## WEBVTT

NOTE duration:"00:55:43.9700000"
NOTE recognizability:0.849
NOTE language:en-us
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:04.680 --> 00:00:08.111 Early on the summer evening of August 1st, NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:00:08.111 --> 00:00:09.977 2006, on a mournful New Haven,
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:09.980 --> 00:00:12.906 CT Side Street, an elderly man from NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:00:12.906 --> 00:00:15.742 another town who just cashed checks
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:15.742 --> 00:00:18.093 worth nearly $\$ 2000$ was sitting NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:00:18.093 --> 00:00:20.799 in his cream colored luxury car.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:20.800 --> 00:00:22.948 A young stranger appeared at his
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:22.948 --> 00:00:25.419 window and killed the man with a NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:00:25.419 --> 00:00:27.363 single point blank gunshot to the NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:00:27.363 --> 00:00:29.417 neck from a 45 caliber pistol.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:29.420 --> 00:00:31.639 A 45 is a weapon so powerful
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:31.639 --> 00:00:33.820 it's a handheld artillery piece.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:33.820 --> 00:00:35.392 Few people are murderers.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:00:35.392 --> 00:00:37.750 If you are still kill strangers, NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143 00:00:37.750 --> 00:00:40.306 far fewer again are capable of NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:00:40.306 --> 00:00:42.010 such an intimate execution.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:42.010 --> 00:00:44.950 Another stranger, a 16 year old boy,
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:44.950 --> 00:00:46.546 was blocks away at the time,
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:46.550 --> 00:00:48.950 inside a pharmacy went to prison
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:48.950 --> 00:00:50.150 for the shooting.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:50.150 --> 00:00:51.730 Whatever muted outcry that followed
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:51.730 --> 00:00:53.688 in the city was soon undercut
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:53.688 --> 00:00:55.614 by the settled belief that these
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:55.614 --> 00:00:57.430 were the things that happened.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:57.430 --> 00:00:59.370 The conditioned insignificance of
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:00:59.370 --> 00:01:01.795 the crime carried its significance NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143

00:01:01.795 --> 00:01:03.996 in three men inextricably bound
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:01:03.996 --> 00:01:06.046 by violence was the gone.
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:01:06.050 --> 00:01:07.373 Grandeur of cities,

NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:01:07.373 --> 00:01:10.696 the end of new beginnings, and old,
NOTE Confidence: 0.884477332857143
00:01:10.696 --> 00:01:12.370 unresolved American history.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:15.180 --> 00:01:17.266 Thank you so much for having me, NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:01:17.270 --> 00:01:21.506 and thank you on such a
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:21.510 --> 00:01:23.294 sort of complicated format.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:23.294 --> 00:01:25.524 You're here or you're not
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:25.524 --> 00:01:27.587 here and however you are.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:27.590 --> 00:01:30.080 Thank you for coming and thank
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:30.080 --> 00:01:32.910 you for that lovely introduction.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:32.910 --> 00:01:35.322 I I think that place matters
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:35.322 --> 00:01:37.310 in how we grow up.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:37.310 --> 00:01:40.110 We are all products of our environments.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:40.110 --> 00:01:42.318 I grew up in late 1970s
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:42.318 --> 00:01:44.390 and early 1980s New Haven.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:44.390 --> 00:01:46.790 New Haven was then a remarkably
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:01:46.790 --> 00:01:48.390 diverse city of neighborhoods.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:48.390 --> 00:01:50.330 It's also highly segregated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:50.330 --> 00:01:51.785 In the 1950s,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:51.790 --> 00:01:55.210 New Haven became known to government
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:55.210 --> 00:01:57.110 officials as America's model City.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:57.110 --> 00:01:59.301 And in more recent years demographers have
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:01:59.301 --> 00:02:01.870 called it the country's most typical city.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:01.870 --> 00:02:04.117 Because it is a small city with
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:04.117 --> 00:02:06.606 big city problems built on a scale
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:06.606 --> 00:02:08.426 that allows for unusual scrutiny,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:08.430 --> 00:02:10.368 New Haven is perhaps more accurately.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:10.370 --> 00:02:12.848 A representative city.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:12.850 --> 00:02:13.720 Michael Jefferson,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:13.720 --> 00:02:15.895 who's the city's leading civil
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:15.895 --> 00:02:17.710 rights and criminal lawyer, NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:02:17.710 --> 00:02:19.470 grew up in the Bronx.

NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:19.470 --> 00:02:21.227 He says New York was too big.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:21.230 --> 00:02:23.102 He said it was only when he came NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:02:23.102 --> 00:02:24.293 to southern Connecticut State NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:02:24.293 --> 00:02:26.303 University for college and then be
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:26.303 --> 00:02:28.247 law school and began to work here,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:28.250 --> 00:02:30.848 that this smaller city could function
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:30.848 --> 00:02:33.730 for him. He says like a microscope.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:33.730 --> 00:02:35.390 I could see American life.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:35.390 --> 00:02:38.428 He could see how the country works.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:38.430 --> 00:02:41.086 Most of us spend our youth in neighborhoods,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:41.090 --> 00:02:42.650 our delimited worlds.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:42.650 --> 00:02:43.690 If, however,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:43.690 --> 00:02:47.258 you were me and came of age in
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:47.258 --> 00:02:49.562 between spaces, lived on one floor.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:02:49.562 --> 00:02:52.658 Were rented 2 family house with a single mom, NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:02:52.660 --> 00:02:54.704 a teacher who filled my life with NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:02:54.704 --> 00:02:56.684 books and also her anxiety about NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:02:56.684 --> 00:02:58.754 making her salary last the month, NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:02:58.760 --> 00:03:00.572 and you had a severely mentally
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:00.572 --> 00:03:02.818 ill father living in and out of
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:02.818 --> 00:03:05.093 institutions in the streets in another state.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:05.100 --> 00:03:08.853 You might feel a peripheral remove as I did.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:08.860 --> 00:03:12.340 There are many ways to know your hometown.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:12.340 --> 00:03:15.240 I had a little business when I was a kid.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:15.240 --> 00:03:17.140 Shoveling walks and raking
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:17.140 --> 00:03:19.515 leaves and mowing people's lawns.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:19.520 --> 00:03:21.515 And with the money that I earned,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:21.520 --> 00:03:23.235 I would ride to downtown New Haven
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:23.235 --> 00:03:25.098 and spend the money at local shops.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:25.100 --> 00:03:26.780 And in those days most of them
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:26.780 --> 00:03:27.860 were still family owned.

NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:27.860 --> 00:03:29.798 Or you had that feeling anyway,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:29.800 --> 00:03:31.600 and where you bought things,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:31.600 --> 00:03:32.940 and what you bought them,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:32.940 --> 00:03:34.900 and the people from whom you bought
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:34.900 --> 00:03:36.850 them and the people around you.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:36.850 --> 00:03:38.476 All of it gave me anyway,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:38.480 --> 00:03:41.476 a sense of being a public participant.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:41.480 --> 00:03:43.478 The merchants came to know me
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:43.478 --> 00:03:45.600 and my tastes and my habits,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:45.600 --> 00:03:47.598 and they informed and deepened them.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:47.600 --> 00:03:50.480 And I still, when I walk around my office, NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:03:50.480 --> 00:03:52.230 I still look at the spines of
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:52.230 --> 00:03:54.118 books that I bought as a child,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:54.120 --> 00:03:56.262 at places like the Foundry Bookstore
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:03:56.262 --> 00:03:58.540 or Brookhaven or the alcohol or
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:03:58.540 --> 00:04:00.505 the Brenmar Bookstore or Atticus,
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:04:00.510 --> 00:04:01.017 eventually.
NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857
00:04:01.017 --> 00:04:04.566 And there I see my people and NOTE Confidence: 0.953832277142857

00:04:04.566 --> 00:04:06.220 you know my city.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:09.770 --> 00:04:11.746 You know one way to think about childhood
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:11.746 --> 00:04:13.868 as is as a succession of awakenings,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:13.870 --> 00:04:16.610 moments of sudden, luminous clarity.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:16.610 --> 00:04:19.430 And then you say, this is how the world is.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:19.430 --> 00:04:21.684 And for me, my world changed in
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:21.684 --> 00:04:24.181 7th grade when I became a tuition
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:24.181 --> 00:04:26.365 free student at a private school.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:26.370 --> 00:04:28.380 I drove across town every day
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:28.380 --> 00:04:30.290 past the Winchester gun factory,
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:30.290 --> 00:04:32.376 and you could just tell from the
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:32.376 --> 00:04:34.699 parking lots how many cars there were NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452

00:04:34.699 --> 00:04:36.745 and from the employee entrances and

NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:36.807 --> 00:04:39.054 things and the more and more disused.
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:39.060 --> 00:04:40.440 Buildings, that things were
NOTE Confidence: 0.859113452
00:04:40.440 --> 00:04:41.820 not going well there.
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:44.120 --> 00:04:46.197 One of the ways I spent my a lot of my time
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:46.197 --> 00:04:47.856 was playing youth baseball in New Haven,
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:47.860 --> 00:04:49.432 and as I advanced through the
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:49.432 --> 00:04:50.480 various age group leagues,
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:50.480 --> 00:04:52.888 I traversed the city on my bicycle.
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:52.890 --> 00:04:54.954 At my new school I saw more children
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:54.954 --> 00:04:57.524 that I could count who had braces on
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:57.524 --> 00:04:59.630 their teeth to straighten their teeth.
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:04:59.630 --> 00:05:02.374 But that summer I played shortstop in a
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:02.374 --> 00:05:04.519 Baseball League and working class Fair
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:04.519 --> 00:05:06.526 haven on a field near the projects,
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:06.530 --> 00:05:08.028 and one day out at second base.
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947

00:05:08.030 --> 00:05:10.182 There was this kid with a long Italian
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:10.182 --> 00:05:11.908 surname who all of us called rap.
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:11.910 --> 00:05:13.513 And he smiled and I could see
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:13.513 --> 00:05:14.650 that he had braces.
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:14.650 --> 00:05:16.420 And then it occurred to me that of all of us,
NOTE Confidence: 0.853931201578947
00:05:16.420 --> 00:05:17.440 he was the only one.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:20.700 --> 00:05:22.220 Another year, I played baseball NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:05:22.220 --> 00:05:24.110 in a black neighborhood not far
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:24.110 --> 00:05:25.660 from the Winchester Gun factory.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:25.660 --> 00:05:27.808 There I had teammates and opponents
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:27.808 --> 00:05:29.240 whose battered apartments and NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:05:29.300 --> 00:05:30.844 worn clothing suggested families
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:30.844 --> 00:05:33.160 struggling to meet their basic needs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:33.160 --> 00:05:35.001 I couldn't be sure of this, because as kids,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:35.001 --> 00:05:36.960 we didn't talk about any of these things.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:36.960 --> 00:05:39.435 We just noticed there was a day when I

NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:39.435 --> 00:05:41.716 stood in uniform on that dusty field, NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:05:41.720 --> 00:05:43.910 looking out beyond the bleachers, NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:05:43.910 --> 00:05:45.296 and I was thinking about it,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:45.300 --> 00:05:46.676 and I was thinking about how right there,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:46.680 --> 00:05:48.374 just up that hill across the street,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:48.380 --> 00:05:49.054 called. Prospect.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:49.054 --> 00:05:51.750 Was what every town he kid like me NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:05:51.816 --> 00:05:54.406 thought of as paradise for young people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:54.410 --> 00:05:55.301 as Yale University.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:05:55.301 --> 00:05:57.787 And there there were green lawns that were NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:05:57.787 --> 00:05:59.887 kept lushly groomed for Yale universities, NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:05:59.890 --> 00:06:02.270 almost entirely white student body.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:02.270 --> 00:06:04.682 And to me thinking about it in that moment,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:04.690 --> 00:06:06.586 and I remember this very vividly,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:06.590 --> 00:06:09.117 it wasn't just those divergent extremes of NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:06:09.117 --> 00:06:11.749 wealth and poverty and relative opportunity.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:11.750 --> 00:06:13.829 It was the in your face proximity
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:13.829 --> 00:06:15.700 that was the juxtaposition,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:15.700 --> 00:06:16.222 juxtaposition.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:16.222 --> 00:06:18.310 Everything was right there.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:18.310 --> 00:06:20.605 And it was bewildering to me as a kid.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:20.610 --> 00:06:22.460 And I was standing there and I can feel it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:22.460 --> 00:06:22.968 Still standing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:22.968 --> 00:06:25.000 I'm standing out there on the field and
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:25.049 --> 00:06:26.857 I'm looking and I really still feel it
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:26.857 --> 00:06:28.687 every time I think about this and it NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:06:28.687 --> 00:06:30.824 becomes very formal in my mind, the locution,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:30.824 --> 00:06:33.240 and it's like, why should this be?
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:33.240 --> 00:06:34.720 How can this be?
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:34.720 --> 00:06:35.491 And you know, NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:35.491 --> 00:06:37.290 I had a pre and adolescent voice,

NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:37.290 --> 00:06:39.198 so it didn't sound like that in my mind.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:39.200 --> 00:06:41.258 As I'm saying it goes very high.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:41.260 --> 00:06:42.544 But you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:42.544 --> 00:06:47.730 I I just thought this is this is wrong.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:47.730 --> 00:06:49.010 So I became an adult,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:49.010 --> 00:06:50.680 and I left home and I went to New York.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:50.680 --> 00:06:52.120 But whenever I come to New
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:52.120 --> 00:06:53.360 Haven to visit my mom,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:53.360 --> 00:06:55.264 I would see this dynamic of these
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:55.264 --> 00:06:56.490 two incongruous new havens,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:56.490 --> 00:06:58.740 and that it was only intensifying.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:06:58.740 --> 00:07:00.798 I could see that things were only
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:00.798 --> 00:07:02.359 growing more prosperous around Yale,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:02.360 --> 00:07:03.824 while Newhallville seemed the
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:03.824 --> 00:07:06.020 same or more forlorn to me.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:07:06.020 --> 00:07:08.596 The Yale and Newhallville should be so close.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:08.600 --> 00:07:11.120 The college right there and yet so far away,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:11.120 --> 00:07:13.680 I found really unsettling always.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:13.680 --> 00:07:16.446 And I wondered why a city
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:16.446 --> 00:07:18.290 should be so divided.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:18.290 --> 00:07:19.043 Every few years,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:19.043 --> 00:07:20.800 the New York Times would publish an NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:07:20.850 --> 00:07:22.810 article on the two connecticuts and the
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:22.810 --> 00:07:24.519 wealthy state with its impoverished,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:24.520 --> 00:07:25.140 violent cities.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:25.140 --> 00:07:27.088 It's also Hartford and Bridgeport, right?
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:27.088 --> 00:07:29.476 New Haven was by then an
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:29.476 --> 00:07:30.670 archetype for demographers,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:30.670 --> 00:07:32.550 measuring genie indexes and
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:32.550 --> 00:07:34.430 growth ratios for inequality.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:34.430 --> 00:07:36.746 And if you look at newhallville,

NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:36.750 --> 00:07:39.190 you would see if you didn't know what it was, NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625

00:07:39.190 --> 00:07:41.506 you would see almost an American,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:41.510 --> 00:07:42.198 every town.
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:42.198 --> 00:07:44.606 It could be anywhere across the country,
NOTE Confidence: 0.869718525625
00:07:44.610 --> 00:07:45.906 which to me was the point.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:07:49.320 --> 00:07:51.854 Overtime it grasped that New Haven really
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:07:51.854 --> 00:07:54.185 was a representative version of what
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:07:54.185 --> 00:07:56.155 remains a persistent American problem.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:07:56.160 --> 00:07:58.146 From New York to Trenton to
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:07:58.146 --> 00:07:59.139 Philadelphia to Baltimore,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:07:59.140 --> 00:08:01.762 and out on across the Heartland
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:01.762 --> 00:08:04.088 fully formed American working class
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:04.088 --> 00:08:07.100 neighborhoods without any well paying work.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:07.100 --> 00:08:10.014 As with my city in Chicago, Saint Louis, NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:10.014 --> 00:08:12.036 Palo Alto, Los Angeles and elsewhere, NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:12.040 --> 00:08:14.679 the walls of elite universities were all NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:14.679 --> 00:08:17.199 that separated them from another America. NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444 00:08:17.200 --> 00:08:19.684 So in 2012 I decided I would move back NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:19.684 --> 00:08:22.746 home from New York and try to answer my NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:22.746 --> 00:08:25.355 childhood question of why this strange NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:25.355 --> 00:08:27.215 juxtaposition juxtaposition should be,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:27.220 --> 00:08:29.243 and what it might mean for current NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:29.243 --> 00:08:31.448 versions of kids like me and those I've
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:31.448 --> 00:08:33.579 grown up with and play baseball with.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:33.580 --> 00:08:36.636 I wanted to write a book that explained
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:36.636 --> 00:08:39.717 the many forces over time that could.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:39.720 --> 00:08:41.897 Explain in turn how a city was
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:41.897 --> 00:08:43.120 and comes to be,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:43.120 --> 00:08:46.102 and in the particular way that a
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:46.102 --> 00:08:48.384 young people surrounded by opportunity NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:48.384 --> 00:08:50.704 that's unavailable to them feel

NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:50.704 --> 00:08:52.836 about it in the most extreme.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:08:52.836 --> 00:08:55.365 I was interested in the enormous but not NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:55.365 --> 00:08:57.393 well understood problem of gun violence, NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:08:57.400 --> 00:09:00.202 how it happens and how it
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:00.202 --> 00:09:02.070 affects and reveals communities.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:02.070 --> 00:09:03.686 Newhallville, I would discover,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:03.686 --> 00:09:05.706 was a classic post industrial
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:05.706 --> 00:09:06.750 American community.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:06.750 --> 00:09:09.246 It was once a place formed by work.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:09.250 --> 00:09:12.218 New Haven existed long ago at the foundation
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:12.218 --> 00:09:15.690 of a new idea in American labor history,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:15.690 --> 00:09:17.465 homes for workers that existed
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:17.465 --> 00:09:19.970 separately from the place of employment.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:19.970 --> 00:09:22.040 When Eli Whitney required skilled hands NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:09:22.040 --> 00:09:25.090 to work in his gun factory out across the NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:09:25.090 --> 00:09:27.970 Hamden line off of what is now Whitney Ave.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:27.970 --> 00:09:30.217 he built them houses and he created
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:30.217 --> 00:09:32.489 what we now call whitneyville.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:32.490 --> 00:09:34.218 Called it whitneyville then.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:34.218 --> 00:09:35.514 50 years later,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:35.520 --> 00:09:37.530 New Haven was a World Center
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:37.530 --> 00:09:38.535 for carriage manufacturer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:38.540 --> 00:09:41.231 People like to say later that New Haven was
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:41.231 --> 00:09:44.196 to carriages as Detroit was to automobiles.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:44.200 --> 00:09:46.420 Carriage industry was big for boosterism,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:46.420 --> 00:09:48.555 but it was there were a lot, NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:09:48.560 --> 00:09:50.037 a lot of carriage factories and this
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:50.037 --> 00:09:51.883 was one of the great centers in the
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:51.883 --> 00:09:53.638 country and hence the world at the time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:53.640 --> 00:09:55.992 George Newhall was the owner of a NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:09:55.992 --> 00:09:57.966 successful carriage business that to keep

NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:09:57.966 --> 00:09:59.772 up with labor demands needed housing. NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:09:59.780 --> 00:10:01.320 And so the houses that he built, NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:10:01.320 --> 00:10:03.168 you can still see some of them
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:03.168 --> 00:10:03.960 on Thompson St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:03.960 --> 00:10:05.808 came to be known as newhallville.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:05.810 --> 00:10:06.810 Soon enough,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:06.810 --> 00:10:09.310 you know automobiles replace carriages
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:09.310 --> 00:10:11.853 and the Winchester gun factory
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:11.853 --> 00:10:13.604 replaces George Newhall's bills.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:13.604 --> 00:10:14.388 Carriage factories,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:14.388 --> 00:10:16.348 The Manufacturing center of a
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:16.348 --> 00:10:18.069 classic working class community.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:18.070 --> 00:10:21.442 Every wave major wave of European
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:21.442 --> 00:10:23.690 immigrant came through Newhallville.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:23.690 --> 00:10:25.962 These are unskilled, undereducated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444

00:10:25.962 --> 00:10:28.610 Irish, Italian, German, Eastern European.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:28.610 --> 00:10:32.649 Each wave arrives does labor that is tedious,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:32.650 --> 00:10:33.384 often exhausting,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:33.384 --> 00:10:35.219 but that it's virtuous that
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:35.219 --> 00:10:36.929 you could learn to trade.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:36.930 --> 00:10:38.510 How to command a machine?
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:38.510 --> 00:10:40.118 Earn enough income to buy houses,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:40.120 --> 00:10:40.420 cars,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:40.420 --> 00:10:42.520 move up and out to surrounding communities.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:42.520 --> 00:10:43.997 Provide a better life for your kids,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:44.000 --> 00:10:44.642 often education.
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:44.642 --> 00:10:47.210 The final wave of this was the African
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:47.273 --> 00:10:49.259 Americans who came from the South,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:49.260 --> 00:10:50.502 especially South Carolina,
NOTE Confidence: 0.810389994444444
00:10:50.502 --> 00:10:52.158 during the Great Migration.
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:10:52.160 --> 00:10:54.416 And in the 1950s and 1960s,

NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:10:54.420 --> 00:10:56.285 people who lived through it
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:10:56.285 --> 00:10:57.777 described newhallville as beautiful,
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:10:57.780 --> 00:10:59.665 as the most risen black
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:10:59.665 --> 00:11:00.796 neighborhood in Connecticut,
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:00.800 --> 00:11:02.200 with the highest neighborhood
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:02.200 --> 00:11:03.950 rate of African American home
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:03.950 --> 00:11:05.678 ownership in the state of Flurrying,
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:05.680 --> 00:11:07.003 flourishing Southern neighborhood
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:07.003 --> 00:11:08.767 in a northern city.
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:08.770 --> 00:11:10.555 Where people grew okra and NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667

00:11:10.555 --> 00:11:11.983 Peaches and beautiful roses.
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:11.990 --> 00:11:13.866 You could walk down the sidewalk and
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:13.866 --> 00:11:15.671 just by smelling tell who baked the
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:15.671 --> 00:11:17.810 best upside down cake in the neighborhood.
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:17.810 --> 00:11:19.202 People were formal in the sense
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667

00:11:19.202 --> 00:11:21.135 that they went to the grocery store
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:21.135 --> 00:11:22.407 wearing their church clothes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.896931796666667
00:11:22.410 --> 00:11:23.988 including gloves if you're a woman.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:26.000 --> 00:11:27.530 There was a close remained a
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:27.530 --> 00:11:28.900 close connection to the South.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:28.900 --> 00:11:30.892 One farmer would load up the back of
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:30.892 --> 00:11:32.879 his pickup with greens in the Carolinas NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636

00:11:32.879 --> 00:11:34.899 and he drive overnight to New Haven.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:34.900 --> 00:11:36.766 And then you drive around Newhallville
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:36.766 --> 00:11:38.300 calling get your vegetables here,
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:38.300 --> 00:11:39.637 and people would rush out the same
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:39.637 --> 00:11:41.059 as they did for the hot peanut
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:41.059 --> 00:11:42.259 man when he made his peanuts.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:42.260 --> 00:11:44.608 They always sold out very fast. Even today,
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:44.608 --> 00:11:46.320 if you look around you from now on, NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636

00:11:46.320 --> 00:11:47.796 when you're moving through New Haven,

NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:47.800 --> 00:11:49.300 you'll see lots and lots of
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:49.300 --> 00:11:50.300 South Carolina license plates.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:50.300 --> 00:11:52.340 And that's why there remains an
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:52.340 --> 00:11:53.700 incredibly intimate and close
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:53.756 --> 00:11:55.928 connection between the North and South.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:55.930 --> 00:11:58.040 And, and in particular that
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:58.040 --> 00:11:59.728 community in those days,
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:11:59.730 --> 00:12:01.202 Newhallville was notably safe.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:01.202 --> 00:12:02.306 Everybody said that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:02.310 --> 00:12:03.730 Nobody locked their doors.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:03.730 --> 00:12:05.860 It's the trouble comes when the
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:05.930 --> 00:12:06.848 work goes away.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:06.850 --> 00:12:07.814 It's a painful irony.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:07.814 --> 00:12:09.260 It's one of the most painful
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:09.315 --> 00:12:10.904 ironies I can think of it always.
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636

00:12:10.910 --> 00:12:11.902 I'm an emotional person,
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:11.902 --> 00:12:13.390 and it makes me emotional still,
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:13.390 --> 00:12:15.658 all these years after I began this NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636

00:12:15.658 --> 00:12:18.128 project that when the gun factory closed,
NOTE Confidence: 0.797014086363636
00:12:18.130 --> 00:12:19.138 gun violence came.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:23.480 --> 00:12:25.880 So I had a subject, but not a story, right?
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:25.880 --> 00:12:27.896 Not a way of creating a narrative
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:27.896 --> 00:12:29.340 that would reveal and illuminate
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:29.340 --> 00:12:31.420 what I hope to know and to say.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:31.420 --> 00:12:33.140 As a narrative nonfiction writer,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:33.140 --> 00:12:34.850 my work involved relating the NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:12:34.850 --> 00:12:36.560 lives and experiences of others.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:36.560 --> 00:12:37.508 Not myself, typically.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:37.508 --> 00:12:40.170 And in this way I would also be
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:40.170 --> 00:12:42.456 following the example of Virginia Woolf, NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:12:42.460 --> 00:12:44.290 a fiction and nonfiction writer who

NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:44.290 --> 00:12:46.300 exhorts herself in the common reader.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:46.300 --> 00:12:49.251 Face the facts of other existences, grapple
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:49.251 --> 00:12:51.477 with the mechanism of external things.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:51.480 --> 00:12:52.885 Report the speeches of men
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:52.885 --> 00:12:54.009 and women who existed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:54.010 --> 00:12:55.654 Independently of herself.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:55.654 --> 00:12:57.930 In other words, be generous.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:57.930 --> 00:12:59.820 Think about others as a writer,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:12:59.820 --> 00:13:01.934 or you're not being a good writer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:01.940 --> 00:13:02.996 Back in New Haven,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:02.996 --> 00:13:04.580 as I explored my incipient subject,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:04.580 --> 00:13:06.470 I learned about kids who've been
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:06.470 --> 00:13:08.259 arrested for building their own guns.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:08.260 --> 00:13:09.646 I saw pictures of the guns,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:09.650 --> 00:13:11.540 and these were incredible machines.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:13:11.540 --> 00:13:13.880 They were designed toward the forces.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:13.880 --> 00:13:14.762 I was amazed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:14.762 --> 00:13:16.350 And I was also, again,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:16.350 --> 00:13:17.170 another irony,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:17.170 --> 00:13:19.630 overcome by the notion that these
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:19.630 --> 00:13:21.885 were children who are getting
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:21.885 --> 00:13:24.105 into serious legal trouble for
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:24.105 --> 00:13:26.465 something that had once been the
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:26.465 --> 00:13:28.310 mainstay of the city's economy.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:28.310 --> 00:13:30.214 It was easy for me to imagine how
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:30.214 --> 00:13:32.031 these young people capable of such NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:13:32.031 --> 00:13:33.641 ingenuity could have been engineers
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:33.641 --> 00:13:35.311 or research scientists had they
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:35.311 --> 00:13:37.243 grown up elsewhere in New Haven.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:37.250 --> 00:13:38.086 But they were juveniles, NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:13:38.086 --> 00:13:40.010 and it was really hard to talk with them.

NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:40.010 --> 00:13:41.610 A lot of people tried.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:41.610 --> 00:13:43.346 Even I was, as I was trying.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:43.350 --> 00:13:43.886 One day,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:43.886 --> 00:13:45.762 a New Haven criminal lawyer called me.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:45.770 --> 00:13:46.886 He'd heard what I was doing,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:46.890 --> 00:13:48.537 and he wanted to tell me about one of NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:13:48.537 --> 00:13:50.450 his clients, a young man named Bobby, NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:13:50.450 --> 00:13:52.202 who was from New Whoville and had been
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:52.202 --> 00:13:54.069 in prison at that point for eight years,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:54.070 --> 00:13:56.086 since he was 16 , for having,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:56.090 --> 00:13:57.620 the lawyer said,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:57.620 --> 00:13:59.660 been coerced into confessing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:13:59.660 --> 00:14:01.970 Coerced by police into falsely confessing
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:01.970 --> 00:14:04.714 to a new Hallville murder that, again, NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:14:04.714 --> 00:14:06.976 the lawyer said he hadn't committed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:14:06.980 --> 00:14:08.430 The victim was an elderly
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:08.430 --> 00:14:09.880 black man named Pete Fields,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:09.880 --> 00:14:11.700 who'd grown up on a South Carolina NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:14:11.700 --> 00:14:13.819 farm come to New Haven in the 1950s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:13.820 --> 00:14:16.501 And as I suggested that many people
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:16.501 --> 00:14:19.158 had he had done really well,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:19.160 --> 00:14:20.104 moved up and away,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:20.104 --> 00:14:21.847 and he lived in a large house
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:21.847 --> 00:14:23.437 in a town outside the city.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:23.440 --> 00:14:25.000 He fields had been killed
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:25.000 --> 00:14:25.936 while visiting newhallville, NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:14:25.940 --> 00:14:26.870 his childhood neighborhood.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:26.870 --> 00:14:29.040 He'd probably been set up by people.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:29.040 --> 00:14:30.489 Knew he was coming that day and
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:30.489 --> 00:14:31.710 would have a substantial amount
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:31.710 --> 00:14:33.366 of bill paying money on him.

NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:33.370 --> 00:14:34.880 The lawyer said that this
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:34.880 --> 00:14:36.390 case might inform my project.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:36.390 --> 00:14:38.210 The point seemed to be that Bobby's NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138

00:14:38.210 --> 00:14:40.084 life trajectory had been shaped by the
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:40.084 --> 00:14:41.644 isolated neighborhood he grew up in,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:41.650 --> 00:14:44.266 that if what the lawyer said was true,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:44.270 --> 00:14:47.870 he had in effect been seen for who he was.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:47.870 --> 00:14:48.630 More broadly,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:48.630 --> 00:14:50.910 by growing up in segregated isolation,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:50.910 --> 00:14:52.704 hits like Bobby were more more
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:52.704 --> 00:14:54.570 vulnerable to all kinds of trouble,
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:54.570 --> 00:14:56.266 including overzealous police officers.
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:56.266 --> 00:14:58.386 The parallel point I would
NOTE Confidence: 0.803909138
00:14:58.386 --> 00:14:59.970 just want to say about.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:14:59.970 --> 00:15:02.982 Releasing is that you can't solve
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523

00:15:02.982 --> 00:15:04.990 crimes without accurate information,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:04.990 --> 00:15:07.528 and people who don't know and trust you to
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:07.528 --> 00:15:10.058 know and trust them won't help you when NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523

00:15:10.058 --> 00:15:12.438 you suddenly need them to solve a murder.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:12.440 --> 00:15:14.592 On a snowy Sunday, I visited the lawyer
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:14.592 --> 00:15:16.380 who'd called me, and this is live.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:16.380 --> 00:15:17.964 His office was in, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:17.964 --> 00:15:20.140 New Haven is full of former large mansion,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:20.140 --> 00:15:22.078 like houses that are now businesses.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:22.080 --> 00:15:25.392 And he was in the top floor of a
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:25.392 --> 00:15:27.856 former huge house, and he was up NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523

00:15:27.856 --> 00:15:29.290 under the eaves surrounded by boxes.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:29.290 --> 00:15:31.460 I think he was in sweat clothes.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:31.460 --> 00:15:32.764 And he was immediately.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:32.764 --> 00:15:34.520 I mean, I just thought of Dickens.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:34.520 --> 00:15:36.438 I mean, he's just such a character.

NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:36.440 --> 00:15:38.880 And he was so he was so full
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:38.880 --> 00:15:40.439 of conviction and purpose.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:40.440 --> 00:15:42.720 And he just said look in those boxes.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:42.720 --> 00:15:43.750 And see what you think.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:43.750 --> 00:15:46.508 And I started looking through the boxes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:46.510 --> 00:15:48.868 and I didn't know this man,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:48.870 --> 00:15:50.910 and I was no more of an expert
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:50.910 --> 00:15:52.967 on such matters than I assume,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:52.970 --> 00:15:55.546 most of you and I had no idea
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:55.546 --> 00:15:57.209 who this person was.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:57.210 --> 00:15:59.086 Or whether he was innocent or guilty.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:15:59.090 --> 00:16:00.314 But it was compelling,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:00.314 --> 00:16:02.494 and the materials at first glance seemed
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:02.494 --> 00:16:04.517 persuasive and also seemed to speak to NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:04.517 --> 00:16:06.846 some of the questions I've been asking.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523

00:16:06.850 --> 00:16:08.932 So I went to the Cheshire
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:08.932 --> 00:16:09.626 Correctional Institution,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:09.630 --> 00:16:10.774 where I met Bobby,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:10.774 --> 00:16:12.490 and I liked him right away.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:12.490 --> 00:16:14.536 He seemed frank and candid qualities
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:14.536 --> 00:16:16.520 and vivid contrast with with what
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:16.520 --> 00:16:18.466 the lawyer said he had done right, NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523

00:16:18.470 --> 00:16:20.409 which was falsely confessed to the worst
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:20.409 --> 00:16:22.327 thing you could do to another person.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:22.330 --> 00:16:24.150 I began visiting Bobby regularly.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:24.150 --> 00:16:26.070 I met with people in Bobby's
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:26.070 --> 00:16:26.710 immediate community.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:26.710 --> 00:16:27.262 I met.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:27.262 --> 00:16:28.918 At least familiar with his case,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:28.920 --> 00:16:30.318 with the ways of the department.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:30.320 --> 00:16:32.894 Again, I'm no expert, but there was for me,

NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:32.900 --> 00:16:34.856 a growing sense of his innocence.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:34.860 --> 00:16:36.372 There was also a growing sense
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:36.372 --> 00:16:38.190 that he was a good subject.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:38.190 --> 00:16:41.846 As readers, you know that not everybody is.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:41.850 --> 00:16:43.458 I thought this about Bobby partly
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:43.458 --> 00:16:45.429 because of things he told me early on,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:45.430 --> 00:16:47.590 which were things like, don't make me a St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:47.590 --> 00:16:48.810 I'm not a St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:48.810 --> 00:16:51.122 There was his willingness to relate his
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:51.122 --> 00:16:53.197 flaws unflattering parts of himself.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:53.200 --> 00:16:54.704 And let's be clear,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:54.704 --> 00:16:56.584 nobody believes that they'd in
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:56.584 --> 00:16:58.676 under any circumstances falsely
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:16:58.676 --> 00:17:00.864 confessed to committing murder.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:00.870 --> 00:17:01.845 But Bobby two,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523

00:17:01.845 --> 00:17:03.795 wanted to understand why he had
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:03.795 --> 00:17:05.560 given in to police pressure.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:05.560 --> 00:17:07.216 It was coercion, but Even so,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:07.220 --> 00:17:10.436 Bobby believed he had to justify his action.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:10.440 --> 00:17:11.148 And overtime,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:11.148 --> 00:17:12.918 he convinced himself that he
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:12.918 --> 00:17:15.008 must in some way deserve it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:15.010 --> 00:17:17.580 I found that incredibly complicated
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:17.580 --> 00:17:19.374 and moving outside himself.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:19.374 --> 00:17:21.666 He was a really observant person.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:21.670 --> 00:17:23.560 Bobby had the ability to inhabit NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523

00:17:23.560 --> 00:17:25.611 the lives of other people and
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:25.611 --> 00:17:27.789 express them later with rare recall.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:27.790 --> 00:17:29.886 He had sympathy for suffering men and women,
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:29.890 --> 00:17:31.990 and he was just generally perceptive
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:31.990 --> 00:17:34.170 about people and their motivations.

NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:34.170 --> 00:17:35.920 He could describe his childhood
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:35.920 --> 00:17:38.028 and the childhood of other people
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:38.028 --> 00:17:40.086 with detail that made me see it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:40.090 --> 00:17:41.548 He could also talk about how
NOTE Confidence: 0.877614523
00:17:41.548 --> 00:17:42.520 it felt to be
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:42.578 --> 00:17:44.923 other on the other side of new
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:44.923 --> 00:17:46.340 Heaven's invisible railroad track.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:46.340 --> 00:17:48.328 Bobby was the rare kid who'd ridden
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:48.328 --> 00:17:50.300 his own bicycle all over New Haven,
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:50.300 --> 00:17:51.720 seen both of its sides.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:51.720 --> 00:17:53.860 He called himself a traveler.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:53.860 --> 00:17:55.666 He said that one of the qualities
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:55.666 --> 00:17:56.959 of Nice neighborhood isolation was
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:17:56.959 --> 00:17:58.831 that you were so stuck in place you NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905

00:17:58.882 --> 00:18:00.695 didn't know what a future looked like, NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905

00:18:00.700 --> 00:18:02.620 much less other experiences,
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:02.620 --> 00:18:06.640 other parts of the city or the country.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:06.640 --> 00:18:08.520 The pervasive hopelessness around him, NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905

00:18:08.520 --> 00:18:11.495 he said, expressed itself in many ways.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:11.500 --> 00:18:13.635 People took comfort in everything
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:13.635 --> 00:18:16.280 from exercise to food and drink.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:16.280 --> 00:18:18.422 The sex and family and love
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:18.422 --> 00:18:19.850 and alcohol and drugs.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:19.850 --> 00:18:21.770 Some few had so much trauma,
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:21.770 --> 00:18:24.227 most notably exposure to violence at a
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:24.227 --> 00:18:26.568 young age, or the loss of loved ones, NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905

00:18:26.570 --> 00:18:29.468 or parental addiction or severe neglect,
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:29.470 --> 00:18:31.790 that it led to an emptiness of spirit,
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:31.790 --> 00:18:33.729 a lack of hopeful sense of future,
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:33.730 --> 00:18:36.090 or a desire for agency.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:36.090 --> 00:18:39.440 And they became violent themselves.

NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:39.440 --> 00:18:41.603 I don't think I have to emphasize
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:41.603 --> 00:18:43.309 to this audience that people
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:43.309 --> 00:18:45.079 who become violent are very,
NOTE Confidence: 0.866751494761905
00:18:45.080 --> 00:18:45.830 very rare.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:18:48.090 --> 00:18:49.668 Living in a vulnerable place and
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:18:49.668 --> 00:18:51.902 not far from a section of the city
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:18:51.902 --> 00:18:53.582 where kids are growing up with
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:18:53.642 --> 00:18:55.454 futures that seem so promising was
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:18:55.454 --> 00:18:57.098 painful for kids in newhallville.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:18:57.098 --> 00:19:00.522 They'd see the blue panic phones around Yale, NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:19:00.530 --> 00:19:01.690 but not in Newhallville,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:01.690 --> 00:19:04.009 where there was much more cause for alarm.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:04.010 --> 00:19:05.588 And they'd see Broadway all lit
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:05.588 --> 00:19:07.190 up and shimmering for Christmas, NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:19:07.190 --> 00:19:08.120 where their neighborhood,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:19:08.120 --> 00:19:10.570 as with Bobby, always described it dark.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:10.570 --> 00:19:12.850 And they said that these countless
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:12.913 --> 00:19:15.158 contrasts could increase despair and NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:19:15.158 --> 00:19:17.403 alienation that in rare instances,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:17.410 --> 00:19:18.178 could combine.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:18.178 --> 00:19:20.482 In very at risk young people
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:20.482 --> 00:19:22.459 to have lethal results.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:22.460 --> 00:19:24.084 To me it seemed intuitive that there
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:24.084 --> 00:19:25.575 would be an emotional relationship
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:25.575 --> 00:19:27.440 between gun violence and stark,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:27.440 --> 00:19:29.159 juxtaposed inequality and NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:19:29.159 --> 00:19:30.878 inequity and inequality.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:30.880 --> 00:19:32.012 This is not something,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:32.012 --> 00:19:34.738 as I was working on this that was widely,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:34.740 --> 00:19:35.312 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:35.312 --> 00:19:36.742 written about or thought by

NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:36.742 --> 00:19:38.360 people who were professional,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:38.360 --> 00:19:39.740 you know, scholars of this.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:39.740 --> 00:19:40.920 But there were some people
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:40.920 --> 00:19:42.100 who were thinking about it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:42.100 --> 00:19:43.432 And so I just talked to
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:43.432 --> 00:19:44.098 anecdotally with people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:44.100 --> 00:19:45.310 and one person I spoke
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:45.310 --> 00:19:46.278 with was Anthony Campbell,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:46.280 --> 00:19:47.785 whose yales chief of police
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:47.785 --> 00:19:48.989 who spent his life.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:48.990 --> 00:19:51.045 Thinking about inequality and it's
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:51.045 --> 00:19:53.100 depleting consequences for young people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:53.100 --> 00:19:54.865 Campbell considers it crucial that
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:54.865 --> 00:19:57.018 his own Harlem childhood took place
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:19:57.018 --> 00:19:59.004 far enough from the campus of
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:19:59.004 --> 00:20:00.769 Columbia University that he didn't
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:00.769 --> 00:20:02.559 have to confront the educational
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:02.559 --> 00:20:04.234 opportunity he thought he'd never NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333 00:20:04.234 --> 00:20:06.313 have and assumed was not for him. NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:20:06.320 --> 00:20:07.650 His mother was a corrections
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:07.650 --> 00:20:08.714 officer at Rikers Island.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:08.720 --> 00:20:10.600 His father was in and out of prison, NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:20:10.600 --> 00:20:12.178 and when Campbell became the first
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:12.178 --> 00:20:14.140 member of his family to attend college,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:14.140 --> 00:20:16.400 he joined the Yale class of 1995.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:16.400 --> 00:20:18.200 He later received a master's
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:18.200 --> 00:20:20.120 degree from Yale Divinity School.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:20.120 --> 00:20:21.998 We joined the New Haven Police
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:21.998 --> 00:20:23.601 Department and eventually became its
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:23.601 --> 00:20:25.687 second black chief before returning to Yale.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:25.690 --> 00:20:27.364 Campbell told me that there were

NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:27.364 --> 00:20:28.480 potent implications for young
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:28.532 --> 00:20:29.568 people living close by,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:29.570 --> 00:20:32.634 an elite college, and yet a world away.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:32.640 --> 00:20:34.116 When you can walk 3 minutes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:34.120 --> 00:20:34.592 he said,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:34.592 --> 00:20:36.244 make a right and see nothing but
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:36.244 --> 00:20:38.396 wealth and security and well-being happiness.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:38.400 --> 00:20:40.926 People with bright future outlooks hopeful,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:40.930 --> 00:20:42.262 and you're looking over your shoulder
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:42.262 --> 00:20:43.460 because you might be harmed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:43.460 --> 00:20:45.100 You worry about eating rent.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:45.100 --> 00:20:46.888 That wealth becomes a magnifying glass
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:46.888 --> 00:20:48.802 that takes any light and turns it
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:48.802 --> 00:20:51.019 into a laser beam that cuts you to the core.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:51.020 --> 00:20:51.712 Young people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333

00:20:51.712 --> 00:20:52.404 Campbell said,
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:52.404 --> 00:20:54.480 are forced to think to themselves.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:54.480 --> 00:20:55.188 They don't care.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:55.188 --> 00:20:55.896 They're right there.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:55.900 --> 00:20:58.060 They have to notice and they don't care.
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:58.060 --> 00:20:59.085 And that becomes I got
NOTE Confidence: 0.846656553333333
00:20:59.085 --> 00:21:00.480 to do what I got to do.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:03.460 --> 00:21:05.637 In the community where many young people
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:05.637 --> 00:21:08.239 felt they had no agency beyond protection,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:08.240 --> 00:21:09.992 guns could be a source of
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:09.992 --> 00:21:11.800 agency and power and prestige.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:11.800 --> 00:21:14.059 When I ask people from New Haven serving time
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:14.059 --> 00:21:16.520 in Connecticut prisons about an intelligent,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:16.520 --> 00:21:18.740 academically gifted newhallville teenager
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:18.740 --> 00:21:22.070 who'd become neighborhood famous for shooting NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:22.136 --> 00:21:24.880 people before being murdered himself at 17,

NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:24.880 --> 00:21:27.001 the explanation one young man who knew
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:27.001 --> 00:21:29.040 him offered was where he come from.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:29.040 --> 00:21:30.339 They glorify violence.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:30.339 --> 00:21:31.638 People want recognition.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:31.640 --> 00:21:33.380 It comes from carrying a gun.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:33.380 --> 00:21:34.552 The shooting at people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:34.552 --> 00:21:36.310 the shooting people to killing people.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:36.310 --> 00:21:38.407 There's a feeling of you don't give a ${ }^{* * * *}$
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:38.410 --> 00:21:41.020 anymore, shoot somebody, it's nothing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:41.020 --> 00:21:42.680 Typically, those who commit St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:42.680 --> 00:21:45.165 violence exist in cohorts in
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:45.165 --> 00:21:47.153 what researchers call networks.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:47.160 --> 00:21:48.750 They might be victims one
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:48.750 --> 00:21:50.340 day or perpetrators the next.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:50.340 --> 00:21:52.596 And what they have in common is fear.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535

00:21:52.600 --> 00:21:54.240 Even in American neighborhoods
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:54.240 --> 00:21:55.880 that are statistically dangerous,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:55.880 --> 00:21:57.610 the sources of violence are
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:57.610 --> 00:21:59.340 very small number of people.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:21:59.340 --> 00:22:00.988 The violence resembles shark
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:00.988 --> 00:22:02.636 attacks in beach communities.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:02.640 --> 00:22:04.480 It doesn't take much for NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535

00:22:04.480 --> 00:22:05.952 everyone to be terrified.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:05.960 --> 00:22:07.460 Bobby and other young people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:07.460 --> 00:22:09.120 both inside prison and not,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:09.120 --> 00:22:11.115 spoke of young people's fear of violence.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:11.120 --> 00:22:12.854 How exhausting it is that it
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:12.854 --> 00:22:14.310 distracts you from everything else,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:14.310 --> 00:22:15.900 including school classes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:15.900 --> 00:22:18.550 that the anxiety is distorting.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:18.550 --> 00:22:20.482 Most kids who had guns got

NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:20.482 --> 00:22:21.770 them to protect themselves.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:21.770 --> 00:22:23.706 I heard about a young man in Hartford NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535

00:22:23.706 --> 00:22:26.050 who put on a bulletproof vest every day NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535

00:22:26.050 --> 00:22:28.169 with his underwear while getting dressed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:28.170 --> 00:22:29.668 All this in one of the wealthiest
NOTE Confidence: 0.892251535
00:22:29.668 --> 00:22:30.730 states in the country.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:33.460 --> 00:22:35.126 I consider it to the enormous credit
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:35.126 --> 00:22:36.962 of Bobby and many other people who
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:36.962 --> 00:22:38.564 took on this delicate subject and
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:38.620 --> 00:22:40.168 spoke with me about it because
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:40.168 --> 00:22:41.738 they wanted members of the public
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:41.738 --> 00:22:43.621 to know of their experience so the
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:43.621 --> 00:22:44.952 public could better understand
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:44.952 --> 00:22:46.956 the experience of others like him.
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333
00:22:46.960 --> 00:22:48.800 Here's a brief sense of how it can
NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333

00:22:48.800 --> 00:22:50.738 feel to be a kid in a neighborhood NOTE Confidence: 0.866094214333333

00:22:50.740 --> 00:22:51.900 where there's gun violence.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:22:57.230 --> 00:22:58.380 I should tell you just
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:22:58.380 --> 00:22:59.530 a couple of things here.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:22:59.530 --> 00:23:01.095 You'll remember that Bobby called
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:01.095 --> 00:23:02.966 himself a traveler because he rode
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:02.966 --> 00:23:04.460 his bicycle all over the city.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:04.460 --> 00:23:06.266 He had an alleged codefendant in his
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:06.266 --> 00:23:07.957 murder case who's a kid named Kwame,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:07.960 --> 00:23:10.081 who was younger than he and Kwame
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:10.081 --> 00:23:11.719 because he hadn't a majestic
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:11.719 --> 00:23:13.374 bond which he couldn't meet,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:13.380 --> 00:23:15.924 spent his 15 th and 16 th birthdays in prison,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:15.930 --> 00:23:17.748 and everybody who knows Kwame says
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:17.748 --> 00:23:19.599 that he was ruined by prison.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:19.600 --> 00:23:22.516 They all hung out at a little corner store,

NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:22.520 --> 00:23:24.403 which they referred to as the two
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:24.403 --> 00:23:26.217 four because it's open for 24 hours, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:23:26.220 --> 00:23:28.740 just like a little neighborhood.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:28.740 --> 00:23:29.988 You know, convenience store.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:29.988 --> 00:23:32.207 But it was the bright lights for
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:32.207 --> 00:23:33.947 the community and the kids all NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:23:33.947 --> 00:23:35.894 would gather there and, you know, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:23:35.894 --> 00:23:38.400 boys and girls and men and women,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:38.400 --> 00:23:39.756 and there'd be music and dancing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:39.760 --> 00:23:41.380 And it was, it was sort of the spot, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:23:41.380 --> 00:23:43.102 but it was also the spot where NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:23:43.102 --> 00:23:44.726 trouble originated, too.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:44.726 --> 00:23:49.038 When Bobby goes to prison,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:49.038 --> 00:23:53.154 he goes to Cheshire prison and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:53.160 --> 00:23:54.756 Oh, wait a second. This is.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:23:54.760 --> 00:23:57.336 I'm so sorry. That's the second reading.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:23:57.340 --> 00:24:01.560 I apologize. This violence is.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:01.560 --> 00:24:03.954 So I said that they're exposure to
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:03.954 --> 00:24:05.392 violence leads to more violence.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:05.392 --> 00:24:08.072 And what I'm going to read to you about
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:08.072 --> 00:24:10.040 is actually a beloved newhallville event,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:10.040 --> 00:24:12.422 which was the round Robin basketball NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:24:12.422 --> 00:24:14.064 tournament that happens every summer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:14.064 --> 00:24:15.840 It's the best players in the city come
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:15.883 --> 00:24:17.227 together and they play at a court
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:17.227 --> 00:24:18.999 which is in the center of Newhallville.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:19.000 --> 00:24:20.440 Then if you know about say,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:20.440 --> 00:24:23.473 the Rucker Playground in Harlem or W 4th St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:23.480 --> 00:24:24.365 in Greenwich Village,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:24.365 --> 00:24:25.545 it's a similar thing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:25.550 --> 00:24:26.106 We're really,

NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:26.106 --> 00:24:27.218 really good basketball players
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:27.218 --> 00:24:28.840 come and a whole community.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:28.840 --> 00:24:30.392 Turns out people would be like 5 deep NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:24:30.392 --> 00:24:32.060 at the fences and things like that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:32.060 --> 00:24:33.747 And everybody would be there to watch.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:33.750 --> 00:24:35.976 But there had been a spate of NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:24:35.976 --> 00:24:37.420 shootings around Newhallville in 2018, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:24:37.420 --> 00:24:39.080 and so nobody was going,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:39.080 --> 00:24:40.368 and people were scared.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:40.368 --> 00:24:42.760 One of the people who was going,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:42.760 --> 00:24:44.279 though, was a guy named William June, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:24:44.280 --> 00:24:46.037 Boy Outlaw, who'd been a person who'd
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:46.037 --> 00:24:48.019 spent time as a child in Newhallville.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:48.020 --> 00:24:49.952 He'd spent a lot of time in
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:49.952 --> 00:24:51.419 federal prison because he'd been
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:24:51.419 --> 00:24:53.159 involved in a violent drug gang.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:53.160 --> 00:24:54.162 But upon release,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:54.162 --> 00:24:55.164 he completely changed
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:55.164 --> 00:24:56.500 and transformed his life,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:56.500 --> 00:24:59.176 and he become a violence interrupter.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:24:59.180 --> 00:25:01.220 So I'll just read you this little section
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:01.220 --> 00:25:03.079 into this tense neighborhood moment, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:25:03.080 --> 00:25:04.772 steps from where Bobby had lived
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:04.772 --> 00:25:07.159 before he went to prison on the last
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:07.159 --> 00:25:08.953 Sunday and July arrived the street
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:09.015 --> 00:25:10.880 out outreach worker William June, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:25:10.880 --> 00:25:12.680 boy Outlaw with a lawn chair,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:12.680 --> 00:25:14.297 which he sat down facing the court
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:14.297 --> 00:25:16.009 from right smack in the middle of NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:25:16.009 --> 00:25:17.219 the sidewalk along Shelton Ave.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:17.220 --> 00:25:19.436 his address as long ago as his own

NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:19.436 --> 00:25:21.160 youthful street days were beginning.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:21.160 --> 00:25:22.330 Here in the summer heat, NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:25:22.330 --> 00:25:24.340 outlaw was resplendent in his NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027

00:25:24.340 --> 00:25:25.546 great bodily girth,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:25.550 --> 00:25:27.530 set off handsomely by Chris
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:27.530 --> 00:25:29.114 checked shirt designer sunglasses.
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:29.120 --> 00:25:30.672 And the goal tooth,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:30.672 --> 00:25:31.448 Sherman Malone,
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:31.450 --> 00:25:33.472 a leader of the anti violence
NOTE Confidence: 0.871206027
00:25:33.472 --> 00:25:34.483 organization outlaw workforce,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:34.490 --> 00:25:37.046 said of him. You can't understand.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:37.050 --> 00:25:38.778 You can't succeed in the criminal
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:38.778 --> 00:25:39.930 world without real skills.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:39.930 --> 00:25:41.449 But it's very hard for us to NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:41.449 --> 00:25:43.042 find people who are not still NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:25:43.042 --> 00:25:44.226 entranced with their skills.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:44.230 --> 00:25:45.080 William isn't,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:45.080 --> 00:25:47.205 but Williams like a politician.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:47.210 --> 00:25:49.541 Sure enough, the lawn chair became a
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:49.541 --> 00:25:50.970 congressional office, attracting a
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:50.970 --> 00:25:52.870 procession of seekers and supplicants.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:52.870 --> 00:25:54.910 Among them was a young man in his NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:25:54.910 --> 00:25:57.013 late teens with a dark blue sleeveless
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:57.013 --> 00:25:59.130 shirt and strain all over his face.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:25:59.130 --> 00:26:00.078 Sleeveless wanted outlaw
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:00.078 --> 00:26:01.658 to know that another kid, NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:01.660 --> 00:26:04.369 notably small and swaggering, whom he named,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:04.370 --> 00:26:06.220 had stolen his purple bicycle.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:06.220 --> 00:26:07.645 Both were from the housing
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:07.645 --> 00:26:08.785 project three blocks away.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:08.790 --> 00:26:10.705 When sleeveless briefly left his

NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:10.705 --> 00:26:12.620 bike unlocked outside his apartment, NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:12.620 --> 00:26:14.516 Swagger had ridden off on it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:14.520 --> 00:26:16.115 Sleeveless seemed both subdued and NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:16.115 --> 00:26:18.291 yet holding within him a deep anger
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:18.291 --> 00:26:20.371 to be without his bike and reduced to NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:20.425 --> 00:26:22.742 pressing his case to outlaw kids in NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:22.742 --> 00:26:24.376 newhallville, outlaw would say later, NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:24.376 --> 00:26:26.320 have so little that what they
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:26.383 --> 00:26:28.336 do own matters too much to them.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:28.340 --> 00:26:29.234 One crucial thing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:29.234 --> 00:26:30.426 Like, not just sleeveless.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:30.430 --> 00:26:31.924 It was his means of periscoping
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:31.924 --> 00:26:33.571 trouble in the near distance and
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:33.571 --> 00:26:35.365 evading it as outlaw and sleeveless.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:35.370 --> 00:26:37.026 We're talking swagger came into view, NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:37.030 --> 00:26:38.582 swooping down Shelton Ave.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:38.582 --> 00:26:39.746 on sleeveless bike.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:39.750 --> 00:26:40.336 Spotting sleeveless,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:40.336 --> 00:26:42.094 he banged a right turn and
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:42.094 --> 00:26:43.270 disappeared along Brewster St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:43.270 --> 00:26:44.344 toward Dixwell Ave.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:44.344 --> 00:26:46.850 Sleeveless turned back to outlaw and said NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:46.910 --> 00:26:49.158 in a flat voice that either wanted his NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:49.158 --> 00:26:51.485 bike back or swagger owed him 80 bucks. NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:51.490 --> 00:26:53.198 Outlaw told sleeveless the bike would be NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:53.198 --> 00:26:55.481 returned if it was really his, but was it? NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:26:55.481 --> 00:26:57.512 He hadn't stolen in himself, had he?
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:57.512 --> 00:26:59.438 No, it wasn't a stoley sleeveless.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:26:59.440 --> 00:27:00.655 That his cousin had given
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:00.655 --> 00:27:02.130 it to him three years ago.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:02.130 --> 00:27:03.470 Sleeveless didn't want any beef.

NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:03.470 --> 00:27:04.835 He didn't want anything at NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:27:04.835 --> 00:27:05.927 all except his bike.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:05.930 --> 00:27:07.530 Sleeveless look far beyond tired,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:07.530 --> 00:27:10.206 like the oldest teenager in history.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:10.210 --> 00:27:12.194 The furrow and his brow was a two-month
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:12.194 --> 00:27:13.940 ditch. Would outlaw help? He ask.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:13.940 --> 00:27:16.350 Effort emanating outlaw would help.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:16.350 --> 00:27:18.526 Sleeveless closed his eyes and took a breath.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:18.530 --> 00:27:20.196 He opened his eyes and blinked them
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:20.196 --> 00:27:22.130 for the first time since he'd arrived.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:22.130 --> 00:27:23.372 Outlaw telephone Kermit,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:23.372 --> 00:27:23.786 Carolina,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:23.786 --> 00:27:25.856 the popular neighborhood native who'd
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:25.856 --> 00:27:27.974 been the Hill House High School principal NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:27:27.974 --> 00:27:30.257 and was now in charge of youth stat.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:27:30.260 --> 00:27:32.230 A city government organization that NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:27:32.230 --> 00:27:33.806 partnered with assorted social
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:33.806 --> 00:27:35.799 service and law enforcement agencies, NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:27:35.800 --> 00:27:37.906 identifying and working with the most
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:37.906 --> 00:27:40.579 at risk kids in the school system.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:40.580 --> 00:27:42.410 The stories Carolina cell phone
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:42.410 --> 00:27:44.240 contacts list could tell were
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:44.300 --> 00:27:46.316 so tragic people wondered how he
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:46.316 --> 00:27:48.140 retained his well known bonami.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:48.140 --> 00:27:48.864 Within minutes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:48.864 --> 00:27:50.674 a Carolina arrived at outlaws, NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:27:50.680 --> 00:27:53.060 chair clad and dapper black workout gear.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:53.060 --> 00:27:55.104 He was also a former state championship
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:55.104 --> 00:27:57.218 winning both Hill House basketball coach.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:27:57.220 --> 00:27:59.383 In no time Carolina and Outlaw had NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:27:59.383 --> 00:28:00.744 communicated with Swagger about

NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:00.744 --> 00:28:01.500 sleeveless bike,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:01.500 --> 00:28:03.588 which swagger agreed to return in
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:03.588 --> 00:28:05.919 exchange for a $\$ 10$ finder's fee NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333

00:28:05.919 --> 00:28:07.659 he negotiated from Outlaw.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:07.660 --> 00:28:09.620 Then, almost right away, here came swagger.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:09.620 --> 00:28:10.592 Lean, diminutive.
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:10.592 --> 00:28:12.050 Structure and strutting,
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:12.050 --> 00:28:14.005 everything about Swagger advertised what
NOTE Confidence: 0.790458043333333
00:28:14.005 --> 00:28:17.106 was true, that he had friends with guns.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:17.110 --> 00:28:19.496 To look at him was to confront Sleeveless's
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:19.496 --> 00:28:22.026 just around the neighborhood predicament.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:22.030 --> 00:28:24.368 As a young person in the neighborhood,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:24.370 --> 00:28:25.672 you have to prove yourself so
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:25.672 --> 00:28:27.210 many times to those who tried you,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:27.210 --> 00:28:29.510 and it never, ever stopped.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:28:29.510 --> 00:28:31.022 The two peace negotiators pulled Swagger NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:28:31.022 --> 00:28:32.710 aside and talked to him vigorously.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:32.710 --> 00:28:33.854 The agreement was brokered,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:33.854 --> 00:28:34.998 the $\$ 10$ paid over,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:35.000 --> 00:28:37.107 and then Outlaw said sternly to swagger.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:37.110 --> 00:28:38.590 That's the end of this.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:38.590 --> 00:28:39.406 It stops here.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:39.406 --> 00:28:41.310 I don't want to hear anything more.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:41.310 --> 00:28:43.122 He looked meaningfully at Swagger and
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:43.122 --> 00:28:45.706 told him I gave you 20 bucks last week.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:45.710 --> 00:28:48.100 He meant the crime paid, but not forever.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:48.100 --> 00:28:50.550 Only now did swagger quite leisurely depart
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:50.611 --> 00:28:53.179 and then return minutes later with the bike.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:53.180 --> 00:28:54.895 It was a simple mountain bike model,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:54.900 --> 00:28:56.140 and not in fact purple,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:56.140 --> 00:28:58.261 but red with uneven streaks of blue

NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:28:58.261 --> 00:29:00.359 spray painted over portions of the red.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:00.360 --> 00:29:02.388 Both coats of color had sustained
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:02.388 --> 00:29:03.740 abundant scrapes and scratches, NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:29:03.740 --> 00:29:05.105 and the frame tubing was
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:05.105 --> 00:29:06.197 well buffered with use.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:06.200 --> 00:29:07.592 A thick chain with lock was
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:07.592 --> 00:29:08.800 coiled around the seat post.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:08.800 --> 00:29:10.000 Swagger walked off without
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:10.000 --> 00:29:10.900 looking at sleeveless.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:10.900 --> 00:29:12.676 Sleeveless had never looked at him.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:12.680 --> 00:29:13.808 One swagger was gone.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:13.808 --> 00:29:14.936 Sleeveless hopped on his
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:14.936 --> 00:29:16.579 bike and rode away as he did,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:16.580 --> 00:29:17.702 outlawing Carolina simultaneously
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:17.702 --> 00:29:20.320 yelled to him to use that chain.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:29:20.320 --> 00:29:20.995 From now on,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:20.995 --> 00:29:22.120 slave was called back that
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:22.120 --> 00:29:23.259 the chain wouldn't work.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:23.260 --> 00:29:24.332 Because he couldn't unlock
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:24.332 --> 00:29:25.672 it from the seat post,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:25.680 --> 00:29:27.070 outlaw and Carolina agreed that
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:27.070 --> 00:29:28.754 the second cone of paint probably NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:29:28.754 --> 00:29:30.406 did mark the bike as a Stoli.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:30.410 --> 00:29:32.350 They had pessimism about Swagger.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:32.350 --> 00:29:34.036 He was close to another neighborhood
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:34.036 --> 00:29:35.360 kid with an ascendant St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:35.360 --> 00:29:35.778 reputation.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:35.778 --> 00:29:37.032 Everything outlawing Carolina
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:37.032 --> 00:29:39.122 knew about Swagger made them
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:39.122 --> 00:29:40.889 very worried for sleeveless.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:40.890 --> 00:29:41.877 And this time,

NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:41.877 --> 00:29:43.522 when handguns had become widely
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:43.522 --> 00:29:45.615 accessible to young people and accepted NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:29:45.615 --> 00:29:47.685 way among them of settling arguments, NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:29:47.690 --> 00:29:49.382 beefs that ended in death had
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:49.382 --> 00:29:51.299 begun over much less with swagger.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:51.300 --> 00:29:52.750 Living in his apartment complex,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:52.750 --> 00:29:53.791 how was sleeveless?
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:53.791 --> 00:29:55.526 Going to navigate his day-to-day,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:55.530 --> 00:29:57.550 neither outlaw North Carolina could
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:29:57.550 --> 00:29:59.570 anyway promise sleeveless as well-being. NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:29:59.570 --> 00:30:01.180 Was he now in peril for snitching
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:01.180 --> 00:30:02.370 to them about his bike?
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:02.370 --> 00:30:04.642 Or is being paid to return by Keith
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:04.642 --> 00:30:07.277 Stolen a sufficient victory for Swagger?
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:07.280 --> 00:30:09.177 And sleeveless as possible, breach of St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143

00:30:09.180 --> 00:30:10.608 Code could be overlooked.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:10.608 --> 00:30:12.393 Could swagger if scammed with
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:12.393 --> 00:30:14.375 sleeveless to play outlaw for some cash?
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:14.380 --> 00:30:14.812 Unlikely,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:14.812 --> 00:30:16.972 but Outlaw and Carolina never
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:16.972 --> 00:30:19.420 estimated the ingenuity of teenagers.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:19.420 --> 00:30:21.338 It was likewise easy for the two
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:21.338 --> 00:30:22.556 violence interrupters to imagine
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:22.556 --> 00:30:24.614 sleeveless becoming so cornered by menace.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:24.620 --> 00:30:26.314 He might acquire a gun for himself
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:26.314 --> 00:30:28.018 and try to take out Swagger, NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:28.020 --> 00:30:29.700 which would solve sleeveless problem
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:29.700 --> 00:30:32.558 and also armor him with a street reputation.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:32.560 --> 00:30:33.720 Sleeveless didn't seem like
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:33.720 --> 00:30:35.460 that kind of kid at all, NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:35.460 --> 00:30:36.420 but she never knew how.

NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:36.420 --> 00:30:37.970 Thermal pressure in the canister.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:37.970 --> 00:30:39.945 Only bad choices could transform
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:39.945 --> 00:30:41.525 someone into a shooter.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:41.530 --> 00:30:43.210 Getting the gun would be the easy part.
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:43.210 --> 00:30:43.794 For sleeveless,
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:43.794 --> 00:30:45.838 one could be arranged at a price
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:45.838 --> 00:30:47.478 not much more than the value
NOTE Confidence: 0.881470922857143
00:30:47.478 --> 00:30:49.110 of a beat up mountain bike.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:30:54.700 --> 00:30:57.640 Mass incarceration speaks to mass poverty.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:30:57.640 --> 00:30:59.480 Prisons are full of people who grew up NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:30:59.480 --> 00:31:02.148 in poverty, talk to people in prison and NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:31:02.148 --> 00:31:04.122 involved there for violence, and they
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:04.122 --> 00:31:05.879 say that nobody there is straight bad.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:05.880 --> 00:31:07.578 The phrase commonly here is I'm NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:31:07.578 --> 00:31:09.500 a product of my environment.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:31:09.500 --> 00:31:11.480 Prison is its own environment.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:11.480 --> 00:31:13.670 It's defined by stress and boredom
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:13.670 --> 00:31:15.640 and regret. What it takes to succeed
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:15.640 --> 00:31:16.632 in prison is different.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:16.640 --> 00:31:18.859 What it takes to succeed out here,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:18.860 --> 00:31:20.230 people in the external world.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:20.230 --> 00:31:23.110 Events. In the external world, NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:31:23.110 --> 00:31:24.706 they remain in a sense the
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:24.706 --> 00:31:26.329 age of when they went in.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:26.330 --> 00:31:28.024 They make it through and then emerge, NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:31:28.030 --> 00:31:29.560 waited by the experience of NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:31:29.560 --> 00:31:31.090 making it where they've been.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:31.090 --> 00:31:32.914 One day I received a call
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:32.914 --> 00:31:33.826 from Bobby's lawyer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:33.830 --> 00:31:35.818 The state had reinvestigated his case and NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:31:35.818 --> 00:31:37.429 Bobby's conviction had been overturned.

NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:37.430 --> 00:31:39.446 2 hours later there I was at the prison,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:39.450 --> 00:31:41.370 watching a man be told that it all
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:41.370 --> 00:31:42.963 been mistake. He's going home.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:42.963 --> 00:31:44.818 When a person is released,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:44.820 --> 00:31:47.536 mass incarceration gives way to mass reentry.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:47.540 --> 00:31:49.332 People emerge to a society that seems
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:49.332 --> 00:31:52.540 mostly to say you ${ }^{* * * * * * * *}$ go fix yourself.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:52.540 --> 00:31:53.910 Uniquely, these are people not
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:53.910 --> 00:31:55.260 in a position to do that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:55.260 --> 00:31:57.336 They have their on their biography,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:57.340 --> 00:31:59.228 whatever landed them in prison to begin with.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:31:59.230 --> 00:32:01.169 The experience of being in prison itself,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:01.170 --> 00:32:03.480 which is again notably stressful.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:03.480 --> 00:32:04.908 I saw the challenges in federal
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:04.908 --> 00:32:06.180 reentry court in New Haven,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:32:06.180 --> 00:32:07.955 which I attended across a
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:07.955 --> 00:32:09.375 year for research purposes.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:09.380 --> 00:32:11.668 All the people there who were in the NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:32:11.668 --> 00:32:13.989 courtroom were to serve as help and buttress.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:13.990 --> 00:32:15.382 People just getting back on their
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:15.382 --> 00:32:17.049 feet after a long time in prison.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:17.050 --> 00:32:18.930 The judge, probation people, NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:32:18.930 --> 00:32:20.932 social workers, mental health workers,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:20.932 --> 00:32:21.286 lawyers,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:21.286 --> 00:32:23.800 and they're all there just trying to
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:23.800 --> 00:32:25.475 help recently release men succeed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:25.480 --> 00:32:26.740 They wanted them to succeed,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:26.740 --> 00:32:28.576 but the struggles were so acute.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:28.580 --> 00:32:30.484 It's a good moment to point out
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:30.484 --> 00:32:32.054 how tempting and yet problematic
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:32.054 --> 00:32:34.136 it is to generalize about people.

NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:34.140 --> 00:32:35.176 The more we individuate,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:35.176 --> 00:32:37.180 the more effective we are as writers,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:37.180 --> 00:32:39.740 police, teachers, doctors and employers.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:39.740 --> 00:32:40.799 And re entry.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:40.799 --> 00:32:43.720 So often you are where you've just been.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:43.720 --> 00:32:45.562 Bobby's a good example of how
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:45.562 --> 00:32:46.483 difficult reentry is.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:46.490 --> 00:32:48.440 He was exonerated for something he
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:48.440 --> 00:32:50.202 hadn't done, but he still emerged,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:50.202 --> 00:32:52.730 marked by his nine years of incarceration,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:52.730 --> 00:32:54.830 with a scarlet key on his chest.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:54.830 --> 00:32:56.486 He's still 16 and lived experience
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:56.486 --> 00:32:58.173 of the world around him he'd
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:32:58.173 --> 00:32:59.745 been plucked from as a teenager, NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:32:59.750 --> 00:33:01.446 and now he's asked to be an adult.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667

00:33:01.450 --> 00:33:02.995 He would repeatedly tell me, Nikki,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:02.995 --> 00:33:04.570 I don't know what I'm good at.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:04.570 --> 00:33:07.009 No, he had no marketable skills in the world.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:07.010 --> 00:33:09.544 His failures in his disappointments piled up,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:09.550 --> 00:33:11.510 rejected for job after job.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:11.510 --> 00:33:12.728 When he went to Home Depot,
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:12.730 --> 00:33:13.902 they wouldn't hire him.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:13.902 --> 00:33:15.660 To gather the shopping carts in
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:15.715 --> 00:33:17.689 the parking lot and put them in
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:17.689 --> 00:33:18.535 the central location.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:18.540 --> 00:33:20.430 Bobby became so lost and
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:20.430 --> 00:33:22.320 in need and then depressed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:22.320 --> 00:33:23.304 It was heartbreaking.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:23.304 --> 00:33:25.600 It was seemed to me so unfair.
NOTE Confidence: 0.850036621666667
00:33:25.600 --> 00:33:27.900 But he used to tell me how being perceived as NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:33:27.960 --> 00:33:30.074 something less drenched people he grew up

NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:30.074 --> 00:33:32.318 around with shame failures hit them harder.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:32.320 --> 00:33:34.147 Kids would stop going to school because
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:34.147 --> 00:33:35.620 they already felt up against it, NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:33:35.620 --> 00:33:37.580 and making mistakes at school made them
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:37.580 --> 00:33:39.718 feel so much worse about themselves.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:39.720 --> 00:33:41.645 To be clear, these were kids with
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:41.645 --> 00:33:43.319 as much promise as any others,
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:43.320 --> 00:33:44.844 and I just always would think
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:44.844 --> 00:33:45.860 about those gun inventors.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:45.860 --> 00:33:47.498 It's a difficult thing to imagine
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:47.498 --> 00:33:49.140 the future purpose of education.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:49.140 --> 00:33:50.718 And you don't have enough examples
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:50.718 --> 00:33:52.352 around you of people attesting to
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:52.352 --> 00:33:53.930 it with their own life experiences
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:53.930 --> 00:33:55.705 and you have to take it on faith.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:33:55.710 --> 00:33:56.526 As for Bobby,
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:33:56.526 --> 00:33:58.784 here's a quick sense of him early on NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:33:58.784 --> 00:34:00.554 during his re-entry when his priority NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:34:00.554 --> 00:34:02.827 was his 16 year old kids priority.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:02.830 --> 00:34:05.168 And it's what I like apologize again.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:05.170 --> 00:34:08.185 It's what I began to tell you before about,
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:08.190 --> 00:34:08.652 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:08.652 --> 00:34:10.269 the Bobby's been a traveler and that
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:10.269 --> 00:34:11.678 Kwame was his alleged Co defendant NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:34:11.678 --> 00:34:13.350 and that they hung out at the two,
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:13.350 --> 00:34:16.465 four and that Bobby's prison was in NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:34:16.465 --> 00:34:19.488 Cheshire and that the police officer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:19.490 --> 00:34:19.839 Who?
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:19.839 --> 00:34:21.584 One of the police officers
NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:21.584 --> 00:34:22.980 who coerced his profession, NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625

00:34:22.980 --> 00:34:24.282 the one Bobby was more intimidated by

NOTE Confidence: 0.85053245625
00:34:24.282 --> 00:34:25.609 his guy named Clarence Willoughby.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:27.880 --> 00:34:29.504 On any day when Bobby could again
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:29.504 --> 00:34:30.904 be a traveler, moving around,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:30.904 --> 00:34:31.960 interacting with people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:31.960 --> 00:34:33.418 he was at his most optimistic.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:33.420 --> 00:34:35.820 He wanted his life to permanently open up.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:35.820 --> 00:34:37.976 Across the difficult first year after prison, NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:34:37.980 --> 00:34:40.113 the former boy on a bike now made earning
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:40.113 --> 00:34:42.276 a driver's license his top priority.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:42.280 --> 00:34:43.680 Back when Bobby turned 16,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:43.680 --> 00:34:44.840 his driver's license wasn't,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:44.840 --> 00:34:46.592 for him, a defining American moment,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:46.592 --> 00:34:48.057 or even on his mind.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:48.060 --> 00:34:49.439 Somebody could always come and get you, NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:49.440 --> 00:34:49.900 he said.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:34:49.900 --> 00:34:51.740 Or buses, or your friend's mom or dad.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:51.740 --> 00:34:53.068 We'd all pile in,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:53.068 --> 00:34:55.060 growing up in a disenfranchised community, NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:34:55.060 --> 00:34:56.560 many 16 year olds from Newhall.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:56.560 --> 00:34:58.530 Well, didn't pursue their licenses,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:58.530 --> 00:34:59.040 Glen Worthy,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:34:59.040 --> 00:35:00.570 the Newhallville native who was principal
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:00.570 --> 00:35:02.087 at Hill House High School, said.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:02.087 --> 00:35:03.389 When it comes up with kids,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:03.390 --> 00:35:04.294 they say hush Mr.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:04.294 --> 00:35:06.336 Worthy, I don't want to talk about that now.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:06.340 --> 00:35:08.050 Mostly they can't afford it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:08.050 --> 00:35:09.460 Beyond the hundreds of dollars
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:09.460 --> 00:35:10.870 it cost to become licensed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:10.870 --> 00:35:12.970 Many Newhallville families own no vehicle, NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:35:12.970 --> 00:35:14.260 making it impossible to secure a

NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:14.260 --> 00:35:16.008 car in which to learn to drive and NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:35:16.008 --> 00:35:17.612 then to practice and then to reach NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:35:17.612 --> 00:35:19.067 the Department of Motor Vehicles, NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:35:19.070 --> 00:35:21.387 which was miles away out in Hamden.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:21.390 --> 00:35:23.070 There was also the reluctance to fail,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:23.070 --> 00:35:25.485 sometimes felt by kids who've
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:25.485 --> 00:35:27.417 already endured many defeats.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:27.420 --> 00:35:28.956 Bobby's friend Shea described
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:28.956 --> 00:35:31.260 getting a license as extra stuff.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:31.260 --> 00:35:33.003 She had been 21 and away at NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:35:33.003 --> 00:35:34.778 college when she finally got hers.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:34.780 --> 00:35:35.895 She said that for newhallville
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:35.895 --> 00:35:37.010 kids she grew up with,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:37.010 --> 00:35:38.557 there was no drivers Ed class offered NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:38.557 --> 00:35:40.195 at Hill House and no way of getting NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:35:40.195 --> 00:35:41.520 to the high school in Hampton,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:41.520 --> 00:35:43.040 where such courses were held.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:43.040 --> 00:35:45.596 Perhaps the license wasn't even necessary.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:45.600 --> 00:35:46.640 Bobby's mother and father hadn't,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:46.640 --> 00:35:48.274 so far as he knew, ever had licenses.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:48.274 --> 00:35:50.727 A lot of people were on from right
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:50.727 --> 00:35:52.540 around without licenses, Bobby said.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:52.540 --> 00:35:54.460 This was a practice known to many in
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:54.510 --> 00:35:56.872 Newhall Villas, driving or riding dirty.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:56.872 --> 00:35:58.887 Dirty was versatile slang with
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:35:58.887 --> 00:36:00.230 many applications.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:00.230 --> 00:36:02.174 Shea said that everybody she knew
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:02.174 --> 00:36:04.413 growing up was dirty somehow. Suspended.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:04.413 --> 00:36:06.428 License, no license, no insurance.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:06.430 --> 00:36:07.012 Car taxes.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:07.012 --> 00:36:08.758 Let my insurance lapse because it

NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:08.758 --> 00:36:10.670 was either phone bill or insurance.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:10.670 --> 00:36:11.645 Food or insurance.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:11.645 --> 00:36:13.270 Which would you rather pay?
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:13.270 --> 00:36:14.902 Car insurance that was.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:14.902 --> 00:36:16.126 Let me pray.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:16.130 --> 00:36:18.128 This is a lot of people and you have
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:18.128 --> 00:36:20.228 to drive to make money at your job, NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:36:20.230 --> 00:36:21.690 so you take a chance.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:21.690 --> 00:36:22.530 Bobby was determined.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:22.530 --> 00:36:24.210 He talked about the drivers licenses.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:24.210 --> 00:36:25.566 His golden ticket said to him,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:25.570 --> 00:36:26.765 it means the world because
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:26.765 --> 00:36:27.960 when I have my license.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:27.960 --> 00:36:29.408 You can get a job outside New Haven, NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:29.410 --> 00:36:30.424 where it's safer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332

00:36:30.424 --> 00:36:32.452 Bobby's desire was to be upstanding,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:32.460 --> 00:36:34.357 not someone who resorted to driving dirty,
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:34.360 --> 00:36:35.239 who remained unlicensed
NOTE Confidence: 0.820835332
00:36:35.239 --> 00:36:36.704 because he'd been in prison.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:38.860 --> 00:36:41.164 Bobby thought that having the license
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:41.164 --> 00:36:43.979 would now finally make him feel liberated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:43.980 --> 00:36:44.828 Bobby's cousin Koya helped NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539

00:36:44.828 --> 00:36:46.100 him to get the formal process
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:46.145 --> 00:36:47.360 started with a learner's permit.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:47.360 --> 00:36:49.168 She and Granddad gave him a few driving
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:49.168 --> 00:36:50.850 lessons, and then Shay took over.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:50.850 --> 00:36:51.770 They had glorious times
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:51.770 --> 00:36:52.920 together out on the road.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:52.920 --> 00:36:53.976 She loved to drive,
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:53.976 --> 00:36:55.980 and so did he for months after
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:55.980 --> 00:36:57.420 his release from prison.

NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:36:57.420 --> 00:36:59.892 She help Bobby enroll in an 8 hour NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539

00:36:59.892 --> 00:37:02.117 accredited course on safe driving practices.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:02.120 --> 00:37:04.104 There he sat in the backroom of the NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539

00:37:04.104 --> 00:37:05.808 classroom behind all the teenagers and
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:05.808 --> 00:37:07.258 enjoyed learning about the potential
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:07.258 --> 00:37:08.937 on road dangers of a messy car,
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:08.940 --> 00:37:10.528 about how passenger weight
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:10.528 --> 00:37:12.116 distribution affects turning radius.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:12.120 --> 00:37:13.268 After completing the course
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:13.268 --> 00:37:14.416 came the qualifying tests.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:14.420 --> 00:37:16.520 First written and then rode.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:16.520 --> 00:37:18.011 Bobby went to the DMV in Hamden
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:18.011 --> 00:37:19.700 to take his written examination.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:19.700 --> 00:37:21.086 By the time he got to the
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:21.086 --> 00:37:22.620 DMV he was visibly shaking.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539

00:37:22.620 --> 00:37:24.145 The atmosphere at the squat
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:24.145 --> 00:37:25.670 brick DMV building didn’t help
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:25.723 --> 00:37:27.087 with its uniformed guards.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:27.090 --> 00:37:28.540 They'll smell the dulled faces
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:28.540 --> 00:37:30.200 of all the people standing by.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:30.200 --> 00:37:32.162 The DMV could have been a
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:32.162 --> 00:37:32.816 correctional institution.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:32.820 --> 00:37:33.944 Bobby began his test,
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:33.944 --> 00:37:36.216 and soon a question about Skids slid him
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:36.216 --> 00:37:38.336 so far off course that he became rattled.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:38.340 --> 00:37:39.810 Rushed through the remaining questions NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539

00:37:39.810 --> 00:37:42.180 just so he could get out of that room,
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:42.180 --> 00:37:43.760 get out of that building.
NOTE Confidence: 0.848407548461539
00:37:43.760 --> 00:37:45.475 He failed the test by one point.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:37:47.950 --> 00:37:50.010 Afterwards, he could barely speak.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:37:50.010 --> 00:37:51.030 He was so crushed.

NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:37:51.030 --> 00:37:52.560 The next available test date in NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:37:52.614 --> 00:37:54.364 Bobby's part of the state was at NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:37:54.364 --> 00:37:55.830 the Cheshire DMV in mid-april.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:37:55.830 --> 00:37:57.446 He could have waited a few days more
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:37:57.446 --> 00:37:59.208 and gone to a closer Connecticut town, NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:37:59.210 --> 00:38:01.286 one where he hadn't been incarcerated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:01.290 --> 00:38:02.786 But he was eager to defeat the test, NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:38:02.790 --> 00:38:04.260 and besides, Bobby felt no
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:04.260 --> 00:38:05.436 need to avoid Cheshire.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:05.440 --> 00:38:07.127 His time there was someone else's mistake, NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:38:07.130 --> 00:38:09.265 not his. He began studying the manual.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:09.270 --> 00:38:10.380 He said hard.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:10.380 --> 00:38:12.230 On his second written test,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:12.230 --> 00:38:14.374 a Bobby arrived at a coffee shop in NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:14.374 --> 00:38:16.235 Cheshire 3 hours before his appointment NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:38:16.235 --> 00:38:18.185 time and prepared like an athlete.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:18.190 --> 00:38:20.234 He hydrated with water, ate a banana,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:20.240 --> 00:38:22.166 and limbered up with practice tests.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:22.170 --> 00:38:24.750 He wanted a victory in Cheshire.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:24.750 --> 00:38:26.150 He had all been memorized the manual,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:26.150 --> 00:38:27.690 but these practice tests asked
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:27.690 --> 00:38:29.576 for knowledge of the specifics of NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:38:29.576 --> 00:38:31.046 tire alignment and teen curfews,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:31.050 --> 00:38:32.970 areas outside the manuals coverage.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:32.970 --> 00:38:35.721 What was up with these non manual
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:35.721 --> 00:38:36.507 related questions?
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:36.510 --> 00:38:38.690 When Bobby answered one incorrectly,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:38.690 --> 00:38:39.701 he jumped up,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:39.701 --> 00:38:41.386 nearly knocking the table over.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:41.390 --> 00:38:42.728 On the way to the DMV, NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:38:42.730 --> 00:38:43.890 Bobby passed the prison.

NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:43.890 --> 00:38:46.039 The Cheshire DMV was a much smaller NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:38:46.039 --> 00:38:48.496 building than Hamden and had the hospitable NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:38:48.496 --> 00:38:50.990 ambience of a National Park welcome center.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:50.990 --> 00:38:51.814 As he went in,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:51.814 --> 00:38:53.390 Bobby was making nervous jokes and saying.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:53.390 --> 00:38:54.323 You're not nervous.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:54.323 --> 00:38:55.256 I'm not feeling.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:55.260 --> 00:38:56.019 I got this.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:56.019 --> 00:38:57.790 His dark 26 year old face contrasted
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:57.852 --> 00:38:59.784 with the rosy white teenagers who
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:38:59.784 --> 00:39:01.819 arriving with their parents for the test.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:01.820 --> 00:39:03.940 As the woman at the front desk signed him in,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:03.940 --> 00:39:05.530 she took a practice glance
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:05.530 --> 00:39:07.120 and said you'll do fine.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:07.120 --> 00:39:09.619 Then she advised Bobby, take your time.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:39:09.620 --> 00:39:10.380 Once registered,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:10.380 --> 00:39:12.280 Bobby disappeared down a hallway.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:12.280 --> 00:39:14.592 40 minutes later he emerged, arms raised,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:14.592 --> 00:39:15.995 roaring, high fiving, cheesing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:15.995 --> 00:39:17.920 His test score had been nearly perfect.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:17.920 --> 00:39:19.170 There have been several questions
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:19.170 --> 00:39:21.060 identical to those on the practice test.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:21.060 --> 00:39:22.467 It seemed like all the answers were
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:22.467 --> 00:39:23.614 popping out, he said, speaking.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:23.614 --> 00:39:24.940 The joyous rush. I'm soaked.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:24.940 --> 00:39:26.100 I'm turned. I'm ecstatic.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:26.100 --> 00:39:27.516 I'm so soup from the car.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:27.520 --> 00:39:29.458 He made calls, left voice messages.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:29.460 --> 00:39:30.456 Passing the prison,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:30.456 --> 00:39:32.116 he brought up Detective Willoughby.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:32.120 --> 00:39:34.124 I don't bear him any grudges, Bobby said.

NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:34.124 --> 00:39:35.678 It's not my heart to do that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:35.680 --> 00:39:37.048 People can do wrong things and
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:37.048 --> 00:39:38.479 it doesn't make me hate them.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:38.480 --> 00:39:41.000 I'm just letting people be who they are.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:41.000 --> 00:39:42.308 Bobby would have to wait three
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:42.308 --> 00:39:43.340 months before taking his Rd.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:43.340 --> 00:39:44.471 test in mid-july,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:44.471 --> 00:39:47.600 deferring his wishes that he knew how to do.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:47.600 --> 00:39:49.185 And he was so steadfast
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:49.185 --> 00:39:50.136 about license preparation,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:50.140 --> 00:39:51.265 it seemed worrisome to think
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:51.265 --> 00:39:52.390 what would happen when there
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:52.434 --> 00:39:53.616 was no longer the upcoming Rd.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:53.620 --> 00:39:55.320 test to organize his life.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:55.320 --> 00:39:57.904 He enjoyed practicing with Shay, she warning. NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:39:57.904 --> 00:39:59.564 It's no more smooth sailing
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:39:59.564 --> 00:40:00.560 church drivers today.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:00.560 --> 00:40:02.940 Bobby, don't let anybody break your flow, NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328

00:40:02.940 --> 00:40:04.326 which was not to say Bobby
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:04.326 --> 00:40:05.540 wanted the process to last.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:05.540 --> 00:40:07.046 I can taste it, he said.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:07.050 --> 00:40:08.296 When I pass, I'm going to cry.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:08.300 --> 00:40:10.709 You'll see tears.
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:10.710 --> 00:40:13.068 The day before the road test in July 2016,
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:13.070 --> 00:40:14.375 Bobby drove around the city
NOTE Confidence: 0.901049328
00:40:14.375 --> 00:40:15.680 practicing what he judged was
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:15.726 --> 00:40:17.202 weaknesses. He reminded himself to
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:17.202 --> 00:40:18.660 check his mirrors every 5 minutes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:18.660 --> 00:40:19.840 to note the speed limit,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:19.840 --> 00:40:21.776 to place his hands six hours apart on NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636

00:40:21.776 --> 00:40:23.560 the wheel near the two four store.

NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:23.560 --> 00:40:25.280 He said. We were sitting there when they
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:25.280 --> 00:40:27.047 pulled me off the porch and arrested me.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:27.050 --> 00:40:27.839 It was raining.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:27.839 --> 00:40:29.154 Then he beeped a greeting,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:29.160 --> 00:40:31.086 explaining that was swami and them
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:31.086 --> 00:40:33.370 Kwamis group was out there every day.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:33.370 --> 00:40:34.882 Bobby drove so well you could
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:34.882 --> 00:40:35.890 forget he was practicing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:35.890 --> 00:40:37.626 Then when he made a small error,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:37.630 --> 00:40:39.667 forgetting to signal for a lane change,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:39.670 --> 00:40:40.960 his hands trembled.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:40.960 --> 00:40:43.110 And wanting something so much.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:43.110 --> 00:40:44.250 After all the waiting,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:44.250 --> 00:40:45.390 everything happened very fast.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:45.390 --> 00:40:47.210 The large graying white man and sunglasses, NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636

00:40:47.210 --> 00:40:49.388 a blue agency issue polo shirt
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:49.388 --> 00:40:51.310 and blue khakis approach Bobby.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:51.310 --> 00:40:52.510 The man looked like a
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:52.510 --> 00:40:53.470 country boy state trooper,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:53.470 --> 00:40:55.591 and it turned out bobbye examiner was
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:55.591 --> 00:40:57.370 a retired suburban police officer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:40:57.370 --> 00:40:59.503 He asked Bobby to get into the driver's seat, NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636

00:40:59.510 --> 00:41:01.688 to turn on the car's ignition,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:41:01.690 --> 00:41:03.888 to use his turn indicators first right,
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:41:03.890 --> 00:41:06.186 then left to press the brake pedal.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:41:06.190 --> 00:41:08.323 As the car crept out of the parking lot, NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636

00:41:08.330 --> 00:41:10.890 Bobby signaled left and something in the air.
NOTE Confidence: 0.774805566363636
00:41:10.890 --> 00:41:11.220 Lifted.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:15.430 --> 00:41:17.512 Now I'm just briefly going to
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:17.512 --> 00:41:19.608 finish by discussing a little bit
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:19.608 --> 00:41:22.370 the nature of the work I was doing

NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:22.370 --> 00:41:25.820 and how I approached my research.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:25.820 --> 00:41:27.600 And they're just basically bullets.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:27.600 --> 00:41:29.316 But as a writer, your first
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:29.316 --> 00:41:31.479 obligation is to the objective truth.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:31.480 --> 00:41:33.090 As best as you can learn it,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:33.090 --> 00:41:34.716 the truth belongs to your reader.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:34.720 --> 00:41:36.040 There's no absolute validity,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:36.040 --> 00:41:38.020 but there is accuracy and description,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:38.020 --> 00:41:39.511 representation and facts.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:39.511 --> 00:41:41.499 You can't understand St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:41.500 --> 00:41:43.000 violence without understanding the
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:43.000 --> 00:41:44.500 conditions that undermine people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:44.500 --> 00:41:46.180 the legacies of the past,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:46.180 --> 00:41:47.362 of racism, corruption,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:47.362 --> 00:41:50.120 and the ongoing unfairness related to every
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333

00:41:50.188 --> 00:41:52.638 kind of opportunity that forms city life.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:52.640 --> 00:41:53.972 The recurrent truism that's
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:53.972 --> 00:41:55.970 revealed to me over and over.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:55.970 --> 00:41:57.530 Even though people got really
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:57.530 --> 00:41:59.741 tired of talking about it is what
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:41:59.741 --> 00:42:01.523 an awful ongoing plague racism is.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:01.530 --> 00:42:02.970 The horrible ongoing cost
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:02.970 --> 00:42:04.770 for everybody in the city,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:04.770 --> 00:42:07.906 and that isolates a cohort of people
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:07.906 --> 00:42:09.890 together generationally in poverty.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:09.890 --> 00:42:11.997 I spent so much time trying to
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:11.997 --> 00:42:13.986 really document how a neighborhood
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:13.986 --> 00:42:15.010 becomes segregated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:15.010 --> 00:42:16.760 This is not something people
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:16.760 --> 00:42:19.189 were eager to reveal at the time, NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333

00:42:19.190 --> 00:42:20.590 but you could make discoveries.

NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:20.590 --> 00:42:21.484 I found interviews,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:21.484 --> 00:42:22.080 for example,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:22.080 --> 00:42:24.950 with a cohorts of real estate agents
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:24.950 --> 00:42:26.180 from the 1950s.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:26.180 --> 00:42:28.526 And I found old documents with
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:28.526 --> 00:42:29.699 restricted racial covenants.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:29.700 --> 00:42:32.588 And of course both white people and black
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:32.588 --> 00:42:34.849 people remembered and told of those times.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:34.850 --> 00:42:36.512 I thought of the neighborhood as
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:36.512 --> 00:42:38.089 the main character of my book.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:38.090 --> 00:42:38.936 Accordingly, I would,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:38.936 --> 00:42:40.628 over the course of this project,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:40.630 --> 00:42:42.430 interview more than 500 people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:42.430 --> 00:42:43.970 some of them many times.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:43.970 --> 00:42:45.450 Mostly I met people because
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333

00:42:45.450 --> 00:42:46.930 somebody else vouched for me.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:46.930 --> 00:42:48.382 I followed the line of Bobby's
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:48.382 --> 00:42:49.789 case and the people involved
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:49.789 --> 00:42:51.337 meeting people everywhere from,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:51.340 --> 00:42:52.072 you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:52.072 --> 00:42:54.634 kitchen tables and police stations and Law
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:54.634 --> 00:42:57.147 Offices and schools and parks and prisons.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:57.150 --> 00:42:59.544 And I wanted it to be a
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:42:59.544 --> 00:43:00.228 representative account.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:00.230 --> 00:43:02.127 And there were so many subjects to
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:02.127 --> 00:43:03.770 understand within the broader subject,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:03.770 --> 00:43:05.500 and that would be everything
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:05.500 --> 00:43:06.538 from industrial history.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:06.540 --> 00:43:09.447 To policing, to reentry to housing and so on.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:09.450 --> 00:43:11.650 I spent a lot of times in libraries
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:11.650 --> 00:43:13.294 and archives looking for documents

NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:13.294 --> 00:43:15.014 and my bibliography grew massive
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:15.014 --> 00:43:17.116 and I used the documentation again
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:17.116 --> 00:43:19.144 to help what was a fundamental
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:19.150 --> 00:43:20.642 fundament of this project,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:20.642 --> 00:43:22.507 which was talking to people.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:22.510 --> 00:43:24.658 One reason to read everything relevant
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:24.658 --> 00:43:26.703 is you better understand your subject
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:26.703 --> 00:43:28.642 right and you know what to ask.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:28.650 --> 00:43:30.659 I always wrote out all my interview
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:30.659 --> 00:43:31.828 questions for everybody beforehand
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:31.828 --> 00:43:33.599 and I created an order and a
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:33.599 --> 00:43:34.889 structure to the interviews,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:34.890 --> 00:43:36.570 but before I ask people questions.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:36.570 --> 00:43:38.100 I introduced myself a little bit, NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333

00:43:38.100 --> 00:43:39.636 as I did to you all, NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333

00:43:39.640 --> 00:43:42.220 and I told them about my life and my subject.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:42.220 --> 00:43:43.704 I think if you are sincere and
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:43.704 --> 00:43:45.159 make your own self vulnerable,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:45.160 --> 00:43:46.162 you have you.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:46.162 --> 00:43:48.500 You establish trust and one hopes to
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:48.568 --> 00:43:50.836 report some aspects of my project.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:50.840 --> 00:43:52.520 It required asking people to
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:52.520 --> 00:43:54.590 dwell on things that were the
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:54.590 --> 00:43:56.200 worst parts of their lives,
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:56.200 --> 00:43:58.671 and that is a big emotional commitment
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:43:58.671 --> 00:44:01.139 and a big emotional request.
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:44:01.140 --> 00:44:02.918 And I had to be aware always
NOTE Confidence: 0.849149733333333
00:44:02.918 --> 00:44:03.680 of how upsetting
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:03.744 --> 00:44:05.676 the experience can be and the
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:05.676 --> 00:44:06.964 people express being upset.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:06.970 --> 00:44:09.315 In many different ways, over and over,

NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:09.320 --> 00:44:11.564 I reminded myself that you're responsible
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:11.564 --> 00:44:13.760 for your entire subject, for everyone.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:13.760 --> 00:44:15.860 At the end of every interview,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:15.860 --> 00:44:17.560 I asked my subject if,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:17.560 --> 00:44:18.466 given our conversation,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:18.466 --> 00:44:20.278 they had worries about how I
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:20.278 --> 00:44:21.938 was thinking about anything,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:21.940 --> 00:44:23.980 if I seemed in danger of making mistakes,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:23.980 --> 00:44:26.338 either mistakes of fact or tone.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:26.340 --> 00:44:28.398 If I was having, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:28.400 --> 00:44:30.038 if I was coming to wrong conclusions,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:30.040 --> 00:44:32.566 if, my if, or even assumptions.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:32.570 --> 00:44:34.838 I was crazy for feedback and
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:34.838 --> 00:44:37.300 I used to check back with.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:37.300 --> 00:44:38.596 All sorts of people making sure
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505

00:44:38.596 --> 00:44:40.047 what I was thinking or hearing
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:40.047 --> 00:44:41.407 seemed true to broader experience.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:41.410 --> 00:44:43.290 So as an over and over thing and NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505

00:44:43.290 --> 00:44:45.113 I'm just so appreciative of how
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:45.113 --> 00:44:46.733 patient people were with me.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:46.740 --> 00:44:49.095 Other requirements of the project
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:49.095 --> 00:44:50.440 were neutrality, balance,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:50.440 --> 00:44:51.640 critical distance, transparency.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:51.640 --> 00:44:53.640 And these things all really
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:53.640 --> 00:44:55.159 do exist for a writer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:55.160 --> 00:44:56.792 You can affect the truth of NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505

00:44:56.792 --> 00:44:58.440 what you're trying to describe.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:44:58.440 --> 00:45:00.715 One of Bobby's sisters had young children,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:00.720 --> 00:45:01.888 and in our basement,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:01.888 --> 00:45:04.007 our kids were older and we had NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505

00:45:04.007 --> 00:45:05.831 the clothes that they had used

NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:05.831 --> 00:45:07.369 when they were that age.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:07.370 --> 00:45:08.834 And some of them were in
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:08.834 --> 00:45:09.566 really good condition.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:09.570 --> 00:45:10.785 And it's just as people
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:10.785 --> 00:45:12.000 passed things on to us,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:12.000 --> 00:45:13.400 I want to pass things on to them.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:13.400 --> 00:45:15.178 But my editor at The New Yorker NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505

00:45:15.178 --> 00:45:16.320 said I couldn't do it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:16.320 --> 00:45:19.379 And these are the rules of writing
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:19.379 --> 00:45:21.590 nonfiction that many editors have
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:21.590 --> 00:45:24.432 spent a lot of time drafting and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:24.440 --> 00:45:24.660 Umm.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:24.660 --> 00:45:26.420 The reason for it is is that you
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:26.420 --> 00:45:27.731 can compromise your impartiality
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:27.731 --> 00:45:29.795 and you can give people both
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505

00:45:29.795 --> 00:45:31.511 unfair expectations of how you're
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:31.511 --> 00:45:32.827 going to portray them.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:32.830 --> 00:45:33.940 But more even more important
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:33.940 --> 00:45:34.828 than that I think,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:34.830 --> 00:45:36.094 which is pretty important,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:36.094 --> 00:45:37.990 is that you can distort reality
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:38.048 --> 00:45:39.626 as it exists for a Community.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:39.630 --> 00:45:41.401 So I think it I decided ultimately
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:41.401 --> 00:45:43.937 it was best to adhere to the common
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:43.937 --> 00:45:45.309 standard of journalistic ethics,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:45.310 --> 00:45:47.668 which if you want in your own small way
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:47.668 --> 00:45:50.367 the public to glimpse something accurately.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:50.370 --> 00:45:52.584 I think that was the only way I was
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:52.584 --> 00:45:54.669 writing about neglect and indifference,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:54.670 --> 00:45:55.979 and I knew that if my book.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:55.980 --> 00:45:57.051 Things very wrong.

NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:57.051 --> 00:45:58.836 A skeptical public would neglect
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:45:58.836 --> 00:46:00.719 and be indifferent to it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:00.720 --> 00:46:03.375 A book like this is so easy to ignore,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:03.380 --> 00:46:05.520 especially because it's not cheerful.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:05.520 --> 00:46:07.280 It's really confusing because happy
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:07.280 --> 00:46:10.120 endings in books and in movies and on TV,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:10.120 --> 00:46:12.000 these are great and everybody needs to see.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:12.000 --> 00:46:14.355 Happiness needs to have reasons
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:14.355 --> 00:46:17.255 for and causes for hope and
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:17.255 --> 00:46:19.540 for optimism and belief and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:19.540 --> 00:46:20.473 And you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:20.473 --> 00:46:22.339 people who come from the community,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:22.340 --> 00:46:25.076 like I the the one that I was describing,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:25.080 --> 00:46:26.037 people do succeed.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:26.037 --> 00:46:28.270 People do emerge and live the dream,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505

00:46:28.270 --> 00:46:29.760 but it's so much harder.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:29.760 --> 00:46:31.216 And that's really the point of it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:31.220 --> 00:46:34.034 It's there are so many unhappy endings,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:34.040 --> 00:46:35.336 too many unhappy endings,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:35.336 --> 00:46:36.956 or at least ambivalent endings,
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:36.960 --> 00:46:39.190 and it's such a waste.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8467829505
00:46:39.190 --> 00:46:39.750 Umm.
NOTE Confidence: 0.86717108625
00:46:43.070 --> 00:46:49.270 So this is a hard part for me. So.
NOTE Confidence: 0.86717108625
00:46:49.270 --> 00:46:50.917 I3 of the young people I got to know
NOTE Confidence: 0.86717108625
00:46:50.917 --> 00:46:52.546 while I was writing the book were shot
NOTE Confidence: 0.86717108625
00:46:52.546 --> 00:46:54.197 and killed in the course of that and.
NOTE Confidence: 0.840743294545454
00:46:58.340 --> 00:46:59.960 I just, you know, they were
NOTE Confidence: 0.840743294545454
00:46:59.960 --> 00:47:01.520 all they were all really.
NOTE Confidence: 0.74513851
00:47:05.750 --> 00:47:08.910 And, you know, endearing people.
NOTE Confidence: 0.74513851
00:47:08.910 --> 00:47:11.700 And I just think it if you're going to.
NOTE Confidence: 0.74513851
00:47:11.700 --> 00:47:14.298 Write a book and come into,

NOTE Confidence: 0.74513851
00:47:14.300 --> 00:47:16.100 you know, tragedies like that,
NOTE Confidence: 0.74513851
00:47:16.100 --> 00:47:17.570 you, you better be honest and
NOTE Confidence: 0.74513851
00:47:17.570 --> 00:47:18.880 honorable about how you do it, NOTE Confidence: 0.74513851

00:47:18.880 --> 00:47:20.290 because otherwise nothing would get better.
NOTE Confidence: 0.8062551825
00:47:22.880 --> 00:47:25.248 I I you know I I hope you're.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:30.080 --> 00:47:32.019 I hope you're on. I'm getting the
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:32.019 --> 00:47:33.700 sense that this is hard to do.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:33.700 --> 00:47:35.572 And one of the reasons it's hard to
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:35.572 --> 00:47:37.809 do is because there's so many topics
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:37.809 --> 00:47:40.040 within topics involved in the project.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:40.040 --> 00:47:41.324 And it took me 3 months
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:41.324 --> 00:47:42.180 to create the structure.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:42.180 --> 00:47:44.224 And I did it by organizing index
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:44.224 --> 00:47:45.921 cards with everything that I wanted
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:45.921 --> 00:47:47.439 to say like a freight train.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714

00:47:47.440 --> 00:47:48.880 And it's completely arbitrary
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:48.880 --> 00:47:50.320 which structure is like.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:50.320 --> 00:47:51.256 So like in a freight train
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:51.256 --> 00:47:51.880 when it passes you,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:51.880 --> 00:47:53.812 you can see a blue car and then a tan car
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:53.812 --> 00:47:55.576 and a rust colored car and a green car.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:55.580 --> 00:47:57.470 And I was just moving them around NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714

00:47:57.470 --> 00:47:59.580 for a really long time and I just,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:47:59.580 --> 00:48:02.820 I think that in some way as a writer.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:02.820 --> 00:48:04.620 The structure of what you're doing,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:04.620 --> 00:48:06.066 the way you create a conversation,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:06.070 --> 00:48:07.400 or the way you create a book,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:07.400 --> 00:48:08.960 it has in some way to modify or
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:08.960 --> 00:48:10.587 take the shape of the broader
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:10.587 --> 00:48:12.072 things that you're thinking about.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:12.080 --> 00:48:13.862 And you have to be alert to the perils

NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:13.862 --> 00:48:15.630 and pitfalls that you're up against.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:15.630 --> 00:48:17.222 And these are things that I don't think
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:17.222 --> 00:48:19.137 I need to telecommunity like yours about, NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714

00:48:19.140 --> 00:48:22.382 but I'll just say them too many writers
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:22.382 --> 00:48:24.266 are filled with high minded intentions
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:24.266 --> 00:48:26.229 and they become near missionaries,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:26.230 --> 00:48:27.302 you know, and saviors,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:27.302 --> 00:48:28.910 and they want to enter another
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:28.966 --> 00:48:30.736 world and report back or something.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:30.740 --> 00:48:32.020 And this is just.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:32.020 --> 00:48:32.980 This is just.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:32.980 --> 00:48:34.630 Leads people to simplify poor
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:34.630 --> 00:48:36.610 neighborhoods and it makes them seem,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:36.610 --> 00:48:38.550 in the simplifying seem lesser.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:38.550 --> 00:48:39.962 Or it makes alternatively,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714

00:48:39.962 --> 00:48:42.489 there's a long history of people writing
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:42.489 --> 00:48:44.918 about poverty and making it seem somehow
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:44.918 --> 00:48:47.530 garish or too dysfunctional or something.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:47.530 --> 00:48:48.160 You know?
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:48.160 --> 00:48:50.050 It leads to books that are
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:50.050 --> 00:48:51.390 mainly about suffering,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:51.390 --> 00:48:53.224 and I didn't want to do that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:53.230 --> 00:48:55.150 I think hardships are real,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:55.150 --> 00:48:57.230 and describing hardships are important,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:57.230 --> 00:48:58.634 but there are real reasons that
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:48:58.634 --> 00:49:00.355 people are proud to come from
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:00.355 --> 00:49:01.456 communities like Newhallville,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:01.460 --> 00:49:02.930 and there are most of the people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:02.930 --> 00:49:04.445 there are law.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:04.445 --> 00:49:07.980 Fighting people who love their community and, NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:07.980 --> 00:49:09.744 you know, in the few people there,

NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:09.750 --> 00:49:12.144 and it's a very small number of people who,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:12.150 --> 00:49:14.060 for reasons personal to them,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:14.060 --> 00:49:15.436 are disrupting the community.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:15.436 --> 00:49:17.500 These are not things that most
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:17.557 --> 00:49:19.247 people in the Community have
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:19.247 --> 00:49:20.937 anything but real aversion to.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:20.940 --> 00:49:22.278 And it's important to say that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:22.280 --> 00:49:23.846 It is likewise important to say
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:23.846 --> 00:49:25.774 that even the people who are most
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:25.774 --> 00:49:27.154 disruptive in the Community have
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:27.154 --> 00:49:28.918 their own complexities as people,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:28.920 --> 00:49:31.092 and that a writer can pathologize
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:31.092 --> 00:49:32.178 and be dehumanizing.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:32.180 --> 00:49:34.448 And so for me, I'll just tell you that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:34.450 --> 00:49:36.418 Some of the most significant I I read
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714

00:49:36.418 --> 00:49:38.200 really fast and if you look at this
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:38.200 --> 00:49:39.979 book you'll see a long bibliography.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:39.980 --> 00:49:41.443 But some of the books that meant
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:41.443 --> 00:49:43.013 the most to me were actually
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:43.013 --> 00:49:44.205 allegedly works of fiction.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:44.210 --> 00:49:45.800 They're probably more auto fiction,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:45.800 --> 00:49:47.020 but I would really commend,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:47.020 --> 00:49:47.800 if you haven't read it,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:47.800 --> 00:49:50.016 Claude Brown's 1965 classic
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:50.016 --> 00:49:51.521 of Harvard's Harlem St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:51.521 --> 00:49:51.838 Life,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:51.838 --> 00:49:54.120 which is itself a great migration story,
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:54.120 --> 00:49:55.655 which is called manchild in
NOTE Confidence: 0.835615209285714
00:49:55.655 --> 00:49:56.576 the promised land.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:49:56.580 --> 00:49:58.375 And I would recommend Douglas
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:49:58.375 --> 00:50:00.170 smarts portrait of Post Industrial

NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:00.232 --> 00:50:01.812 Glasgow which is called Shuggy
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:01.812 --> 00:50:03.648 Bane and Elena Ferrante's books.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:03.648 --> 00:50:06.312 About Naples, they have an uncanny NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:50:06.312 --> 00:50:09.020 similarity in their portraits of how St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:09.020 --> 00:50:10.836 violence functions in those
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:10.836 --> 00:50:13.106 communities in Europe to Newhallville,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:13.110 --> 00:50:15.982 and what all of them have in common
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:15.982 --> 00:50:18.823 is generational poverty and a kind of
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:18.823 --> 00:50:20.868 discrimination that runs through it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:20.870 --> 00:50:22.291 The one area where I didn't always NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:50:22.291 --> 00:50:23.757 tell the truth had to do with names NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:50:23.757 --> 00:50:25.272 and the reason I I I I hope I'm
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:25.272 --> 00:50:26.558 not taking too much of your time,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:26.558 --> 00:50:28.862 but I just want to say that the NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:50:28.862 --> 00:50:30.962 reason I changed some names was NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:50:30.962 --> 00:50:32.358 because of advice from.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:32.360 --> 00:50:34.458 Law enforcement, people in prison, St.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:34.458 --> 00:50:35.534 outreach workers,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:35.534 --> 00:50:38.224 educators worry that if you
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:38.224 --> 00:50:40.199 mention in our time,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:40.200 --> 00:50:41.616 which is a social media time,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:41.620 --> 00:50:43.768 if you mention people who have
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:43.768 --> 00:50:45.200 been involved in violence,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:45.200 --> 00:50:46.604 it can be misconstrued by people
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:46.604 --> 00:50:47.999 who might not read the book,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:48.000 --> 00:50:49.280 might not have context, NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:50:49.280 --> 00:50:51.200 but hear that somebody's been mentioned
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:51.255 --> 00:50:52.625 and allegedly disrespected and that
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:52.625 --> 00:50:55.149 name can be put up on social media and
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:55.149 --> 00:50:56.793 it's just little things like that.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:56.800 --> 00:50:58.654 Just like the bicycle, which can

NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:50:58.654 --> 00:51:00.678 lead to something that is so severe,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:00.680 --> 00:51:02.598 social media and the access to guns.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:02.600 --> 00:51:04.475 Really had an enormous effect
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:04.475 --> 00:51:05.600 on street violence,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:05.600 --> 00:51:08.129 a lethal effect.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:08.130 --> 00:51:08.376 Also,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:08.376 --> 00:51:10.098 something I did was I changed a
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:10.098 --> 00:51:11.926 couple of names of people who I
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:11.926 --> 00:51:13.513 was mentioning just for the way
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:13.513 --> 00:51:15.235 the book ended up only at the
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:15.235 --> 00:51:16.420 worst moments of their life.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:16.420 --> 00:51:17.570 And these were private people
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:17.570 --> 00:51:19.036 and it seemed really unfair not
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:19.036 --> 00:51:20.738 to describe them in any kind of NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:51:20.738 --> 00:51:21.828 with any kind of fullness.
NOTE Confidence: 0.78196911777778

00:51:21.830 --> 00:51:23.690 So if you're just describing the NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:51:23.690 --> 00:51:25.420 worst moment of someone's life and NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:51:25.420 --> 00:51:27.350 they are a that you know it was of, NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:51:27.350 --> 00:51:27.595 no,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:27.595 --> 00:51:29.310 it wasn't like I was describing Martin
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:29.310 --> 00:51:31.308 Luther King or Abraham Lincoln or something.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:31.310 --> 00:51:32.930 It wasn't anybody whose name, NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:51:32.930 --> 00:51:34.466 whether it was Joe or Bob or Pete,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:34.470 --> 00:51:36.550 would mean anything to people.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:36.550 --> 00:51:38.722 And I'll just a couple of
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:38.722 --> 00:51:39.446 conclusive thoughts.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:39.450 --> 00:51:41.610 I think a lot as I as I think back
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:41.674 --> 00:51:44.338 on this project about the negative
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:44.338 --> 00:51:45.670 consequences of unfamiliarity
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:45.670 --> 00:51:47.710 among people in the same city,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:47.710 --> 00:51:49.929 that the costs of for city residents

NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:49.929 --> 00:51:51.729 living in different parts of town, NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:51:51.730 --> 00:51:53.746 not knowing one another, is enormous.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:53.750 --> 00:51:55.420 For teachers and for students
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:55.420 --> 00:51:57.577 and for police and for employers
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:51:57.577 --> 00:52:00.503 and the people they hire and for NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:52:00.503 --> 00:52:01.339 medical professionals,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:01.340 --> 00:52:02.944 everybody is more complicated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:02.944 --> 00:52:04.548 They seem more alike.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:04.550 --> 00:52:05.929 And that was the kind of thing
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:05.929 --> 00:52:07.847 that I just felt as a kid in those
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:07.847 --> 00:52:09.016 bookstores or in those other
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:09.016 --> 00:52:10.386 stores in downtown New Haven.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:10.390 --> 00:52:11.775 People who study policing have
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:11.775 --> 00:52:13.840 found out what I found anecdotally, NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:52:13.840 --> 00:52:15.406 that what most people want from
NOTE Confidence: 0.78196911777778

00:52:15.406 --> 00:52:17.641 police is a fair hearing to be heard NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:52:17.641 --> 00:52:19.339 and respected and treated with a
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:19.397 --> 00:52:21.137 sense that they are individuals, NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:52:21.140 --> 00:52:23.630 that the police have some understanding NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:52:23.630 --> 00:52:25.688 and ideally compassion for them
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:25.688 --> 00:52:26.678 in their trials.
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:26.680 --> 00:52:28.395 This is true also in the relationships NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778

00:52:28.395 --> 00:52:29.910 between the groups that I mentioned,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:29.910 --> 00:52:31.632 citizens, educators, officials,
NOTE Confidence: 0.781969117777778
00:52:31.632 --> 00:52:32.780 writers, doctors.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:32.780 --> 00:52:34.796 All this is in a way another way of NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:52:34.796 --> 00:52:36.874 saying that we run into trouble when
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:36.874 --> 00:52:38.896 we generalize about people and we
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:38.896 --> 00:52:40.428 forget that everybody's complicated.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:40.430 --> 00:52:41.990 You there? I I said before,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:41.990 --> 00:52:43.502 but I really emphasized the need

NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:43.502 --> 00:52:44.939 for hope and optimism in life.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:44.940 --> 00:52:46.440 Whether you're the practitioner
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:46.440 --> 00:52:48.690 or you're the person who is, NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:52:48.690 --> 00:52:49.968 you know, if I'm a writer,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:49.970 --> 00:52:51.896 who I'm writing about and that
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:51.896 --> 00:52:53.821 what happens to young people and
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:53.821 --> 00:52:55.851 also to anybody if we don't have NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:52:55.851 --> 00:52:58.360 any expectations of of of a of a
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:52:58.360 --> 00:53:00.078 fulfilling future and some sense
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:00.078 --> 00:53:02.836 of agency in your life and then.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:02.840 --> 00:53:05.311 I just over and over the shipwrecking
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:05.311 --> 00:53:06.899 consequences of living in fear.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:06.900 --> 00:53:08.524 And then I just want to say that
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:08.524 --> 00:53:10.235 a reason that New Haven is a sort
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:10.235 --> 00:53:11.820 of is a wonderful place to live,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:53:11.820 --> 00:53:12.576 and it really is,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:12.576 --> 00:53:13.710 is that there are so many
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:13.756 --> 00:53:15.116 different kinds of people here.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:15.120 --> 00:53:16.180 It's just a small place,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:16.180 --> 00:53:17.398 but it's such a diverse place.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:17.400 --> 00:53:18.498 And it was a real gift
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:18.498 --> 00:53:19.679 for me to grow up here.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:19.680 --> 00:53:21.479 And it's been that to come back.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:21.480 --> 00:53:23.328 And there are so many people here who
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:23.328 --> 00:53:24.787 have been dedicated to the public
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:24.787 --> 00:53:26.600 good and to the lives of others, NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:53:26.600 --> 00:53:28.130 just as Minneapolis as a city,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:28.130 --> 00:53:29.782 which is known for having more theaters
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:29.782 --> 00:53:31.220 per capita than any other place,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:31.220 --> 00:53:33.604 you haven't kind of known for having more.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:33.610 --> 00:53:35.934 Nonprofit Social Services and

NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:35.934 --> 00:53:37.677 social justice institutions,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:37.680 --> 00:53:39.135 going back to my childhood
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:39.135 --> 00:53:40.008 than anywhere else.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:40.010 --> 00:53:41.948 But new New Haven has problems
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:41.948 --> 00:53:43.670 that no individual can solve.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:43.670 --> 00:53:44.762 And, you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:44.762 --> 00:53:47.310 I I know an exceptional mother with NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:53:47.387 --> 00:53:50.229 roots in newhallville who is a devoted,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:50.230 --> 00:53:50.936 hard working,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:50.936 --> 00:53:52.348 thoughtful and kind person.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:52.350 --> 00:53:53.250 She has two sons,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:53.250 --> 00:53:55.370 and both of them have been shot to death.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:55.370 --> 00:53:57.706 And she needs help and she knows it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:57.710 --> 00:53:59.690 And she thinks she needs change.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:53:59.690 --> 00:54:01.514 And the kind of help that she needs
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:54:01.514 --> 00:54:03.427 can only come from big institutions.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:03.430 --> 00:54:05.775 Like government and like universal
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:05.775 --> 00:54:08.120 major universities and like companies, NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:54:08.120 --> 00:54:10.676 people who have power and leverage,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:10.680 --> 00:54:11.568 they you know,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:11.568 --> 00:54:13.344 there has been no post industrial
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:13.344 --> 00:54:14.010 solution there,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:14.010 --> 00:54:15.970 new holes all over this country and
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:15.970 --> 00:54:17.859 then that is still something that
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:17.859 --> 00:54:19.821 is not really within the purview
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:19.821 --> 00:54:21.309 of researchers or government
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:21.309 --> 00:54:23.134 officials to me is just.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:23.140 --> 00:54:25.396 I I just don't understand it.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:25.400 --> 00:54:25.729 Finally,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:25.729 --> 00:54:28.032 I just want to mention again the NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:54:28.032 --> 00:54:29.284 scathing consequences of being

NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:29.284 --> 00:54:30.910 considered somehow is less and it
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:30.910 --> 00:54:33.179 makes for humiliation and shame and guilt.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:33.180 --> 00:54:34.520 I would distinguish shame and
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:34.520 --> 00:54:36.355 guilt by saying that guilt is the
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:36.355 --> 00:54:37.916 feeling that you did a wrong thing,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:37.920 --> 00:54:39.320 a feeling of responsibility
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:39.320 --> 00:54:40.720 for a wrong action,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:40.720 --> 00:54:42.533 while shame comes from the sense that
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:42.533 --> 00:54:44.060 there is something wrong with you,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:44.060 --> 00:54:45.950 that who you are is the reason
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:45.950 --> 00:54:47.660 you have to feel remorse.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:47.660 --> 00:54:49.800 And then I want to just end on a grace
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:49.860 --> 00:54:51.888 note and say that Frederick Wiseman,
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:51.890 --> 00:54:53.114 the great documentary filmmaker.
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:53.114 --> 00:54:55.285 I was once talking about his work
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485

00:54:55.285 --> 00:54:56.971 and somebody in public and somebody
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:56.971 --> 00:54:59.198 asked him about it and he said that
NOTE Confidence: 0.838223485
00:54:59.198 --> 00:55:00.528 his work ultimately every project NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579

00:55:00.530 --> 00:55:02.315 is motivated by love and that no
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:02.315 --> 00:55:03.915 project could be finished if he
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:03.915 --> 00:55:05.475 didn't begin to feel that way.
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:05.480 --> 00:55:07.090 And that was certainly how I felt.
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:07.090 --> 00:55:09.090 So that while there's a lot of upsetting
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:09.090 --> 00:55:10.668 things and as you I'm apologize,
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:10.670 --> 00:55:11.710 but as you can tell,
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:11.710 --> 00:55:12.868 every time I talk about it,
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:12.870 --> 00:55:15.327 some of it becomes fresh in my own mind.
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:15.330 --> 00:55:18.030 You know how much sorrow and
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:18.030 --> 00:55:21.145 there is in in in this story.
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:21.150 --> 00:55:23.571 I met so many people who I just felt NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579

00:55:23.571 --> 00:55:25.743 that way about and I feel at that

NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:25.743 --> 00:55:28.307 core is the real optimism that I feel.
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:28.310 --> 00:55:30.578 And also I just generally feel that NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:30.578 --> 00:55:32.424 these are problems that the problems NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579

00:55:32.424 --> 00:55:34.433 that I'm describing can be solved and NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579

00:55:34.433 --> 00:55:36.867 it's much of it is indifference and NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579

00:55:36.867 --> 00:55:38.263 confusion rather than impossibility.
NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579
00:55:38.270 --> 00:55:39.827 So I hope I didn't go on too long NOTE Confidence: 0.87503684631579

00:55:39.827 --> 00:55:41.549 and thank you so much for your time.

