

FHEO Table Talk Series: Public Policies and Racial Equality: The Impacts of Policy on the Lives of Formerly Incarcerated Individuals in Housing and Employment

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Speaker: **Dr. Reuben Jonathan Miller**, Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago's Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Hello. Welcome to the second episode of FHEO's Table Talk series. I'm your host DeAndra J. Cullen. This conversation series was created to foster sustainable partnerships with trusted voices of the community. Today I am joined by Dr. Reuben Jonathan Miller, Assistant Professor at the University of Chicago, Crown Family School of Social Work, Policy, and Practice. Dr. Miller's research examines life at the intersections of race, poverty, crime control, and social welfare policy. As a chaplain at the Cook County jail in his hometown of Chicago, Illinois and as a sociologist studying mass incarceration, Dr. Miller has spent many years alongside prisoners, formerly incarcerated people, their families, their friends, just to understand the lifelong struggles that result from just a single arrest. His new book, *Halfway Home: Race, Punishment, and the After Life of Mass Incarceration*, is based on 15 years of research and practice with current and formerly incarcerated men, women, their families, partners, and friends. Thank you, Dr. Miller, for joining us today. I want to spend some time talking about the limited housing opportunities for formerly incarcerated individuals, and the general housing policies which many would argue have led to recidivism. Dr. Miller, are you ready for this virtual table talk?

**Dr. Miller:** I'm excited about it, let's do it.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Let's get started, all right. They say you can learn a lot about a person from the books they read. So, Dr. Miller, our audience and I would like to know, other than your book, what is the best book that you have ever read and why?

**Dr. Miller:** The best book I've ever read was Ralph Ellison's *Invisible Man*. And the two reasons why, one is that Ralph Ellison is a master of his craft, he's just a brilliant writer, beautiful prose. There's no secret that *Invisible Man* is an American classic, and it's considered an American classic with good reason. But there's also the subject matter, what it means to be a Black man in this pre-civil rights era. What does it mean to wear the cloak of invisibility, to be not seen, but to be feared, to be not seen, and to have a whole alternate social world that you have to navigate? And, of course, there's also the limits on what Blackness can be and how it can express itself in the liberal imagination that shows up over and over again in the do gooding of well-meaning people throughout the novel. It's just a beautiful, powerful novel. And folks who consider themselves interested in justice and a more just world, certainly questions of racial equity, tend to gravitate toward it.

But there's a second book that's in contention right now for best book for me and it's by Richard Wright, one of Ralph Ellison's mentors, and it just came out. It's called *The Man Who Lived Underground*. It's published after 80 years of itself being underground and it opens and goes for 50 pages into the details of the dreadful police torture. I could not move, I was rivetted by it because this is another American master and Ellison's mentor, Baldwin's mentor, Richard Wright. And the man who goes underground eventually goes underground in some ways because he's forced underground and he has to learn how

to live under ground, literally underground. It's a beautiful book, and these two things have really been speaking to me recently.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Wow, I've got to check that book out, definitely. Why this work? Why fight for the rights of returning citizens? And in your response, I'm really looking to have you tell us, the audience, what do we mean when we say returning citizens? Could you talk to us a little about why you're even in this work, why you do this research?

**Dr. Miller:** I'd be happy to. So, returning citizens are ways for people to talk about formerly incarcerated people, and the idea of them returning would be them returning from a jail or a prison. And the idea of citizenship. So, calling them returning citizens suggests to me that, and this is the place where I end my book on and probably where we'll come back to at some point in this conversation, citizenship is about belonging, citizenship is about having rights, responsibilities, restrictions. So, these are people who are part of our nation, a part of our city, a part of our state. These are our countrymen and women. These are people who are part of our community, and they are returning from jail or prison, and they have rights, and they have responsibilities to one another and to us and we have a responsibility to them. So, the framing of returning citizen is in many ways a powerful and beautiful one.

For my origin story, this work started as an ethical commitment. I have a faith tradition. I grew up as a Christian and there's a scripture that spoke to me: when I was sick and in prison did you visit me. It starts off: when I was hungry, did you feed me, when I was naked did you clothe me, and it ends when I was sick and in prison, did you come and see me. It's Matthew 25. And it touched me deeply, and I started getting involved in a prison ministry, in fact starting one from a small Pentecostal church I went to. While I was there, I wanted to do better work, I wanted to learn clinical skills, so I went to social work school to become a better chaplain and eventually got interested in questions of mass incarceration because I kept seeing so many people who looked like me, in fact people from my neighborhood, moving in and out of this place. So, I went to graduate school and did a PhD in Sociology to study the contours of incarceration in our society. But while I'm doing this work, while I, when I started graduate school, I had been a chaplain for several years, this is during the height of mass incarceration around 2008. And I met my father who I didn't know and learned that he had done 20 years in prison. I met him through a chance encounter, I talk about this a bit in the book. And then while I was writing the book, I had taken my first faculty job, I had become a professor at this point, I was working at the university of Michigan, and while I was writing the book, my brother was incarcerated, locked up, sent away, did time in a Michigan penitentiary. And so, I wrote the book as I wrestled with caring for someone who was moving in and out of jails and prisons, and as someone who was himself the son and brother of incarcerated men. What I typically say, and what I hope resonates with folks, is the fact that I wasn't drawn to study incarceration because my family was directly impacted. I didn't know when I began this work. It was an ethical commitment and an intellectual curiosity. But the truth of the matter is I was born poor and black after 1972, in a country that has treated historically treated black people with disdain, in a country where a third of black men can look forward to doing time in an American jail or prison if they drop out of high school and nearly 30% of folks who graduate. So, this is where we live in time and space. I couldn't have avoided the prison if I wanted to, if I was you, like a ghost, so that's where I wrote the book and that's why I wrote the book in the way that I wrote it.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Got you. One day you and I have to share our own personal stories, so thank you for sharing that. As a professor, what do you see as your role in achieving racial equity in housing?

**Dr. Miller:** I see three things as my role. My first obligation is to my students and to the broader community of folks who produce knowledge. So, I have a commitment, I have a job. This is something that's important for folks, I think, to think about who are interested in bringing about social change. We have commitments to our families, to our professional lives, and also to one another. So, in my family, in my professional life, in my work I have a commitment to produce knowledge, cutting edge knowledge, on my field, in my field. And in this case, I studied law, punishment, the experience of social policy, the negative outcomes that are associated with policies that exclude rather than include people. I study social inequality, racial justice, these are things I've taken on as a life and career. So, my first obligation is to make sure that I'm writing and thinking about these things so that my students have access to it, and so that the scientific communities to which I contribute have access to it. But I also have a responsibility, second responsibility, to the public and to policy makers. So that I write in such a way that what I find can be taken up outside of the halls of the academy, outside of the small circle of scientists who typically engage that work. So, I take that responsibility to make sure that I'm writing excessively. And the third is that I translate what I've learned in doing my work so that that can be taken up, even if it's not my own research, so that policy makers, so that program planners, so that federal agencies, so that nonprofit organizations, so that community activists and organizers -- activists and organizers can take the things we learned from folks who spend their life studying a particular thing and use it in their own lives. So, I see myself as having a responsibility to many publics: a scientific public, a broad public, and also the community of people who go about making change so that we can live in a better and more just world.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Absolutely. I like the fact that you use the term translate, because we do look at these issues from different lenses, and you, including me -- you know, as a representative of the federal government, yes, we have to have these conversations and translating it in a way that is meaningful to the people we're serving. So, I appreciate you using that description. My next question for you, as an advocate of racial equity, what do you see as HUD's role in advancing racial equity in the next four years?

**Dr. Miller:** I think that housing is central to all of it, quite honestly. I think if you don't have a home, if you don't have a place to launch from, if you don't have stability, you don't have much. I think that HUD's role is to make sure that we have just and equitable housing policy. And HUD also stands as a guiding force, not just for the government sector and not just for what people would call the third sector or nonprofit organizations or something like that, it's not just about taking a position as a government agency. But it also sets the pace for the private market. So, HUD has a responsibility to ensure that there are no more predatory practices, like we saw during the great recession that targeted black and brown people, but especially black people. From predatory home loans, among the largest contributors to the financial decline that we saw and one of the largest and last 50 or so years. And HUD also has a responsibility and obligation to the American public, as a federal agency and as the agency that is responsible for ensuring that housing policy is just, fair, that there is a floor, that people don't fall through it. And ensuring that HUD doesn't commit additional harms on top of the harms... that our housing policy doesn't commit additional harms on top of the harms that have happened to the poor and poor racialized communities, specifically poor black people in this country, but also Latinx, poor Asians, poor Americans more broadly. That we don't engage in practices of exclusion, that we don't add to the harms that have already happened historically and that continue to contribute to the negative outcomes that we see.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Absolutely. I'm just reminded of some things you mentioned earlier, so I wanted to go back and just ask another question, and that is what are some of the positive changes that you have seen in racial equity? As it relates to housing, just in the past years, because you and I both know that quite a bit has happened in 10 years. So, what are some of those positive things that you've seen?

**Dr. Miller:** Some really positive things, to begin with, would be the push... So, I want to start at the mezzo level, there's been an organizational push, an agency-wide push toward homeownership, toward making sure people are stable, ensuring that people are able to not only move from being residents, for example, of something like public housing or other HUD subsidized housing, but toward homeownership. And we see this through investments in individuals who, for example, qualify for vouchers to allow them to make down payments on their homes. This is the kind of thing that needs to be pushed and scaled up in a much deeper way, because we know that the American home is the main place that Americans, through which Americans build wealth. To this point about predatory lending, predatory lending almost reversed that. It's also operating as a watch dog, making sure that policies are in place to protect people from predatory lending, because their home is so important in the generation of wealth, in the promotion of stability, in the transmission of health and well-being across generations, is very important.

A second thing that really stands out to me is the acknowledgement of structural racism that we're seeing in this new administration, even using the language of structural racism, and we'll talk about this a little more. But beginning from the place of truth telling, or at least trying to, getting into a position where we can say we have made some mistakes, not other people outside of us, our agency, we have engaged, our country and our agency has engaged in policies that exclude, that's powerful.

The third thing is a very nice entree into what we'll talk about today which is about the lives of formerly incarcerated people. And I've seen a number of pilot programs where HUD acknowledging, at least tacitly, its practices of exclusion in the past, has begun to allow people with criminal records through pilot programs throughout the country in most major cities, places like New Orleans, Chicago, New York, on and on and on, but also in rural areas, has begun to allow, through pilot programs, people with criminal records to stay in their homes with their families. And that results in those pilot programs, if you look at the studies that have been conducted by the Vera Institute of Justice, you'll see that the greater stability, lower rates of recidivism, happier people in their homes, more stable families. So that's quite positive.

But the last positive thing I've seen are partnerships between HUD, large housing corporations like Heartland Alliance in Chicago, Illinois, and nonprofit organizations in this case I'm thinking of one partnership in particular with Saint Leonard's Ministries, and what they've done is they've allocated as pilot programs, all these programs need to be scaled up, as pilot programs a designated number of housing units for people with felony records, even violent felonies. What this allows is a kind of stability. And what do we see as the result of these initiatives, we see a reduction in crime. We see an increase in stability, we see an increase in the general well-being, not just of the individual formerly incarcerated person, individual returning citizen, to use the language we've been using today, but for their entire family unit, for their entire family. These are beautiful and quite positive things, and again, because they're all pilot programs these are all things that we see have been successful and therefore should be scaled up.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Got you. We talked about the positive side of what it looks like when you're achieving racial equity. I want to talk about something, you know, some challenges, some barriers in achieving that same racial equity in the community that you and I both would like to realize. What are some of those barriers?

**Dr. Miller:** Thank you for this question. And thank you for allowing space to think about these challenges sort of in the spirit of addressing, for example, structural racism. When you say structural racism, there a structure in the way things are set up that disproportionately affects some groups in ways that it doesn't affect others. This is what structural racism is. So, if you've got a system, for example the system of mass incarceration that affects Black people at five times the rates of whites, five times more likely to be arrested. I'm sorry, 5 times more likely to be incarcerated, twice as likely to be arrested. More likely to do longer time for the same crimes that white people commit, and therefore more likely to experience the kind of vulnerabilities that come with living with a criminal record. So what are those vulnerabilities? Those vulnerabilities include stuff that is a part of and beyond HUD, like the over 1,000 housing restrictions that are on the books across the United States, 1,000 laws, policies, and administrative sanctions that prevent people with criminal records, and 1,033 as of this morning.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** I'm sorry, you said 1,000 laws?

**Dr. Miller:** 1,033 as of this morning, that prevent people across the country with criminal records from accessing housing, from living with... for example, it prevents you from being in the home with someone who has a foster child in the home, let's say, or it prevents you from accessing public housing at all, depending on the way that the local department of housing, the local housing agency interprets those laws. Over 1,000. State by state there are differences by state, but in a small state like North Dakota, there are 14 separate laws, policies, and sanctions including lifetime bans on people with felony records from being able to rent housing. In large states like California there are like 64. So, from state to state you go from a dozen to a couple dozen to many dozens, to maybe 100, it varies so widely. So, we have a social policy of exclusion that we have to reckon with. Then of course there's the guidelines at HUD so that's beyond HUD, then there's the guidelines at HUD that say you may evict or deny leases for people with felony records. And there were initially two guidelines, I believe it was methamphetamine production and sex offenses. Then it turned into crimes committed on the premises, but then in 1988 there was the drug abuse act of 1988 which allowed for people in public housing to be evicted if someone with a criminal record so much as visited their home, because the tenant was made responsible for people, quote, under their control. This was only catalyzed in 1996 with the state of the union address through the one strike rule. After that guideline was announced, the one strike rule was announced, we saw the number of housing applications, denials based on a criminal record, double in HUD policies. Within six months of the announcement of that address.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** We could -- I'm sorry, I didn't mean to cut you off. There's just so much that we could really cover just on this one question alone, the barriers that formerly incarcerated individuals are facing. I'm going to have to let my producer know that we need to have this ongoing conversation and maybe have you invited again for another table talk where we can dive deep into these issues.

**Dr. Miller:** Yes.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** In your experience in the community with your public engagement and with your ear to the ground on what's going on, what advice would you give us here at HUD to improve our outreach

to those trusted voices and to those communities that are in those underserved areas of the nation? What advice would you give us on outreach?

**Dr. Miller:** There are two things I would do; I would take very seriously. One is the role of the community member in not just advising but participating in housing policy and also the implementation of it. So, this was actually the second part of something I wanted to say in regard to barriers, too, is there an implementation barrier. For example, in the wonderful housing pilot programs that were happening in cities across the country, I would often hear that while there would be a pilot program there would be a disconnect between the policy and what the front-line worker knew about eligibility requirements, for example. So, people with criminal records would tell me all the time, I've heard about X program, and I want to get involved in it, but the person who is accepting my application tells me I'm not eligible, tells me they can't accept my application because there's a ban based on people with criminal records. So, in other words, the translation that we talked about that was necessary in the very beginning has to happen not just translation from the researcher to the policy maker to the public, to the public, with an s, but there's a translation that has to happen at the organization level, at the agency level where different levels of the agency have to know what it means for a certain policy position to be taken at the top, how that filters out to the front line worker. So, to improve community relations, this process of translation has to be, because a lot of wonderful policies and wonderful ideas that are happening sort of at the top or even at the mezzo level in the middle that the community will never get wind of because their interaction at the front line tells them a different story. That's one thing.

The second, which is the first thing I mentioned, is allowing community members to have meaningful participation. What this means is, in my mind, people at the agency, there must be room at the agency to hear, to involve people with criminal records, former public housing residents, poor people more generally, not just in an advisory capacity but in the capacity of policy development, when the decisions are being made in the beginning. That those folks would have a right to make housing and housing policy, quote, in their own image, in ways that they see fit. So, it's more than just a community advisory board, it's a position that is empowered to help make decisions and to help shape decisions at every level. This might include hiring people with criminal records at HUD, hiring certainly, absolutely one must hire former recipients of HUD benefits to work in the organization, because that on the ground experience would inform policies in ways that say someone like me who, on some level since in an ivory tower, who is a little distant from that experience at this moment in my life, there are things I just won't understand, things I won't see, that they'll be able to help with.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** So, making sure that the right people are at the table, those that can impact and those who are impacted by the decision-making process. I'm listening and hearing exactly what you're saying, and I appreciate those words. I have another question. How does housing or the lack thereof really impact a returning citizen's reentry into the labor market? We talked a bit about housing, but I wanted to talk about what it's like to have to pursue or to secure a job. And, if you have a story of someone who actually has gone through that process, was formerly incarcerated but then was able to deal with, overcome, maybe that's the best word, to overcome the challenges, those thousand laws that you mentioned earlier. Could you share with us maybe a story from your research or your studies?

**Dr. Miller:** Absolutely. To set the context just a bit, I mentioned that there are 1,000 housing regulations, and that's not HUD specific, that's the landscaping in which HUD is operating, under these conditions. But that 19,000 employment regulations across the country, this is part of a complete

package of about 45,000 laws, policies, and administrative sanctions that target people with criminal records, that lock them out of housing, lock them out of the labor market, and prevent them from participating civically in ways they find meaningful. This is why, really the push to say allowing people with records to have meaningful participation in the policy making process, because there's so much that locks them out of other forms of civic participation, that this would be a window in. And the reason why this matters is because everything we know about crime, the causes of crime, the things that produce more crime, the conditions under which crime happens, it all has to do with precarity. Everything we know, all the criminological research, there is no dispute among criminologists that people who have housing are more likely to be arrested, are more likely to be vulnerable to crimes of violence, to suffer from crimes of violence, and to commit crimes of violence. So, and housing is really the key. Despite this, we have instituted 45,000 laws and policies that ensure the precarity of people, this is the challenge, we need to commit to a public policy of doing no harm.

So what happens when folks are able to get around all these restrictions? I'm so glad you asked this question. I want to tell you a little about a dear friend, someone who I followed for about 13 years named Martin. And Martin is in my book in the second chapter of it, he shows up again in the seventh chapter, but Martin was subject to a series of abuse when he was a kid, and he ended up being homeless. He was sexually abused multiple times at home which was awful. He was the victim of physical abuse, he was in proximity to community violence, all the telltale indicators of people who are exposed to trauma. Martin had all those indicators, but we didn't have a system when Martin was growing up to respond well to Martin's trauma, to the trauma he was exposed to. So, what do we do with Martin? He ended up being homeless. He grew up in the '60's, worked for a newspaper company in Chicago and he and a few other boys who worked at the paper would sneak back into the newspaper at night and sleep in the newspaper stacks. That's where they slept. And they would go to another friend's house, and they would bathe for the day and then go off and maybe find other odd jobs before they worked the evening shift, sorting papers and then delivered them in the morning. They were children at the time. And one of Martin's friends was murdered, he was murdered, and Martin reasonably became depressed. Started drinking very early, around 13 years old, turned to drugs, was on the street for years. In fact, he spent a decade homeless. During his time homeless he was arrested 14 times. 14 times for trespassing, often during drug sweeps in public housing units and this kind of thing. He was eventually arrested and convicted of a felony record; he was caught with having three crack rocks in his pocket. I told you that he had turned to drugs, he had three crack rocks in his pocket, was charged with possession with intent to sell. The judge, I was at the hearing, the judge said that was excessive, Martin by this point is an adult. The judge says this is an excessive charge, and he had three crack rocks, why are you going for a full felony, he only had three, you know, this kind of thing. The prosecutor says, but your honor, he has this pattern of criminality, look at his record, he was arrested 14 times. The 14 times when he was homeless. This is a failure to respond to Martin's trauma, his grief, his coping mechanism, this is arresting him for the crime of coping with his grief in the best way he knew how. Well, Martin struggled for a few more years, and I told you I followed him for about 13. And then one day, a spot opened with a Catholic Charities organization that was in part HUD-funded, by the way, that had a place for him. He was admitted into what we might call interim housing, where you're allowed to have a place for six months to a couple years. For him it was up to six months. Then there was an opening at a home for veterans. Martin... which was also, by the way, HUD subsidized. Martin went to the service in between these bouts to try to stabilize his life. And that home for veterans that allowed him in despite his criminal record was the place where he found stability, where he found relief from his troubles, where

he found relief from the streets. Martin started a ministry, a homeless outreach ministry, going back to the homeless encampments where he used to live, handing out food, telling people about services. Martin, from his housing stability went back to school, got his truck driver's license, graduated with a bachelor's degree, now drives a truck, is thinking about getting a master's degree and has been stably housed now for the last nearly a decade. This is Martin's story. And the thing that allowed for that, despite the trauma, despite the grief he was able to get into counseling and get help for these things, it was the housing, the first organization, it was Little Sisters of the Poor, giving him a first shot, and then it was the second one, St. Leo's ministries, opening its door to him, another HUD subsidized organization that looked beyond his criminal record and allowed him the kind of stability for him, not only to thrive in his own life, but to do good and help others. It's a wonderful and powerful story in my heart and my mind.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Wow. That just shows you that, the power of housing and how it can really stabilize an individual. Thank you for sharing that story of Martin. I assume you still keep in touch with him?

**Dr. Miller:** I do.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** So that's good to know. That's a wonderful story, it's a hard story to take in, but to know that he is thriving and doing well is a blessing. So, thank you for sharing that, Dr. Miller. In this current climate, why is advancing racial equity more important now than ever? Why is it important right now in 2021? Why are we even having these discussions right now?

**Dr. Miller:** I think we're paying attention in ways that we haven't been able to. That's one part of it. You know, we're paying attention, we're seeing with our own eyes police violence, murder in fact, happening. And we're seeing with our own eyes what people have complained about for many, many, many years. And the world has caught on, the world is paying attention. And we're also seeing with our own eyes an opportunity to build on progress that we've made in the past. So, in the past we were worried about overt discrimination, people mistreating people of color, people mistreating women, people mistreating GLBTQ folks because of who they are, and this outward expression of racial animus and exclusion. And now we're able, because of the progress that we made in many ways, we're able to ask different kinds of questions, we're able to ask now, finally, what kinds of law and policy mechanisms are in place that allow for these things to happen? What kinds of law and policy America Indians are in place that promote these sorts of things? In what ways are we doing harm? So, it's more important than ever for us to reckon with the history of racial violence and racial injustice in this country because we're being confronted with it in ways that we hadn't before. And we have evidence that we've had for quite a while that's been finally verified for people outside of those specific racial and ethnic groups that have complained for so long that we never listen to. We're at a place where the world is watching. It's important for our nation to get this right. And I think we're taking some steps to try to do that. I would encourage us to go further.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Well, you've heard it, we've got to go further, we've got some work to do. What an awe-inspiring table talk today. I want to thank you personally, Dr. Miller, for your advocacy and your partnership, thank you on behalf of those Martins in the world that you have helped. Thank you. I'm hopeful, I'm very hopeful that we will one day have a community that is fully informed, that is active and is truly thriving because we are all working together to ensure such a reality for all of those who call this nation home. We must get to work, everyone, we have to bend the arc of justice towards racial equity.



You heard Dr. Miller say it over and over again, this is our time to get it right. Before we go, Dr. Miller, do you have any final thoughts for our audience?

**Dr. Miller:** Absolutely. I think that the framework of returning citizen is an important one, because I think that mass incarceration is a problem of citizenship, not just behavior. And I think that because citizenship at the end of the day is about belonging, it's about being a fully human participant in participant in a human community. It's about having a place in the world and society. And what we've done through law and policy to this point is we've written law and policy in such a way that we've excluded people, we've prevented them from having a place in the world. It is now time for us to think about how to write law and policy to include people. How to write law and policy in such a way so that we make it so that people belong, even people who have caused us harm. And the place to start this very important work, this work of belonging, this work of bringing about a society in write people belong is housing. There's no more important agency, there's no more important effort than to ensure that people are stably housed, that they have the place from which they can build wealth, their health, and their general well-being. And it's not just for them. Half the people that we incarcerate in this country have children, and all the people we incarcerate in this country are someone's son, daughter, brother, cousin, friend. One in two Americans has a formerly incarcerated loved one, this is a giant American problem. If we can tackle mass incarceration we must address housing, and housing and HUD and this agency is the perfect place to start.

**DeAndra J. Cullen:** Wow. HUD has got to continue to open doors. Thank you so much. Thank you for joining me at the table to talk about your research on life after incarceration. This concludes our program. Stay tuned for the next episode of our table talk series. Until then, America, do your part to ensure fair housing and equal opportunities for all. Thank you.