

16 I mean, there has to be some real concrete
17 conversations. But where I struggle is, is this a space
18 in which there are multiple tactics, right. So I think
19 about a conservative sort of appealing to a conservative
20 approach to some of these issues, by talking about it
21 fiscally, and then, backing it up with some values. Is
22 that the right approach?

23 Or is that -- as you juxtapose it with like,
24 centering on the values and trying to convince people that
25 if you actually respect the humanity and dignity of

1 people, that these are not issues. But how do you engage
2 with folks, when they are resistant to even identifying
3 that they don't respect the humanity and dignity of
4 certain people, and shift to these other concepts, like
5 pulling yourself up by your own bootstraps and those types
6 of things.

7 When I was thinking through this, I was
8 thinking about it in the context of the public defense
9 realm. So I am a career public defender. And so, I think
10 about a lot of things in that realm.

11 And I think about the shift in, I think, the
12 work today, versus, I would say, when Gideon rolled out.
13 I don't know that people were talking about the work in
14 the way that they talk about it today, and the values, in
15 that way.

16 And so, I think if I am hopeful, there may be
17 some lessons in the infiltration of that system -- of the
18 public defense system in re-centering the client, re-
19 centering their humanity and their dignity in ways that I
20 would say historically was not the case. It was, I'm
21 doing this thing, it is -- the Constitution requires it.
22 Does it matter who the person is?

23 And I think we are shifting to a new space
24 there. And so, I would -- I am still fleshing out if
25 there are some lessons to be taken from structures like

1 the public defense or indigent defense system, where you
2 have seen a re-centering on, this client is an individual.
3 It's my responsibility to amplify their voice. And those
4 types of things.

5 I will stop there, but those are my thoughts.
6 And I really, really enjoyed both of your papers, so thank
7 you for sharing them with us.

8 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Aisha. Thanks a lot.
9 Bruce, we will invite you to pipe in as a participant for
10 a moment here. And then, we will turn to Vivian. And
11 Elizabeth, you are up after Vivian.

12 MR. WESTERN: Two sort of -- two quick
13 questions. Well, one is a thought, and one is a question.
14 I thought, I found Gabriel's comment about sort of
15 incrementalism versus square one really helpful as a way
16 of framing this conversation and our earlier conversations
17 as well.

18 And so, I would sort of offer this out as a
19 thought that people might want to react to. And I think
20 we are -- we often have these conversations, right, about
21 incrementalism versus more transformational, fundamental
22 change. And Square One defines itself as a project that
23 is about more fundamental, transformational change.

24 And I think a piece of this, a piece of being
25 attracted to fundamental change comes from impatience,

1 right. We see so much harm and damage in the world that
2 we work in that we are impatient for big change. But as
3 we all know very well, you know, change is often very hard
4 won. It is very -- it can be very slow.

5 So the idea I want to throw out is that
6 incremental change is self-defeating as a strategy for
7 social transformation when two things are happening. One
8 is, if incremental change somehow stymies the possibility
9 of big transformational change. And an example that we
10 are all very familiar with in criminal justice
11 conversations is when reform efforts are focused on the
12 non-non-nons as we say. Sort of hardening the distinction
13 between people who are deserving of leniency and those
14 that are not.

15 And so, people who are accused of and convicted
16 of violent offenses, they have not been the beneficiaries
17 of any sentiment for criminal justice reform over the last
18 ten years or so. And I think that is why violence is such
19 an important question in the justice reform conversation.

20 So incrementalism can stifle transformational
21 change, but not always, right. Not always. And so, there
22 may be a case for incrementalism, when it doesn't have
23 that negative effect. So I throw that out to the group.

24 The other condition, I think, in which
25 incrementalism is not a viable tactic, I suppose, for

1 transformational change, when it is unwittingly harmful.
2 And Gabriel spoke to that. Systems that are meant to help
3 people, and we have talked a lot about healthcare in this
4 context, can be unwittingly harmful for the people that it
5 is meant to serve. So that is sort of one comment on
6 incrementalism.

7 The second comment, it is really a question
8 raised for me by Ananya's paper. And you know, why is
9 gentrification happening in American cities? And you
10 know, this wasn't a problem that we would have been
11 talking about necessarily in the 1970s, and 1980s. And
12 conditions of urban life have changed.

13 And the affluent homebuyers are flowing back
14 into cities, because the quality of urban life has
15 improved in many ways. And one of those ways, I think, as
16 we all know, is a very significant reduction in crime.

17 And a lot of our conversations are focused on,
18 and I believe it, the importance of improving the
19 conditions of neighborhoods and communities in this very
20 multiplex, complex way. And so, the question is, how can
21 we do that in a -- how can we do that, improve
22 neighborhoods and communities without setting in motion a
23 process of displacement that Ananya is precisely pointing
24 to.

25 It is hard for me to see how this can be done

1 without a very largescale socialization of housing
2 markets, actually. But you know, maybe there are other
3 ways, too, like public housing. A massive expansion of
4 public housing.

5 You know, how does that happen as a political
6 matter in America, I don't know. But that is why we have
7 gathered all of you here. But that is a question I want
8 to put on the table, too. If we are really about
9 community improvement, neighborhood improvement, could we
10 inadvertently be setting in motion a process of
11 gentrification that is clearly harmful to the communities
12 we care about.

13 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Bruce. Thanks a lot.

14 So we are going to turn to Vivian, and then Elizabeth.
15 David Garland and Aswad are also in our queue.

16 We are getting close to the end of our time.
17 So if anyone would like to jump in the queue, now is the
18 time. Please do.

19 With that, we will turn to Vivian.

20 MS. NIXON: Okay. I have got you. Okay. I
21 thought there was some magic person that was going to
22 unmute me.

23 MS. HUFFMAN: Got a lot of magic, Vivian.
24 Okay.

25 MS. NIXON: So I have some responses and some

1 thoughts. First, just a really tiny, short anecdote where
2 I recently saw these issues of housing and health come
3 together. So COVID, you know, wreaked havoc in California
4 inside of the prison system.

5 And my friend Dorsey Nunn in Oakland, who is
6 like, we have to do something like right now. We can't
7 wait. And it can't be small. It has got to be big. We
8 have just got to get people out, right.

9 So they started having lots of car rallies, got
10 some decisions by the Governor and others to let certain
11 categories of people out. And they rented all these vans
12 and cars and went and picked people up. They rented out
13 whole hotels.

14 I mean, like, just really, big, bold -- we
15 don't really care what happens next. We've just got to
16 get people out. And so, some incrementalists were saying,
17 well, you know, what is going to happen to them when that
18 months worth of hotel bills you are able to pay runs out,
19 right?

20 Where are they going to go after that? Who is
21 going to deliver all the services people will need? I
22 mean, there was a lot of back and forth around whether or
23 not this big bold move was a good idea.

24 But Dorsey just did it. Right. And now,
25 however many hundreds of people he was able to get out

1 during that first wave are out. And the world didn't fall
2 apart, right.

3 He did something big and bold in that moment.
4 And the world didn't fall apart. And I think that is the
5 first thing we have to start to believe is that sometimes
6 people do really big and bold things, and the world
7 doesn't fall apart. And that is, I think that underlying
8 theme for me is one of courage.

9 And you know, I don't know if I have the
10 answer, Gabriel. But I do have ideas about the faith
11 community and other communities that may be in this --
12 stuck in this trying to help, but also having to
13 participate in the structures that are available to us,
14 right.

15 And the structures that are available to us are
16 the capitalist systems that our government has. And you
17 do become part of this machine. But I do -- it matters
18 how you play your role in this machine.

19 And I can only speak to, with any real
20 knowledge, in terms of theology, about the Christian
21 perspective. I think we have to remind folks in that
22 faith tradition just how radical -- and I don't mean
23 radical like burn it down radical, I mean, getting at the
24 root of problems -- just how radical the teachings of
25 Jesus Christ are.

1 I don't know what Bible these folks are
2 reading, right. Like, if you really study, if you really
3 go back to the origins and the original language and
4 exegete the text, this dude was seriously radical. And I
5 think we have to keep reminding, you know, our community
6 of that.

7 And truth goes a long way toward -- if you are
8 speaking people's language, their own truth goes a long
9 way toward, I think, changing hearts and minds. Because
10 it is definitely about changing values. And that is a
11 hard thing to do.

12 One of the values, though, that I think we need
13 to embrace more on this, the Square One side, is not to be
14 afraid of the word "power." Because we are not going to
15 be able to shift things to a square one level unless we
16 are in power.

17 And that is a scary thing, because being in
18 power puts you in the seat to be on the other side, to
19 exercise that power in appropriate ways, or ways that hurt
20 people. Well, that is why it matters who you put in
21 power. But being in power is absolutely going to be
22 necessary in order to make the kind of monumental shifts
23 that we are talking about.

24 MS. HUFFMAN: Vivian, thank you. And thank you
25 for putting all of that front and center. And I am

1 excited that Elizabeth is up next, when we think about
2 structures of power and maximum peaceable participation,
3 and the ways in which people take that.

4 So we will have Elizabeth. David, Aswad, and
5 then Heather will be in our queue. And we will -- may
6 have to stop there. Give Heather the last word, and then
7 turn to Bruce. So we'll see.

8 Elizabeth, go right ahead.

9 MS. HINTON: I am just going to be super brief,
10 because a lot of my ideas have been shared, and I think
11 this has just been such a fruitful conversation. So thank
12 you for these truly fantastic papers.

13 I just wanted to first just kind of continue
14 with a comment about gentrification that Ananya raised.
15 I, for me, it was really -- the big connection between
16 gentrification and the rise of mass incarceration in the
17 late 20th century, I had never really linked before. And
18 so, that idea has really opened up a lot of new questions
19 for me. So thank you.

20 Also, thinking about what some of the
21 counternarratives are, and how, you know, where we can
22 seek redefinitions of public safety. I think the point
23 about hip hop as a counternarrative is really good. But
24 also, to add to that, I think that the crime survivors'
25 movement also pushes this discussion in a lot of really

1 new and exciting ways and provides us a greater context to
2 think about how we might redefine public safety.

3 And then, I guess my larger comment, just
4 moving forward. You know, Courtney invited us to kind of
5 dream big. And I think both of these papers are rooted
6 and engage with the kind of larger context of COVID.

7 But it seems to me that the COVID crisis is
8 really bringing these connections between housing issues,
9 health issues, and criminalization -- mass criminalization
10 into very, very sharp focus. You have, you know, AOC last
11 night, in her very brief 60-second slot at the Democratic
12 Convention, really laying out these connections.

13 And so, I think for us, and to a certain
14 extent, I was surprised that COVID didn't come up more
15 directly in our discussion, although it does come up in
16 the papers. And so, I know that our last discussion
17 moving forward is really like, where do we go from here.

18 But -- and I am guilty of this as well, but I
19 think it would be helpful for us to think about how
20 specifically -- like, what new conversations are being
21 opened up in this moment, and how we might be able to use
22 this context of the pandemic to advance some of the larger
23 transformations that we have been discussing, and that we
24 will continue to discuss.

25 So I have more to say. But I will end there.

1 And thank you again for this wonderful conversation, and
2 these incredibly strong and thought-provoking papers.

3 MS. HUFFMAN: Thanks, Elizabeth. David, we'll
4 turn to you.

5 MR. GARLAND: Yes. Thank you, Elizabeth.
6 Thank you, Katharine. So the points that Gabriel and
7 Bruce made about incrementalism versus the kind of
8 fundamental change of Square One, I wanted to say
9 something that was similar to that, but slightly, I
10 think -- something different from it.

11 Basically, I think of the argument there as
12 being about small reforms in criminal justice, versus
13 fundamental change in criminal justice. And the
14 difficulties that maybe the first pulls to the second, or
15 how one moves to the second.

16 But one of the themes that comes up all the
17 time -- I have heard it in my old work. I have heard it
18 several times today -- is the kind of trope that we can't
19 bring about criminal justice change of this kind until
20 such time as there is some change in a different system.
21 In healthcare, in housing, in education, in political
22 economy, in the structures of contemporary capitalism, in
23 structures of racial formation.

24 And I worry. I mean, I recognize the kind of
25 incrementalism versus major change, small versus big kind

1 of discussion. And Bruce has articulated some ways to
2 think about what kind of reforms are building towards
3 larger reform, what kinds of reforms are getting in the
4 way.

5 But I think there is a different conversation
6 and a different problem, just to do with the relationship
7 between criminal justice change, and change in these other
8 systems that bear upon, and maybe are the genesis of, kind
9 of crime problems and our response to them as punishment,
10 policing problems. And I am kind of wondering to what
11 extent talking from a grounding in crime and punishment,
12 or talking from a grounding in criminal justice, gets to
13 be an effective leverage for talking about change in these
14 other systems.

15 I mean, you might say that actually, all the
16 people that have a kind of standing and an authority and a
17 legitimacy for arguing for better healthcare, or housing,
18 or education, or work, or equality, the clients, the
19 people that we are envisaging are at the end of the queue,
20 rather than the front of the queue. Now, that might be
21 different right now for issues about racial justice,
22 precisely because of police killings.

23 And the kind of -- the vividness with which
24 looking at kind of the over-representation of, you know,
25 unarmed African American men in killings, Latino men in

1 killings, has made that a kind of forefront issue for
2 racial justice. But I don't see how economic justice and
3 criminal justice so neatly coincide.

4 I mean, they clearly do, analytically. They
5 clearly do in terms of how we understand the genesis of
6 crime and social problems, and how we understand the
7 response to these. But I am just -- I am asking a kind of
8 question about political tactics and strategy.

9 How is it we would bring criminal justice
10 issues to bear on economic change, for example, in
11 effective ways? And I think that is part of what it is
12 that Square One has to be addressing. We were thinking
13 about changes in the social contract.

14 Changes in the social contract -- the New Deal
15 is one. You know, it came about because major kind of
16 parts of the social system, namely employment and economic
17 security began to fall apart in a way that was massively
18 experienced. And it brought about transformation.

19 My question is really, how does criminal
20 justice and the kind of world of crime and punishment get
21 to be part of that larger story in a system outside of,
22 but bearing upon, criminal justice?

23 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, David. I am glad we
24 are going to be able to continue this discussion next
25 week, with our discussion about education and employment.

1 This will be a throughline, for sure, to those
2 conversations and to that question you just posed.

3 Aswad.

4 MR. THOMAS: Thanks, Katherine. No, this has
5 been great. And it's only my first session with you all,
6 but I can sit here and listen all day.

7 And I really just -- I really appreciate all
8 the comments and, you know, also the articles. Both were
9 great. The one that really, you know, impacted me just
10 from looking at it, healthcare as justice reform.

11 Because I think for many of us with loved ones
12 that are incarcerated, it was just great to hear and read
13 about this issue and the impact of incarceration on
14 spouses and family members, right. And we know that, you
15 know, when someone is incarcerated, like, your family do
16 the time with you.

17 And just from a personal experience recently,
18 that -- you know, my brother had a stroke in prison. He
19 is in a federal prison. He had a stroke 42 days ago. And
20 we weren't ever notified from the facility.

21 We received notification from his cellmate's
22 family members, to let us know that he had a stroke. And
23 for, you know, 42 days, our family, you know, mostly my
24 mother, called the jail several times a day to just get
25 any information about his condition. You know, sent --

1 the family sent emails about his condition.

2 And what the facility continued to tell us
3 every single day is that they can't give us any
4 information about his condition. The only thing that they
5 could tell us was that he was alive, and no other
6 information. And through, you know, this past month and a
7 half of just getting information, some were good.

8 Information from his cellmates in there, right,
9 who was communicating that they have heard that he had
10 another stroke. That he was not doing too well. That,
11 you know, folks think he might pass away.

12 And not having any type of communication and,
13 like, the impact that has had on my mother. Health
14 condition the past 42 days has taken a toll on our family
15 and, you know, just now as of today, he was able to call
16 home. We were able to hear his voice for the first time
17 in the past 42 days, which was the longest time our family
18 had ever gone without hearing from him, in the 19 years he
19 has been incarcerated.

20 And to hear from him, you know, having a
21 stroke, and the high risk that he poses now, because of
22 COVID. He said he was scared of getting COVID. He was
23 scared of losing his life because of now his health
24 condition.

25 And so, just look at how families, you know,

1 are treated by the justice system, you know. And this is
2 not just my family, I have been doing a lot of media
3 searches and hear a lot of stories of families can't even
4 get health information about their loved ones, you know,
5 from facilities. Which is a policy issue.

6 But once again, this is just not looking at the
7 humanity and the dignity of folks incarcerated. And also,
8 the impact that incarceration has on loved ones.

9 And I just -- you know, as I was reading the
10 article, just thinking about how do we continue to elevate
11 the stories of so many families like myself who -- I know
12 so many folks are incarcerated who aren't getting
13 healthcare that they need. And so, reimagining, you know,
14 the system. You know, have to reimagine how -- tell the
15 story how families just are impacted by incarceration.

16 We don't talk about their physical health. We
17 don't talk about their mental health, how there needs to
18 be that type of support for family members who are doing
19 the time with loved ones.

20 So that really -- the article really spoke to
21 me, because it is personal. And being able to hear my
22 brother's voice for the first time in 42 days, it was
23 great to hear his voice.

24 But you know, he is worried now because of, you
25 know, COVID spreading in prison, that he is at a higher

1 risk. So now, we have to, you know, try to get him
2 transferred to another facility that can provide better
3 medical care. But he mentioned that the care -- the
4 facility may not be accepting anyone with his condition.

5 So it is just -- you know, this impacts all of
6 us in so many ways. And just to hear -- just to read this
7 article that I will be sharing, you know, at some point
8 with others. It is just, like, really telling the story
9 how families are impacted.

10 And the health impacts of, you know,
11 incarceration has on these families and loved ones, which
12 was -- are really great. So thank you all for really
13 pointing them out, and really sharing what that article --
14 that was great insight.

15 MS. HUFFMAN: Aswad, thank you so much for
16 sharing that. And I am so grateful to hear that you did
17 hear your brother's voice today. That is -- that is --
18 just our thoughts are with you and your family, in an
19 ongoing way, because that is not the end of the story, we
20 know. Thank you for that.

21 And goodness, thinking about the ways in which
22 not only his health but yours, your mother's, your whole
23 family was affected by that. It really brings it home.

24 Heather, would you like to get in? You were in
25 the queue. I don't want to put you on the spot if you

1 purposely took your hand down, but --

2 MS. RICE-MINUS: No. That is fine. I will
3 stay in the queue. Yes. On second thought, thank you for
4 sharing that. And I know we just held a webinar prison
5 fellowship not too long ago with one of our volunteers who
6 has an incarcerated husband. And especially during COVID-
7 19, they were doing his will over the phone.

8 Just, absolutely, the anxiety families are
9 experiencing right now is overwhelming, to be thinking of
10 you. And I am kind of feeling bad that I am ending out.
11 Because I feel like I am going to be a downer.

12 But I wanted to come back to this point on the
13 reoccurring theme of incrementalism. And I am someone who
14 definitely considers themselves a pragmatist. And to be
15 honest, these calls, just to be a confession, have been
16 really difficult for me, because I am not used to spending
17 time with academics, and folks who -- my regular day-to-
18 day for the last decade, while I have other duties, has
19 primarily focused on lobbying and Congress, and trying to
20 pass legislation.

21 And I think there is a GAO report I cite to my
22 staff all the time about how the average bill in Congress
23 takes seven years to pass. And I think that that is very
24 accurate. And so, I think sometimes these questions that
25 are coming up to me are like, really, really hard to wrap

1 my mind around.

2 And when we think in our work at Prison
3 Fellowship about the choices of incrementalism versus
4 idealism, we always try and root to our faith values. And
5 I agree, Vivian. Jesus was a radical, for sure. And
6 trying to get people to connect to that, who espouse the
7 Christian faith.

8 But I also just think that our structure in our
9 politics, whether at the federal level, or state, or
10 local, is set up in such a way that -- and I think David
11 even brought this up in some of his paper and discussion.

12 Like, the politics and governance of our country is set
13 up so that, you know, you have to compromise to get much
14 done.

15 And, you know, we make choices about what do we
16 support that will permanently keep people out, going
17 forward, in new reform. But as we try and look at laws
18 where that is already the case, we try and pick away at
19 them in many cases.

20 And there are often discussions about, like, is
21 it worth it. Is it not worth it? But what I find, just
22 working in the political sphere for so long on this issue,
23 is people are incredibly divided on their values.

24 And just to move the needle and persuade folks
25 takes so long, and so much work, and so much rapport-

1 building, and whether that is in the faith community, or
2 with conservative offices. And so, I do take those
3 incremental wins as wins, because they literally take
4 years at a time. And so, yes.

5 And I don't think of them of as a loss, because
6 at the end of the day, I think, like, the big monumental
7 shifts to me in the way our governance are structured, is
8 not really possible in the current system. And so -- and
9 like, even the discussion we had the other week about, you
10 know, efforts and folks say like, you know, we don't have
11 to know what it looks like.

12 And I am like, I can't take that to a
13 lawmakers' office. Like, I can't tell you. I can't
14 persuade anyone if I can't tell them the exact steps it is
15 going to be, and try and find a way to connect to their
16 values.

17 And so, I guess my closing thought is just that
18 I am an incrementalist. And I think about moving people
19 out of beds and moving people home. And that is, to me,
20 they are sort of almost like a moral imperative to be a
21 bit incrementalist, given the current structure that we
22 have, while still keeping our ideals and values aligned,
23 and having that back and forth about what is worth it.

24 So I thought that the incrementalism theme this
25 week resonated. And it is something I have been thinking

1 about, since being invited to these conversations.
2 Because these are not the kinds of talks I get to have.

3 So I appreciate you welcoming me to be here and
4 giving me an opportunity to listen to you all. I find
5 your courage very inspiring.

6 MS. HUFFMAN: Heather, thank you. And you are
7 clearly not just listening. You are also contributing
8 greatly to this conversation. And you are probably seeing
9 the chat, where folks are reflecting similar experiences.

10 Okay.

11 I said Heather was going to have the last word.
12 But I am going to give Chas, another on-the-ground
13 lobbyist and organizer, a really quick last word. Just a
14 couple of minutes, if you can, Chas. And then, Bruce will
15 wrap us up. And we will finish out shortly.

16 Chas, do you want to go ahead?

17 MR. MOORE: Yes. I will be super quick,
18 hopefully. So you know, I almost made it without saying
19 anything. But I do want to chime in on the incremental
20 part of the conversation. And I say this from Texas,
21 right, where you know, things move very slowly. When they
22 talk about slow boogie, like, I get it.

23 However, you know, I think the way the system
24 is set up, it makes us celebrate the incremental wins,
25 because they take so long. But you know, I think it goes

1 back to what Courtney was saying, right. I think,
2 although the change comes very slowly and small, I don't
3 think that stops us from dreaming big. Or it shouldn't,
4 right.

5 You know, until very recently, because I
6 realized like, what do I have to lose, a black man in this
7 country, some of the messaging around how we would do
8 stuff at AJC was very couched, right. Like, we would --
9 like you know, like our police union contract victory was
10 every bit of defunding the police. It was every bit of
11 breaking up that power structure. But we wasn't saying
12 what we are saying now.

13 And now, you go to 2020, where we are saying,
14 yes. We can get to a world without police. And that is
15 the goal for me. Like, that is the overarching goal, a
16 world with no police, no prisons.

17 We still have accountability in all these
18 things. But the police, and the institution of policing
19 and the idea of policing, cannot be a part of this new
20 world that I always talk about.

21 But you know, I think the difference in knowing
22 change comes incrementally and fighting for incremental
23 change is two different things. And I don't think anybody
24 on this call, at least I hope not, and if you are, I would
25 challenge you to try a little bit more, right. But I

1 think it is a difference in that, right.

2 Like, you know, we fought for a lot of money at
3 the police budget here. You know, we wasn't saying five
4 or ten or \$20 million. We was like, we need 100 million
5 bucks, and that is the base. And we fought to get that.
6 And you know, they gave us a little bit more.

7 But you know, I am -- you know, I will wrap it
8 up with this. I am just saying, as a Black person in this
9 country, incremental change has never sufficed, right.
10 Like, incremental -- you know, a lot of Black folks would
11 argue that Obama was a very incremental change. I was so
12 proud of him being, you know, the face in a moment for the
13 Black community.

14 A lot of people would argue that you know, very
15 little has changed for the quality of life of Black folks.

16 I look at how long it took us to get to a conversation to
17 end slavery, right. And I would also argue that after
18 that, it has been nothing but incremental change, right.

19 So I think from somebody that has been just as
20 impacted, somebody that is from a community that, you
21 know, the system in this country chooses not to see us, at
22 every turn, and every corner, we have to dream big. We
23 have to fight big. Because you know, our lives, right.
24 Literally, our lives depend on it.

25 So yes. You know, like I don't know. The

1 incremental stuff is very interesting. Maybe we can talk
2 about it more at happy hour. But I feel, until we start
3 seeing a shift in how Black and Brown and Indigenous and
4 poor folks are treated in this country, we have to dream
5 big.

6 And I also think, and I swear to God, I will
7 end with this. I think it is very wrapped up in white
8 privilege that white people don't have to dream big,
9 right. Because very much of the system, this society,
10 this world is like a big comfy couch. There is not much
11 resistance to your well-being, and to your life.

12 So it is just like, you know, you can afford
13 the incremental change as white people, as privileged
14 folks. But it is just like, you know, like Malcolm X
15 said, if you stab me in the back with a knife six inches
16 and you pull it out two, there is still a knife in my
17 back, right.

18 So I am about removing the knife completely,
19 and then, you know, fixing the wound so I can then go on
20 and heal a little, and do whatever I need to do. But you
21 know, incremental stuff, you know, is still leaving the
22 knife in my back.

23 And I think Black folks in this country are
24 quite over that particular point and mode of ideology. So
25 I am done. I won't say --

1 MS. HUFFMAN: Chas, thank you. And thanks to
2 all of you. This discussion about incrementalism, what
3 does Square One mean. How does -- where does the blue sky
4 hit the ground, as we often say in our Square One
5 conversations. It is just, it is so important and really
6 much appreciated.

7 So with that, I will turn us to Bruce to give
8 us a little bit of an overview of where we have been
9 today. And then, as Chas mentioned, we will invite
10 everyone to stay on for informal happy hour, if you are
11 available, and to bring your friends, family, and pets.

12 Bruce.

13 MR. WESTERN: Yes. I will be very quick,
14 because we are overtime. I thought with here, we had two
15 different conversations. There have been two halves to
16 this session.

17 So I think originally when we conceived of this
18 session, right, we saw potential in housing and healthcare
19 as disruptive of the logic of punitive criminal justice.
20 And we thought that because criminal justice fundamentally
21 in its essence is a blaming institution. And healthcare
22 and housing are about giving people shelter and taking
23 care of their physical and mental well-being, and not, in
24 their essence, blaming institutions in the way that
25 criminal justice is.

1 But of course, Ananya and Hedy's papers showed
2 us that in their policy manifestations, these are both
3 policy domains that are amply capable of blame and, in
4 fact, are insufficient as alternatives to criminal
5 justice. And we have to rethink what housing could be.
6 We have to rethink what healthcare would be in order to
7 think of both of these areas of policies as credible
8 components of a strategy for fundamental justice reform.

9 Each of these areas create their own kinds of
10 harms, and often the harms are very much interlocking as
11 Fatimah and Eddie both spoke to. The values of housing
12 create criminal harms. The values of healthcare in
13 addition to their own -- in addition to their own kinds of
14 harms, are themselves a source of housing insecurity.

15 I think underlying all of this, actually, is a
16 very unifying conception of safety, which is very
17 different from the punitive criminal justice conception of
18 safety. And so, when we talk about safety as we consider
19 the interconnections between housing, health care and
20 processes of criminalization, what does safety mean in all
21 of these settings? I think it means to be secure in one's
22 person, right.

23 Which is different from how the criminal -- the
24 punitive criminal justice thinks about safety, where we
25 often think about safety from victimization by strangers.

1 So to be -- I think, underlying this whole discussion is
2 an idea of safety as to be secure in one's person. That
3 was one half of the discussion.

4 Then, the other half of the discussion was
5 about change. And how do you bring about change when you
6 have all of these different interconnected areas of public
7 policy, but all of these interconnected domains of harm,
8 and threats to well-being that people are experiencing.
9 And I think we -- and so, Aisha was saying, you know,
10 there are a lot of chicken and eggs in this conversation.

11 And how do you sort of cut through and figure
12 out what is fundamental. And I think we actually proposed
13 a whole variety of ideas, strategies for change in this
14 context, in which we have all of these overlapping and
15 interconnected threats to well-being in the areas of
16 housing, health and crime.

17 We talked about the necessity for holism. Kimá
18 spoke about this. And I think this means policy
19 coordination.

20 We actually talked a little bit about this
21 yesterday in the DNC event; policy coordination across
22 domains. And I think, you know, my own view is that
23 executive leadership has a really important role to play,
24 when no one department can ensure that all of these
25 different policy areas are all pulling in the one

1 direction.

2 We talked about the necessity for cultural
3 change. Can we imagine a world in which everyone is
4 valued. Aisha said that. But then, quickly followed up
5 with, well, you know, of course this has to be reflected
6 in budgets and how departments are organized.

7 So you know, cultural change has to go hand in
8 hand with institutional change. This isn't a cultural
9 project by itself. Vivian brought up the importance of
10 moral courage. And I think that is a real thing, right.

11 This is sort of the agentic part of social
12 transformation, where people are imagining something
13 different and acting to bring about the realization of
14 that imagination. And to do something different requires
15 bringing about something different. It requires doing
16 something different. And that requires moral courage and
17 power, I think, of course, underlies -- a shift in power
18 underlies all of this.

19 So I am only going to mention two things. The
20 last thing, very quickly. And Heather's comments, I
21 thought, were really helpful for me, and sobering, in a
22 lot of ways. Confronting as she does, in the political
23 process, what she called -- there is a division over
24 values.

25 And I think that is a very, very profound

1 challenge, actually. And we have got to take that comment
2 really seriously. Often, we think about values as
3 foundational commitments that join us together. That is
4 the shared basis upon which a political process can work.
5 It is the basis for productive disagreement.

6 If our value commitments are not shared, then I
7 think the prospects of a political process in this sense
8 are really, really difficult indeed. And I think we need
9 to be thinking about how we articulate our values in a way
10 that at least opens the door to a political process in
11 which productive disagreement is possible.

12 Now, we are in a hyper-polarized political
13 environment now, and historically so, in which that is a
14 deep challenge. But then, I thought Chas kind of saved
15 the day, at the end. And you know, for people on the
16 ground, who are making incremental changes in my head,
17 there has to be some shared value commitment there that
18 allows that political process to operate.

19 And I like very much his distinction between
20 incrementalism as a tactic and incrementalism as an end in
21 itself. And it if is a tactic to larger change, I think,
22 you know, that is a change process we can be really
23 interested in. So that is my wrap.

24 MS. HUFFMAN: Thank you, Bruce. Thank you so
25 much to everyone for your attention and energy, and

1 contributions today. It has just been a great couple of
2 hours.

3 We started a little late. We are finishing a
4 little late. We will not do that again next week. You
5 will be back in the hands of the professionals. And we'll
6 be able to continue this discussion.

7 But just a huge enormous thanks to everyone.
8 Again, for those who are able to stay on after we wrap and
9 join us, we would love to continue the discussion more
10 informally. But just a huge thanks to our authors, and to
11 all of you, for the great discussion.

12 Sukyi, any last comments before we sign off?

13 MS. McMAHON: (No verbal response.)

14 MS. HUFFMAN: She is on mute, but I saw her
15 head shake. So I will take that as a no.

16 MS. McMAHON: No. We are all great. That was
17 fantastic, you all.

18 (Whereupon, at 6:29 p.m., EST, the meeting was
19 concluded.)

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C E R T I F I C A T E

MEETING OF: The Square One Project

LOCATION: via Zoom

DATE: August 19, 2020

I do hereby certify that the foregoing pages,
numbers 1 through 100, inclusive, are the true, accurate,
and complete transcript prepared from the verbal recording
made by electronic recording by Latrice Porter.

DATE: August 25, 2020

/s/ Carol Bourgeois
(Transcriber)

On the Record Reporting
7703 N. Lamar Blvd., #515
Austin, Texas 78752