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LIBRARY THE 1997 CIVIL RIGHTS LEADERSHIP CONFERENCE

U.S. COMMISSION ON CIVIL RIGHTS The Connecticut Advisor Committee
to
the U.S. Commission on Civil Rights

Held before:

- Dr. Neil Macy, Chairperson
- Ms. Maritza Tiru
- Ms. Phyllis D. Zlotnick
- Mr. Michael P. Kaelin
- Ms. Margery L. Gross
- Dr. Ivor J. Echols
- Dr. L.B. McKenzie-Wharton
- Mr. Patrick Johnson, Jr.
- Ki-Taek Chun, Director, Eastern Regional Office
- George C. Springer, Jr., Executive Secretary

Taken before Kelly A. Hickson, a Notary Public/Stenographer in and for the State of Connecticut, at the Naugatuck Valley Community-Technical College, 750 Chase Parkway, Waterbury, Connecticut, on November 12, 1997, commencing at 9:08 a.m.

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1 (The conference was commenced at
2 approximately 9:08 a.m.)

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4 THE CHAIRPERSON: I'd like to welcome the group to
5 the 1997 Civil Rights Leadership Conference being held at the
6 Naugatuck Community College. My name is Neil Macy. I'm the
7 Chairperson of the Connecticut Advisory Committee, and before
8 we begin, I'd like to take the opportunity to introduce the
9 members of the committee from the state of Connecticut that
10 are here.

11 First of all, the vice chairperson of the committee
12 is Dr. Lou Bertha McKenzie-Wharton, to my right. Next to her
13 is Michael Kaelin, who is an attorney and who is also on the
14 committee. Next to him is Dr. Ivor Echols; next to Ivor is
15 Margery Gross, and at the end of the table is Phyllis
16 Zlotnick. Next to Phyllis, on the right -- I'll hold off
17 introducing him in a minute. On my left is Attorney George
18 Springer, Jr.

19 Also, Maritza Tiru, who is sitting in the middle of
20 the room, and it's under her help, with the help of the
21 Naugatuck Community College, that we're able to be here
22 today. She's done a wonderful job of assisting us, in fact,
23 putting up signs until almost 11:00 last night so some of us
24 wouldn't get lost when we came here. Of course, I should give
25 her husband in absentia credit too because he was out there

1 with her last night.

2 I didn't introduce yet our regional director, who
3 has his office in Washington, D.C., Dr. Ki-Taek Chun; and
4 before I introduce the local people, Dr. Ki-Taek, would you
5 just want to say a few words of welcome from the National
6 Civil Rights Committee?

7 DR. CHUN: I wasn't prepared for that.

8 THE CHAIRPERSON: Washington people speak at the
9 drop of a hat.

10 DR. CHUN: On behalf of the U.S. Commission on Civil
11 Rights, I'd like to welcome all off you to this very important
12 event, the 1997 Civil Rights Leadership Conference. We
13 believe this is an important event, and the Commission hopes
14 that this will serve as an occasion to bring civil rights
15 communities together and strengthen the communities in the
16 state of Connecticut, so that we, as a group, may become more
17 effective in strengthening the protection of civil rights of
18 all citizens.

19 I realize that all the members of the committee have
20 spent many, many hours preparing for this, and I would like
21 you to know that the committee members all serve without
22 compensation. When I realize what sacrifice that is for all
23 of them who are professionals, it means a great deal of
24 sacrifice, and that realization really gives me a renewed
25 sense of appreciation for their commitment for the cause of

1 civil rights. So I'd like to welcome you.

2 THE CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Ki-Taek.

3 We're honored to have with us today -- oh, before I
4 even introduce the mayor, there's a few things I want to bring
5 to your attention: Number one, there's an error in the
6 program. If you look at the program for today, it says that
7 panel one will go on from 9:25 to 1:25, but if you look
8 further down, it says lunch is from 12:25 to 1:25. We're not
9 eating lunch during the panel hearing. That, obviously,
10 should have been 12:25, so that's when the first panel group
11 will end.

12 Second, if there has been anybody in here who has
13 not signed up yet -- except the members of the committee --
14 there is a registration table outside.

15 And number three, if there's anyone here, including
16 members of the panel, who wish to hand in written statements
17 subsequent to the hearing today or tomorrow, they're obviously
18 welcome to do it. They can do it by providing me or their
19 moderator with a copy of the statement.

20 I'd like to now introduce the mayor of the city of
21 Waterbury. I had some trepidation because the time we planned
22 to have the mayor here was before the election. I kept
23 wondering who I was going to be introducing, but I'm pleased
24 to introduce the mayor of the city, Mayor Giordano.

25 Do you want to say hello and extend greetings?

1 MAYOR GIORDANO: Good morning, everyone. When I was
2 talking to the gentleman earlier, he said he saw my face in
3 the news too often the last couple of weeks. He's absolutely
4 right. As a matter of fact, I refuse to watch the news any
5 longer.

6 I'd like to welcome everyone to the city of
7 Waterbury. As you all know, the governor calls our great city
8 the center of the universe, and we're very proud of that
9 title.

10 Here at the Naugatuck Valley Community-Technical
11 College -- which we at the City of Waterbury have an
12 incredible relationship with -- it's a wonderful college, and
13 I hope you enjoy your next two days here. As mayor of the
14 fourth largest city of Connecticut and as an attorney by
15 training, I know the significance of the issues that will be
16 addressed here over the next few days cannot be overstated.

17 Their importance is overarching because they
18 ultimately go to the core of what America is all about: The
19 concept so brilliantly described by Thomas Jefferson in the
20 Declaration of Independence, that everyone has a right to
21 life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness.

22 The four topics of the 1997 Civil Rights Leadership
23 Conference may not have been selected with the Declaration of
24 Independence in mind, but they cannot have been better chosen
25 by Jefferson and the people who helped him draft what is

1 undoubtedly the most influential statement in history
2 pertaining to freedom and self-fulfillment.

3 The four issues that you will be discussing the next
4 two days have to do with educational opportunities,
5 employment, safeguards against police misconduct, and hate
6 crimes. In other words, they are about the essential
7 ingredients of the pursuit of happiness.

8 Realizing that goal, of course, entails good
9 schooling, a good job, fair treatment from police and fellow
10 citizens. Take away one of those rights, and the intent of
11 the Declaration of Independence is subverted.

12 The aim of this conference is to make sure that our
13 civil rights are not trampled on by anybody. Toward that end,
14 you have my undying support. Thank you very much for inviting
15 me this morning. It certainly is a pleasure and a great
16 opportunity, and I hope you enjoy the next two days in
17 Waterbury.

18 THE CHAIRPERSON: Thank you. As I mentioned before,
19 we're here today through the cooperation and courtesy of the
20 Naugatuck Valley Community-Technical College. Unfortunately,
21 the president is unable to be with us.

22 To bring greetings from the university is Dr. Joseph
23 Cistulli, who is dean of the college.

24 DR. CISTULLI: I just want to welcome you to the
25 college. I know that civil rights is something that -- one of

1 the civil rights is that you don't like to be used, but we
2 want you to use us.

3 We want you to use us as a center for all kinds of
4 activities in your daily lives, and we really appreciate your
5 using the institution as much as possible. Please come by
6 again. If there are any other conferences, any other kinds of
7 activities that require you to need a facility, we're totally
8 wired. We have 800 computers on campus. If you need any kind
9 of electronic conferencing or anything like that, we're ready
10 for you around the Internet. Use us. Thank you for coming to
11 us today.

12 THE CHAIRPERSON: Thank you, Dr. Cistulli, and thank
13 you for welcoming us.

14 The first panel that is scheduled to take place is
15 chaired by Attorney George Springer, who has been very active
16 in the area of civil rights, and he will chair the panel on
17 the effects of fair housing on school segregation. He will
18 introduce the members of the panel.

19 I should mention one other thing: For those of you
20 who want copies of the report that's issued, in your program,
21 there is a half sheet of paper that says that if you wish a
22 copy of the report, please fill it out and leave it at the
23 registration desk. Please don't forget to do this if you wish
24 the report. Thank you.

25 MR. SPRINGER: Good morning, ladies and gentlemen.

1 I am going to be moderating the panel this morning that deals
2 primarily with the issue of fair housing. I want to clarify
3 that. The topic matter says: "The effects of fair housing on
4 school segregation."

5 We will talk about that, certainly, as a subject
6 matter; but the principal point that I hope is conveyed to you
7 this afternoon is that in Connecticut, one of the major civil
8 rights issues that has been identified to this body has been a
9 concern about increasing difficulties in the exercise of
10 fair-housing choices for many of Connecticut residents. The
11 committee felt that it was very important that we focus, at
12 least for today in any event, on those issues.

13 With us this morning, we have four individuals, two
14 of which are currently here, and I hope the others will arrive
15 shortly.

16 The two that are not present, I'll introduce them
17 first: Roger Vann, who is the president of the New Haven
18 NAACP, and Denise Viera, who is the director of the
19 Connecticut Fair Housing Center.

20 And now to those who are with us: We have Althea
21 Seaborn from the United States Attorneys' Office, and we have
22 Miguel Matos, who is the vice president of the Bank of Boston
23 in Hartford, Connecticut.

24 What I would like to do is to have each of the
25 panelists perhaps provide us with a very brief opening

1 statement, giving your fields of expertise and experience in
2 this matter; and then we'll proceed with moderated questioning
3 and, hopefully, some give and take on the panel. Subsequent
4 to that, we'll open it up to public discussion.

5 MS. SEABORN: I'm an assistant U.S. Attorney here in
6 the District of Connecticut, which I have held that position
7 for seven years in the capacity -- I handle, among many other
8 cases, housing cases, and I do that as an arm of the
9 Department of Justice.

10 MR. SPRINGER: Can everybody hear her?

11 MS. SEABORN: As I was saying, I've been an
12 assistant U.S. Attorney in the District of Connecticut for
13 seven years. The U.S. Attorneys' office is essentially a part
14 of the Department of Justice. I have handled many cases
15 dealing with civil rights issues in the U.S. Attorneys'
16 office, among them housing cases.

17 The authority for investigation and enforcement of
18 the Fair Housing Act is handled by the Department of Justice
19 along with the Department of Housing and Urban Development.
20 The authority for litigating fair housing cases is handled by
21 the Department of Justice.

22 Because of the proliferation, for lack of a better
23 word, of discrimination cases in the area of housing over the
24 past several years, the Department of Justice has asked the
25 various U.S. attorneys offices throughout the country to

1 assist with the litigation of those types of cases.

2 Just to give you an idea of the cases that come into
3 the office and that sometimes are handled, there are cases
4 that we refer to as "election cases." Those are cases that
5 individuals bring to the Department of Housing and Urban
6 Development, and after they go through administrative
7 proceeding, one of the parties can elect to go into federal
8 court and sue. The U.S. Attorneys' offices primarily handle
9 those cases.

10 There are also cases brought which involve an
11 investigation initiated by the Department of Justice. Those
12 cases are primarily handled by the Department of Justice, with
13 the assistance of the U.S. Attorneys' office.

14 The United States has implemented a fairly proactive
15 enforcement program, and primarily, the lawsuits have involved
16 the pattern of practice of unlawful discrimination or the
17 denial of rights to groups protected by the Fair Housing Act.

18 Our office has been involved in cases in
19 Connecticut. I pretty much have a national perspective on the
20 fair housing issue, so I'll try to keep bringing it back to
21 Connecticut because while we do handle cases in Connecticut,
22 like I say, most of our cases are the election cases that deal
23 with individual denial -- of the denial of rights to
24 individuals; but we have also been involved in cases trying to
25 enforce the Fair Housing Act in particular communities where

1 the communities have refused to implement affordable housing
2 programs in a nondiscriminatory manner. We have been involved
3 in cases in which the communities have attempted to thwart
4 affordable housing goals by zoning problems. So there are a
5 number of ways that we've gotten involved.

6 HUD has pretty much required communities to conduct
7 analyses of different impediments to fair housing, and if
8 those communities do not undertake that effort, as HUD
9 regulations determine, then oftentimes, HUD will contact the
10 Department of Justice in order to enforce the laws and in
11 order to bring about some type of result for favorable fair
12 housing.

13 One of the areas that the Department of Justice has
14 become extremely interested in in the '90s has been lending
15 discrimination by financial institutions. Several years ago,
16 the banking industry and the federal government recognized
17 that there were definite patterns of racial disparity in
18 mortgage lending.

19 Despite the fact that it's been almost 30 years
20 since the Fair Housing Act has been passed and the commitment
21 was made to ensure that no one was denied housing because of
22 race, color, or national origin, black and Hispanic
23 individuals are still discriminated against in obtaining
24 housing and mortgage loans.

25 Just by way of background, in 1991, a HUD study

1 estimated that 59 percent of black and 56 percent of Hispanic
2 home buyers experienced some form of discrimination with
3 realtors. That discrimination would take the form of
4 providing assistance and information on the loan application
5 process. In 1995, the Department of Justice statistics
6 indicated that blacks were denied mortgage loans twice as
7 often as whites.

8 It is without question that in order for individuals
9 to reach their full potential and provide a better life for
10 their children, they need decent, safe, affordable housing,
11 and it must be made accessible to them.

12 One need only examine the impact of a case that came
13 out of Chicago, actually, Gautreaux versus Chicago Housing
14 Authority, in which a lawsuit was brought and the Department
15 of Justice was involved. Ultimately, the Court ordered a
16 housing program that resulted in the move of public-housing
17 residents into the suburban community occupied by primarily
18 white residents.

19 What that case has shown is that the children who
20 were moved from the public housing project and who went into
21 the suburban schools, the studies have shown that those
22 children have, basically, prospered in the academic
23 environment that was provided to them, once they moved out of
24 the inner-city public housing projects and got into a suburban
25 community.

1 As a result, in the early '90s, the Department of
2 Justice intensified its efforts to root out lending bias. The
3 focus was not to challenge the standards by which the industry
4 judged and approved loans, but to make sure that the industry
5 applied an even hand when it did evaluate applications for all
6 individuals.

7 As an example of how the Department of Justice has
8 involved itself in lending bias cases, earlier this year, it
9 determined that -- actually, it got a complaint from the
10 office of Thrift Savings and determined that Albank Mortgage
11 Company had been, essentially, red lining.

12 Albank is actually a New York institution; however,
13 it has made different lending decisions that affect
14 Connecticut. What Albank did was it determined and actually
15 issued written directions to its various offices not to issue
16 loans, to not accept applications from individuals who reside
17 in certain communities, and those communities were
18 predominantly black and Hispanic.

19 The Department of Justice instituted an
20 investigation and concluded that there was a pattern of
21 practice of discrimination and did not ultimately file the
22 lawsuit, but resolved the case by form of a consent decree.
23 That occurred just a couple of months ago, and what they were
24 successful in doing was obtaining, for individuals in these
25 affected areas, a \$55 million loan package, in a sense, which

1 would enable individuals who had been previously precluded
2 from applying for mortgage loans, they are now able to apply.

3 The Albank organization had agreed to go into the
4 communities and reach out to them, change their advertising;
5 and all of this resulted because the Department of Justice
6 went in and started evaluating what the mortgage company had
7 been doing.

8 That particular case involved the communities of
9 Norwalk, Stamford, New Haven, Waterbury, and New Britain. The
10 policy of Albank was not to lend to those areas because Albank
11 had determined that they were predominantly -- or had a large
12 minority population, and they did not have an interest in
13 providing loans to those particular communities.

14 The Department of Justice lawsuits generally result
15 in remedies that provide compensatory damages to individuals.
16 It can also result in punitive damages for individuals if an
17 evil motive is established or there was a reckless
18 indifference to the type of harm that was being caused.

19 In the pattern of practice cases, they can also
20 obtain civil penalties of up to \$55,000 per defendant for the
21 first violation of the Fair Housing Act.

22 The Department of Justice has had a lot of recent
23 success with lending-type cases, and I think that part of the
24 reason is because the department is taking a more proactive
25 approach. They are going into banks and examining data. They

1 are not waiting for complaints to be brought because,
2 typically, the way that the department became aware of what
3 was going on was by waiting for individuals to complain and
4 then seeing that there were a number of complaints about an
5 institution.

6 They are now actually going in and reviewing the
7 Home Mortgage Disclosure Act data that banks are required to
8 maintain, and in the process, if they see some type of
9 pattern, they look a little further, and if need be, they
10 initiate an investigation.

11 So typically, the problem that historically there
12 had been in terms of finding out about cases in order to bring
13 them, that has kind of been dealt with a lot in the department
14 by their proactive approach. I think that over the past few
15 years, although there's a lot of work to be done, the
16 department has been successful in at least getting the word
17 out that lending bias will not be tolerated, that they will
18 continue to pursue it. By bringing the U.S. Attorneys'
19 offices into the process and bringing more resources, I think
20 that they will be more successful.

21 MR. SPRINGER: Thank you, Althea.

22 Sort of a natural segue into Miguel.

23 MR. MATOS: Good morning. I got beat up already, so
24 I don't know what to say.

25 I work for Bank of Boston First Community Bank. We

1 are headquartered in Hartford, Connecticut. First Community
2 Bank is a division of Bank of Boston, and our specialty and
3 mission is to work in inner-city communities in New England.

4 What we do -- and we pride ourselves in doing -- is
5 working in communities that have high concentrations of what
6 we call low- and moderate-income individuals, that represent
7 the full spectrum of the minorities that reside in our
8 cities.

9 In terms of giving you a general overview of what
10 banks are doing to prevent that Althea comes and knocks on our
11 door is, basically, putting together more liberal guidelines
12 to be able to extend, in the case of residential mortgages,
13 those guidelines and underwriting criteria to individuals who,
14 before, were not able to qualify for mortgages.

15 The second thing that banks are doing is that they
16 are complying with the New Community Reinvestment Act. If you
17 recall in the early '70s, the federal government passed the
18 Community Reinvestment Act, and that placed some pretty clear
19 parameters on what banks had to do to reinvest and to make
20 sure that the dollars they were taking away from a community,
21 they were putting back into it.

22 About a year or so ago, Congress amended the
23 Community Reinvestment Act, and it has some sharper teeth, as
24 we say, in that law that forces banks to, basically, lend
25 money in communities where, before, for whatever reasons,

1 banks were hesitant to lend, or the population in those
2 communities did not meet the lending criteria that the banks
3 were looking for.

4 Red lining in terms of my company is a word that we
5 never believed in. Bank of Boston has, for the past number of
6 years, received an outstanding rating from the federal
7 regulators as it relates to community reinvestment and
8 mortgage lending in New England: Rhode Island, Massachusetts
9 and Connecticut. So we pride ourselves in doing our best and
10 really trying to make those dollars available to those
11 communities.

12 I will leave it at that, and then, as we go, we can
13 get a little more into it; but that's basically what I'm going
14 to try to cover today.

15 MR. SPRINGER: Thank you, Miguel. Since you
16 finished last, I'm going to start with you first. There are
17 basically two questions I'd like you to respond to for the
18 benefit for the audience, and Althea, I'd like to get your
19 comments as well: When someone is seeking a residential
20 mortgage, they walk into a bank and have to fill out a loan
21 application. There is a underwriting process that is
22 typically applied in those situations to determine whether or
23 not somebody is eligible for a loan approval.

24 In addition to that, banks, as I understand you --
25 and you correct me; you're the expert -- choose to lend in

1 certain areas. Bank of Boston may locate in Connecticut, or
2 they can locate in Arkansas; and even in Connecticut, they can
3 have an office in Hartford or Granby. There's a variety of
4 locations and geographic areas where a bank may be willing to
5 commit its lending resources to.

6 The potential for discrimination, as Althea outlined
7 with reference to the Albank situation, certainly exists in
8 terms of geographic location. The potential for
9 discrimination exists in terms of the actual underwriting
10 process.

11 Having said all that by way of background, my
12 question to you, Miguel, is: What is it that your bank has
13 done and what is it that the financial institutions, in
14 general, have done to ensure that underwriting criteria are
15 fairly applied to people seeking residential mortgages?

16 MR. MATOS: The first thing we've done, which I
17 think is pretty critical, is open branches where they no
18 longer existed. I'll give you one example: In West Roxbury
19 in Boston, there had not been a branch for the last 40 years.
20 First Community Bank went into Roxbury and opened a branch.

21 Sixty percent of the staff of that branch in West
22 Roxbury is multilingual. About 65 percent of our staff in
23 First Community Bank represents one minority group or another,
24 and we pride ourselves in speaking about 16 different
25 languages. That's the first thing that the banks have done.

1 We cannot choose where we lend. We cannot
2 specifically do one geographic location or another; however,
3 what the banks have done is they've liberalized the
4 underwriting criteria for residential mortgages. For example,
5 we have a partnership with a local nonprofit in Hartford by
6 the name of HART, and we pledge to that nonprofit, annually,
7 \$5 million.

8 Every dollar is lent to use them as our outreach arm
9 into the community, through local schools and other
10 organizations, to make mortgage lending available to people.
11 The way that works is that higher ratios are established to
12 allow between the income and the amount of debt that
13 individuals can have.

14 Doing residential lending is very difficult. I'm
15 not placing blame on one party or another, but I'll give you
16 one example. If I would go into Waterbury right now into one
17 of our low/moderate income neighborhoods -- and this is a
18 national trend -- and I would go and take 100 loan mortgage
19 applications, I would be lucky -- sad, but lucky -- if ten
20 people, even with the liberal underwriting criteria, would
21 qualify.

22 The reason for that, from my perspective -- and I'm
23 talking a little bit personally here also -- is that society
24 has placed certain pressures on people to keep certain
25 standards of living that, unfortunately, put them in debt.

1 The so-and-so finance companies out there, the so-and-so
2 mortgage broker companies out there, the
3 so-and-so -- this is a name of a company I can't say --
4 rent-a-something company really end up punishing our
5 population because when you pull their credit report, they end
6 up having extremely high levels of consumer debt.

7 Not housing debt, because most of them are tenants;
8 but when you look at the percentage of what they spend of
9 their take-home pay on those types of items -- which, a lot of
10 them are wants and not needs -- puts them in a position where
11 they aren't, unfortunately, eligible for a mortgage.

12 So what do we do, then? Now I have ten people out
13 of a hundred who potentially qualify, but I have 90 people
14 that have not. What we have done, through partnerships with
15 local organizations, is establish a credit-counseling process
16 where we bring people in and we kind of put the carrot at the
17 end of the stick and say, you know, There are ways that you
18 may be able to qualify for this mortgage, but we have to work
19 with each one of those creditors who is giving credit to you,
20 to find ways to either pay off that credit or renegotiate that
21 credit so that from the point of view of the number of dollars
22 you take home, you will be able to qualify for a mortgage.

23 That's basically what residential lenders are doing
24 is, number one, increasing the number of people who are
25 multilingual, who represent all different minorities;

1 establishing partnerships with local organizations who can
2 help with outreach; and establishing educational programs.

3 For example, in Hartford, the program that we have
4 with HART, to help people get out from that consumer-debt
5 issue, is 18 months' long. Some people can go through it a
6 little quicker than others, because not everyone's
7 consumer-debt issue is the same.

8 It's not a matter of working with those ten people
9 who qualified and forgetting about the other 90, but having
10 some ethical and moral responsibility on continuing to work
11 with that other group that was not able to qualify.

12 MR. SPRINGER: Althea, I'd like you to respond, and
13 when you do, one issue that I would like you to address is
14 that the bank has a set of criteria that it utilizes in the
15 underwriting process. There is a conventional criteria, and
16 then you utilize a more liberal underwriting criteria in those
17 areas where you've identified the community needs that.

18 My question, I guess, to Althea -- and what I'd like
19 you to address in response to Miguel's comments -- is: Is
20 that discrimination, where criteria, which is neutral on its
21 face, is applied, but yet it has a disparate effect?

22 MS. SEABORN: First, if I may, I'd like to initially
23 respond to what Miguel said, because what he pretty much
24 discussed deals with marginal applicants; and you have to keep
25 in mind that the cases that the department has seen are

1 marginal applicants as well as very well-qualified
2 applicants.

3 With regard to the marginal applicants, the remedies
4 that Miguel talked about are oftentimes the ones that are
5 included in consent decrees that the department enters into.
6 What we tend to look for or to demand to resolve cases is that
7 the bank do a little more in that community that had been
8 excluded, or for those groups who had been denied access to
9 credit in the past.

10 We also look for educational programs and
11 advertising programs that are targeted for those minority
12 groups or excluded areas. We also look for the loan officers
13 to educate the public; the community that may not have the
14 information that others have about how to clean up their
15 credit reports.

16 We also look for the banks to also change their own
17 hiring practices, because for the other group of individuals
18 who aren't marginal, we believe that the hiring practices of
19 the financial institution sometimes influences the decisions
20 that are being made and the actions that are taken on the part
21 of the financial officer involved in a particular case,
22 whether or not that financial officer will suggest to an
23 applicant what he needs to do to make his application
24 acceptable, because they sometimes do that for other
25 individuals.

1 I guess that brings me to the question that was
2 actually put to me, and that is: Is it discriminatory to then
3 turn around and liberalize the lending criteria? In a consent
4 decree, I would say not, because you're rectifying something
5 that has already occurred.

6 If it's in general, I think the department's
7 position would be it could be discriminatory because what
8 we're doing is not trying to, as I said, not trying to dictate
9 to the financial institutions what standards they should be
10 using. We're just saying whatever standard you use, use them
11 across the board. Go into disadvantaged communities and offer
12 standards that are less stringent than you would in the white
13 community. I think the department would have a problem with
14 that and would have to intervene in that situation as well.

15 MR. SPRINGER: The other part of that question,
16 Althea, was to the extent to which underwriting criteria are
17 utilized at all, which they are, obviously, to the extent to
18 which the number of people who are applying for residential
19 mortgages; my question was really more directed to the impact
20 that that has on people who are seeking the mortgages
21 themselves.

22 In your experience, have there been instances where
23 you've seen a larger degree of people denied mortgages because
24 they didn't meet the underlying criteria that was employed by
25 the underwriter and it disproportionately affected people in

1 the minority population? If that is the case, is that
2 actionable?

3 MS. SEABORN: I guess I should point out you have
4 the intentional discrimination, you have the disparate impact,
5 and you have the disparate treatment. Initially, I was
6 talking about the disparate treatment.

7 With regard to the underwriting criteria that has
8 the disparate impact on a certain group, that definitely
9 happens. We see that all the time, and it definitely has
10 impacted the black and Hispanic community in terms of
11 obtaining loans. That is actionable, and the department has
12 been involved in cases like that.

13 What we tend to do in those cases is try to -- I
14 mean, first, let me back up. What we've identified as the
15 problem with the institution in those situations, where the
16 underwriting standards have a disproportionate impact, is to
17 have them do proactive things that they tend to do with the
18 other nonminority applicants, such as telling the individuals
19 how to clean up their credit, or other documentation that they
20 might need to make a marginal application acceptable, helping
21 them to seek out cosigners.

22 In those situations, we try to get the banks or the
23 financial institutions to take more steps. The department
24 will file suit in the disparate impact cases, and has.
25 They're a little more difficult because you rely very heavily

1 on statistics, and sometimes, if you don't have individuals
2 who are complaining and you're relying just on documentation,
3 you don't know the extent to which individuals who don't meet
4 the criteria were told that verbally, and paperwork was not --
5 there's no paper trail.

6 Laws that are in effect now kind of help that
7 process. The regulations that were implemented help to create
8 a paper trail so that we can gather information. In disparate
9 impact cases, you rely very heavily on statistics. Sometimes
10 statistics are your only avenue for resolving. I don't know
11 if I answered it.

12 MR. SPRINGER: Yes, you did. Thank you, Althea.

13 We have been joined by Denise Viera, who is the
14 director of the Fair Housing Center. As I often do in these
15 situations, I'm going to put Denise on the spot. We had asked
16 the panelists to give, basically, a brief introduction about
17 themselves and about their respective organizations and what
18 they do and, basically, to comment briefly on the subject
19 matters that we'll be discussing today.

20 At the conclusion of your presentation, what I'd
21 like you to do, consistent with what I've asked Althea and
22 Miguel to do, is respond to this: Just what I've heard this
23 morning, there seems to be a tension between the desire of the
24 financial institution to make loans, where it's not going to
25 suffer undue losses, and at the same time, to provide loans on

1 a nondiscriminatory fashion. There may be somewhat of a
2 collision, particularly in cases where there is disparate
3 impact. If you could address that.

4 MS. VIERA: Well, that will be easy.

5 MR. SPRINGER: In ten seconds or less.

6 MS. VIERA: Even easier; no problem.

7 Hi. If you don't mind, I'm going to stand up
8 because I find that when I speak, I sometimes put myself to
9 sleep. This way, at least one person in the room will be
10 awake or, at least, if I fall asleep, I'll hit my head on the
11 mike.

12 Good morning. I really apologize for being late
13 this morning. I had one of those really severe crises that
14 can only be caused by preadolescent angst. My son was having
15 a little difficulty that really needed to be dealt with, so
16 I'm really very sorry that I was late and I'm very happy to
17 join you.

18 As George mentioned, my name is Denise Viera, and I
19 am the director of the Connecticut Fair Housing Center, which
20 is a statewide organization which assists people who feel that
21 they have been victims of housing discrimination.

22 We have offices -- our main office is in Hartford,
23 and we also have a satellite office in New Haven, although we
24 work all over the state.

25 Our primary focus, as I said, was assisting

1 individuals who feel that somehow or another, they have
2 questions, concerns about fair housing. In the past year,
3 we've received calls from over 200 people who -- a few were a
4 little confused and thought that fair housing meant that when
5 somebody was mean to them and wasn't fair, that they should
6 call us and we should be able to help them; but the vast
7 majority of which really were, what we in this room would all
8 recognize as fair housing complaints.

9 We also provide training and assistance to
10 organizations, landlord groups. We do trainings for real
11 estate agents whom, we know, in the state, real estate agents
12 are required to take, as part of their regular licensing, at
13 least three hours in fair housing training; and that's
14 something we provide with a few different real estate boards.

15 We work with all kinds of organizations that are
16 concerned about fair housing issues. We've helped do
17 affirmative marketing plans for development organizations. We
18 are also right now working with the State of Connecticut on
19 preparing its analysis of impediments for fair housing
20 throughout the state.

21 We really do look at fair housing issues from a lot
22 of different angles, both assisting individuals, but also from
23 a programmatic and policy kind of level as well. Some of the
24 questions that are before us today are obviously very relevant
25 to the kind of work that we spend all day doing.

1 It is very frustrating, the number of individuals
2 who do call us about fair housing issues. Right now, the
3 number one type of complaint that we get -- because in
4 addition to dealing with federally protected classifications,
5 we also deal with all the state classifications -- has to do
6 with people's source of income, which is protected in the
7 state of Connecticut. Though, frankly, most of those stories
8 end up playing out to be a proxy for some kind of racial or
9 ethnic discrimination.

10 That's not to say that we never have any white
11 individuals who will call us and say, This place has a blanket
12 policy, for example, of not accepting Section 8. Very often
13 we find that that is really the new code in this state for the
14 way of making sure that people don't have access to moving
15 outside of cities.

16 With many of the changes in federal governmental
17 policy -- we all know about the Hope VI programs that have
18 recently been funded in Stamford, things that are happening in
19 Hartford and Charter Oak Terrace and Stowe Village, things
20 that are also happening in New Haven and Waterbury; similar
21 kinds of programs that many people are -- families are being
22 moved from project-based public housing assistance to
23 resident-based public housing assistance and things like the
24 Section 8 program.

25 And yet, when our former president Richard Nixon, in

1 his administration said the Section 8 program is going to be
2 this wonderful thing that is going to allow people real
3 choices, and they're going to be able to take this subsidy and
4 move where they want to move, that just hasn't happened.

5 Even in a state like Connecticut -- which is an
6 oddity in this country, where that assistance is protected as
7 a classification, when you can say, The fact that I receive
8 Section 8 is not a reason that you can reject me, that is
9 still the major complaint that we are receiving in our
10 office.

11 If you talk about some of the other issues that are
12 around the table, things like where this bumps up against
13 school desegregation issues. For example, if you don't have
14 access to move, even when you have money, then we're really
15 not going to be able to address that problem. That's
16 potentially a program that allows people real choice, being
17 able to move into the communities that they want, although
18 there are a whole set of other little issues with the program
19 I could talk about. Even as it stands, that's become a very
20 serious problem.

21 Another -- almost tied -- the next two areas where
22 we receive the majority of complaints are racial
23 discrimination, which we, frankly, in this state, it's sort of
24 race/ethnicity because it's often -- it's racial
25 discrimination. We also hear a lot of complaints from

1 Hispanics where it's unclear whether it may be their color or
2 their ethnicity that's at play, or both. In our office,
3 although, if it's very clear, you know, we track that, it
4 actually ends up for us, almost being an identical category
5 of: "Well, we don't want blacks; we don't want Puerto
6 Ricans." It's just sort of a phrase that flows out. It's the
7 same thing, race and ethnicity.

8 The other one that's about on the same level as that
9 is discrimination against families with children. Not
10 surprisingly, the typical person who calls us falls into all
11 of those categories, and also women, but that tends to not be
12 the basis of the discrimination.

13 The typical person who is calling us is a single
14 parent, a woman with children, African-American or Latina,
15 often with a subsidy source. It's quite a challenge to figure
16 out what exactly is going on here. What's the basis of this
17 discrimination?

18 Our office also does testing, in trying to hold one
19 of those variables constant and figure out what exactly was
20 going on here. It can be a bit of a challenge, but that is --
21 that's the typical profile, but it's not the only one. Part
22 of why I know that all of these different types of
23 discrimination go on is that there are enough instances where
24 it is just one of these factors, but it is compounded.

25 I think we need to be really clear to say, Here is a

1 place that, for example, may accept Section 8, may not accept
2 Section 8 from someone who is black or Hispanic; that this is
3 a place where we allow children, may not allow children if the
4 parent happens to be on subsidy; that this is a place where we
5 have plenty of blacks and Hispanics, we just don't have any
6 who have kids.

7 Those things really do crosscut, and it makes it
8 very difficult to talk about what may be going on because when
9 you look at the list of who lives in a particular community or
10 in a particular development, when you hold each one of those
11 classifications constant, it looks like there's no problem.
12 It's just when you have multiple characteristics that it is a
13 very serious problem and people really are locked out of the
14 market.

15 Much of the discrimination -- you know, in this
16 room, I think our tendency would be to say discrimination has
17 gotten really subtle. We know, on a certain level, that
18 that's true. We also need to not delude ourselves into
19 believing that that is always true. Much discrimination is
20 still very blatant.

21 We receive many complaints in our office, where
22 someone says, You know, I called on the phone and everything
23 was fine; then I went to apply for the apartment and suddenly
24 it was unavailable, cousins moving in next week. Oh, one
25 woman who called a few weeks ago, which is interesting:

1 Everything is fine; she goes in to see the apartment. I'm
2 real excited about this, I'm on my best behavior, best
3 clothes. She's an African-American.

4 There's a group of white individuals sitting on the
5 porch. She had an appointment. She walks up: "Hi, I'm here
6 to see Mr. Y. I'm here to see the apartment." All these
7 people sitting on the porch looked around and were, like,
8 "Just a moment."

9 They go inside. There's a little -- goes on for a
10 minute. One person comes back out and says, He's not here; I
11 don't know why you're here. "Oh, but I had an appointment
12 with him; maybe he's running late. I'll just wait a minute."

13 "No, no, he won't be back."

14 Then we send testers out. The apartment is
15 available, made an appointment, no problem, shows up for the
16 apartment; black tester goes out, the same kind of thing goes
17 on: "Oh, I'm sorry, it's just not available to you."

18 It's the same kind of stuff that we have been seeing
19 for years: We still see advertisements in papers that say "no
20 kids," "no Section 8," very blatant. I mean, it just doesn't
21 get more blatant than that.

22 We've brought some of these cases before, and I've
23 had both the landlord and the newspapers say to me, "Oh, but
24 they had good reasons." We don't buy that when somebody goes
25 to rob a liquor store: "Oh, but he had good reason for

1 robbing the liquor store; he was really thirsty. You don't
2 understand, this was a good reason."

3 But for some reason, when we're dealing with
4 discrimination, there seem to be good reasons for
5 discriminating people, particularly kids. Well, if there was
6 a really good reason, it would be covered by one of the
7 exemptions. If you're not covered by one of the exemptions,
8 let me suggest to you it's not a good reason; and if you are
9 covered by one of the exemptions, I might argue that that
10 might not be a good reason, but it's an acceptable reason.
11 These are places that are covered.

12 So it does still go on somewhat blatantly. Yes,
13 there's no question that there are new and more subtle ways of
14 discriminating as well, and we run into those.

15 Because I know we want to get into some discussion,
16 I'm going to use that as sort of a segue into saying, Hi,
17 Miguel, how are you? Let's talk about banking for a second,
18 and neutral criteria.

19 Whether you're driving in here on 84 and you're
20 looking at some of the billboards that some of the banks have
21 up, or you're getting things in the mail, or you're just
22 sitting down to dinner and that phone rings: Hi, my name is
23 somebody you don't know, and I'm here to interrupt your dinner
24 to see if you want to buy a new product, whether that's phone
25 service or financial service.

1 Banks are being more aggressive than they have been
2 about marketing. It's very competitive, and the banks are
3 really trying to push a lot of different kinds of financial
4 services which, frankly, a few years ago they couldn't sell --
5 which is part of why they weren't pushing them, because it
6 wasn't allowed -- now they are.

7 There are a lot of other kinds of firms that are
8 kind of hot on their heels, whether those are insurance
9 companies or mortgage companies, that they don't own. There's
10 a whole host of other types of institutions that can sell
11 financial services that previously couldn't. So they're being
12 very aggressive.

13 That has meant in areas like consumer credit, that
14 you can be approved or not approved for credit pretty
15 quickly. Now, we can do this over the phone in a matter of
16 minutes. You're walking through the mall, and they're just
17 handing you credit cards. They send them to you in the mail.
18 "Just sign here, and you've got credit."

19 Mortgaging is one of the few places where it still
20 seems to be -- other than, I would argue, small business
21 lending, where it seems to be very laborious, lots of
22 paperwork, lots of meetings still, ministeps -- the banks will
23 argue, and I think somewhat rightly, that this has very little
24 to do with them and a whole lot to do with the secondary
25 market.

1 We have to be able to make sure this is a conforming
2 loan. If it doesn't conform, then we're not going to be able
3 to sell it. You know we only want to hold this loan for about
4 five minutes, if that much. If we could hold it for 30
5 seconds, so much the better because we got our servicing fee
6 off this thing. Let Fannie Mae deal with it. That's okay;
7 that's how Fannie Mae gets to be the largest financial
8 institution in the country, and so they're happy too. We all
9 get mortgages, and so we're all happy. That's the system and
10 isn't that wonderful, but it takes a little longer.

11 So one of the major moves in the mortgage markets
12 these days is to say, What we should be doing is credit
13 scoring. We use this in other arenas. By credit scoring,
14 that means that we're going to have this list that we're going
15 to be able to tick off much more quickly, and we won't have to
16 worry about these discrimination issues because it will all be
17 very objective.

18 We'll give you this number of points if you pay in
19 this kind of time frame, and if you don't pay, you get this
20 number of points or you lose this number of points. If you'd
21 had credit for this long -- it's just a whole scoring system.
22 There's a line at which you get this number of points, you get
23 in; and if you don't have that number of points, you get out.

24 That's all really fair, right? That's what we
25 want. We want this color-blind, completely blind kind of

1 system that's completely objective. But that then really gets
2 to what George's question was: Is that discriminatory?

3 Is it discriminatory to look at what kind of credit
4 history do you even have when there are many people who are in
5 this country whose backgrounds and cultures are such that, "We
6 don't want to deal with credit at all, even though it's being
7 pushed on us very much by our rent people"? Yes, it's being
8 pushed on you. "We just always pay cash because that's the
9 way it's supposed to be done. We don't trust banking systems,
10 so we pay in cash." All these people who don't have a credit
11 history, the credit-scoring system is going to really hurt
12 them.

13 Then you have people who have been, whether it's
14 enticed or really forced by circumstance into the only way
15 that I can get things, that -- you know, whether you say
16 they're necessities or luxuries; in some cases, they clearly
17 are luxuries; in some cases, it may look a little more like a
18 necessity.

19 In this country, you can always sort of argue that.
20 Well, did you have to have a bed? Did you have to have this
21 bed? There are a number of things that we might put in the
22 home and say, How do you really function in this world, in
23 this society, for example, without a telephone? It's very
24 difficult, and there are people who do it and have to do it,
25 but it's very difficult.

1 So now we'll talk about people who have been enticed
2 by that. They've been enticed by the utility companies to
3 have heat. They can't afford it. And we can argue, was it a
4 necessity or not? Did you really have to have a telephone?
5 Did you have to have electricity? Did you have to have heat?

6 But you couldn't pay for it for a whole host of
7 reasons, not the least of which is a lot of the programs that
8 are supposed to assist people and make sure that they can at
9 least have some subsistence level of living, there isn't
10 enough money to do that. God forbid it's month 22, and you're
11 21 months of assistance in this state have run out.

12 Now you have serious credit problems, some of which
13 may come from places that actually report, some of which may
14 be with nontraditional places. But as we go to these kinds of
15 credit scoring, if your credit problem was with the phone
16 company or the gas company, nothing may have been reported,
17 good or bad, because they don't traditionally go to
18 the -- the old TRW, when TRW decided that they were going to
19 do that thing that they don't allow anybody else to do, which
20 is change your name and not be followed.

21 So they changed their name, and they're now somebody
22 else. It's true, right? They check out every last alias you
23 ever had. I just thought it was very funny they were changing
24 their name. Maybe they don't want their credit history to
25 follow them.

1 Anyway, a lot of places don't report to the credit
2 bureaus; places like the phone company typically wouldn't do
3 that. So it wouldn't even show up on a credit record. If you
4 have good credit because you've always paid things like that
5 on time, you have no credit.

6 If you can convince the bank to look at things that
7 are nontraditional, that's wonderful, except if you go to
8 credit scoring, because that doesn't show up in most of those
9 credit-scoring systems.

10 Now you've got to decide, are we going to have a
11 credit system that's supposedly objective, but by its
12 definition, is going to end up cutting out the kinds of credit
13 that underserved populations tend to have, if they have good
14 credit?

15 They tend to not overextend themselves on things
16 that are going to show up on a credit report; and they've got
17 a great history of paying their phone bills, paying their
18 landlord, paying their utility bills. That doesn't show up,
19 so they've got no credit. So the credit-scoring system hurts
20 them, and they end up not being able to get that mortgage. So
21 it is discriminatory? I said, No problem. Yeah, absolutely,
22 it's discriminatory.

23 If you want to get to your disparate impact, that's
24 who is going to be impacted by that. So there's been a whole
25 move of the same type, who would argue we need to not have all

1 this subjectivity in mortgage lending. Me, wearing that hat,
2 I say you shouldn't be so subjective. You really have to be
3 color-blind about the way you look at this thing.

4 I say, Okay, credit scoring, you can't do credit
5 scoring. If you do that, you're not going to be looking at
6 all these things. You need to take the whole person into
7 account. So the bank says, I can't believe this. What do
8 these people want from me?

9 We want you to apply the kind of criteria that
10 you've always applied in other situations, which, yes, it does
11 take a little bit longer, but you have always sat down with
12 people and said to them, This is the kind of letter that I
13 need that's going to explain away why you got behind with this
14 bill, or what's changed in your circumstances, or why, if you
15 were working multiple positions, we can assume that these are
16 going to continue, and other kinds of -- or, Don't apply now;
17 wait a couple months until your car loan is paid off or almost
18 paid off and it becomes short-term debt because short-term
19 debt is looked at differently than long-term debt.

20 How many lending officers tell you that? That's
21 exactly the way you can look at a bill now, that you may not
22 have later. Why don't we apply at just this moment, when your
23 picture is going to be the best it could be, as opposed to six
24 months earlier or later? That additional income isn't always
25 a good thing particularly if we're trying to get you into

1 particular programs. We don't want you to show higher
2 income. We want you to be in just this window, where your
3 ratios are just what we need them to be.

4 Don't go out and get that other job, because now
5 you're no longer eligible for this program and the
6 underwriting criteria is going to be more difficult. Those
7 are conversations that a good banking officer is having with
8 customers, as anyone who is trying to sell any product is
9 having with someone. You are trying to find the right product
10 for that person.

11 I think as long as you are telling everybody who
12 comes in, This is the array of services and programs we have,
13 that's fine. In private banking, that's always been done.
14 You never go into your private banker and say, What's the
15 standard? You say, How many different standards are there and
16 what's the best standard for me?

17 Fannie Mae definitely drives the mortgage market.
18 Freddie Mac definitely drives the mortgage. The secondary
19 market is the way everything is done. Nobody wants to hold
20 stuff in their pocket; they want to sell it. But Fannie Mae
21 doesn't have just one product either. All the banks know
22 that.

23 Miguel, I'm really not picking on you. So that's --

24 MR. SPRINGER: Pardon me.

25 MS. VIERA: I'm being cut off?

1 MR. SPRINGER: Yes. And the reason is what I want
2 you to do is answer this question a little bit more directly.
3 I'm going to try to put you on the hot spot as much as I can.
4 You had mentioned earlier on the one hand, the bank is
5 criticized for utilizing traditional criteria which may
6 involve a certain element of subjectivity in the underwriting
7 process; on the other hand, they say, Okay, we'll remove that
8 and we'll go to a more objective format, using questions that
9 can be checked off, that can have, potentially, a disparate
10 impact.

11 What do you suggest as a mechanism for resolving
12 that kind of inherent tension, which I suspect is going to
13 exist? Miguel had mentioned that, for example, at his bank,
14 they hire -- or, at least, attempt to try to recruit -- more
15 people of color in a way to sensitize, I assume, those who are
16 directly involved in mortgage-lending practices.

17 What would you suggest as a way to remedy the
18 situation, where banks are not being put into this sort of
19 Hobson's choice, at the same time that we are ensuring,
20 through civil rights enforcement, that everyone has an equal
21 opportunity to secure a residential mortgage loan?

22 MS. VIERA: I think there's four things that you
23 do: First of all, I think when you -- well, there's four
24 specific things that you do, in this context. I think you
25 start out being very objective. You have criteria, and you

1 consistently apply those criteria, so you may have something
2 like a credit-scoring system. You plug everybody in that
3 system and see what happens, so that you have some sense of
4 where you are. That's important, and it gives you some
5 baseline from which you're working. So first of all, you're
6 objective.

7 Then what I think you do is you take that
8 objectivity and you figure out what is going on with this
9 individual. You say, Well, if no credit comes up, we need to
10 say, Do you have some other things that you could show me?
11 and you give the option of providing some nontraditional
12 augmentation to that file. You do that for everyone, not just
13 because you live in a particular neighborhood, your skin is a
14 certain color, you have a certain number of children.

15 You say, Here is what came up, and before we reject
16 you, give us some information. Then the person may still end
17 up being rejected. I know a lot of banks are moving to this:
18 They have second-look committees, and that allows you to not
19 just have that one individual who looks at it and says, I
20 don't like it because even your nontraditional information
21 just offends me, which happens.

22 It's not what I'm familiar with, so the fact that
23 you're in some collective that -- and they're called different
24 things -- you're in some kind of collective, where you put
25 money into this thing and when you need money, it sort of

1 rotates around and you get the money now. We're going to help
2 so and so put some money into a business, but we're all going
3 to continue to pay; and a couple years later, somebody else is
4 getting a car, somebody else is getting down-payment
5 assistance for a house.

6 This is what we do. Our family shares money this
7 way, our community shares money this way; but as a loan
8 officer, as an underwriter, that's weird to me, so I can't
9 count that.

10 Well, second-look committees allow a different set
11 of folks with a different set of individual values to look at
12 that and say, How consistently has this person done that and
13 is this something that we can collectively look at?

14 Second-look committees are really important.

15 Hiring is incredibly important. If you don't have
16 people in the bank who bring these different experiences to
17 the table, you're going to have a second-look committee with
18 the same folks going again, I still feel uncomfortable with
19 this. If you don't genuflect the way that I do, then you
20 don't get to get the loan. Hiring is very, very important.

21 And then I don't think hiring is just enough,
22 because we all know that you can look at a lot of different
23 ways and you can come from a whole lot of different places,
24 and you can end up in the same place. So assuming because I
25 have people with this last name or that former address or this

1 skin color is going to fix it, doesn't necessarily fix it.

2 This may not be 100 percent true. You go to Harvard
3 and get your MBA, and you went to Harvard and got your MBA.
4 You're bringing that to the table. It's not to say you have
5 no different experience, but you're bringing that to the
6 table.

7 So I think you need to look at, in addition to just
8 hiring, you need to look at training. Part of that training
9 needs to be -- as important as the objective stuff is the
10 subjective stuff.

11 The fourth thing is that from the top floors of the
12 bank, it needs to be made clear that people's heads aren't
13 going to roll because they do this. I don't think that's
14 always clear. I think it's clear on certain days, it's clear
15 on certain forms, it's clear with certain programs. So you
16 get these nontraditional criteria that are just as rigid as
17 the traditional criteria, and you're still trying to jam
18 people in the box.

19 You have to have some kind of criteria, but it needs
20 to be clear what the flexibility is and what it isn't. What
21 are my parameters, whether I'm the loan officer or an
22 underwriter, what is the arena in which I can do things and I
23 can't do things? If you have second-look committees,
24 providing some of that flexibility is okay; but that
25 second-look committee has to be in place, where you can really

1 say, We've made exceptions that, at least, feel real similar
2 to this, so we can do this again.

3 And you've got the fact that because it's a
4 committee, not just one person, you've got a collective that's
5 saying, We really think this would be an okay change from our
6 standard criteria, and some documentation of that, and not one
7 person who feels like they're kind of hanging out there.

8 From talking to loan officers and underwriters about
9 this stuff, that's, I think, their big stickler. They say, I
10 might have been willing to do this; I really like this
11 person. I did home visits with them. I felt like they were
12 really committed to this. If there was one bill they were
13 going to pay, this is it.

14 Frankly, with lower-income people, that tends to be
15 the case. If there's one thing that they are paying, it's
16 their mortgage. Everything else, creditors are -- but their
17 mortgage, they are paying, much more so than higher income
18 people, who tend to sort of move the money and play with it
19 more. All kinds of statistics will bear that out, so that's
20 the hook.

21 MR. SPRINGER: Thank you. I want to give you a
22 chance, Althea, to respond to that, but I have a couple of
23 other things that I did want to touch upon before we go to our
24 public session and, perhaps, maybe in response to these
25 questions, you might be able to respond to some of the things

1 that Denise has just said.

2 It's amazing how a lot of these issues seem to
3 relate to one another. One of the trends that we have been
4 witnessing in Connecticut is what they refer to as the
5 downsizing of our urban centers, and one of the things that
6 has been increasing -- in fact, it's not just in Connecticut,
7 but from what I'm reading, it's happening across the
8 country -- you're seeing the collapsing, for example, of
9 public housing. You're seeing, under the theory that we're
10 reducing blight, a lot of demolition of buildings in low- to
11 moderate-income areas.

12 How does that -- and I'll direct this question to
13 you, Althea -- are you seeing, in terms of the issue of access
14 to low -- I shouldn't say low -- but decent, safe, affordable
15 housing, is that something a trend that you are seeing, and if
16 so, how is that manifesting itself in your office?

17 MS. SEABORN: I can speak generally about what we're
18 observing in terms of the downsizing in the cities. I know,
19 for example, in Stamford, they have begun demolition of
20 high-rise buildings, a major public housing project; and in
21 connection with that, a lot of the residents have been given
22 Section 8 certificates that they cannot use.

23 The community is not receiving them because of the
24 Section 8 certificates and because of the color of their
25 skin. There's a tremendous impact on individuals seeking

1 housing in Connecticut, with this downsizing, so to speak.

2 We are not really seeing the effect of that in our
3 office. As I said, a lot of cases that the U.S. Attorneys'
4 office handles are the cases that come through HUD, so the
5 procedure with HUD tends to be kind of a lengthy one. If the
6 complainant doesn't go to HUD, they will go to the Connecticut
7 Commission on Human Rights and Opportunities, so it's either
8 CHRO or HUD.

9 They may never get to the U.S. Attorneys' office or
10 the Department of Justice. What HUD tends to do is resolve
11 the cases on its own, but if there should be a suit, it would
12 come through our office. At least recently, it has not.

13 MS. VIERA: Would what you dealt with be systemic as
14 well as individual?

15 MS. SEABORN: Yes. Primarily, it is systemic.
16 People come to us through the Civil Liberties Union, through
17 other organizations or individuals who kind of run out of
18 money or don't have the resources to take on the big cases
19 where there are a large number of people who have been
20 impacted or where there's a belief that there's a pattern of
21 practice occurring.

22 The individual cases could get to us through HUD, if
23 either of the parties elect to sue in federal court after
24 going through the administrative process. They tend not to
25 make it that far. I think for individuals, the obvious reason

1 is they need to get the housing or they may be offered some
2 small sum of money that's more than what they typically have.

3 And I forgot the second prong of your question.

4 MR. SPRINGER: No. You answered it. Thank you.

5 I guess the same question would be directed to you,
6 Miguel, in the sense that, to the extent that you see this as
7 a trend. I know you have an office located in Hartford where
8 there has been some shake-up in public housing, and I
9 understand certain people moved out on Section 8. I don't
10 know to what extent this impact has had on your office.

11 If it has, would you please just describe it in
12 terms of what's happening in terms of lending. Are people
13 coming to you seeking loans to buy homes in the urban areas?
14 What's happening in terms of the banking industry?

15 MR. MATOS: What's happening in the urban areas -- I
16 can probably talk a little bit about Hartford and New Haven,
17 and I'll start with Hartford. Everyone knows about the
18 Charter Oak Terrace project in Hartford. Three
19 hundred-something units in the old barn style of public
20 housing have been demolished, and actually, I was there Monday
21 with the executive director of the Housing Authority, touring
22 a subdivision that is being built by the Housing Authority to
23 accommodate some of those folks, as many as they can.

24 The urban planners at the city level call it
25 reducing density. I tend to call it moving folks out

1 somewhere else, but that's a whole other issue. Again, I'm
2 injecting a little bit of my personal opinion in here.

3 Hope VI has been great in that it takes away a lot
4 of old, dilapidated -- I mean, who wants to live in one of
5 those places? However, the alternative to that, as Althea
6 said, is putting people on carrier Section 8s, is a whole
7 different issue.

8 We're trying to balance that in two ways, and I'll
9 give you one example in Hartford and one example in New
10 Haven. The research that we've done, since we primarily
11 practice in inner cities, the case in Hartford has shown us
12 that Hartford has a 23-percent homeownership rate. That means
13 that everybody else is renting an apartment.

14 Then we found out that of that 67 percent, or
15 whatever the number is, of folks that are tenants, 40 percent
16 or higher of those property owners are not responsible
17 property owners, and I'm being diplomatic. So, you know, we
18 have that issue in Hartford.

19 Those nonresponsible property owners tend to foster
20 a lot of crime issues in our neighborhoods, because they're
21 not responsible about the folks that live in their
22 properties.

23 What we're trying to do in Hartford, among other
24 things, is to foster homeownership. We're in a partnership
25 with Trinity College, Hartford Hospital Children's Hospital,

1 The Institute for Living, through a nonprofit entity by the
2 name of SINA. We are their primary lender.

3 Last year we did a little experiment to prove to the
4 Fannie Maes of the world and a lot of other negative forces in
5 Hartford that home ownership was alive and well and it was
6 possible.

7 I'll tell you that story: With our help, we went
8 out there to the neighborhood in Frog Hollow, and we bought
9 ten homes. We say "we"; I work so closely with them, I feel
10 we're one. We took those ten homes -- a lot of them
11 two-family, some of them one-family -- and we rehabed them and
12 brought them up to modern standards. We put them on the
13 market.

14 Everybody was telling us, You're out your mind.
15 You're never going to be able to sell those things. Nobody
16 wants to buy in Hartford. \$90,000 what? On and on and on.

17 A long story short: We were very happy that in a
18 12-month period, we sold all of the homes to Hartford
19 residents; four of which were prior tenants of the Housing
20 Authority, four of the ten; and the average selling price was
21 close to \$95,000, where people would have said that for
22 Hartford, that's never going to happen. That's one example.

23 So now we're putting in a phase two, that over the
24 next three years, we're going to do exactly the same
25 procedure, but now with 150 properties, which translates to

1 about 300 units of housing. The idea is to continue working
2 with our mortgage company, working with the type of so-called
3 liberal practices, to make homeownership a possibility.

4 I don't know about you, but if I own the property,
5 I'm going to take care of it. I'm going to be concerned about
6 what's going on in that neighborhood. The inner cities should
7 really be able to start shifting away from the issues of
8 blight.

9 In New Haven, what we're doing -- and we really
10 encourage this for local municipalities and local nonprofit
11 corporations -- is to look at the low-income-housing tax
12 credit vehicle. Homeownership is great, but you have to stop
13 to the point where you're then erasing multifamily rental
14 stock. There's always going to be a need for both.

15 Through the low-income-housing tax credit structure,
16 in New Haven, for example, we're taking 19 boarded-up and
17 blown-away properties that will contain 65 apartment units and
18 bringing those back on line. We are the primary lender, in
19 that case, for the construction financing.

20 So one point that was very critical, and that I
21 agree 100 percent, banks need to hire, and not only hire what
22 your educational background is, but from where you come from.
23 If for any reason, I was hired at the bank, not only that I
24 have the correct stuff from degrees on paper, but I've been in
25 the neighborhood.

1 I've been executive director of a nonprofit, I've
2 worked for the Housing Department of a local government, I've
3 been out there picketing. I bring a totally different
4 perspective than what the typical Saab-driving loan officer
5 from the suburbs --

6 MS. VIERA: What do you drive?

7 MR. MATOS: I drive a Jeep; I'll take anybody
8 downstairs to see my 12-year-old Jeep.

9 So those are two quick examples of how the whole
10 downsizing of the urban centers and what, in a limited
11 fashion, a bank can do.

12 Going back to three other points that I found to be
13 very critical is, yes, we do have second-look committees.
14 Before that notice of rejection goes out, somebody will call
15 me. I'll get a ton of faxes, or someone in my group will
16 say -- this is all over small business residential lending --
17 take a second look at this credit and look at ways that we can
18 leverage existing sources of dollars make this work.

19 We have great expertise in working with the Home
20 Program, CDBG program, with the SBA, the Department of
21 Economic Development of the state on finding ways that we can
22 make deals work.

23 For example, if you apply for a \$300,000 small
24 business loan, you may not qualify for it. But if we can find
25 the city or the state or someone to put in \$150,000 of those

1 dollars and we come in with the other half, we can make those
2 deals happen. Again, it's the person in the position who is
3 familiar and understands all of these nonbanking sources of
4 dollars that could make things work.

5 I wanted to just give you a little story about
6 Florida. I spent some time living in Florida. I really
7 wanted to experience the South, and I'll leave it at that
8 comment.

9 Working closely with the governor's office in
10 Florida, we started a program in Tampa a long time ago. Now
11 it's about 8 years old. What's really interesting about
12 portfolio lending, which we do, we have a large portfolio
13 which doesn't get sold into the secondary market. We keep it
14 ourselves.

15 One interesting small fact about portfolio lending
16 in the case of Florida, the default rate is lower than the
17 national average of Fannie Mae or anybody else. It goes back
18 to our folks. I know I pay my mortgage first thing. Yes, a
19 quick, sort of, education to other banks that may be still
20 going through a learning curve -- and we still have a lot to
21 learn -- but that's a very interesting fact.

22 MR. SPRINGER: We have talked this morning about the
23 impact of discriminatory housing, and, if you will, in some
24 cases, lending practices on the minority population. We
25 talked about blacks and Hispanics, primarily.

1 I want to focus attention a little bit on people
2 with disabilities and ask you, Denise, what are the types of
3 things that your office has experienced in terms of
4 discrimination in housing against people with disabilities?

5 MS. VIERA: Mostly, it's absolute confusion. We do
6 get a lot of calls -- I said there were three areas; the
7 fourth one is definitely people with disabilities and
8 confusion about reasonable accommodations versus
9 modifications. What does this mean? When does it have to be
10 done? Why do I have to do this? and a whole host of other
11 things like that. Definitely, making accommodations and
12 modifications, and a lot of confusion about what the
13 difference is.

14 It is not something that we find has the same
15 urban/suburban split that a lot of other discrimination has.
16 In fact, in the cities, we tend to find that property owners
17 are more -- they may be more willing to make a modification or
18 to make an accommodation, but they don't understand the laws
19 and they don't have money.

20 It all seems to come down to money. If you can find
21 somebody to pay, I don't have as big of a problem with this,
22 but I'm not paying. The tenants tend to be poorer. You just
23 sort of reach these impasses where exactly who has to do
24 what. You shouldn't have said this before, and now we've kind
25 of got you. We spend a fair amount of time with that.

1 In suburban areas, that is less the problem; but
2 there tends to be more, Well, you don't fit in. So you want
3 this modification, and it won't look right. We get a lot of
4 complaints from condominium associations about, Well, we have
5 these uniform standards; we have to treat you the same as we
6 treat everybody else. So putting this ramp in will mean that
7 your doorway now looks different, and that's not okay.
8 There's a lot of issues with neighbors around disability
9 issues as well, mostly with that argument.

10 How it ends up playing out across the board, every
11 discrimination case is different, but with disability issues,
12 even more so. There's a tendency, I think, with disability
13 issues for it to be -- the kind of people with disabilities
14 are by definition "mobility impaired," which is just wrong.

15 There's sort of that sense. Well, I have a ramp, so
16 now I have -- this unit is accessible to people with
17 disabilities. Well, there's a whole host of different kind of
18 disabilities that people have, and you can't just say you have
19 a ramp and that's enough. You may be dealing with people who,
20 in addition to physical disabilities, have mental
21 disabilities. That needs to be accommodated, and it's just
22 not there.

23 There's a lot of confusion about how previous drug
24 histories and alcohol abuse, and also AIDS, play as
25 disabilities, have been areas that we've had to intervene a

1 fair amount. I don't know if that really answers it or not.

2 MR. SPRINGER: Yes.

3 Althea, what is the jurisdictional overlay, if any,
4 with the enforcement of federal laws regarding the protection
5 for people with disabilities against discrimination in your
6 office? In other words, what are you doing about this thing
7 that Denise just described?

8 MS. SEABORN: We're pretty much doing the same thing
9 that we're doing about the race cases. The U.S. Attorneys'
10 office handles a lot more of the discrimination cases because
11 they tend to be the election cases, the cases that are
12 individual and go through the HUD complaint process.

13 They run the gamut, as Denise said, a lot of mental
14 impairment cases, a lot of issues about reasonable
15 accommodation. The department was involved in one case -- and
16 I thought I had brought -- I really hadn't prepared to talk
17 about disability today, but there was a recent case that the
18 department was involved in in which several members of an
19 apartment complex -- and I believe it might have been in
20 Florida -- wanted to install an elevator in an apartment
21 building, and they were willing to pay for it themselves,
22 which is unusual.

23 Usually, the money is the issue, or the owner
24 doesn't want to do anything to change the structure of their
25 building. These individuals lived on the second floor and

1 above, and they wanted to put this in; and the apartment
2 complex came up with a lot of different reasons why not. The
3 United States intervened and ultimately was able to assist
4 these people in getting the right to put this elevator in.

5 But it's those types of cases that the department
6 has been involved in, and I can say that right now, the
7 Attorney General is really focused on disability cases, not
8 just with regard to housing, but also with regard to 911
9 initiatives, making sure that individuals with disability have
10 full access to all the rights that everybody else enjoys.

11 MR. SPRINGER: Thank you. I'm going to ask all of
12 you to address one final question. Before I do that, there
13 are some other members of the panel who will have some
14 questions for you.

15 THE CHAIRPERSON: None of you addressed this
16 question. I'd like you to address it, because I think the
17 problem may still exist. I live in Bloomfield, and I don't
18 think we have the problem; but then again, I'm not in the
19 business.

20 A book that influenced me very greatly when I was
21 much younger was Gentlemen's Agreement. I had never heard
22 about red lining until I read that book. What I wanted to try
23 to find out is whether today, whether the realtors are
24 red-lining people is something that's occurred. Denise and
25 you folks may be able to speak of its effect, but has it

1 disappeared or is it something that's less of a problem now
2 than it was before?

3 MR. MATOS: I'm just going to make a personal
4 comment on that, not speaking on behalf of the bank. I live
5 in Hartford. I have a three-family, and I had a vacancy
6 several months ago. It was interesting that two of the
7 realtors that brought people made comments that, This is where
8 this type of tenant belongs, if that answers your question.

9 At least, in my practical experience as a
10 landlord -- I live in the building, but I rent some
11 apartments -- it's alive and well. I don't use realtors
12 anymore. That's it; I won't deal with that. So from the
13 realtor's side of the picture, it appears to me that, at least
14 in my personal experience, that's very, very much alive.

15 MS. SEABORN: Yes, I agree. Just on the cases that
16 the Department of Justice has handled, steering by realtors is
17 still prevalent. Red lining is exactly what the Albank case
18 was about. The case wasn't brought in the District of
19 Connecticut; it was actually brought out in the Northern
20 District of New York.

21 That case did draw a line. It said anything below
22 Interstate 287 in Westchester County was off limits, and that
23 included communities in Westchester County that had 75 percent
24 minority populations. It included communities in Connecticut;
25 they were more specific with the Connecticut communities

1 because they had to hop around places like Greenwich and
2 Westport.

3 They identified communities in Connecticut that had
4 significant minority populations, and they decided on paper,
5 as well as verbally, they were not going to market to these
6 areas; they were not going to issue loans. So it's alive and
7 well, and it does still form the bulk of the department's
8 work.

9 I believe that maybe in the late '80s, early '90s,
10 the department recognized that it was still alive and well and
11 actually stepped up its efforts to try to rule out that type
12 of discrimination. I can say that the department has been
13 involved in a lot of cases and there's no shortage of work.

14 THE CHAIRPERSON: It hasn't gotten much publicity,
15 though. I haven't seen too much in the papers on it.

16 MS. SEABORN: I think in Connecticut, we haven't
17 really had many cases on it; but that's not to say it doesn't
18 exist. As I say, it's really hard to find out about it
19 because a lot of times what happens, people go into banks and
20 they may be marginal applicants, and they don't realize that
21 there's a policy that just cuts them out, that they never had
22 a shot at it anyway.

23 We tend not to hear about those types of individuals
24 because they think it's because of themselves or something
25 that they've done. We have heard from people, though -- and

1 it included Connecticut -- Shawmut Bank was actually -- the
2 Department of Justice entered into a consent decree with
3 Shawmut Bank after it determined that Shawmut was specifically
4 denying qualified minorities loans, mortgage loans. I'm not
5 sure if they actually had delineated a specific area, but they
6 definitely decided that they were not going to make loans to
7 minorities.

8 So it's happening, and I think that as with Albank,
9 it's happening in Connecticut. It overlaps, like the Shawmut
10 case was really a Boston case, but it involved Connecticut as
11 well because some of Shawmut's business is done here as well.
12 We just have not really heard about the red lining.

13 It's funny, the cases in Connecticut, so far, have
14 tended to be a lot of implementation of the public programs,
15 the concentration of housing in certain communities, and not
16 putting housing in other communities where minorities aren't
17 concentrated.

18 Actually, if I can, I'd like to slip something in.
19 When Miguel was talking about what his bank does in the inner
20 city, the concern the department has, while we would like and
21 we welcome the type of revitalization of the inner city that
22 is taking place, we are also concerned when you continue to
23 revitalize within that city that's been allowed to go down and
24 not allowed to receive improvement loans or other types of
25 financing to keep the community alive.

1 We're concerned that the housing is going to be
2 concentrated in those areas, and minorities will be limited
3 there, and individuals will be denied access to better homes,
4 better schools, a better life. So while we commend the bank
5 and the work that Miguel is doing, that also raises concern
6 for us.

7 MR. SPRINGER: Any other members have questions?

8 MS. ZLOTNICK: I have sort of a comment. I don't
9 talk too loudly, so let me know whether -- because I can't get
10 to the microphone.

11 If I can just make a statement, then I have a
12 question. It's interesting to me that you aren't prepared to
13 talk about disability issues, because whenever any civil
14 rights group gets together, disability is not an adjunct, it's
15 part of it.

16 Also, people with disabilities are not kind of like
17 faceless, nameless, sexless, raceless; they're all of us,
18 which means that we've got black people with disabilities,
19 Hispanics with disabilities, women with disabilities. We're
20 all over; we're in every community. We're very often
21 red-lined in our own way; we're red-lined into institutions.

22 Probably the biggest case of discrimination is a
23 black Hispanic woman, with children, who is on a Section 8.
24 So it's not a separate issue; it has to be addressed at all
25 levels. The banks have to make sure that the people

1 developing the properties are including access. It doesn't
2 come under the Americans with Disability Act; it's part of the
3 Fair Housing Act.

4 I guess if I accomplish nothing else, at some point,
5 I want everybody to automatically think of disability the way
6 they think of other issues that relate to it, because you
7 can't separate it out.

8 MS. SEABORN: If I can just respond to that, because
9 I think there's a misunderstanding. I actually waited until
10 the last minute yesterday to call George to ask him, What
11 should I talk about? I didn't hear from him. The only thing
12 that was there was housing and school segregation, and so I
13 apologize if it appears as though I don't have the -- I don't
14 give it the attention, because actually, I have handled more
15 discrimination cases based on disability than race or any
16 other status.

17 As I said, the Attorney General has made that a
18 focus. The reason why I carved it out of this discussion was
19 because I they thought we were only focusing in on school
20 segregation, and that tends to be the race elements.

21 I apologize, because I don't want anybody to go away
22 thinking that I don't consider that -- and actually, because
23 it is a part of the Fair Housing Act and the lending decisions
24 that have been made, I had to remove it from my materials. It
25 is definitely a part of my work, and I think, as you said, it

1 really is very important.

2 MS. ZLOTNICK: I'm just saying any person. We just
3 all need to stop compartmentalizing. It's very, very
4 difficult for someone within their own race or ethnicity to be
5 the only individual with a disability in that group, because
6 they're not getting support from anybody or understanding
7 necessarily.

8 And I didn't mean it that way. What I meant was
9 that whenever I'm with any kind of a group, I like to point
10 that out, that it's not a separate issue. So that was a
11 good -- just a kickoff for me.

12 I guess I would like to know -- and we really
13 haven't gotten into the school part -- but that also --

14 MR. SPRINGER: I'm trying to get there, Phyllis.
15 Believe me, I'm trying to get there.

16 MS. ZLOTNICK: That is also an issue. But we do
17 have a lot of parents with disabilities, and we have a lot of
18 children who are disabled, whose parents are a minority. But
19 what exactly, in two minutes, what is the bank's position, for
20 instance, on ensuring compliance with all the laws in terms of
21 when something is built or remodeled? What is the Department
22 of Justice -- you know, what do they do?

23 And then, what can Fair Housing do to clarify for
24 them that it's not an ADA issue? This is a civil rights
25 issue.

1 MR. SPRINGER: Three questions: One, two, three.

2 MR. MATOS: What the banks are doing -- and this
3 falls under the commercial real-estate category, as opposed to
4 residential, because most of it applies to multifamily
5 properties or apartments -- what we do is we have a catchall
6 phrase in our commitment letter to any specific landlord who
7 is rehabbing property that says that the plans,
8 specifications, and the building itself must comply with any
9 and all state, federal, city, and local laws. That's the way
10 that we can catch them and demand that whatever percentage of
11 units under the Act are treated for potential tenants with
12 disabilities.

13 Another way to accomplish that is to, given in inner
14 cities, it's somewhat harder to economically, feasibly rehab a
15 property because of the values of the inner-city
16 neighborhood. So we usually try to work with the existing
17 landlords and work with either the State or the City to use
18 federal funds, to come in with the bank funds, to rehab the
19 specific properties.

20 Then we've really got them. When we can get them to
21 use federal funds, then the extent to which they can't get
22 away without having units available for disabled tenants is a
23 lot harder.

24 The commercial real-estate piece, which is where
25 this type of issue would fall under, allows for a very, very,

1 very careful -- we don't fly through these things. Commercial
2 real estate goes a little slower.

3 MS. ZLOTNICK: Is there anyone within the bank, in
4 terms of disability, that you can rely on to talk to when
5 those types of issues come up?

6 MR. MATOS: No. Typically, we would hire an
7 inspecting engineer for the specific project, and that
8 inspecting engineer is very well versed on the specific
9 architectural requirements that need to be built into a
10 specific unit so it conforms with the law, as to that. But I
11 personally don't have anyone that I can consult with.

12 MS. ZLOTNICK: Not from a technical point of view,
13 but the same way you would bring in where you come from, race,
14 ethnicity, how is the bank with hiring?

15 MR. MATOS: I'm not in the Human Resources area, so
16 you've got me there. Oh, boy, I don't know. I wish I did.

17 MS. ZLOTNICK: Just a thought.

18 MR. MATOS: I know that our bank is, not only on the
19 training side, but on the hiring side, all kinds of people,
20 not to put anybody in a box. We're probably one of the few in
21 the peer group, as they call it; of the 25 largest banks in
22 the country, we tend to be out in front. Hopefully, Denise
23 can vouch on that one.

24 MS. SEABORN: With regard to the Department of
25 Justice, the disability rights section of the civil rights

1 division is very well organized and has a very extensive
2 training program. It's all across the county; it meets with
3 individuals, architects, banks.

4 Also, in terms of enforcing the law regarding the
5 disabilities, the HMDA data, the Home Mortgage Disclosure Act
6 data is examined routinely to look for patterns in the lending
7 decisions of banks. Sometimes, just based on that data, the
8 department would end up with an investigation. What we always
9 try to do is resolve cases, short of filing a lawsuit, via
10 consent decrees, and that typically happens.

11 As I said, in the past, we have tended to have more
12 cases that were individually brought. All I can say is that
13 we've been pretty successful in mediating and resolving those
14 kinds of cases.

15 MS. VIERA: There doesn't seem to be, in terms of
16 privately looking at enforcement issues, there hasn't been as
17 much new construction going on in Connecticut in recent
18 years. That's a trend that may be just starting to turn
19 around, but we're looking at enforcement in existing buildings
20 and in rehab, which, as Miguel mentioned, doesn't have the
21 same triggers unless you can get some kind of 504 coverage
22 because you've got federal money in a rehab project.

23 We haven't been spending as much time -- as I know
24 is going on in other parts of the country -- of going out and
25 test and see whether or not there actually has been compliance

1 with 504, partly because there just hasn't been as much
2 construction.

3 On the other hand, there are the accommodation and
4 modification requirements, and we really find that most folks
5 don't know about it. Yeah, I know there's a Fair Housing Act;
6 I might know something about what some of the protected
7 classifications are.

8 We just did a survey of housing providers -- mostly
9 nonprofit, but not entirely nonprofit -- but people in the
10 housing industry, who are focused on lower-income housing, at
11 the Connecticut Housing Coalition conference last week, got a
12 couple of hundred responses back to a survey that we
13 circulated. I think I know which one was yours.

14 Actually, it was frightening how many groups that
15 actually work in that arena didn't know what the protected
16 classifications were, really just didn't know. Well, past
17 criminal convictions, I don't know, so I'll say yes. Bad
18 credit was checked as often as disability. I mean, just
19 didn't even understand, baseline, what the protections were,
20 and when you get into disability issues, it gets even more
21 complicated about what can you ask and can't you ask. What do
22 you need to know, what can't you find out, and who needs to
23 make what accommodation and what modifications.

24 So I think some education in this area is very, very
25 sorely needed as well as some money to assist with

1 modifications that might not be required for an owner to pay
2 for, or when an owner doesn't have the money and could argue
3 that this is unreasonable because you're going to put me in
4 bankruptcy if I'm required to do this. Those are two areas
5 that we are really focused on right now in terms of trying to
6 get the word out.

7 MS. ZLOTNICK: There is money. It's a matter of
8 knowing where it is.

9 MS. VIERA: There's some, but it also tends to be
10 small amounts.

11 MR. SPRINGER: I'm going to get to both of you.

12 Ki-Taek?

13 DR. CHUN: I have two questions: The first one,
14 concerning your mortgage lending practices and what you call
15 liberalized guidelines, I wasn't quite sure whether it was
16 court ordered or voluntary on your part.

17 And related to that, if you were to apply the
18 applicants to your liberalized loan programs, to them you
19 apply, say, traditional standards. What percentage of the
20 newly qualified applicants would be judged to be qualified in
21 the old standards?

22 And then the third question is: You may not have a
23 large enough data base, but what has been the foreclosure
24 failure rate on those applicants who received loans under your
25 liberalized guidelines?

1 MR. MATOS: I'll go backward, since I'll probably
2 remember the last one first. On the foreclosure rate, the
3 database is not very strong, but generally, it's found that
4 what I've labeled liberalized underwriting criteria, today,
5 the foreclosure rate is extremely low. That's what we have
6 found. Foreclosure rate is probably not the right term.

7 The percentage of defaults that would occur under
8 that portfolio as compared to the national trend -- which is
9 usually established by Fannie Mae -- appears to be lower,
10 which should, on a general basis, talking about all banks,
11 give bankers some sense of comfort that these are not taboo
12 loans to do.

13 The percentage of folks that do not meet the
14 standard underwriting criteria, it's difficult to judge,
15 because it all depends on where you are; but if you are to use
16 the census track of low/moderate-income communities as a
17 guide, you will find that the higher percentage of folks that
18 are declined under the standard underwriting criteria fall
19 into those communities. That's where the second look comes
20 into place; that's where the liberalized criteria and being
21 flexible is okay.

22 On a quick look, I know I can tell in ten minutes
23 that this specific person ain't going to make it under the
24 standard Fannie Mae secondary mortgage paper, which we do hold
25 for about 30 seconds; however, I would have all these other

1 options -- through different programs that are either bank
2 initiated or initiated in partnership with local groups in the
3 community -- that I know this person may fall into.

4 Or I may say, Let's wait a month until X happens or
5 Y happens. So it's a matter of us providing -- us, the
6 bankers, providing ourselves the training, the internal
7 training to make these different tools available to them so we
8 can adequately service that community.

9 And your first question, Ki-Taek?

10 DR. CHUN: Was it voluntary, or how did you end up
11 doing it?

12 MR. MATOS: Ours is voluntary and has always been
13 voluntary. I don't know yet of any -- of Althea coming in and
14 telling me that you've got to do this, at least, in our bank,
15 happening yet. And I think one of the backbones to that,
16 which we're very proud of is, that I think three or four years
17 in a row, we have received an outstanding Community Investment
18 Act rating by the federal regulators, which is not easy to
19 get.

20 One of the components of that outstanding rating is
21 very good HMDA information that's been able to back it up.
22 Ours has been voluntary all along.

23 DR. CHUN: Is it a state secret to tell us how many
24 applicants you have made loans to, the scope of the program?

25 MR. MATOS: I don't know that, to tell you the

1 truth. I don't have it in front of me. I don't remember. I
2 would need to go to the Residential people to get that
3 specific.

4 DR. CHUN: Hundreds, thousands, teens?

5 MR. MATOS: Millions.

6 DR. CHUN: Not dollars, cases.

7 MR. MATOS: I don't know. If you give me a call, I
8 would be happy to get that information. We look at that
9 monthly, and we track the goals versus the actual results on
10 all categories of the bank, and one of them is residential.
11 I'd be happy to share that with you.

12 DR. CHUN: Miss Seaborn, about the downsizing and
13 demolition of public housing, I think what I heard is things
14 of that nature are happening, the current tenants are
15 receiving Section 8, the voucher certificates, yet the
16 prospective landlords are not accepting it.

17 But I did not hear anything in terms of proactive
18 intervention measures that the U.S. Attorneys' office or
19 somebody else is taking, and why is that? I know you said
20 earlier on that you tend to rely on cases referred by HUD.
21 Are you prohibited from taking a proactive public stance that,
22 if it ever comes to such and such, that will be your position,
23 even going on that you could do some public affirmative sort
24 of outreach to prevent that?

25 MS. SEABORN: Yes. Up to this point, we have not,

1 and I can tell you that our office is, right now, in between
2 U.S. Attorneys. The former U.S. Attorney, Christopher Droney,
3 was in the process of setting up workshops, because we
4 realized, through the Department of Justice as well as from
5 the information we gathered here in Connecticut, that many
6 individuals don't realize that the U.S. Attorneys' office and
7 Department of Justice is available to enforce the fair housing
8 laws.

9 We have not done anything active with the
10 individuals there so far, other than to just advise on a
11 one-on-one basis, the Housing Authority in Stamford, in
12 particular, that they should refer these people to HUD.
13 Because we don't get the case directly; the case has to come
14 through HUD or through the Department of Justice.

15 The individuals can also file actions on their own,
16 and they oftentimes do. They also go through the CHRO. I
17 think since there are a lot more local entities that are
18 providing information, that we tend not to hear complaints --
19 sometimes citizens do call directly to our office with
20 complaints -- but we tend not to hear the complaints
21 directly. They might end up going to Fair Housing officers
22 within the particular city, if they do have a Fair Housing
23 officer.

24 DR. CHUN: It strikes me how little the general
25 public is underinformed about the rights they have in terms of

1 housing. It strikes me that, really, it's almost necessary,
2 if not imperative, that it would be highly useful if either
3 HUD or DOJ jointly informed the tenants being kicked out,
4 informed them of their rights, the recourses they have.

5 And also, the same time, from the perspective of the
6 landlords, if and when you do such and such, this and that
7 will happen. I think that may serve as a deterrent.

8 MS. SEABORN: I think that's a good suggestion.
9 That probably will be done when the U.S. Attorneys' office
10 gets involved in workshops. I think, at least, historically,
11 everyone believed that Fair Housing officers within the cities
12 were charged with that responsibility; however, there are a
13 lot of cities in Connecticut that don't have Fair Housing
14 officers. So the job is left undone and, unfortunately, the
15 public is unaware; but we do anticipate having workshops.

16 Because of the size of the state and the size of our
17 office, we anticipate doing, basically, one a month, and it
18 would just be no more than two people, probably, roaming
19 around the state, trying to get the word out.

20 MR. SPRINGER: I want you to respond to what Ki-Taek
21 has just asked, and there's a few other follow-ups I think you
22 can respond to on that central question. What I'd like to do,
23 we're going to be going until approximately 12:35, and we've
24 been going almost two hours now. I want to take a short
25 five-minute break; then we'll come back. I'm going to start

1 with Maritza. I know you had a question.

2 Denise, if you can, respond to Ki-Taek, and then we
3 can proceed into the public participation section after that.

4 Five minutes.

5

6 (Off the record.)

7

8 MR. SPRINGER: Maritza, I understand you had a
9 question. Go ahead.

10 MS. TIRU: I'm going to make a comment, and I want
11 to address it to Althea. My comment is that it's very common,
12 at least in the Waterbury area, for the banks to hold a nice
13 reception to real estate companies. When we're talking about
14 violations, the first person that wants to buy a house is a
15 real estate agency.

16 Usually, because they have this agreement with the
17 banks, if you're black or Hispanic, they take you exactly to
18 where you could buy a house, because the bank will approve
19 that because it's okay for to you live in the area where the
20 majority of them are Hispanics or blacks.

21 What you mentioned before was violating people that
22 qualify to apply to get mortgages and buy a house. How can I
23 know that they will approve the loan or the mortgage loan for
24 a Hispanic or a black person, and use that data to report that
25 they have so many Hispanics and so many blacks that they

1 approve mortgages, and they even have documentation to support
2 the data? But then four or five months later, people get
3 letters saying they sold your mortgage to some company in
4 California or Tennessee.

5 So in reality, they're using that statistical data
6 to prove that, yes, indeed, they're lending to Hispanics and
7 blacks, but, you know, later the same year, you find out that
8 someone else has got your mortgage, that you have to send the
9 money to some other person who might tell you you've got to
10 put more money into the escrow because we don't know the
11 area. You got to get -- your mortgage payment will be more.

12 How do you keep track of that, when a bank is just
13 forced to give that to the Hispanics, not because they
14 willingly wanted to do it, and then later they just sell the
15 mortgage to someone else, but are still using the data to
16 report that they're lending to Hispanics and blacks?

17 MS. SEABORN: Well, I think that the way the
18 department would look at it is that they are actually giving
19 the loan. If they approve the loan, whether they sell it or
20 not afterward, I don't think that the department would look at
21 that as a problem, so to speak.

22 I'm not sure that I'm clear, either, on your
23 question. Is your issue the fact that you're then shifted to
24 another financial institution that is charging higher fees or
25 discriminating in some other way, or is it just that the

1 initial bank that you've applied with has given a loan but
2 sold it, and then is using that data to show that they're
3 complying with the Fair Housing Act?

4 MS. TIRU: The violation here is they still don't
5 want us as customers, so they approve the loan. They're
6 saying, This is fine. You know, they use the data to report,
7 Yeah, we have 48 percent of the loans approved were for blacks
8 and Hispanics. Yet, they're giving that loan to someone else
9 out of the state, you know, to the West Coast, where people
10 then get confused.

11 Sometimes, I know people that lost their house
12 because they said they wasn't sure all the paperwork that they
13 have to sign and send it back because Shawmut Bank sold their
14 mortgage to someone in California.

15 MS. SEABORN: That presents a difficult issue
16 because in terms of the role that the United States plays in
17 these lending cases, that really wouldn't -- the department
18 really, probably, wouldn't get involved because they're going
19 to look at whether or not the bank applied its lending rules
20 uniformly.

21 And when you applied for the loan, you were granted
22 the loan, and they just happened to sell yours, and they sold
23 other ones as well because that's for business reasons, I
24 don't think that the department would get involved because it
25 doesn't really present a violation of the Fair Housing Act or

1 the ECOA.

2 I think that if you're saying that the bank is doing
3 something different, selling loans from Hispanics but not
4 selling loans from others for some particular reason, that may
5 raise some type of issue. I'm not sure if it really is a Fair
6 Housing issue; it might go more towards the Equal Credit
7 Opportunity Act. I'm not really sure.

8 That's a new issue that I haven't dealt with in the
9 past, so I don't know. Maybe Miguel might have experience in
10 that and know about the sale of the loans, and if there are
11 issues that he's aware of with discrimination in the sale.

12 MS. TIRU: I just wonder if there's any data or if
13 you can track those banks that, indeed, are providing, you
14 know, are giving loans, the mortgage loans; but then later,
15 they say, We don't want them. Then they sell all Hispanics,
16 all blacks, or both to someone else because that's not their
17 preference of customer to deal with. I'm not sure.

18 MS. SEABORN: I'm sure that data is available, but I
19 can't really speak to whether or not the department has
20 actually tracked it. That is an interesting question that
21 they might want to look at.

22 MS. VIERA: Almost all banks sell almost all loans.
23 Portfolio lending is basically a thing of the past, except
24 where they're talking about special programs that they can't
25 sell. I think we'd probably find that there are more loans

1 that are held in portfolio, that are actually in black or
2 Hispanic communities, and where the person who has received
3 the mortgages is black or Hispanic, because the tendency is to
4 sell it immediately.

5 What they probably, in fact, have done is sold the
6 loan within a matter of moments -- days would be long -- and
7 have been continuing to service the loan. Then at some point,
8 they sell the servicing to this bank in California, who now is
9 where you're supposed to send your mortgage payment.

10 That new bank -- or it may not even be a bank;
11 probably some other kind of financial institution -- is
12 getting servicing fees for doing that. That is, frankly, seen
13 as something that's a more efficient way for us to have
14 mortgages.

15 It supposedly frees up that money for them to come
16 back into that community and make more loans. So I think the
17 ways to hold the toes of those banks to the fire, in the
18 community is two things: One, from an education standpoint,
19 that they should be making it clear to folks that we are --
20 not only can we sell your loan, which tends to be in the
21 mortgage documents, we are likely to sell your loan.

22 It is very likely that at some point soon, you will
23 get a letter that says you're supposed to send your payment to
24 someone else; so when you get that, don't ignore it and act
25 like, I'm not supposed to pay to them.

1 The other thing is to say to them, to the bank, Now
2 that you've sold this loan, we're assuming that pool of money
3 is now freed up again to make more loans back into our
4 community. So the fact that you made ten loans this year into
5 our neighborhood is nice, but if you sold those loans already,
6 then you've gotten some money back from that sale and you
7 should now have more money in that pool that you set aside,
8 and we want you to start making more loans with that.

9 That is the reason for the secondary market, is to
10 free up the money in the originating bank so they can make
11 more loans and do that more efficiently in the community. So
12 I think that's the way to deal with it, because just the sale
13 of loans is so standard, and it's more out of odd if your loan
14 hasn't been sold, than if it has, frankly.

15 MR. SPRINGER: Do you want to comment on that,
16 Miguel?

17 MR. MATOS: I just wanted to support Denise's
18 comment that from a purely technical point, once the loan is
19 made, at least in our bank, we don't differentiate between
20 that loan and another. Every night, pools are set up of a
21 billion dollars in loans, and somebody buys them.

22 Once the mortgage thing is done, it becomes an
23 asset; and very rarely is it looked at like, Okay, we have a
24 billion dollars in loans and \$50 million of that is
25 Hispanics. It's gone. It just becomes a loan number at that

1 point, and it goes through the treasury and people like your
2 brother or your brother sell all that stuff, and we have no
3 idea.

4 It may be an interesting angle for the regulators to
5 look at, but I think it's going to be difficult to prove that
6 it's a purposeful act by the bank not to service specific
7 groups. It becomes more a function of a money market, and
8 that's how the money markets work.

9 MR. SPRINGER: Denise, I did want you to take an
10 opportunity to briefly respond to Ki-Taek's question, which
11 addressed the issue which was raised earlier about the
12 downsizing which is occurring in many of the urban
13 communities. There is some discussion about Hartford and the
14 Charter Oak revitalization process. If you could just respond
15 to that briefly.

16 MS. VIERA: I was just going to follow up with what
17 Althea said, noting that this is a really new arena for a
18 couple of reasons: One, this has a lot of do with Hope VI and
19 some other federal programs that are very new; and just in
20 terms of implementation, we're talking about really just the
21 last couple of years, at most, more like the past 18 months.

22 MR. SPRINGER: What is Hope VI?

23 MS. VIERA: Jeez, if I knew. Hope VI is a U.S.
24 Department of Housing and Urban Development program that was
25 developed when Jack Kemp was the secretary of HUD, under the

1 Bush administration. It was one of a series of different
2 programs that were to change the way that public housing was
3 delivered in this country.

4 There were other programs that dealt with the sale
5 of public housing to residents, but Hope VI has been the one
6 used to demolish old public housing buildings and provide
7 assistance to residents to have other kinds of options, much
8 of which is Section 8 subsidies, but some of which is the kind
9 of development that Miguel was talking about before, of
10 downsizing and developing public housing that looks very
11 different than what we've traditionally known as public
12 housing.

13 There's been a fair amount of Hope VI money that's
14 actually come into this state and also, applications have been
15 made under that program to change what public housing looks
16 like. So because that's a fairly new program, in terms of
17 that money actually hitting the ground, when Jack Kemp was
18 secretary of HUD, most of what was happening was some
19 demolition, but it's really a fairly new program.

20 The other thing is that it really tends to, from a
21 fair housing perspective, tends to manifest itself in
22 discrimination against people based on their source of
23 income. As I said, when I first -- my initial comments, that
24 that tends to be a proxy for something else. It's code.
25 That's what's said.

1 So in terms of the best claims that people often had
2 it's, I went and applied for housing and they told me they
3 don't accept Section 8. Often, places have a blanket policy
4 that they don't accept Section 8, so it's harder to make those
5 race claims because they just don't take Section 8.

6 That means that getting to it Althea's desk, who,
7 representing the U.S. Government, deals with federally
8 protected classifications, we might be able to make some
9 arguments about the disparate impact of women and minorities
10 and families with children because of these policies; but the
11 case law is between nonexistent and thin on that.

12 In Connecticut, we could make a very specific claim
13 about this being discrimination based on source of income;
14 and, frankly, those cases are just beginning to be decided. I
15 think there are only two cases that are pending in superior
16 court right now that will give us some case law very
17 specifically that, yes, Section 8 is covered under source of
18 income; no, it isn't. I think it's real hard to read
19 Connecticut laws, where it says rental assistance is
20 protected, and not get to that.

21 But these are the things that we have courts for, to
22 make sure that even the most -- things that kindergarten
23 children can read and say that's what it says, we hire judges
24 to say, Yes, in fact, that's what that means. That's where
25 that stands right now, and there are a few other cases finding

1 their way.

2 I think at that point, maybe the idea of some of the
3 systemic cases that would be more likely to see someone like
4 Althea involved in, we will be seeing. It will be clearer
5 what the case law is, and we can actually start talking about
6 the racial end of it.

7 The last piece on that that I wanted to mention is
8 that there are some programs that are out there to really help
9 people moving because of Hope VI. There is specifically a
10 program in the Hartford Housing Authority that was initially
11 funded by the Hartford Foundation for Public Giving, and now
12 is getting federal money under -- these acronyms -- ROC.

13 ROC stands for Resident Opportunity Counseling
14 program, and that program provides assistance to individuals
15 when they get that Section 8 certificate, to actually assist
16 them with moving to nontraditional areas. There are
17 counselors who will actually drive people around, help them,
18 you know, get acclimated to a new community, really counsel
19 them on what other options there may be.

20 There is a similar program in New Haven, which was
21 funded through a consent decree and settlement of the
22 Christian Community Action case. So people who are receiving
23 Section 8 assistance, as part of that, are eligible, through
24 Home Aid, down there; and I am hopeful that there will be some
25 similar kinds of work going on in Stamford, now that Stamford

1 has received a large chunk of new Hope VI money, because it's
2 sorely needed there as well.

3 I think that's another way that you can come at
4 this. Those of you who are familiar with the control model in
5 Chicago, that's what these are modeled on.

6 MR. SPRINGER: I have one question, which is an
7 open-ended question, and I'd like each of the panelists to
8 respond to this before we move into the public session. The
9 Supreme Court of Connecticut, several years ago, in Sheff
10 versus O'Neil, found both as a matter of fact and as a matter
11 of law, that in Hartford, there was a significant
12 concentration of racial minorities that was identified to be
13 unconstitutional insofar as it impacted on educational
14 opportunity.

15 We've had a lot of discussion this morning about
16 ongoing patterns of discrimination that are likely to be found
17 in the area of Fair Housing. We talked briefly about lending
18 practices. There was discussion about municipal housing and
19 zoning policy. We've talked about some of the issues involved
20 in the enforcement of Fair Housing laws.

21 The question is: To what extent are the fair
22 housing issues, that have been talked about this morning and
23 identified, been responsible for or contributed to or impacted
24 on the isolation that the Supreme Court has concluded exists
25 in the city of Hartford and other urban communities? And to

1 the extent that that is the case, what is it that each of you
2 recommend or propose as a solution for dealing with that
3 problem?

4 MR. MATOS: That's exactly the topic that I wasn't
5 prepared to talk about because I know nothing about that; I
6 know a little bit about what I do. However, from a more
7 general perspective and applying a little bit of common sense,
8 in the case of Hartford, I think that one thing that may be a
9 solution, at least, the way I look at it from a very
10 community-based real estate perspective, is like I said
11 earlier, to do our best to increase -- to continue to increase
12 the home ownership patterns of the city.

13 The common sense out of that strategy tells me that
14 that we're going to have folks that are going to pay much more
15 attention to local schools, are going to get involved more in
16 the local schools, and hopefully, the home ownership pattern
17 is also going to, to a certain degree, bring in -- this is a
18 nasty word -- bring in a certain amount of gentrification -- I
19 see you raise your eyebrows -- which, from a simple yin/yang
20 position, the Japanese keep everything in balance -- I mean,
21 the city's way of balance on the other side.

22 You can get into all kinds of philosophical
23 discussions of what happens to the folks and where they go.
24 We can go on and on for hours, but my limited, ignorant
25 experience says that I think homeownership of, at least,

1 inner-city cores, which appear to have very low homeownership
2 patterns, may be an answer in support, I hope, of better
3 movements for schools. That's my guess.

4 MS. SEABORN: I would have to say that the court was
5 correct that housing discrimination has led to an
6 unconstitutional situation with regard to the educational
7 system available to the inner city youth; and in terms of
8 resolving it, the committee can't do it at present. It's a
9 really tough, tough thing; but I think that with regard to
10 what the Department of Justice has been doing, their effort to
11 attack lending bias, builds on what Miguel said about
12 homeownership.

13 If the department can continue to enforce the Fair
14 Housing Act, the Equal Credit Opportunity Act, and open up
15 housing opportunities throughout the city of Hartford and
16 other suburban communities, then people will have choices
17 about where to send their kids to school.

18 You have situations in some of the communities --
19 not all in Connecticut -- where you have neighborhood schools,
20 and I think that when you have segregated housing patterns,
21 you end up with the segregated school situations.

22 If you take, for example, a city like Norwalk, where
23 they don't have neighborhood schools in the minority
24 communities, and the neighborhood kids, the minority kids are
25 bused into the other schools, you still have -- you have the

1 segregated housing, you have schools that are dispersed in the
2 more affluent areas, and you have kids going in, but what you
3 tend to have is a bussing situation, where you bus the
4 majority of kids who live in a certain community to certain
5 schools. So I think that you're going to have to deal with
6 the bussing issue.

7 Lending is one; bussing, you're going to have to
8 deal with school construction. A lot of the communities are
9 having overcrowding problems. I know the cities of Westport,
10 Wilton and some of the communities in Fairfield County are
11 actually building new schools. A lot of places aren't doing
12 that right now.

13 Where you're building new schools, I believe what
14 you need to do is build some schools in the inner city, build
15 some schools in the more affluent areas, and cross-bus, if
16 busses are going to be utilized. But it's a very difficult
17 issue, and I think it's going to take many different
18 approaches to try to resolve it.

19 I think that a lot more pressure is going to have to
20 be brought upon the different communities to build affordable
21 housing, to focus in on their zoning regulations, to make sure
22 that they're not precluding or preventing developers from
23 building low-cost housing within the communities; and that
24 still is occurring a lot in Connecticut. So I think that it's
25 going to take a broad effort in order to resolve the problem.

1 MS. VIERA: In 1988, the then State Department of
2 Housing got the University of Connecticut Center for Social
3 Inquiry to do a survey of perceptions about affordable housing
4 in this state. One of the more interesting questions on that
5 was not asking about yourself, but let's just talk about your
6 town. Why do you think that affordable housing isn't being
7 built in your town? One of the top responses was not wanting
8 minorities living their community. So while, of course, I
9 don't discriminate and I have none of these prejudices, I know
10 everybody in my town does, but it wouldn't be me.

11 I think that when we talk about the
12 school-desegregation stuff, we really need to remember that if
13 on the one hand, that is going to be the response from the
14 communities, and simultaneously, we're going to hear, We don't
15 want bussing -- and I think we hear that from both suburban
16 and urban parents; I don't want bussing either. I live in
17 Hartford; I don't particularly want my child to be bussed --
18 but without that, where do you go?

19 You end up with neighborhood schools, which seems to
20 be the cry that everybody is willing to say, I'll support
21 that; I'd like for my child to not have to walk the five miles
22 uphill in both directions in the snow that I did when I was a
23 child. They should just be able to walk across the street,
24 and the school is right there and it's a wonderful school.
25 That's impossible to do that with our current housing

1 patterns.

2 I come at this, because I tend to be antagonistic,
3 as this is my one opportunity not to be antagonistic. You're
4 right, I am against bussing. I am, therefore, for
5 neighborhood schools, and I think we need to fundamentally
6 change what our neighborhood schools look like so that we can
7 have neighborhood schools.

8 This is a map of Connecticut, and I think from
9 wherever you're sitting, you can still see what's most
10 important about this map; that is, that most of it's white.
11 There are a 169 towns in the state of Connecticut, and when
12 you look at those towns -- and this is school districts and
13 percentages of students of color. All of those towns that are
14 colored white have less than 10 percent of their student
15 populations, of any form of racial minority; and the ones that
16 are in yellow are less than 25 percent.

17 You could begin to guess which -- the purple ones,
18 of which there are only four, have over 75 percent -- that
19 just happened to be where the chart broke down -- every single
20 one of them is over 80 percent. The lowest one is about 83
21 percent minority. There are four towns that meet that
22 criteria. Interestingly enough, one of them is Bloomfield,
23 which is over 80 percent African-American in its school
24 population.

25 So we have extremely segregated housing patterns

1 which has translated into extremely segregated school
2 patterns, and I think that to the extent that we want to
3 address the school-segregation issue, we really need to
4 address the housing-segregation issue. There are a number of
5 different ways we could do that.

6 I could come up with a similar map for you that
7 talks about multifamily zones, the cost of housing, that talks
8 about some of the roadblocks that have been put up to building
9 affordable housing; but I am also offended when people suggest
10 that fair housing is, by definition -- as someone who's dealt
11 with affordable housing issues for a dozen years, that's what
12 I did; I worked on providing low-cost housing for people, and
13 for just a few years, I've been working in fair housing -- I'm
14 always offended when people think they're the same thing.
15 They are not.

16 There are many minority families that can afford
17 housing in areas that they have been steered away from,
18 discouraged from purchasing, have been ineligible for programs
19 merely because of the color of their skin or last name or
20 religion; and we have a very long and deep history of that in
21 that case. Until we address that, we will have extremely
22 segregated housing patterns.

23 I think that people should have choices. I love the
24 comment about gentrification. I support gentrification if we
25 can also have -- I don't know -- "sans colourfication,"

1 something like that. If poor people can move out, have some
2 wealthier people move in -- but it always tends to be this
3 one-way street, and we've got to get beyond that. I think
4 that's what will help fix the educational situation as well.

5 MR. MACY: By the way, if you would give us a copy
6 of that map, we can incorporate it in our report.

7 MR. SPRINGER: Miguel, I'd like you to respond to
8 one thing that you did say. There was some discussion
9 earlier, and I'll touch upon it again, this concept of
10 downsizing in many of the urban communities, and that's having
11 the effect -- I think you were the one that actually
12 identified it -- of driving people out.

13 Then you mentioned gentrification, which, I take it,
14 is the inverse of bringing people in. To the extent to which
15 the people that are being driven out look differently than the
16 people who are coming in, what does that pose for you as a
17 person in the community? I'm not just talking about your hat
18 as a person from People's Bank, but how does that -- excuse
19 me, Bank of Boston; I apologize -- how does that tension, if
20 you will, how do you see that resolving itself?

21 MR. MATOS: I guess communication and people being
22 able to get over this hurdle about what color you are and try
23 to be friends with you or not. Where I live in Hartford, I'm
24 really happy and very surprised at my experiences of mixed --
25 it's a little, little, little place; it's probably four or

1 five blocks -- but it's very, very mixed, and people are not
2 into what color you are to make a stereotype decision about
3 whether you fit in.

4 I don't know how to respond to that. We have to
5 communicate, and we have a moral and ethical responsibility,
6 as people, to break that down into education and communication
7 and starting with our schools as early as we can, to teach our
8 children.

9 You know, a big issue with my wife and myself and
10 our recent newborn was we wanted day care that's got a little
11 bit of everything in it. I don't want to go to Super Stop &
12 Shop and have my baby see an African-American and freak out.
13 That really bothers me.

14 MR. SPRINGER: Let me come at it a different way:
15 The Supreme Court identified a high level of racial
16 concentration that exists in the city of Hartford, and that
17 had been contributed to the segregation that existed in the
18 public schools. I believe that Denise indicated that you have
19 to break down the housing patterns in order to decrease the
20 racial isolation that exists.

21 My question to you would be that on the one hand,
22 you want to bring a different group of people in that
23 currently live there, which does not automatically mean that
24 you have to displace people and move them from the cities to
25 someplace else, and if so, how is that going to be resolved?

1 In other words, you talked about underwriting
2 criteria that has been applied for underwriting mortgage
3 loans. If I now want to move from the city of Hartford to
4 Wilton, what, if anything, is the bank going to do to help me
5 get there by way of homeownership?

6 MR. MATOS: It doesn't matter because the
7 underwriting criteria doesn't have anything to do with the
8 geographic location. Probably, early on, when we were banging
9 our heads against the wall trying to figure out how to do
10 this, we would say, Well, we have this problem in Hartford so
11 we'll do a civil program in Hartford.

12 I think that now that the number of years gone by,
13 the residential mortgage lenders, the underwriters, et cetera,
14 the product is generic across the board. So if you want to
15 move to XYZ, we have the flexibility to still offer the
16 product and not tie it to geographic location.

17 MR. SPRINGER: In your estimation, are the
18 properties that would be available to purchase, for example,
19 are they less expensive in Hartford versus the suburban
20 communities?

21 MR. MATOS: The perception is that in the inner
22 cities, the housing is less expensive. That's the market,
23 generally. Some of it is perception, and some of it is real.
24 It's a matter of lifestyles also.

25 MR. SPRINGER: So are the people who would be likely

1 to apply for loans, who live in urban areas, are they going to
2 be able to qualify, even under the liberal underwriting
3 criteria, to purchase houses in the community where the real
4 estate values are maybe substantially higher?

5 MR. MATOS: The pure market economic answer to that
6 is no, they probably won't; and what will probably happen in
7 the future is the pattern may repeat itself and you have,
8 then, pockets forming within those communities that didn't
9 have them before. The pattern duplicates itself that we're
10 going to go through a cycle, and we're going to come back. I
11 don't know whether my child will probably see that. From a
12 pure economic outlook, the answer is that most probably, they
13 will not be able to afford those.

14 MR. SPRINGER: That being the case, what do you see
15 as a solution for that problem?

16 MR. MATOS: What I see as a solution to that
17 problem, in my experience, is for most cities -- and this is
18 more of a national perspective -- are entitlement cities, and
19 those cities receive a certain number of dollars from the
20 federal government.

21 A lot of it is geared toward housing, or at the
22 local discretion of the city or town, it can be geared toward
23 housing. One solution for that is for the banks to educate us
24 and for us to educate those elected officials on how those
25 dollars can help make those properties affordable, where, from

1 a pure market-driven perspective, they were not. That's one
2 way.

3 Now, you know, they don't have an exhaustible number
4 of dollars, but that's one way to slowly begin to make those
5 properties affordable and bring a certain balance in terms of
6 racial composition of those neighborhoods. That's the best
7 answer I can find for you. Or go to our congressmen and
8 complain, and have them allocate more dollars specifically for
9 that specific issue.

10 MR. SPRINGER: Denise, do you care to respond to
11 that?

12 MS. VIERA: Working in Fair Housing, I often am --
13 it's often assumed that I am an integrationist, and I'm not.
14 I like to make the distinction between integration and
15 desegregation, because people need to have choices about where
16 they live; and, particularly, when we talk about racial
17 discrimination -- which, if we're having the education
18 discussion now, I think is really at the crux of that -- it's
19 not, I think, so much the problem that there have been ethnic
20 enclaves in this country, and continue to be -- that is the
21 greatest problem that we face in terms of fair housing issues
22 now -- as it is the structural inability of people of color to
23 have choice.

24 That may mean that there are communities that will
25 be more Latino or less Latino, and I might choose to live in

1 one of those communities or not. I might prefer to live in a
2 community that has a few more African-Americans or a few less
3 African-Americans or is racially mixed.

4 I also live in Hartford, and one of the reason I
5 live in Hartford is because the area I live in is racially
6 mixed, and that's what I prefer; but other people don't.
7 There are going to be changes in patterns, and people will
8 move out for a variety of individual reasons; but if I'm not
9 harassing my neighbor because they moved in, and I don't like
10 their color, but I decide to sell my house because I don't
11 like their color, that's kind of an individualized decision,
12 and if I move somewhere -- the problem I think we have in this
13 country is that that's been made systemic. It's not just
14 individual choices; it's cultural, societal, and governmental
15 choices.

16 That's why the law needs to step in, not because
17 people don't get along. We get as many calls in the office,
18 you know, somebody says, I don't like my neighbor because I
19 don't like my neighbor; and we have to kind of deal with --
20 those are the ones I told you, It's not fair. That's going to
21 happen, and that's not just because of their race; but
22 sometimes it is, and it's really, I think, about choices.

23 When you talk about moving from Hartford to Wilton,
24 there are reasons beyond just economics as to why you may not
25 be able to move, or even if they are economic, why those

1 economics are those economics. That's what we need to
2 address. We need to say that it's not okay for towns to say,
3 We don't have a responsibility to have a variety of housing
4 choices in our community, be that the city or the suburb.

5 It isn't housing choice in the cities either. If I
6 want to live in a racially mixed community, I can say, Well,
7 maybe that means I move to a Bloomfield or Hartford, but it
8 means I'm giving up a set of whole other things, usually, and
9 that means I don't really have a choice to live in a city. I
10 also don't have a choice to live in a suburb; the door may be
11 closed to me.

12 When we talk about fair housing, that's what we need
13 to address, is that idea of desegregation and housing choice,
14 more than the social engineering that seems to be typically
15 involved in integration: Well, we have too many of this kind
16 of people and not enough of that kind of people, and we aren't
17 picking a baseball team here and worried that we've got too
18 many pitchers. It's really about the choice.

19 That's why the gentrification stuff bothers me, and
20 it doesn't bother me. I want to live in a community that's
21 got doctors and lawyers; and I don't like doing yardwork, so
22 it's real important to me that I live somewhere where somebody
23 likes to do yardwork and I can pay them to do that because
24 it's not something that I enjoy; there are other things that I
25 do enjoy.

1 That's one thing I love about my neighborhood.
2 We've got all kinds of people. There are people on the street
3 who can fix things around the house and people who are
4 doctors, people who are attorneys and people who are bankers.
5 That's what I think a strong community is about; at least,
6 that's my definition of what a strong community is about.

7 We have so many barriers that have been built up in
8 this state that prevent that. Most of our communities are not
9 that way. I don't know what you do in Wilton when it snows,
10 because there's nobody there that thinks it's their job to
11 shovel. "That's not what I do." That's a fundamental
12 problem.

13 What happened if in your community, walls really
14 were put up around it? What if those walls that you've been
15 erecting keep people out, really kept them out and really kept
16 you in? Do you have a strong and vital community in and of
17 itself? Most of the communities in Connecticut are not that
18 way. It's not a problem of Hartford and it's not a problem of
19 New Haven; it's a statewide and, indeed, national problem that
20 I think if we address it from that standpoint, we'd be better
21 off. That's a question of will.

22 MR. SPRINGER: We're going to have some additional
23 exchange on this, but before we do that, I'd like to call
24 on -- is Tony Pepe here? No?

25 Mike?

1 MR. KAELIN: I just have a question for Denise: You
2 identified several factors as contributing to the isolation
3 between the suburbs and the urban communities; to what
4 extent -- and I know this is hard to do; I'm just trying to
5 get some sense of proportion -- to what extent would you
6 attribute that isolation to the fair housing issues that we
7 talked about this morning versus simply the affordability of
8 the housing stock in the suburbs?

9 MS. VIERA: I don't know that those are -- well,
10 when I make a distinction between affordable housing and fair
11 housing, is that --

12 MR. KAELIN: Yes. Or can you?

13 MS. VIERA: Well, I think you can, to the extent
14 that the way that cities grow up, in a city, it's going to be
15 more dense than in a suburban or rural area. Your housing
16 costs, you would expect, are going to be -- or that you'll be
17 able to find housing that's lower cost just because of that
18 density and economies of scale, certain services that are
19 there. So this lifestyle is going to be different than in a
20 suburban area.

21 I think that there clearly is a nexus between
22 affordability and fair housing issues. The suburbs grew up
23 because of governmental policies that allowed them to grow
24 up. There wouldn't have been the roads that would have made
25 it possible for people to live in a suburban community and

1 still work in a city, if it weren't for federal transportation
2 policy; and then, overlaid on that, other federal policies
3 that said minorities can't move into these communities because
4 their finances -- you weren't eligible.

5 There clearly is that nexus, but I also think that
6 we need to not -- it's important that we not always say, All
7 minorities, for example, are poor; that the reason that --
8 bringing in when we were talking about the disability issue --
9 they say, But they're not going to be able to afford it on
10 their disability insurance.

11 You don't know what people's income is just because
12 you look at them and say, Oh, you're an African-American,
13 you're disabled; therefore, you have no money. But that tends
14 to be what happens. They are not exactly the same thing. I
15 think we need to be really careful about that, and be careful
16 that to the extent that the roadblocks that have been put up
17 for affordable housing, really don't come from any concern
18 about affordability at all.

19 Most of those towns that I was pointing to have
20 housing authorities; they have public housing in those
21 communities. Most of it's elderly housing. There's nothing
22 wrong with doing multifamily, low-cost housing as long as it's
23 for the poor white people who already live in our community.
24 If you can build lower-cost housing, then it can be available
25 for people of all different kinds of shades and backgrounds,

1 so it's not really an affordability issue.

2 There are ways of doing cluster housing. People
3 talk about, We have wetlands problems, and we really can't.
4 We have no buildable land, until some subdivision developer
5 comes in and says, Here's how we're going to cluster this
6 thing and it's going to look like this. They're going to sell
7 just this much and bump up the market here. Then all of a
8 sudden, there's land available.

9 That has tended to be the development pattern in
10 Connecticut. There's not land available until the project is
11 for the right people. When there's a perception that it's for
12 the wrong people -- West Hartford is my favorite town to pick
13 on. There's little developments all around West Hartford that
14 there were major fights, up to the Supreme Court fights on, We
15 will not allow these couple of little units.

16 Then when you ask the people where they are, they
17 go, I don't know. When you tell them where they are, they go,
18 That's it? That's the development that everyone was fighting
19 about? They didn't even notice it. It was not a problem
20 until, on paper, it looks like it's low-income housing. So
21 yes, there is a relationship there.

22 Can I exactly divide out what's what? I mean, I
23 sort of can't; but I think that we need to get away from just
24 saying the reason there are no minorities in my town is
25 because they can't afford it, because there's usually a whole

1 set of other reasons as well, and that affordability was
2 often -- or the unaffordability was created to specifically
3 keep people out, not the other way around.

4 MR. SPRINGER: Althea, I wanted to direct a question
5 to you that follows up on Mike's question: With respect to
6 some of the suburban communities -- and Denise brought a map
7 earlier, which I did hold up -- where there is a substantial
8 -- or rather, insignificant minority population, how many
9 cases have you dealt with in circumstances where someone has
10 sought to either purchase a home and found that, for example,
11 there was two-and-a-half-acre zoning, which drove up the cost
12 of a lot, which drove up the cost of the size of the house
13 that they could build on the lot and, therefore, prevented
14 them, financially, from being able to afford that unit, are
15 those situations that your office has ever dealt with? Are
16 those some things that have occurred in your experience?

17 MS. SEABORN: Within the seven-year period since
18 I've been in the U.S. Attorney's office, we have not had cases
19 that have raised those issues. I'm not sure if they were
20 brought in prior, but definitely in Fairfield County, that is
21 a fact. There are communities there where there are zoning
22 restrictions that -- Wilton, for example, has one-acre lots or
23 above; but to my knowledge, my office has not dealt with it,
24 at least in recent years. I think that --

25 MR. SPRINGER: I'm sorry to interrupt you, but you

1 had mentioned before the concept of adverse impact as opposed
2 to some intentional form of discrimination, and that was
3 really where I was going with that question. I was wondering
4 if a situation has arisen where you had a disproportionate
5 number of people, who happened to be people of color, who
6 could not buy in that particular area because of the zoning
7 restrictions that drove up the cost of values so they couldn't
8 afford them.

9 MS. SEABORN: The Department of Justice has been
10 confronted with those types of issues, but I have not been
11 involved in them and really have no specific instances to
12 speak of. It's definitely the case, but I don't know. I
13 don't know.

14 The disparate impact is obvious when you look at the
15 different cities that surround a lot of the suburban towns,
16 but unless the case is brought to the department, we won't get
17 involved and we won't be able to address that. But there has
18 been a disproportionate impact upon minorities, and I think
19 it's obvious from the map that that is so; because in certain
20 communities, the cost is so high that certain individuals are
21 precluded from going in.

22 Even if, as Denise says, they have the income to
23 afford whatever rental housing that may exist in some of those
24 communities like Wilton, even though it has a one-acre zoning,
25 does have some rental opportunities or condo units available.

1 That perception that has been created over the years because
2 minorities have not been in these communities and minorities
3 are concentrated in the other cities and in the inner city;
4 these negative perceptions have created this situation where
5 they don't have access. They're not able to even go in and
6 secure the housing.

7 MR. SPRINGER: I think Miguel had touched on this
8 and Denise had mentioned it, and I believe you did also,
9 Althea, that one of the suggestions for dealing with that
10 problem, if it's purely one of affordability, is to make
11 access to affordable housing much larger.

12 In Connecticut, I'm aware that there's an affordable
13 housing appeals statute, but I also am aware it has been
14 subject to some controversy; and every two years, someone
15 introduces a bill in an effort to scuttle it.

16 Denise, I just wanted to ask you to respond -- I
17 know there's a couple of other members on the panel who have
18 some questions -- to the notion of how do you expand
19 affordable housing in Connecticut?

20 MS. VIERA: Okay. How do we expand affordable
21 housing in Connecticut? There is this affordable housing
22 appeals process, which basically just shifts the burden of
23 proving that a local zoning statute is appropriate onto the
24 town. If a developer is coming in and wants to develop
25 affordable housing and it gets rejected, then the town needs

1 to basically explain why they don't want this affordable
2 housing in the community, which is helpful.

3 When it comes down to it, it hasn't really developed
4 many units, other than the scare value of it has. Some of the
5 things that Miguel talked about, of coupling public and
6 private dollars, I think is extremely important. I think we
7 generally need to remember that despite the fact that home
8 rule is such a big deal, it's the zoning-enabling statute of
9 the state that allows towns to even set up any kinds of zones
10 at all; and that zoning-enabling statute requires that you
11 provide housing opportunities for all people throughout the
12 region, not just that individual town. So those kinds of
13 things need to be used more.

14 I frankly think that, at least in recent history,
15 Connecticut has had more programs for facilitating affordable
16 housing than most other states in the country; at least, on
17 paper they exist. I think there are some better relationships
18 here with banks than in other parts of the country. It's a
19 smaller state.

20 That definitely goes on to some extent, but I think
21 it's just the old attitudes of, This is our community, and
22 it's been this way and it's going to stay this way, and
23 there's nothing you can do to make it change. That's the
24 biggest problem.

25 Ten years ago, when Governor O'Neil declared 1987 to

1 be the year of housing, it was because there were so many
2 people who couldn't afford housing in the communities in which
3 they already lived. That was the message that sort of rang
4 real true for folks. It wasn't the idea that there were
5 substantial numbers of minorities in the cities who couldn't
6 move in. It was, My kids can't buy here. That's the
7 problem. The fact that your kids can't buy here is of no
8 interest to me whatsoever; it's the fact that my kids can't
9 buy here. It's mostly an attitudinal issue.

10 I want to steal just a second to go back to Mike's
11 question, because I knew there were some kinds of statistics
12 that I think gets to some of what we were talking about, so
13 indulge me while I read this to you: "In 1990, over 56
14 percent of all minorities in Connecticut resided in just five
15 cities: Bridgeport, Hartford, New Haven, Stamford, and
16 Waterbury.

17 "In three of those cities -- Hartford, New Haven,
18 and Bridgeport -- minority populations constituted over half
19 of each town's population. Also, about 60 percent of
20 Connecticut's residents living below the poverty level resided
21 in just ten communities. We have an extremely racially and
22 economically segregated state.

23 "However, racial segregation is not merely the
24 result of economic segregation. Poor whites are not nearly as
25 segregated as poor minorities. In 1990, only 34 percent of

1 poor whites in the New Haven metropolitan area resided in the
2 city, this compared to 92 percent of poor African-Americans
3 and 73 percent of poor Hispanics.

4 "In the Bridgeport areas poor whites were even more
5 dispersed. Just 18 percent lived in the city, while poor
6 minorities were just as concentrated: 55 percent of
7 African-Americans and 76 percent of poor Hispanics lived in
8 Bridgeport.

9 "Racial segregation was most pronounced in the
10 Hartford metropolitan area. In 1990, a mere 12 percent of
11 poor whites resided in the city, compared to 80 percent of
12 poor African-Americans and 76 percent of poor Hispanics."

13 I think those statistics point out the fact that
14 this is not just an issue of affordability. Poor whites are
15 managing to find housing outside of our urban areas and yet
16 poor blacks and Hispanics are not.

17 DR. CHUN: That raises the question of
18 voluntariness. These patterns are alarming, but when we call
19 that alarming, we are assuming that inability to move out. So
20 do you assume, then? How can you?

21 MS. VIERA: One of the most clear ways that we can
22 assume that is the fact that we continue to get a lot of
23 complaints from people saying, I want to move out. I happened
24 to bring this with me. I don't also have the statistics that
25 the Citizen Research Education network put together when they

1 surveyed Section 8 recipients, and the very high percentages
2 of them -- this was in Hartford; the vast majority of which
3 are African-Americans and Latinos -- who said that they would
4 like to move out of the city of Hartford, but couldn't find
5 housing.

6 The number of people who look for housing outside of
7 the city are rejected and then end up moving into the city
8 because they can't find housing anywhere else. In the past
9 two weeks, I know that we've received three complaints from
10 people from Milford who got Section 8 certificates from the
11 Milford Housing Authority and could not find housing, went not
12 only the period of time they had to use the certificate, but
13 had two extensions and had been rejected in every single place
14 that they had gone to to use those certificates. They were
15 either discouraged, they felt, because of their ethnicity or
16 because they were specifically told, We don't accept Section
17 8.

18 So I don't think it's merely choice. That may
19 explain away some of it, but those numbers are so different
20 that I think that we've got to say at least part of it has to
21 do with discrimination.

22 THE CHAIRPERSON: There's one problem that was not
23 addressed, and maybe in one minute, it can be answered:
24 Nobody talked about the problem of lack of public
25 transportation as a reason for lack of people being able to

1 move. And if towns want to keep out people that are, quote,
2 "undesirable" -- I know, by my first house, I had to take the
3 public bus, but at least I could take a bus. In many of these
4 places, there are no buses to take. Is there anything that
5 can be done to force communities to put in more public
6 transportation so that this problem will disappear?

7 MS. VIERA: We could ask the governor to not get rid
8 of railways. I don't know what you do to force towns to -- I
9 don't know enough about transportation policy to be able to
10 say that. I do know that as part of the affordable housing
11 appeals process, there was a survey of towns that asked
12 whether this had been used in your community; in both
13 northwestern and northeastern Connecticut, when the regional
14 planning agencies were contacted, they said the number one
15 barrier to access to housing in their areas was
16 transportation.

17 Forget affordability; that wasn't it. It was
18 transportation, and that needed to be dealt with. That was,
19 therefore; their new housing policy, was transportation
20 policy, and that's what they were focusing on. The survey I
21 mentioned before, at the Connecticut Housing Coalition
22 Conference -- that's an overcount of people who work in urban
23 areas -- there were still a lot of concerns about
24 transportation. I don't know if somebody else has an answer
25 to it, but it clearly is a huge problem. I do know that some

1 of the urban planners and regional planners have been noting
2 it.

3 THE CHAIRPERSON: I want to thank George and the
4 panel for the excellent job they have done. We do have a
5 lunch break now. We will come back at 1:25, and Michael will
6 be taking over the chair and running the next session. Again,
7 thank you very much. It was truly informative.

8

9 (A luncheon recess was taken from approximately
10 12:25 p.m. until 1:25 p.m.)

11

12 THE CHAIRPERSON: Good afternoon. For those of you
13 who may be new and were not at this morning's session, let me
14 introduce the Advisory Committee of the United States
15 Commission on Civil Rights. My name is Neil Macy, and I'm
16 Chairman this year.

17 Beginning from my far right, we have Phyllis
18 Zlotnick, Patrick Johnson; and representing our regional
19 district from Washington, D.C., is Ki-Taek Chun; Margery
20 Gross, Dr. Ivor Echols, Attorney George Springer, and
21 Dr. Lou Bertha McKenzie-Wharton. On my left, Michael Kaelin.

22 Without taking any more time, because we actually --
23 you never know when you arrange it, how many questions -- we
24 actually ran out of time today because people were still going
25 hot and heavy.

1 Michael is going to be the moderator for this
2 afternoon's session, so take over, Mike.

3 MR. KAELIN: Good afternoon. The first thing I'd
4 like to do is introduce my panel this afternoon. The topic of
5 discussion is civil rights enforcement in employment.

6 Sitting to my immediate left is Louis Martin. He is
7 the executive director of the State Commission on Human Rights
8 and Opportunities, which I will be referring to, probably
9 frequently, as the "Crow." He was appointed in 1990 as the
10 executive director. He is responsible for the enforcement of
11 the state antidiscrimination laws here in Connecticut.

12 Before coming to Connecticut, he was the deputy
13 director of the Maryland Commission on Human Relations; before
14 that, he served with the Iowa Civil Rights Commission. He
15 served as an administrative hearing officer, director of the
16 compliance division, and as acting executive director.

17 He is a lawyer by training. He has the distinction
18 of having been a partner in a Little Rock, Arkansas law firm
19 -- not the Rose law firm.

20 MR. MARTIN: I tried, though.

21 MR. KAELIN: He is a member of the board of
22 directors of the Greater Hartford Urban League, and is
23 currently the president of the George W. Crawford Law
24 Associates, which is a legal organization representing the
25 interests of black lawyers here in Connecticut.

1 To his left is Ruth Pulda. Ruth is a practicing
2 attorney. She is a partner in the law firm of Livingston,
3 Adler, Pulda & Meiklejohn, which is based in Hartford. They
4 represent unions and plaintiffs in labor- and
5 employment-related matters. She's also counsel to the
6 Connecticut Women's Education and Legal Fund. She serves as a
7 commissioner on the Permanent Commission on the Status of
8 Women.

9 She graduated as a Root-Tilden scholar from New York
10 University and served as a law clerk to Leo J. Parskey, then
11 an associate justice of the Connecticut Supreme Court. She's
12 served on various legislative task forces, including the Law
13 Revision Commission's Task Force on Revising the State Family
14 & Medical Leave Act and the Law Revision Commission's Task
15 Force on Legislative Changes to the Commission on Human Rights
16 & Opportunities.

17 To her left is Betsy Gara. Betsy is associate
18 counsel for the Connecticut Business & Industry Association.
19 This is the state's largest business organization with over
20 10,000 member companies. She represents them on education,
21 job training, insurance, employment discrimination, and
22 corporate law issues before the state legislature.

23 She's also served on the CHRO Advisory Committee,
24 which was created by the legislature in 1996 to improve CHRO's
25 complaint processing system as well as the Law Revision

1 Commission's Advisory Committee on the Americans with
2 Disabilities Act. She serves on the CBIA's Labor and
3 Employment Council, which reviews and makes recommendations
4 regarding the state's labor and employment laws and
5 regulations.

6 Before joining the CBIA, Betsy held a variety of
7 positions with the state Insurance Department, including
8 senior insurance examiner. She is a member of the executive
9 committees of the Connecticut Bar Association's Business Law
10 section.

11 To Betsy's left is Robert Sanders. He is the area
12 director of the Boston area office of the EEOC, which is the
13 office of the EEOC responsible for this area; and to his
14 immediate left is Anne Gianantonio, who is the supervisor in
15 that office.

16 Since the topic is civil rights enforcement in
17 employment, the way I'd like to get started is by asking
18 Mr. Martin to give everyone an overview of the enforcement
19 procedures here in Connecticut.

20 MR. MARTIN: Thank you, Michael. Good afternoon. I
21 hope you've had a good, stimulating morning, and it sounds
22 like you did. I'm going to address employment discrimination
23 from the perspective of a state administrative enforcement
24 agency, the Commission on Human Rights & Opportunities. What
25 I normally do is give you a history and overview of the

1 agency, but I'm not going to do that. I'm just going to get
2 right into the substantive part of employment discrimination
3 and how CHRO enforces it and what are some of the parameters
4 of the enforcement process in Connecticut, and what are some
5 of the obstacles and what are some of the good things that I
6 see as far as administrative enforcement from our agency's
7 perspective.

8 I think the first thing we need to begin with is try
9 to understand, in a philosophical sense, what employment
10 discrimination is and the apparatus that has been created to
11 redress these grievances or social evils as seen by
12 legislative bodies over the past 50 years or so in the United
13 States.

14 I think what you have to remember is that employment
15 discrimination was seen as a social evil, and the remedy to
16 deal with it was put into the legal context as the apparatus
17 to eradicate our society of what we considered a social evil
18 that was hindering many portions of our population from the
19 full enjoyment of many of the benefits of being citizens.

20 This was very counter, the whole idea was counter to
21 the concept that we as a people had this bundle of rights and
22 we could do with our bundle of rights whatever we wanted to
23 do, especially with the property that we own. We, as a
24 society, are really into our own property rights.

25 We were willing to give up some of that when we

1 started this dialogue about what should we do about employment
2 discrimination and the impact it was having on the various
3 segments of the community. We decided, as individuals,
4 through the public policy dialogue and process that went
5 forward, to give up a certain portion of that, but a very
6 small portion.

7 What you have in place, and what you've had in place
8 over the last 50 years or so is some very narrow exceptions to
9 various elements of the property rights law in our country,
10 that they carved out some exceptions that said, In most of the
11 areas in your life, you are allowed to make free -- you have
12 unfettered choice and discretion to make decisions about your
13 employment environment which you own, which is your property
14 rights.

15 The legislative body decided to carve out an
16 exception in the area of employment, because it is so
17 important to everybody's lives and for the social good, we're
18 going to carve out some exceptions and we're going to take
19 away from your individual discretion and rights to make
20 decisions about things that you own. We're going to take away
21 some of your rights.

22 So over time, and in 1943, Connecticut started that
23 process -- and we go around telling people that we're the
24 oldest effective civil rights administrative state agency in
25 the country; 53 years old now -- so they started carving out

1 exceptions. In the beginning, they made them do that.

2 Later on, in the '50s and '60s, they carved out some
3 very strong exceptions to that. They said, In this very
4 narrow area of employment, we are not going to allow you to
5 base decisions upon certain things that we think are so
6 important. So they started with race and religion and creed.
7 Through the next 50 years, they've added about twelve or
8 fifteen -- depending on how you want to count -- different
9 bases of discrimination, which took away our individual rights
10 to make decisions in the area of employment about these
11 things. Now we have added sex, disability, physical and
12 mental disability. We added sexual orientation and various
13 things over time.

14 So now you have a set of laws in the state of
15 Connecticut in the area of employment that prohibits certain
16 types of conduct for certain types of people in certain types
17 of circumstances. That doesn't mean all discrimination, even
18 in employment, is illegal. It just means there's very narrow
19 exceptions that they've outlawed in the statute which have now
20 become illegal, embodied as prohibitions, like all other
21 prohibitions, in our law.

22 So what we have in the state of Connecticut now is
23 we have an administrative enforcement agency, the Commission
24 on Human Rights & Opportunities, which enforces these
25 prohibitions in the area of employment. At the Commission, in

1 1997, we received approximately 3,000, 2,800 complaints per
2 year; and we've seen, over the last seven years, about a
3 91-percent increase.

4 We had traditionally received about 1,500 to 1,600
5 complaints per year. That has shot up; in 1990 to '92, we
6 were up to about 2,400; in 1995, we went up to 3,000
7 complaints per year. We saw a direct correlation between how
8 well the economy in this state was being managed and what the
9 employment discrimination complaints looked like, the nature
10 of the complaints, and the volume of the complaints.

11 When you had an economy like we had in the early
12 '90s, we saw this tremendous growth in the number of
13 complaints, like I said, from 1,500 to 3,000 complaints; we
14 doubled our case inventory.

15 The nature of the complaints also changed during
16 that time. What we saw when the economy was bad is that
17 people did not file complaints; people did not file complaints
18 where there was an intact employment relationship. That is,
19 the nature of the complaints, people filed complaints based on
20 termination and other types of employment decisions that were
21 being made, where there was a separation of the employee from
22 employment relationship, therefore, they felt more
23 comfortable, we found very little, a small amount of
24 complaints where there was an intact employment relationship,
25 the employment relationship was ongoing in nature. That has

1 now changed.

2 Now you see the nature of the complaints are now
3 changing because the economy is doing better and people feel
4 more comfortable complaining about things while they have a
5 continuing employment relationship ongoing with their
6 employer.

7 Let me just give you some summary-type statistics
8 that are going through the complaint process itself: What you
9 have now is 3,000 complaints per year; over the last four
10 years, we closed about 3,400 complaints per year. About 35
11 percent of those cases are settlement cases; we collected
12 about \$5 million in benefits or cash dollars for people. That
13 is a tremendous increase over what we've done over the last
14 six years, when we usually averaged about a half million
15 dollars; now we're up to \$5 million.

16 Six years ago, seven years ago, we found only about
17 one percent of our cases, where we actually did an
18 investigation, did we find discrimination. We're now up to
19 about 24 percent of a finding of reasonable cause to believe
20 that discrimination has occurred. Mr. Brown may give you a
21 little more on that.

22 We've made some tremendous progress in reducing our
23 inventory. Four years ago, we had an inventory of 3,400 cases
24 in the investigative stage; now we have 1,300 cases, which is
25 less than six months of intake inventory that we currently

1 have on file within our agency.

2 Let me begin now by giving you the process and some
3 of the good things and bad things I've seen within our process
4 and how it operates. As you know, people can file complaints
5 with the Commission in the area of employment. The employer
6 must have at least three employees; that is the threshold for
7 filing complaints in our state.

8 We're relatively one of the few jurisdictions in the
9 country that has a very low threshold for filing. The
10 conditions precedent for filing a complaint -- this is
11 sometimes what employers don't understand -- is merely a
12 belief that you believe discrimination has taken place and
13 you've been a victim. It's a very low threshold.

14 If someone files a complaint with our agency, I
15 think sometimes employers believe that it is the Commission
16 filing the complaint. It is an individual who files the
17 complaint, and the Commission -- whether we believe them or
18 not at the beginning of the process, and we are a neutral
19 party at that stage -- merely takes the complaint in.

20 So when a complaint is filed, it is an individual
21 who actually is making allegations and signing affidavits that
22 they believe they have been a victim of discrimination. That
23 complaint, of course, must be filed within 180 days. On that
24 low threshold for filing, one of the real problems is whether
25 or not that threshold should be raised; whether or not,

1 before -- I think it costs an average employer to respond to a
2 complaint, based on a feeling of discrimination, about \$950 to
3 \$1,350, just to, bare bones, answer a complaint.

4 The question arises whether or not there should be a
5 greater standard for filing a complaint, or is merely
6 someone's belief that they've been a victim enough. Now some
7 people argue that the nature of discrimination and the nature
8 of victims of discrimination, that those people do not have
9 access to the type of information that it would require if you
10 put any higher standards to filing a complaint of
11 discrimination.

12 On the other hand, respondents and other employers
13 are being put through quite a financial expense, merely on a
14 belief. Some people have suggested maybe a filing fee. What
15 do you all think of that? A filing fee to thwart persons who
16 don't have a legitimate basis to file complaints. That's the
17 kind of issue that begins at that level, whether or not we
18 have too low of a threshold of conditions preceding filing a
19 complaint.

20 Once the complaint is filed, we review that
21 complaint for merely jurisdictional matters. Is there enough
22 employees, three or more? Is the complaint filed in a timely
23 manner, within 180 days? Does the complainant state a cause
24 of action? Is he or she alleging a harm that is covered by
25 our particular law? so various jurisdictional elements.

1 We do not review the merits of what they're saying.
2 They're saying, ABC fired me, and I think it's because of my
3 sex. We do not make a value judgment on that at that stage
4 because, again, we are a neutral party at that particular
5 stage, when the case first comes in our door.

6 Once that is filed under our statute, again, we have
7 to serve that complaint within ten days on the respondent,
8 merely telling them this complaint has been filed, and under
9 the statute, you have a 30-day time period in which to answer
10 that particular complaint. It is a mandatory answer position;
11 and not all agencies, federal or state, have a mandatory
12 answer.

13 If a party fails to answer the complaint, we have
14 the authority under our statute to default them. What that
15 means is we merely find that they failed to answer and
16 immediately order a hearing on damages. So it's like, You
17 didn't answer; therefore, whatever the complainant said is
18 true and, therefore, we're going to a hearing on damages
19 before a hearing examiner in the agency.

20 Once we receive an answer from the respondent, then
21 the statute and regulations require that the complainant be
22 provided a copy by the respondent and that the complainant
23 then has a 15-day time period in which to provide a rebuttal
24 to that answer. That can either be orally or in writing, and
25 we prefer it in writing.

1 Once that comes in, then the merit assessment
2 process takes over. Two years ago, the state legislature gave
3 the agency the authority to make an early determination on the
4 merits of cases prior to a full-blown investigation. A few
5 years ago, the Connecticut Supreme Court set out, in one of
6 their cases, what was required to do an investigation. And we
7 figured it was about 40 or so hours' worth of work to do a
8 complete, prompt investigation, under the standard as
9 interpreted by the Connecticut Supreme Court.

10 As our caseload rose and we realized that our
11 staffing level was what it was, we either had to have double
12 our staff, about two and a half more million dollars, or a
13 process that would get us out from under the requirement of
14 doing this 40-hour investigation on every case.

15 So we asked for the merit assessment process, and
16 the merit assessment process said that within 90 days after a
17 complaint is filed, the Commission will conduct an assessment
18 of the complaint, of the answer, of the answer to any request
19 for information, and the rebuttal, as supplied by the
20 complainant.

21 We do an evaluation to say, Is there a possibility
22 that if we did an investigation, would we find
23 discrimination. That's the reasonable possibility standard as
24 opposed to the reasonable cause standard, so it's a lesser
25 standard. It's like looking at a half glass of water. If you

1 say a reasonable cause is a half glass and a finding of
2 discrimination is a full glass of water, the merit assessment
3 determination is a quarter of a glass of water. That is the
4 standard that we try to get to when making that determination.

5 Over the history of merit assessment, we have
6 dismissed within the first 90 days about half of the cases
7 under that statutory scheme; therefore, we get back down to
8 about our 1,500 cases a year which we have to fully process
9 under the court's interpretation. That's been a process
10 that's worked fairly well. It assisted us in ferreting out
11 those cases that, at the beginning stages, we're not able to
12 make a meritorious determination; but we are able to make a
13 determination after we have some information, and that is the
14 complaint itself, that is the answer, and any answers to
15 interrogatories or requests for information that we have.
16 It's been a lifesaver as far as administratively balancing and
17 managing the caseload within the agency.

18 Once we make that merit assessment determination, as
19 I said, we dismiss about 50 percent of the cases at that
20 point. We then are obligated to have a full type of case
21 processing. Still, at that point, we have certain tools that
22 we use to process the cases out. Not all cases go to a
23 full-fledged determination on the merits of that particular
24 point.

25 We have what is called the mandatory mediation

1 process. We have authority to call the parties to a mediation
2 session, which they must attend, and we try through various
3 mediation schemes to attempt to work out a resolution of the
4 dispute that's going on. We settle about 40 percent of the
5 cases at that point, through that process; we have a
6 satisfactory resolution. We commit it to writing, and it is
7 an enforceable contract. We can go to the Supreme Court and
8 enforce it, if any of the parties were to violate it.

9 Those cases that do not settle at that point are
10 then subject, by and large, to a fact-finding process where we
11 identify the relevant witnesses, the relevant records. We ask
12 the parties to bring them in, and we go out and seek those
13 independently, the ones that we believe are relevant and
14 reliable and probative to the information that we need to
15 resolve the material issues in dispute within the
16 investigation that's going on.

17 So we have a lot of fact-finding conferences that go
18 on. Hopefully, at the end of the fact-finding conference, the
19 investigator then has sufficient information to render his or
20 her determination on the merits of that particular complaint.

21 As I said earlier, at the end of that process, we
22 usually find about 25, 24 percent findings of discrimination,
23 and they kind of go across the board; there doesn't seem to be
24 any juxtaposition. One of our fears always, anytime we have a
25 discretionary decision-making process -- whether it be a jury

1 system or anything else -- all kinds of factors seep into the
2 decision-making processes. We try to filter those external
3 discretionary factors out of the discrimination process.

4 One of the things that's unique about Connecticut is
5 that our statutory scheme allows for and requires that the
6 decision on reasonable cause and no reasonable cause is
7 statutorily designated to be made by the investigating
8 official who actually conducts the investigation, not the
9 administrative agency. Whether we agree or disagree with a
10 finding, we do not have the statutory authority to change it,
11 and we often disagree.

12 So once we complete that fact-finding process, we
13 mail a determination of reasonable cause or no reasonable
14 cause; if it's no reasonable cause, we dismiss the complaint
15 and the party who is aggrieved by that finding can appeal
16 internally through the reconsideration process, which is an
17 in-house process that we take it back through and allow the
18 full Commission, the nine-member policy-making body of the
19 Commission to make a determination.

20 If we find discrimination, then by statute, we're
21 obligated to attempt a conciliation process for a 45-day
22 period, and it can be extended to 60 days. You bring the
23 parties back together, this time not from a neutral position
24 but from a position that we have made a finding of reasonable
25 cause and, therefore, we advocate for the elimination of

1 discrimination during the conciliation process.

2 That brings us to what remedies are available under
3 the various statutes that we enforce at the Commission on
4 Human Rights & Opportunities. Several large cases happened
5 last year, resulting in -- for the past twelve years, we've
6 taken the position -- and the hearing officers have taken the
7 position at the agency -- that the Commission has statutory
8 authority to award compensatory damages when a finding of
9 discrimination is made.

10 The Supreme Court disagreed and said because there
11 are other available alternatives, that parties -- that is one
12 reason they gave -- that the Commission did not have the
13 authority to award compensatory damages. Damages in
14 employment discrimination cases, that we rendered findings on,
15 the remedies were limited to the normal things of equitable
16 relief: back pay reinstatement, and things of that nature;
17 but no compensatory damages for pain, suffering, and
18 humiliation.

19 It always amazes me how in all the fender-benders
20 that happen here and all these PI attorneys who go out and run
21 those down on a daily basis, pain and humiliation is clearly a
22 part of that; but the indignity that one suffers as a result
23 of discrimination is not compensable in that way, according to
24 what our Connecticut Supreme Court believes is their fair
25 interpretation of our statute, which I vehemently disagree

1 with, which I've said.

2 The question is: Should these injuries -- and
3 they're really injuries -- should they be compensable for the
4 pain and suffering suffered by individuals as a result, once a
5 finding is made? We're not asking that these damages be
6 passed out when there's no finding, only when there's a
7 finding actually made. The hearing officer used to do that on
8 a routine basis; therefore, we have a real problem that once
9 we do find discrimination and conciliation fails, the next
10 step of our process, of course, is the fact that these cases
11 are then certified to the public hearing process.

12 Our hearing examiners are not employees of the
13 Commission; they are private attorneys around the state of
14 Connecticut. We are merely a party when we appear before
15 them. You've always heard the administrative process is a
16 very informal process; that's untrue at the Commission on
17 Human Rights & Opportunities.

18 The statutes and the rules are for wanting due
19 process. The State has turned that process into a full-blown
20 trial, with all the rudiments that you have in the superior
21 court. Hearing officers seem to have a less of a willingness
22 to take control of the environment than some superior court
23 judges do; but, certainly, that is a full-blown trial with
24 witnesses and court reporters and 50-page briefs at the end,
25 and it takes quite a long time.

1 Up until the finding of discrimination, our current
2 average case process time at the agency, where, again, 50
3 percent of our cases are finished within 90 days -- but that's
4 required by statute; at least, the determination must be made
5 within the first 90 days.

6 On average, all cases are about 132 days; that
7 includes the cases that are done real early and the ones that
8 are done really late. Again, we have about 1,300 cases in the
9 investigative stage, but we have 400 cases in the public
10 hearing stage, where we've made a finding of discrimination.
11 Now we're waiting for the hearing examiners to process those
12 through; we have no control over that process, of course.

13 One of the things that we hear people talk about is
14 backlog cases. There is no backlog of cases at the Commission
15 on Human Rights & Opportunities; and a good word for those who
16 say that is that it's untrue, and some people would even call
17 that a lie. But certainly, there is a problem with the
18 hearing process, and we've advocated for years that the state
19 of Connecticut spend some money and hire full-time hearing
20 officers. That's what you need.

21 Currently, our hearing officers are in private
22 practice. Some will take cases when their private practice
23 benefits. They only get paid \$125 a day, by statute; that was
24 only changed a few years ago, where it was \$75 a day. It's
25 really not a really good process. They hear cases when they

1 can. They may hear two days in 1996, two days in 1997, and
2 render the decision in 1998; even though, under the
3 Connecticut Administrative Procedure Act, there is a provision
4 that says they will render their decision within 90 days after
5 the case closes.

6 Well, the statute doesn't say what happens if they
7 don't do it. In Connecticut, there's a lot of statutes like
8 that. You do something, but there's no penalty if you don't
9 do it. I don't know why they waste their time up there
10 passing statutes without any penalties, but so be it. You all
11 elected them.

12 But that's the way the process goes. About 30
13 percent of our cases that we receive each year are sex based
14 cases; about 26 percent are race-based cases. Some people
15 have the perception that civil rights agencies like the
16 Commission on Human Rights & Opportunities only serves racial
17 minorities; but, in fact, there's more Caucasian people filing
18 complaints than anybody of any racial group in this state.
19 More than blacks, more than Hispanics, more than any other
20 group you can name.

21 Eighteen percent of our cases are based on age. By
22 and large, the large sums of settlement money that we get
23 primarily adhere to the benefit of white males in our state,
24 who were at high-level jobs, who filed discrimination
25 complaints based on age, based on disability.

1 Seventeen percent of our cases are based on
2 disability claims. By far, there's a greater learning curve
3 in handling the disability claims than any other type of
4 claim, because the analysis and the proof pattern that you
5 need to investigate those claims are much more difficult.

6 I'm often saying we're always looking for social
7 science advocacy-type people to do this work; what you really
8 you need are people from the natural science perspective to do
9 this kind of work. You need chemists, you need zoologists,
10 people that have a very stringent perspective on outcomes;
11 otherwise, cases take too long.

12 In social science, it takes forever to do things.
13 We think there are exceptions beyond exceptions and
14 extrapolation, and every fact situation is different. Well,
15 that takes too long. Under the Connecticut scheme, there's a
16 statutory time frame, so, as you know, the time frame is
17 twelve months. It can be extended up to 18 months. So
18 clearly, a new level of thinking needs to process these cases
19 in a timely way, in a method where we can see some consistency
20 and predictability of outcome; unfortunately, the
21 social-scientist mentality -- not all social scientists -- do
22 not have the perspective that outcome is ever supposed to be
23 certain.

24 MR. KAELIN: Would you mind if I cut you off, so I
25 can give you more of an opportunity to respond to what some of

1 the other speakers are going to say?

2 MR. MARTIN: Let me just wrap up what I wanted to
3 say. So I guess when you look at the whole process and look
4 at where we are in 1997, I think we're in a pretty good stead;
5 but I think one of the things that's clear is the merit
6 system, the process was put in place primarily to help control
7 inventory, because the legislature clearly made it a choice
8 not to fund the agency at a level that was going to be
9 appropriate to do the 3,000 new cases that were coming in the
10 door. I think that that is a clear bastardization of the
11 civil rights process that needs to be corrected and can only
12 be corrected with funding.

13 MR. KAELIN: Thank you for the overview of the
14 process.

15 Ruth, can you give us a plaintiff's perspective,
16 going through the process?

17 MS. PULDA: I learn something new whenever I listen
18 to you, Louis; so I've got a few more facts to sort of figure
19 out what to do with in my next case.

20 I've been doing employment labor and employment from
21 the plaintiff employee perspective for 13 years now, and I've
22 been on, at least, I think maybe three task forces in an
23 attempt to reform or put my two cents in about civil rights
24 enforcement in Connecticut. I was just on one in which Jewel
25 served and Betsy served this last year, in which the

1 legislature refused to take any action on civil rights reform
2 in Connecticut. So I feel like I have seen a lot of ins and
3 outs of the enforcement of civil rights and the ebbs and
4 flows; sometimes it's better and worse and better and worse,
5 and I think that's just how it's going to be.

6 Things do get better and then things get worse. I
7 think, nationally, since this is an advisory group to the U.S.
8 Civil Rights Commission, I think one of the best reforms that
9 I experienced was the Civil Rights Act of 1991, which leveled
10 the playing field a little bit for complainants and plaintiffs
11 in terms of remedies, providing all plaintiffs the damages for
12 pain and suffering -- which Louis talked about which you can't
13 get in Connecticut -- and recognizing just what Louis
14 described, the injury that one experiences when one is proven
15 to have been a victim of discrimination.

16 Also, the fact that now, in federal court, you can
17 get a jury trial. Your claim of discrimination, just like
18 your car accident, can be determined by a jury of your peers.
19 I think that that had a profound impact on civil rights
20 enforcement. I also think the expansion, including the
21 Americans with Disabilities Act was a huge reform.

22 In the state, I think some of the best reforms have
23 been our expansion of various causes of action. I think we
24 should be proud of that. We protect various causes that very
25 few states do, including the fact that you can't be

1 discriminated against because of your marital status,
2 including the fact that in Connecticut, you can't be
3 discriminated against because you're a lesbian or a gay man.
4 It's appalling that the Congress hasn't caught up with
5 Connecticut, once again, in recognizing that just because
6 you're gay, you shouldn't be fired. Connecticut has been a
7 leader in that, and I think that that's a profound reform.

8 I also think that one of the best reforms is that
9 the Commission on Human Rights in Connecticut functions
10 better. At risk of being called a liar, because Louis -- I'm
11 very scared about what I say -- we have had times where our
12 biggest complaint has been that it has taken way too long to
13 get anywhere with the Commission on Human Rights. My law firm
14 had a case where a man couldn't get a hearing and his case was
15 around for ten years.

16 That isn't the case anymore. You get much quicker
17 and you get better investigations. I think we all agree that
18 the staff is better trained, probably has more lawyers on
19 staff, people who have really studied the civil rights laws;
20 and it's a place, now, where people of high quality are
21 attracted to work. I think that that is a huge reform.

22 But I'm a complainer, and I sort of want to echo one
23 of the things that Louis said. I am not sitting here today
24 and complaining that it takes too long to get your case
25 through CHRO. The reason why I'm not complaining about that

1 is because most people don't stay at CHRO anymore, and I'm
2 going to talk about that a little bit more.

3 Just because, right now, the volume is up, but the
4 time people stay at CHRO is not long, doesn't give the
5 Connecticut legislature an excuse to not fully fund this
6 organization, and it never does. We have gone to the
7 legislature practically every year saying there aren't enough
8 investigators, there aren't enough hearing officers, there's
9 not enough money. Just because I'm not emphasizing that
10 doesn't mean that that isn't a constant chronic problem, and I
11 always feel like the legislature's commitment to the
12 enforcement of civil rights is reflected in the fact that it
13 never fully funds that agency.

14 I think today, as I'm here, what's burning today for
15 me is that I think the worst problem for civil rights
16 enforcement in Connecticut is that the administrative process
17 doesn't really work because it doesn't provide effective
18 relief at all.

19 I would say that about the state agency, because the
20 Connecticut Supreme Court has stripped it of the authority to
21 give real, real relief, which are damages, monetary damages
22 and attorneys' fees; and I say that about the federal agency,
23 the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission.

24 Something that Louis didn't explain is that there is
25 an overlap of jurisdiction. We are all protected by both

1 state laws prohibiting discrimination against us, and we're
2 protected by federal laws. The federal laws kick in most
3 often when the employer has 15 or more -- in some statutes, 20
4 or more -- employees, so at times, two agencies kick in.

5 Connecticut is, I think, a lucky state in that it
6 has a work -- it's called a deferral state. It has a
7 work-sharing arrangement with the federal government, the
8 Equal Employment Opportunities Commission, which is the
9 federal agency that administers the federal laws. Connecticut
10 has an agreement with EEOC that it will do the work for the
11 Equal Employment Opportunities Commission so that it doesn't
12 -- so the two agencies aren't doing the same thing.

13 In my 13, almost 14 years of practice, I have barely
14 had anything to do with the EEOC. Most of my claims are
15 either at the CHRO or in federal court, and because of the
16 work-sharing arrangement, with all due respect, the EEOC isn't
17 a big part of my life. When it is, it has been merely for
18 them to oversee the work that the Commission has done. I've
19 never had them do an independent investigation. That's not
20 necessarily a criticism.

21 Every so often, I forget to get a right-to-sue
22 letter. I remember, Oh, I've got to ask the EEOC for a
23 right-to-sue letter -- which is something I'll get back to --
24 and half the time or 98 percent of the time, that's all I have
25 to do with the EEOC. I even file my papers with the state

1 agency, and they file the papers with the federal agency for
2 me.

3 I don't think that system works very well anymore.
4 That's probably for a bigger discussion, but as an advisory
5 council for the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, we've sort of
6 piled thinking on top of thinking; and if we were to start all
7 over again, I'm not so sure that that makes the best sense.

8 At any rate, the biggest focus I have today is to
9 say that I think complainants in Connecticut do not get real
10 relief. By the way, one thing I do want to say is it takes
11 way too long to get a hearing in Connecticut. It can take
12 you, I don't know, years to get assigned to a real hearing
13 officer, who's a volunteer, who is going to hear your case.
14 Then he could hear it the first Tuesday in February and then
15 the third Thursday in October and, you know, the second Monday
16 of the following February. That's truly how hearings can go.

17 We have proposed, and I think there's consensus on
18 this, we propose that Connecticut needs administrative law
19 judges, like most administrative agencies have; and if you
20 have people whose job it is to do that, then maybe some day
21 you'll get a hearing in Connecticut, if you still stay in the
22 CHRO.

23 The CHRO is an important place for a lot of
24 complainants. Most businesses in Connecticut -- I think you
25 know the statistics better than I do -- a lot of them don't

1 employ 15 employees, so that small businesses are an
2 incredible source of business for the CHRO. To have an
3 effective state commission is very important.

4 Also, there's some causes of action that aren't
5 recognized as discriminatory under federal law, so for some
6 people, the CHRO is the administrative mechanism for them.
7 It's very important to have a fully funded and working one
8 that provides effective remedies.

9 Louis referred to the cases. I think that, somehow,
10 because of the lack of funding over various times and the
11 decisions by the Connecticut Supreme Court -- which I think
12 are completely, totally wrong -- they've sort of rendered the
13 administrative process something of a relic.

14 In Connecticut, we went along thinking that you
15 could have a hearing, and for many people, it's really the
16 best place to be. You don't need a lawyer; that's crucial.
17 That's part of the theory of civil rights enforcement. You
18 shouldn't need a lawyer..

19 Well, if you file your complaint with the Commission
20 on Human Rights & Opportunities, you're supposed to not need a
21 lawyer. A lot of employees can't afford one. Sometimes, all
22 that your damages are is pain and suffering.

23 The Connecticut Supreme Court said: In Connecticut,
24 antidiscrimination statutes do not recognize damages for pain
25 and suffering, which Louis referred to as compensatory and

1 punitive damages; nor does it recognize the right for your
2 Attorneys' fees to be paid if you've gone all the way through
3 a hearing and have proven that your company has discriminated
4 against you.

5 One of the main tenets of civil rights enforcement
6 since 1964 is that when you hire an attorney to enforce your
7 civil rights, you're acting as a private attorney general for
8 all of us. That's how important Congress thought civil rights
9 enforcement is. It's not like a typical case where you each
10 pay as you go your lawyer.

11 Well, a lot of people are willing to take civil
12 rights cases because if they prevail, the defendant will pay
13 their attorney's fees. The Connecticut Supreme Court, in its
14 lack of wisdom, has said our state law doesn't authorize that
15 in an administrative process.

16 So now, not only can you most often not -- you can't
17 get damages for pain and suffering at all, and most often, you
18 can't get an attorney. Good luck working your way through the
19 civil rights system, which I'll describe a little bit for
20 you.

21 If you're someone who doesn't do this for a living,
22 you can easily screw up; it's that simple. So a lot of people
23 have chosen to try to get attorneys and can't. Now, if you
24 are not covered by federal law or if you don't have a claim in
25 which you can get an attorney to bring your case in federal

1 court, you're really a stepchild of the civil rights system.

2 We have sought to overturn that. Betsy is going to
3 talk to you about why it's not a good idea to overturn that.
4 I think, basically, what those decisions have done is they
5 have made civil rights enforcement, they've turned it on its
6 head. These decisions, the sort of not taking the
7 administrative process seriously, both on the federal and
8 state level, made civil rights enforcement a matter of federal
9 court litigation. It's not how it was supposed to be.

10 It was supposed to be that we had these
11 administrative agencies that were charged with being the
12 front-line enforcement of your civil rights. Now, frankly,
13 people do whatever they can to bypass them, if they can get a
14 lawyer, if they can pay one to get into state or federal
15 court. I don't know how we got here in 30-some short years,
16 but it's backwards. That's my biggest complaint, and the
17 Connecticut courts are starting to recognize that.

18 I have a bunch of decisions here in which the
19 Connecticut courts have started to say, You don't even have to
20 file with the Connecticut Commission on Human Rights &
21 Opportunities; come straight into state court if you want to
22 bring your discrimination action.

23 There's a split now in the Connecticut court system
24 about whether you even have to file your piece of paper, so
25 they're essentially saying, because the remedies are not

1 adequate in the administrative agency charged with enforcing
2 antidiscrimination laws, forget them; come on here. We'll
3 give you damages for pain and suffering and Attorneys' fees.
4 By the way, you won't see a judge for five years or a jury,
5 because Connecticut has probably one of the most backlogged
6 state systems there is.

7 Federal court has always said, Once you file your
8 administrative prerequisites, file your papers with the state
9 and federal agencies; if you wait the period of time in which
10 you have to wait, you can request a right-to-sue letter most
11 often and come into federal court. If the process works
12 perfectly, you file your complaint and in a little bit more
13 than six months, you can be in federal court.

14 You're going to wait three to five years to get a
15 trial in federal court, because more and more people are
16 bypassing the administrative agencies. The complaints and the
17 discrimination matters are up in federal court, and they are
18 very fact- and labor-intensive cases. They take forever. So
19 it's a system that's sort of collapsing on itself.

20 I'm not saying to start all over, but like I said,
21 it's really bad when you even have superior court judges
22 saying you can bypass these administrative agencies. So that
23 is my biggest beef right now, is that the agencies aren't even
24 allowed to function when they're asked to function.

25 Why is this such a big deal to want damages for pain

1 and suffering? I think Louis said it best. If you fall down
2 and you break your arm, we recognize pain and suffering. If
3 you are a victim of sexual harassment or racial harassment or
4 religious harassment, essentially, all, quote/unquote, that
5 you experience is racial slurs, sexist slurs, religious
6 slurs.

7 You haven't been fired, you haven't lost your job,
8 but the daily grind of your life at work is a hostile
9 environment. Your only damages are damages for pain and
10 suffering. No one's home in Connecticut to award you those
11 damages in CHRO. Are you going to get a lawyer and take your
12 case to federal court to get them to stop calling you names,
13 for the hope that some federal judge and jury will award you
14 damages for pain and suffering and award you Attorneys' fees?
15 It's very hard. It's my business; I know. I turn around a
16 lot of those cases.

17 So I think it's ridiculous, and the people who
18 oppose these damages force us to federal court and federalize
19 these things that once were supposed to be an administrative
20 matter. I can beat that to death; I won't.

21 I think we're still very worried about whenever the
22 backlog kicks up at CHRO, because we have another horrible
23 Connecticut Supreme Court decision hanging over our head, the
24 Angelsea decision, in which the Connecticut Supreme Court
25 said, If the agency cannot meet its statutory deadlines, you,

1 as a complainant, who has sat there and waited for an
2 investigator, you've done nothing except get your papers in on
3 time; your case is going to be automatically dismissed.
4 Good-bye; you're out. If CHRO can't meet the deadline, and in
5 the past it's had trouble meeting the deadline, then you've
6 lost jurisdiction.

7 So we've got some serious education of our state
8 judiciary to do, but I think as a member of the Advisory
9 Council to the U.S. Civil Rights Commission, I think it's
10 important for you to know that our state statute is so out of
11 step with even federal law, it's making the administrative
12 process completely hollow.

13 I have another beef, if I could have a minute to
14 keep complaining, again, because I get the chance to talk to
15 the feds, or people talking to the feds. The statute of
16 limitations for civil rights enforcement is a complete mess.
17 This is why a lot of people feel like they have to have
18 lawyers.

19 If you are going to file a complaint on, let's say,
20 race or sex discrimination, you must file your complaint
21 within 180 days of the discriminatory act. Make sure you know
22 what that discriminatory act is, and make sure that you know
23 or what you should know of that discriminatory act, and
24 remember, 180 days is not six months.

25 How many causes of action, how many things do we

1 value as a statutory right in which we say, Get going within
2 six months or else you have a big chance of losing your right
3 to vindicate your civil rights at all? Why do we have that
4 180-day period, which is not six months? Because with this
5 overlap between state and federal law, you must file with the
6 state agency within 180 days. A lot of people, particularly
7 those who say, Why should I have a lawyer? I can't even get a
8 lawyer, miss that deadline. A lot of people miss a three-year
9 deadline; they're certainly going to miss a 180-day deadline.

10 Then there is a fallback that if you miss the
11 180-day deadline, you can file within 300 days; but it's
12 really not 300 days because the United States Supreme Court,
13 through another weird decision, chopped off 60 days and said,
14 If you don't file with the EEOC within 240 days, you're going
15 to lose -- there's going to be no jurisdiction.

16 Now, I described it like this, and I'm not going to
17 explain it to you. Why? Because it's inexplicable, and my
18 point is it's absolutely incomprehensible to a person who is
19 not well versed in this. It's often incomprehensible to
20 lawyers who do this. It's becoming like the tax code; if you
21 don't zig when you're supposed to zag and meet these
22 ridiculously short, convoluted, not uniform statutes of
23 limitation every step of the way, you're going to lose the
24 right to sue at all.

25 By the way, everything I just told you does not

1 apply to age discrimination, and by the way, don't forget to
2 get your right-to-sue letter from the EEOC; and if you don't
3 get into federal court within 90 days, you're not going to be
4 able to sue at all. It's a mess. Again, I am deliberately
5 describing it to you as it is, not to explain it to you to,
6 but to tell you that it's -- I call it a trap for the unwary,
7 and most complainants get caught in it. .

8 I think I've said everything for now.

9 MR. KAELIN: Let me ask Betsy to give the employer's
10 perspective.

11 MS. GARA: I don't know if I'll have the epiphany
12 that Ruth hopes for me, but I will share some of our views
13 with you. Just for those of you who aren't familiar with the
14 Connecticut Business & Industry Association, we're a trade
15 association, as Michael had mentioned. We represent over
16 10,000 member companies across Connecticut, the vast majority
17 of which are small employers.

18 Part of our mission is working to improve the
19 state's business climate, to nurture the state's economy; and
20 part of doing that involves making sure that the regulatory
21 agencies in this state see businesses as really more of an
22 asset than an adversary. We have been working with a number
23 of agencies in that context. One of the agencies is the
24 Commission on Human Rights & Opportunities.

25 We have been working, as Ruth had mentioned, on a

1 number of task forces to improve the efficiency of the
2 complaint-processing system at CHRO. It has been a very big
3 problem, for both the complainants and the employers, when
4 you're stuck in a system and you're spending money or wasting
5 your time looking for a resolution to the problem, when it may
6 take years and years.

7 As people had mentioned, there had been some changes
8 in the CHRO as a result of the legislation passed in response
9 to the Angelsea Productions case. There is now a cut-off
10 time, so we do not have that backlog now; but I don't think a
11 lot of the problems inherent with the statutory time frames
12 themselves, with the complaint processing system itself, have
13 really been resolved. So we may end up getting to a point
14 where we do see that backlog that will result in people losing
15 their right to a hearing on the merits of their case,
16 regardless of any fault of their own.

17 I do want to say that we are very supportive of an
18 informal administrative process that advances equal
19 opportunities and encourages people to resolve things very
20 quickly, very efficiently. We do feel that our Connecticut
21 employers have a good track record of compliance with the
22 state's discrimination laws, and we have concerns that
23 particularly during recessionary times, the level of
24 complaints does increase dramatically. I think that's because
25 you do see a lot of disgruntled employees; they want to look

1 for an opportunity to get back at the employer.

2 It has been mentioned there are a number of
3 protected classes in Connecticut; pretty much, everybody falls
4 within one protected class or another. It's very easy to file
5 a complaint. All somebody has to do is write a letter
6 alleging that they were discriminated against, and then the
7 CHRO has to act on that particular letter.

8 Unfortunately, that letter can lock an employer into
9 a process that was, until recently, a process that could take
10 years and years to resolve. Obviously, for employers, when
11 you have a situation that requires more time, more attorney's
12 fees, that's going to result in more money. A lot of people
13 say the employer can just hire an attorney, and it's going to
14 cost them a few bucks; ultimately, most of the complaints are
15 resolved anyway.

16 But it is a big problem. First of all, you have the
17 cost involved in hiring an attorney. Just to get the answer
18 filed to the complaint, to have those questions responded to
19 generally costs anywhere between \$700 and \$2,500, depending on
20 the attorney. Then there are little traps for the unwary, not
21 only for the complainant, but also for the employer that is
22 unrepresented in the process.

23 There's also the time involved. Even if you hire an
24 attorney, for a small employer in particular, an employer may
25 not have as sophisticated recordkeeping as some of the larger

1 employers; it takes a lot of time and effort to answer those
2 questions. You have these Schedule A questionnaires; they
3 include hundreds and hundreds of questions, some of which bear
4 no relationship to the actual complaint. That's a big
5 problem.

6 I know small employers. They'll go down to their
7 basement; they'll have their bookkeeper try to piece together
8 the information. It's very difficult because, typically, the
9 kinds of questions they ask are not the ways that employers
10 would keep information for any other purposes. It doesn't
11 make sense.

12 This is a big source of frustration for employers,
13 when they feel that they're clearly innocent, that there's no
14 wrongdoing whatsoever, that the complaint was frivolous, it
15 was filed by a disgruntled employee. There is no way for that
16 person to get out of that process any earlier than without
17 responding to those Schedules A's.

18 Louis Martin and the Commission have made a lot of
19 progress in terms of implementing the merit assessment review
20 process, and I commend them for that. It is one way that an
21 employer can see a meritless complaint dismissed early on in
22 the process. They're still faced with a situation where they
23 have to file those answers to the complaint, and that, again,
24 is a big source of frustration for employers.

25 We do want to see a mechanism implemented where an

1 employer would be able to file, like they can in court, a
2 motion to dismiss based on the fact that the complaint either
3 lacks jurisdiction or is meritless. Under the way that the
4 statute is drafted right now, or in place right now, rather,
5 the Commission only has ten days to take a complaint once it's
6 filed with the Commission and serve that complaint on the
7 employer. That does not give them a lot of time to tailor the
8 questions specifically to the complaint, to really conduct the
9 kind of jurisdictional review that maybe they need to do.

10 We do hope that they would end up moving more people
11 to the front end of the process rather than having the
12 clerical staff download questions; if it's a sex-based
13 discrimination, take these Schedule A's. If it's age, take
14 these; if it's race, take these. Or maybe it's a little of
15 everything, so just lump them all in, and the employer finds
16 this big packet of information on their doorstep. That is,
17 again, a big problem.

18 I know we harp on these Schedule A's. A's I said,
19 they have taken some steps. They have begun to train their
20 investigators more. I think part of the problem is that these
21 statutory time frames make no sense. One of the roles of the
22 advisory committee was to look at these time frames; some of
23 them just don't match up. Some of them don't give enough time
24 in the front end of the process, and A's a result, everyone
25 loses out, both complainants and employers.

1 You might think that we're always diametrically
2 opposed to one another in terms of the public policy
3 surrounding this area. There are a few, A's you heard, where
4 we are opposed to public policy positions; but for the large
5 part -- in the task force that looked at the Commission --
6 there was a lot of agreement in terms of ways that we could
7 improve the system.

8 Some of those, A's I mentioned, were to improve the
9 complaint intake process itself. Another area that we talked
10 about was strengthening opportunities for neutral mediation.
11 This is an area that employers raised very frequently, the
12 fact that they feel that the Commission is biased against
13 them. In part, I think it's because of what Louis mentioned,
14 that the complaint is actually filed by the Commission, so
15 they perceive the Commission coming and attacking them. I
16 don't know that there's anything that we can do about that,
17 other than for me to educate my members more about the role of
18 the Commission in these complaints.

19 I think there are some things that can be done. For
20 example, currently, in the mandatory mediation process --
21 unless this has changed since I last spoke to people about
22 it -- they use the same fact finder A's the mediator. So the
23 person that's actually been collecting all the facts
24 throughout the investigatory process is also now the
25 mediator. A lot of times an employer will walk in and the

1 mediator will be sitting on one side with the complainant, and
2 then the employer feels that they're sitting on the opposite
3 side. Just physically, they feel there's a certain bias
4 there.

5 And clearly, there is some gray area there. The
6 Commission is supposed to be an advocate for victims of
7 discrimination; however, we do want to make sure that those
8 laws that they are required to enforce are enforced
9 impartially.

10 So I do think that the staff really needs to
11 understand the role of the Commission better. Certainly, we
12 need to educate the business community A's to the role of the
13 Commission and maybe make sure that we're in sync there.

14 We also need to simplify the process. The Schedule
15 A's are just one area, but there's also a whole stack of
16 forms, depending on the type of discrimination complaint or
17 where you are in the process. I know that we've heard from
18 investigators that these are very difficult to wade through,
19 are never really sure which form is going to be attached to
20 which aspect of the complaint.

21 We've also been talking about allowing people to opt
22 out earlier in the process. People are going to court for a
23 variety of reasons, largely because of the issue of the
24 remedies. We're also seeing employers face multiple claims
25 that may allege negligence A's well A's discrimination, so the

1 employer is really defending against two areas of complaint.
2 They're forced to defend in superior court and at CHRO.

3 Other times, they're then brought in -- the EEOC is
4 brought in or federal court is brought in. When you talk
5 about it being confusing for the complainant, it's also
6 confusing for the employer. Some employers deal with this on
7 a daily basis; other employers hire attorneys, and they may
8 not be that familiar with the process.

9 This is always a new thing. You really never know
10 what you're going to end up with in the process, whether
11 you'll be chosen for mandatory mediation or a full
12 investigation or dismissed in the merit assessment. It's
13 never the same way twice because they have all these different
14 ways that the investigation can go.

15 One of the things we've talked about is if an
16 employer feels more comfortable in superior court because they
17 have certain due process protections, they're just not going
18 to be available at the administrative level, for example,
19 their ability to depose witnesses, to subpoena certain
20 documents, let them go to court.

21 By mutual consent, if the complainant is also, just
22 A's CHRO, to gather A's much information A's they can from the
23 Schedule A's, and then let them get into the court system.
24 That would free up some of the Commission resources. They
25 wouldn't be wasting their time investigating a complaint that

1 is ultimately going to be decided in a court system.

2 The issue of the resources, we really haven't
3 touched. We do feel that the issue of the hearing officers is
4 a problem. The state Ethics Commission says if you have
5 clients before the Commission, complainants or respondents,
6 then you are not going to be available to serve A's a hearing
7 officer. Well, that wiped out the entire list of hearing
8 officers, just about.

9 We do support the proposal that Ruth had mentioned,
10 to set up full-time administrative law judges, hearing
11 officers, whatever you want to call them; but some body of
12 full-time personnel that will develop some expertise in these
13 areas and be able to make sure that the hearing process works
14 more swiftly.

15 That is a big concern from the employer standpoint.
16 The more time that goes on, the more money, but also, the more
17 frustration. These employees really want to get back to
18 work. They want to make sure these situations are not just
19 out there. It's bad for morale and for the company. We do
20 have that same goal of looking for an expedited resolution
21 process.

22 With respect to issue of the damages, this is where
23 I don't think I'll have an epiphany this year, but things are
24 changing. The Supreme Court, in my opinion, didn't strip the
25 CHRO of the authority to award compensatory damages. There

1 really wasn't anything explicitly addressed in the law. The
2 law didn't say yes, you can award compensatory damages. A's a
3 result, some hearing officers did award damages; some didn't.

4 When they went before the legislature, there was
5 some concern. First of all, we feel that it is an informal
6 process; there are remedies available to complainants: back
7 pay, reinstatement of their job, injunctive relief. That
8 hostile environment would have to be eliminated in order to
9 address that complaint. I don't think that these cases are
10 without remedies.

11 Certainly, emotional distress is very sexy to the
12 plaintiffs; it is a way of inflating the value of the claims.
13 I also oppose emotional damages in personal injury cases.
14 First of all, in any other kind of relief, if you were fired
15 from a job and you were reinstated, it's very easy to
16 determine what your back pay is or front pay would be; but in
17 terms of emotional distress, there's no requirement that
18 anyone introduce any evidence of psychological harm. It's all
19 really on what someone thinks you can impress on the hearing
20 officer to determine what you feel would be adequate distress
21 damages. They're way out of proportion with the level of
22 actual emotional distress that is suffered.

23 Victims of intentional discrimination are eligible
24 to receive compensatory damages. In addition, they have a
25 tier structure where small employers are not subjected to the

1 same level of damages A's larger employers. Congress did that
2 because they recognized that for small employers, compensatory
3 damages can wipe you out totally. They're not making a lot.

4 We recently did a survey where we gauged Connecticut
5 voters on what percentage they felt companies make in terms of
6 profit, and the polling numbers show that most people feel
7 that businesses make about 50 percent profit. That's just not
8 true. It's about 4 percent in the good years, and in the
9 recession, you had a lot of companies that were struggling to
10 stay open. It's a real problem.

11 We have to see a balance here between the need to
12 advance equal opportunity, to address those wrongdoings on the
13 part of employers; but also, not to make every employer out
14 there feel that they are a bad guy or bad woman, because
15 that's just not correct. I think most of these people want to
16 comply with the laws.

17 We don't need to raise the stakes in employment
18 litigation by allowing distress damages and then having people
19 feel that they're going to be held responsible for paying
20 those damages; otherwise, the Commission is just going to take
21 the complaint for years and years and years. That has been a
22 big problem.

23 A's Ruth had mentioned, more and more times, people
24 are filing in the superior court. A's that becomes more of a
25 trend, we will look at that policy and see whether or not it

1 is something that we need to address.

2 Also, if they fix the problems in the Commission in
3 terms of what employers see A's an anti-employer bias, we
4 would be much more amenable to looking at different remedies.
5 I think I'm a reasonable person in that context, but we do
6 want to see some of those issues addressed. That's really all
7 I have to say at this point.

8 MR. KAELIN: Bob, I'd like to have you give us
9 something of the federal perspective; but what strikes me from
10 what's been said so far is there doesn't seem to be a big role
11 for the EEOC in this process.

12 In the course of your remarks, I would like you to
13 comment, if you can, on why the EEOC doesn't have a greater
14 role in this process and whether it can or should.

15 MR. SANDERS: I'm so bruised and battered at the
16 moment, I'm not sure I can stand. I'm not sure we don't have
17 a role in this process and, in fact, the work-sharing
18 agreement which was mentioned, there seems to be some feeling
19 that because there's a work-sharing agreement, that
20 individuals cannot file charges directly with the EEOC. If
21 you've never had contact with us, except for asking for a
22 notice for right to sue, it's not because the process prevents
23 it, it's simply that you chose to go directly to the CHRO.

24 The work-sharing agreement is just that: It defines
25 which cases the CCHRO will process and which ones the EEOC

1 will process; however, there's also a component of it that's
2 called dual filing, so someone who files with CCHRO, if that
3 charges jurisdiction over EEOC, CCHRO will send a copy of that
4 charge to EEOC to preserve that individual's federal rights.

5 If a Connecticut resident comes to EEOC directly,
6 EEOC will process that charge, but we will also send a copy of
7 that charge to CCHRO in order to preserve that individual's
8 state rights.

9 You were everywhere, so I'm everywhere. There was a
10 question about jurisdiction in terms of filing a charge with
11 EEOC. If you are a citizen of Connecticut, you have 300 days
12 to file with EEOC. Even though the state statute says you
13 have 180 days, there was a decision in 1980 -- but
14 nevertheless, the work-sharing agreement makes all that moot.
15 You have 300 days from the date of the alleged violation to
16 file charges with the EEOC, even if you have not filed a
17 timely state charge with the state agency.

18 Another issue that was raised was the fact that
19 CCHRO has a nine-month statute of limitations, and if you run
20 up against that, the person will automatically lose their
21 rights. If that happens, we pick the charges up and process
22 them ourselves, so no one is actually going to lose the
23 opportunity to be protected, federally, because CCHRO ran up
24 against a statute.

25 A's I said, time to follow along. Under the Age

1 Act, it is true you do not need a notice of right to sue to
2 file a charge in federal court under the age statute. The
3 only requirement is that you wait 60 days from the date that
4 you file the charge, which is to allow EEOC an opportunity to
5 process.

6 On the 61st day, you can go directly into court;
7 however, if you want to go into court on the Age Act prior to
8 the expiration of the 60 days and I feel I am not going to
9 complete my processing within 60 days, you simply ask me for a
10 right to sue. You don't really need it in order to go, but it
11 will allow me to resolve it on an administrative level, and
12 you can file in federal court in less than 60 days.

13 The key thing, though, is that even though -- and
14 most certainly, I don't want the 3,000 charges that Louis gets
15 a year coming to me, because I only have eight investigators
16 that cover the entire New England area. If a person feels
17 they've been discriminated against on the basis of race,
18 color, religion, national origin, sex, age or disability, and
19 they live in Connecticut, they can come directly to EEOC and
20 file a charge. They can also go to CHRO; remember that dual
21 filing I talked about.

22 Did I cover all your points?

23 MS. PULDA: I'll make some more.

24 MR. SANDERS: They mentioned jurisdiction. With
25 Title 7, ADA, the Americans with Disabilities Act, the

1 employer must have 15 employees. The Age Act, the employer
2 must have 20 employees. A's I said, 300 days to file with the
3 EEOC, and you can do it directly.

4 I'll sit and listen to the rest of you.

5 MR. MARTIN: I have some questions for you.

6 MR. SANDERS: I'm sure you will.

7 MR. KAELIN: On that note, I did promise the
8 panelists that I would afford them the opportunity to comment
9 on what the other panelists said. Since we've started doing
10 that, we might A's well follow through on it. I'll give you
11 the opportunity now, if there are any volunteers that would
12 like to comment on what someone else has said.

13 If you want to hold your questions, I have a few
14 questions myself, actually. Starting with anyone in the
15 panel: Why don't people use the EEOC anymore?

16 MR. MARTIN: They're not located in the state:
17 accessibility.

18 MR. KAELIN: Did I understand what you were saying,
19 Bob, correctly, that if the charge is filed first with the
20 EEOC, then under the work-sharing agreement, the EEOC will
21 investigate that first?

22 MR. SANDERS: Right.

23 MR. KAELIN: In terms of a practical matter, how
24 often is that done in Connecticut?

25 MR. SANDERS: Not very many individuals come

1 directly to EEOC. Most of our charges are deferred from
2 CCHRO, so it doesn't happen very often. I'm saying they have
3 the option, but it doesn't happen very often.

4 MR. KAELIN: How does the experience in Connecticut
5 compare with the other states? Is New York within your
6 region?

7 MR. SANDERS: All of New England: Massachusetts,
8 Connecticut, Rhode Island.

9 MR. KAELIN: In general, how do we compare with
10 Massachusetts?

11 MR. SANDERS: Massachusetts we get because, of
12 course, we are right down the block from MCAD, Mass.
13 Commission Against Discrimination. We do get them filing
14 directly with us. In fact, 454 of them last year.

15 MR. KAELIN: In those cases, you do the
16 investigation?

17 MR. SANDERS: We do the investigation.

18 MR. KAELIN: One of the other things that struck me
19 about what the panelists are saying is there did seem to be
20 consensus, though, about how convoluted the process was and
21 how difficult it was to take advantage of the process,
22 particularly someone who is not represented by an attorney.

23 What I'd like to do is ask each of the panelists now
24 what suggestions they'd have to streamline the process, to
25 make it more user friendly; but the condition I'm going to

1 place on that is that it has to be a practical suggestion in
2 the sense that, given your own perceptions of political
3 realities, it has to be something that might actually come to
4 fruition, pass muster at either federal or the state
5 legislature. Do I have any volunteers on that?

6 MR. SANDERS: I think the system is, at the federal
7 level, the EEOC, I think it is user friendly. You're not
8 required to have, even need an attorney to engage the
9 administrative process. You sit with an investigator who
10 listens to your story. We take the charge; we conduct the
11 investigation; we determine whether there's been a violation
12 of the law. If we determine that the law has been violated,
13 we then become your advocate in federal court.

14 MR. KAELIN: Do you have any information on what
15 percentage of charges are filed with you, are actually
16 processed through in that fashion?

17 MR. SANDERS: We now have -- Louis calls it one
18 thing -- we call it "priority charge processing." We now, at
19 intake, designate charges A's A, B, or C: A cases are the
20 ones we're going to put our resources and energy into; B's are
21 the ones we're not sure whether they are an A or a C; and C's
22 are the ones that we know at intake that we can remove from
23 the system altogether.

24 MR. KAELIN: The question is: What percentage of
25 the charges that are filed with you are processed through and

1 prosecuted or brought to conclusion in your agency?

2 MR. MARTIN: How many cases did EEOC file nationally
3 last year?

4 MR. KAELIN: It doesn't necessarily mean litigated,
5 if you can settle the cases. If the complainant walked in
6 your door --

7 MR. SANDERS: The only cases that we don't make a
8 decision on merit on are cases that we close
9 administratively: lack of jurisdiction, untimely, not enough
10 employees, et cetera. Every other case gets a decision on the
11 merits. It may be simply that there's no reasonable cause,
12 but nevertheless, a decision is made on the merits of all
13 cases except those dismissed administratively.

14 MR. MARTIN: Let me ask you this, Bob, because we're
15 kind of slow down here in Connecticut: How many cases last
16 year did your Boston area office find reasonable, probable
17 cause on?

18 MR. SANDERS: I think our probable cause rate is
19 about 18, 19 percent.

20 MS. PULDA: I feel bad, because I feel like you
21 think like I'm beating up on you, which I'm not. I think that
22 probably one of the biggest answers to the question about EEOC
23 is what you said, that you have eight investigators to cover
24 six states; it can't be done.

25 MR. SANDERS: That's why we have the work-sharing

1 agreement.

2 MS. PULDA: I don't know how many investigators you
3 have, but at various times -- how many do you have?

4 MR. MARTIN: We have 35 to 40.

5 MS. PULDA: So 35 to 40 to cover 3,000 cases. The
6 math means that you're not really equipped to investigate
7 individual cases.

8 I think that one of the things that you do well and
9 effectively -- and I'm not blaming you, I'm blaming
10 Congress -- are class action and nationwide complaints. I
11 think that the EEOC has been very effective and aggressive in
12 that. Practically, that's not the bulk of cases; but I think
13 that you just can't have eight investigators to deal with
14 thousands and thousands and thousands of complaints,
15 therefore, you have deferral agencies; therefore, most people
16 rely on the deferral agencies.

17 Am I not accurately describing that?

18 MR. SANDERS: Well, the results are accurate, yes.
19 That's why we have these referral agencies. Obviously, we
20 cannot handle 3,000 cases in Connecticut, another 8,000 in
21 Massachusetts, and so forth and so on, but that doesn't mean
22 we can't investigate --

23 MR. MARTIN: I think the staffing, whether or not
24 you can do whatever number of cases with so many people, is
25 only important in the sense if -- like, in Connecticut, we're

1 one of the few states -- maybe the only state that has a
2 Supreme Court decision that tells you what you must do in
3 defining the level of inquiry. If we didn't have that, I
4 could do it with two people, if I had total discretion on what
5 level of investigative inquiry was appropriate, under the
6 statute.

7 They changed all that and gave us a level of inquiry
8 that required this 40 hours' worth of work. Prior to that, it
9 wasn't there. I could do two hours' worth of work.

10 The other piece that makes Connecticut so
11 labor-intensive and staff-intensive is our cases are subject
12 to judicial review, where at the EEOC level, their cases
13 aren't subject to judicial review.

14 You don't like their decision, you still have the
15 opportunity to go to court.

16 If you don't like our decision, you basically can't
17 go to court. You have to file an administrative appeal and
18 challenge the appropriateness of our decisions.

19 If you look around the country and you see -- if you
20 see the states that have the shadow of an administrative
21 appeal in back of their process, you see a more rigorous
22 process up front that is required because of this shadow of
23 administrative appeal over your head.

24 If we didn't have that administrative appeal over
25 our head, that if other people, saying whether or not we were

1 an arbitrary capricious standard, if you didn't have that,
2 then staffing is not an issue.

3 MS. PULDA: But then enforcement is, because you
4 don't have to do a good job.

5 MR. MARTIN: It's not a matter of a good job; it's
6 qualitative defining what you have to do. The Supreme Court
7 qualitatively defined what we have to do. Have you seen other
8 Supreme Court cases that have defined that, have done that?
9 No. They never said, in Title 7, where it talks about
10 investigation -- in fact, in Title 7, it doesn't even say
11 you've got to do an investigation, does it? Title 7 doesn't
12 say that.

13 MR. SANDERS: EEOC does.

14 MR. MARTIN: But we have a Supreme Court case that
15 says an investigation requires A, B, C, D, E, F, G, H, and I.
16 I think that's one of the real -- that's the big issue here,
17 and that's why it becomes more intensive and our investigative
18 inquiry has to be a little bit different because of the shadow
19 of administrative appeal and this Supreme Court decision.

20 One of the other issues about deferral and all that
21 is that the EEOC has declared that we are a 706 agency. Since
22 1991, and because we now do not have compensatory damages, and
23 the EEOC makes their determination across the country whether
24 agencies are 706, are they ever going to look at the agency's
25 remedies A's a way of determining whether or not a person --

1 because, basically, the theory is you're going to get the same
2 thing at CHRO A's EEOC; therefore, we enter into this
3 relationship with CHRO.

4 Now, the question is, because we don't have
5 compensatory damages, do complainants have the ability to get
6 the same things now, and would EEOC ever take that into
7 consideration? I know that's a policy question, and EEOC
8 never wants to talk about that, because even before 1991,
9 there were a whole bunch of differences, substantive
10 differences on what's available and what we can do in this
11 state and not do and what EEOC provides.

12 EEOC has made a conscious decision not to look at
13 those things in making a determination, because if they really
14 looked, they would not designate some of these state agencies
15 across the country A's 706, which means they would have a
16 whole bunch of cases coming back and then Jessie Helms would
17 say, No, I'm still not funding you.

18 MR. SANDERS: He's not funding us anyway.

19 MR. MARTIN: He's not funding you anyway. But
20 certainly, right now, across the country, we do -- is it
21 bifurcation of work load, 45/55? The EEOC does 55 of the work
22 load, and the state and local agencies across the country do
23 45 percent of the work load. Is it 100,000 cases across the
24 country, nationwide, each year? About 100,000 cases come into
25 the federal agency and the local agencies, and EEOC processes

1 55 percent and the state agency 45 percent; and the question
2 is: Are people getting the same thing they would get at the
3 EEOC? because there's a lot of states that do not provide
4 compensatory damages.

5 MR. KAELIN: I'm going to come back to the question
6 about the constructive suggestions for streamlining the
7 process, but I'll do that after a five-minute break. I think
8 we could all use a break for about five minutes.

9 Why don't we resume at 3:00; I'll take up that
10 question with each of you, and then I'll open it to questions
11 from the other members of the committee.

12

13 (Off the record.)

14

15 MR. KAELIN: I'd like to go back to this question.
16 You all are the experts in this field. I just dabble in this
17 field. Being a trained lawyer, I've found Ruth's description
18 of the process right on point, at least to a nonexpert; and
19 the process does seem complicated, from a number of
20 perspectives: One, I can never figure out what the deadline
21 is for filing my complaint. I think the tax code is actually
22 easier. There's no case law that helps you in interpreting
23 all these regulations.

24 But I've also represented a number of employers, and
25 I could also very much sympathize with what Betsy was saying

1 about the Schedule A interrogatories. This word processor
2 spits out questions that seem to have no relevance to the
3 proceeding.

4 I will say, in fairness to the CHRO, that whenever I
5 object on the grounds of relevance, I never get any resistance
6 from the CHRO, so they've been very fair about that.

7 One of the things I'd like to take out of this
8 conference is useful and practical suggestions on how we could
9 make this process more user friendly for everybody. I'm going
10 to compel you all to answer the question, and I'll start with
11 Louis.

12 MR. MARTIN: One practical thing I think could be
13 useful -- I haven't thought about it. I'll go generic first
14 and then try to back-door into them. The process needs to
15 become more -- needs to have less formality than it currently
16 has, which means that in the administrative hearing process, I
17 think some aspects of the hearing process ought to be out from
18 under the Connecticut Administrative Procedures Act, which
19 provides for various protections for people through that
20 hearing process.

21 For an example, right now, our hearing officers do
22 not believe they have the ability to rule on summary motions
23 to dismiss cases. That's a serious problem, and maybe we
24 should specify that they do actually have that authority. Our
25 hearings currently must be transcribed; that's about \$900 a

1 day. That money could be used elsewhere in the administrative
2 enforcement process. Some administrative hearings are done by
3 tape recorder, and I don't know why these can't, except for
4 many of the formalities that take place in our process.

5 On the other end, I think the Commission again needs
6 to be given even more discretion to make meritorious
7 determinations on less information, maybe without all the
8 information they currently get under the Mar process, that is,
9 without the answers to the Schedule A questions.

10 I think the Schedule A's, certainly, technically
11 providing base information, is good from our perspective.
12 Sometimes those questions aren't all relevant, but many of
13 them are relevant and many of those questions are the
14 questions that you have to get through discovery when you're
15 fighting these cases in federal court.

16 I think when we decided to do it that way, we did it
17 because the State of Connecticut didn't want to spend the
18 \$400,000 to pay the people to tailor those types of questions
19 on an individual basis. That's why I don't think that's
20 practical to get rid of it, unless we're going to get rid of
21 the Schedule A's and do specifically tailored ones, unless
22 you're going to decide we're going to spend the money.

23 If you're not, really, what you're doing is the
24 state of Connecticut taxpayers are not spending it, but the
25 employers are spending it, having to go through and answer it

1 all. Somebody is going to pay. Who wants to pay it? Is it a
2 societal expense or an individual expense for hiring such
3 employees who file complaints in the first place? Employee
4 selection is critical; you've got to make sure you hire the
5 right kind of employees.

6 I think giving the agency more discretion to make
7 earlier decisions on less information would free up the
8 process; but again, that's taking away some of the due process
9 rights and protections that currently are in the process.

10 I think raising the threshold for filing complaints
11 is not a bad idea if you couple that with giving the
12 Commission more discretion to make that determination.
13 Probably 15 percent of our cases are clearly frivolous cases,
14 although they are jurisdictional. The person did work for an
15 employer who had three or more employees and it happened in
16 the last 180 days; that's all they need.

17 The question is: Can we get rid of those earlier?
18 Unless we give the Commission some discretion earlier, that's
19 a nonappealable process so we won't have to defend it on the
20 back end by giving them the right to sue when we make that
21 determination -- and we've always advocated that -- by giving
22 us earlier discretion, but giving the complainant the option
23 out. A's Ruth said, that is going to take three to five years
24 in the superior court and cost you a bunch of money, so that
25 may not be a real practical alternative.

1 I think we have to look at all the areas in which we
2 now extend due process which costs time and money and try to
3 eliminate some of those. We A's a society have to be willing
4 to live with that and give that back to the agency to make
5 those kinds of determinations. It's got to be some trust
6 built up, I guess.

7 MR. KAELIN: Let me ask you, Betsy, what do you
8 think employers would think of eliminating -- streamlining the
9 procedures and eliminating some of the, quote/unquote, "due
10 process"?

11 MS. GARA: I think it would make a lot of sense
12 because a lot of the due process goes only one way. A lot of
13 due process goes toward the complainant, not toward the
14 employers. Complainants can depose witnesses; employers
15 can't. If you had an informal process, keep it informal from
16 both viewpoints.

17 I also agree that you should give the Commission
18 more discretion. A lot of people say, Well, she must be crazy
19 to think that they should be able to dismiss complaints early
20 on in the process; but when you look at the statistics, a lot
21 of these complaints -- 15 percent -- are frivolous, and an
22 even higher percentage end up being found meritless because
23 they are just not going to have any reasonable possibility
24 that they will find reasonable cause. I think those are areas
25 that you can look at.

1 I also agree with Louis, you can clarify what
2 hearing officers can rule on motions. That's been an issue
3 where we just don't know which way it will go. Some hearing
4 officers will rule on motions; some don't. Simple
5 clarification there.

6 Again, I think you need to front-load the process so
7 that you can conduct more of a jurisdictional review, and also
8 more of the merit assessment review. Currently, to conduct a
9 merit assessment review, they have a 90-day window. If it
10 does not get conducted within that 90-day period, then it is
11 retained for a full investigation. That's unfair. I think
12 every employer should have the ability to have that complaint
13 dismissed up front.

14 You may want to look at also creating a mechanism
15 where an employer can file a motion to dismiss, similar to
16 what they have in the superior court process, so that they can
17 get those complaints out earlier.

18 We'd also be supportive of raising the threshold for
19 filing the complaint. From what I understand -- correct me if
20 I'm wrong, Louis -- it used to be that if you filed a
21 complaint, you actually had to go in and sit down with an
22 intake officer at the Commission at one of the regional
23 offices.

24 Now, you simply have to file a letter. For just a
25 stamp, it's very easy to file a letter and walk away from it

1 and wait and see what happens; but if you physically have to
2 go in someplace and sit down and talk to someone about your
3 complaint, you tend to weed out more of the frivolous
4 complaints, I would think. I don't know why that change was
5 made. It does seem A's though the number of frivolous
6 complaints has gone up. Either that, or more employers are
7 calling me because they're frustrated from the process.

8 I think you can also look at doing something A's
9 simple A's a how-to booklet. There are a lot of different
10 ways the process goes. Some cases are chosen for mandatory
11 mediation; some are retained for full investigation. It's
12 very confusing for both employers and complainants to
13 understand where they are in the process: Wait a minute, last
14 time I had to do this; now this time they're saying I'm in a
15 mediation. What's that all about? I'm really confused.

16 The Unemployment Compensation system has done an
17 excellent job of doing a how-to booklet for complainants and
18 employers in that system. They've also just done a video to
19 explain to people what kinds of rights they have.

20 I also think that the Commission can explore
21 opportunities for telephone adjudication. That's another area
22 that the Unemployment Compensation system has looked at,
23 because it's very difficult sometimes to have parties agree on
24 when to schedule hearing conferences. The Commission even
25 lacks space, sometimes, to hold these hearings, even though a

1 lot of them are ultimately canceled. That's been another
2 problem that has delayed the resolution of complaints.

3 Again, the Schedule A's, I think that you need to
4 look at some other process. I think you can do that if you
5 front-load the process. Again, you'll have the people looking
6 at them being able to tailor the questions more specifically
7 to the complaint so that you're not eliciting a lot of
8 information that's just irrelevant, that any investigator has
9 to wade through that information.

10 The lawyers that practice in this area, A's a major
11 part of their practice, they don't even answer the questions.
12 They file a position statement, and then they say, Refer to
13 position statement on the Schedule A, so they know; but for
14 the attorneys that don't practice a lot in this area or feel
15 that they're going to be defaulted if they don't answer each
16 and every question, there's some concern there.

17 The EEOC, from what I understand, has an
18 interrogatory that only contains 25; and, in fact, they're
19 required under the federal rules -- they're limited to 25
20 questions, including subquestions. I think you need to look
21 at something like that. We've been talking about that for a
22 while.

23 Also, have opportunities for mediation early on in
24 the process. A lot of times we talk to employers and they've
25 dug their heels in, once they filed the answer, that they're

1 just not in the mood to the settle. I've already done this;
2 what on earth can be worse than this? So they're not going to
3 mediate. Why don't you have the mediation early on and allow
4 the employer or complainant to elect mediation?

5 Right now, the Commission is the one that selects
6 the case for mediation, and that doesn't make sense. If you
7 have one party choosing mediation, you know that there's some
8 area there that you can explore, an opportunity there to
9 settle the case. If the Commission picks it, you're still
10 going to have a complainant walking in, maybe adamant that
11 they're not going to settle, and the employer adamant that
12 they're not going to settle. So it doesn't make a lot of
13 sense to me.

14 I guess that's about it, but simple things.

15 MR. KAELIN: Ruth, how about you?

16 MS. PULDA: Some of those, really, I don't think
17 they're so simple; but some of the constructive suggestions:
18 Well, one thing is last year, again, with this task force that
19 the legislature convened, we did come up with some
20 constructive suggestions that were hammered out A's a matter
21 of, mostly, consensus.

22 There are some things in that, including expanding
23 the time frames to allow the process to have a little bit more
24 airing and give the investigators more time and the
25 respondents more time. While I didn't agree with everything

1 in that compromised bill, I think we all would have supported
2 a more realistic investigation process.

3 I think -- and I'm sort of free-associating here --
4 but I think I completely agree with Louis, that it should be
5 much more informal. I don't know if it means that you sort of
6 -- that you're undermining due process. I think it's a
7 different way of looking at due process. I would have no
8 motion practice at all. Then you're in the procedure, and
9 procedure ultimately becomes substance, and no one ever gets
10 to a determination of whether there's discrimination.

11 I think -- again, I might change my mind -- but I
12 would have a system resembling more like collective bargaining
13 arbitration, in which -- and this requires longstanding
14 relationships between the parties, however, and I do
15 collective bargaining arbitration. It always amazing me that
16 parties who have in some way an adversarial relationship never
17 risk providing each other information.

18 There's often an information exchange. The union is
19 doing an information request; it's a violation of the federal
20 law if they don't provide the documents. So I think that you
21 can get rid of a good chunk of the investigation if you're not
22 begging, borrowing, stealing, and having Schedule A's that
23 employers, on their word processor, say, Irrelevant; not going
24 to answer. So one has to file a motion, and you go round and
25 round.

1 I think that if we do much more like that, a
2 required exchange of information in which there are penalties
3 on both sides for failure to exchange, then you truncate the
4 investigation, and then you can do arbitration, or something
5 like arbitration. I'm not so sure I would have a full-blown
6 due process hearing. I think that arbitration can suffice.
7 You don't have to have the hundreds and hundreds of rules of
8 evidence, and somehow it all comes out.

9 And not everybody needs lawyers in the process; most
10 of the unions I work with, they have staff who does them. I'm
11 moving toward much more a self-enforcing system with real
12 penalties for failure to honestly abide by the system.

13 What do you think of that, Louis? Less work for
14 lawyers.

15 MR. KAELIN: A populace viewpoint.

16 Bob, did you want to add anything, or do you prefer
17 not to?

18 MR. SANDERS: CCHRO is an independent agency. It's
19 entitled to develop its own procedures, processes, and I have
20 no comment.

21 MR. KAELIN: I've got to get to my colleagues here.

22 THE CHAIRPERSON: I was very glad what you said in
23 the end, Ruth. I do a lot of labor arbitration work, and it
24 always seemed to me crazy that both the state and federal laws
25 wouldn't allow what, under labor law, the trilogy said years

1 ago: An arbitrator makes a decision, that's it; anybody who
2 chooses to go this route, that's the way he goes. You're not
3 paying a hearing officer \$125 a day, but you don't need a
4 transcription. It's an expedited process.

5 You can hear the thing, and once somebody says that
6 the case should go to arbitration because there may be enough
7 evidence to warrant the complaint, we do. That we should pass
8 a law that gives the person the option of choosing arbitration
9 and waiving his statutory rights to go to court, for example.

10 So that it would expedite the whole process and make
11 it more meaningful. Even when I'm ruled against in
12 arbitration, those arbitrators know a lot more than we give
13 them credit for knowing sometimes. Very seldom does a
14 decision get thrown out by a court in arbitration.

15 I would like your opinions A's to whether it would
16 be wise to recommend to the legislature or congressional
17 bodies that they amend the laws to allow for binding
18 arbitration in lieu of the procedures that are presently in
19 place.

20 MS. PULDA: I can speak vociferously on that. I 100
21 percent don't agree. The administrative process at CHRO
22 should more resemble the informal process of arbitration, but
23 it should not extinguish a federal right to go, if you don't
24 stay in the administrative process, to go to court and have a
25 jury and a judge determine your federal civil rights.

1 So I wouldn't support any legislation that says if
2 you stay in the administrative agency and you get a process
3 that is something like arbitration, then that's it, that's all
4 you can do. What I was advocating is a process that is
5 quicker and more informal in the administrative proceeding.

6 THE CHAIRPERSON: But we do it under the lemon law.
7 If you feel you've been taken advantage by a stockbroker, you
8 can go through this expedited process. Of course, it's not
9 for the fair employment law-firm attorneys, but I think it
10 would expedite the process.

11 MR. MARTIN: I guess it depends on how I understand
12 it. If the arbitration process you're proposing is a
13 substitute for the administrative hearing process -- and Ruth
14 is saying she would want to see some of the structure of
15 arbitration imposed on the investigative side of the process;
16 is that what you're talking about?

17 MS. PULDA: I think that the investigative,
18 ultimately, the hearing, to me, could resemble arbitration,
19 where you don't have to have the full-blown rules of evidence
20 and you don't have to have it transcribed.

21 MR. MARTIN: But not binding arbitration and not in
22 lieu of going --

23 MS. PULDA: Not in lieu of extinguishing someone's
24 federal rights.

25 MR. MARTIN: Go ahead, Jewel; you're the expert.

1 MR. BROWN: Respondents are not going to buy into
2 that because it gives the complainant the opportunity to have
3 someone adjudicate the merits of their case, and to go out and
4 lay down the weakness of their case and the strong points of
5 the respondent's case. In so many instances, those weaknesses
6 or strong points are underlying the subsequent proceeding.

7 Also, right now, in the way arbitration is
8 handled -- normally, a third party, someone pays for it,
9 either the parties themselves or some third party. The
10 problem that most state agencies have had in trying to do
11 arbitration is there's no source for payment.

12 MS. PULDA: The ALJs could be the ones who are
13 essentially --

14 MR. BROWN: If their process was structured toward
15 that type of proceeding, the administrative process, then I
16 think that, probably, in order to sell it to the companies,
17 any subsequent proceeding would probably have to be on the
18 record, and it would probably have to be in lieu of other
19 processes:

20 I don't think that the average respondent would want
21 to involve time, effort, and money in that process, knowing
22 that the complainant has available to him or her numerous
23 other processes to walk away from it.

24 THE CHAIRPERSON: That would end it, just like it
25 does in binding arbitration, unless it was in conformity with

1 the statutes that allow you to appeal in arbitration.

2 MR. MARTIN: He would make it the one and only
3 process.

4 MR. BROWN: I have a problem with that, to a certain
5 extent. In typical arbitration, especially labor law issues,
6 you have the contract , and that contract contains all the
7 rights and liabilities between the parties. If it's not
8 within the contract, then the arbitrator doesn't address it.

9 Now, it's different when you move into the area of
10 civil rights litigation, employment litigation. A lot of the
11 obligations of the parties may come from prior court
12 decisions; it may come from statutory interpretations; it may
13 come from constitutional issues. What I'm saying is that --
14 now, I think probably an administrative law judge could do it
15 because we say an administrative law judge can do it for
16 purposes of administrative process; but I think that in order
17 to make it binding, I think that the administrative law
18 judge's decision would probably have to be subject to maybe
19 some limited review on appeal. I don't know what that limited
20 role would be, but I think you're going to have to make sure
21 that you have the expertise at that process. Then you're
22 still going to have to have some limited process for review.

23 THE CHAIRPERSON: Just like what the trilogy said in
24 labor law, that there is a level, but it has to be -- the
25 arbitrator, you choose him, and he is the expert. You just

1 don't have to have an appeal unless there's some violation of
2 a constitutional law.

3 MR. BROWN: Maybe if the parties were given an
4 option to go this expeditious way; then, what they choose,
5 using the administrative law judges to litigate it, that
6 probably could be viable. I don't know. No one is forced
7 into it. The person would have to see that it benefits their
8 interest, and they have to believe that the person who is
9 going to make the adjudication is independent of that
10 governing process, and is going to realize that what he's
11 giving up for the expedition is a great deal of his rights.

12 But I think, though, it's something that might -- it
13 certainly couldn't hurt the process any to create that avenue;
14 and it may be the thing that saves it. I don't know.

15 MR. KAELIN: Betsy, do you think that would be a
16 problem?

17 MS. GARA: I don't think it would be a problem. I
18 think, given the experiences that employers have had with the
19 mandatory mediation process, where the decision is currently
20 not binding and they feel that that's biased, they'd be very
21 reluctant to enter into anything which is binding
22 arbitration. It would depend totally on the neutrality of the
23 arbitrator and whether they felt comfortable with the
24 neutrality of that arbitrator.

25 I do like about it that there's an end point. One

1 of the concerns that employers have is that there's virtually
2 no end point in the process, prior to Angelsea, at least. The
3 complaints could languish before the Commission for years, and
4 if they're not before the Commission, then they're in court or
5 federal court or EEOC.

6 It's confusing to an employer when they get one
7 administrative dismissal and they find out, Oh, by the way,
8 there's also something pending in court. For that purpose, I
9 think maybe you do need to look at something like that. I
10 think you do need to focus more on mediation and early
11 opportunities for mediation. From what we've seen, employers
12 do dig their heels in. They don't want to settle once they've
13 been in the process too long. It would have to be early on.

14 MS. PULDA: Could I just respond to that a little
15 bit? I probably need to make my proposal that -- I don't even
16 know if it's my proposal -- my thinking is, because I
17 certainly don't want you guys to leave here and say, Binding
18 mandatory arbitration and, therefore, you can't go to federal
19 or state court, or I think I would be, like, fired; because I
20 don't believe in it, and that's not what I was suggesting.

21 What I was suggesting is a replacement, a process
22 that replaces the current administrative process, so that this
23 would be the administrative process, and it doesn't extinguish
24 your federal rights, which, actually, is the situation now.
25 You can go all the way to a hearing in CHRO and still go to

1 federal court. I think you're crazy to do that, but I
2 certainly -- that's the situation now.

3 About Betsy's suggestion that you mediate early.
4 She may have gone around and around on this, and it sounds
5 great, but it isn't, in my opinion, A's good A's it sounds.
6 Louis will tell you that most respondents are represented by
7 lawyers. Betsy has talked about some respondents who are not
8 represented by lawyers; they're very, very, very few. Whether
9 that's good or bad, it's a fact.

10 In contrast, the unrepresented people are
11 complainants; and in early mediation -- I have seen this
12 because people have come to me to try to undo this or have
13 come to me for advice -- are unrepresented, and they have a
14 settlement on the table that, We don't even want to do an
15 investigation; give up your job, and we'll give you \$10,000.
16 They have no way of assessing, because they haven't gotten one
17 whit of paper, whether that's fair to them or not.

18 So while facially, that sounds great, let's
19 constantly throw these things out at the beginning. Remember
20 that someone really wants to know or assess or have someone
21 analyze whether they've been discriminated against. Without
22 one piece of paper that gives them the opportunity to assess
23 whether there's evidence supporting their claim, there might
24 be -- there may be a smoking gun that the employer is trying
25 to hide; that's why they'll throw \$20,000 at you if you'll

1 give up your job. That unrepresented person is unfairly taken
2 advantage of in that system.

3 I've seen it, and I'm very wary of it. When we
4 talked about this in the Law Revision Commission, I resisted a
5 requirement of mandatory mediation up front. Often, the
6 Commission will try to impress upon you that it's better that
7 you settle early, with no one knowing any facts whatsoever.
8 So I caution you about that, particularly, for the
9 unrepresented person.

10 MR. MARTIN: I've been in the system where we've
11 done mediation early, up front -- in one situation, prior to
12 the complaint being filed and another case, prior to the
13 answer being required -- what you really have is the use of
14 government coercion on the settlement process. That process
15 would yield a lot of settlements of cases, but you would have
16 little effective civil rights enforcement as a result.

17 The good cases will go away through that early
18 payout at the mediation table; two, you would jeopardize the
19 EEOC/CHRO relationship, especially if it was prior to even the
20 filing of a charge. But certainly, the enforcement process
21 needs to work. It doesn't seem that we should be using the
22 power of the government prior to, at least, the agency making
23 a facial determination, i.e., the merit assessment process,
24 before we use the power of government to -- A's Betsy thinks
25 or some of her clients think -- a biased agency using that

1 power. I don't think you'd even want to sit down with an
2 agency mediator prior to our making, at least, a facial
3 determination that something may be wrong; then I think the
4 coercive power of government at that point is reasonable. I
5 think using it prior to that, bringing people to the mediation
6 table, even though it isn't considered a coercive process, I
7 think when government does it, it is a coercive process.

8 MS. GARA: Just to respond, by the way, you lost
9 that one because it wasn't a bill. We did talk about the fact
10 that first of all, the majority of cases are ultimately
11 dismissed. What the employer is saying is a lot of times, the
12 employer wants to sit down face to face with this person and
13 find out what is the problem, because they didn't understand
14 that there was any problem whatsoever.

15 Give them that opportunity before the Commission had
16 to expend resources in determining whether or not it was a
17 meritless complaint under the merit assessment review, and
18 ultimately, dismiss.

19 If you look at the numbers of complaints that are
20 dismissed, I think it would bear out the fact that you need to
21 do more up front in order to get those complaints out of the
22 process quickly. It doesn't make any sense to tie up the
23 resources of the Commission and an employer. It doesn't do
24 anything for anybody, really.

25 We had also talked about the fact that the

1 unrepresented complainant really isn't unrepresented. The
2 Commission, by law, represents the complainant in these
3 proceedings. So they would be there to advise the complainant
4 A's to whether or not what was on the table would sufficiently
5 address their concerns that they raised or the complaint that
6 they had raised. Again, I feel that we do need to look at
7 that area. Whether or not we've worked out all the bugs, it
8 does seem to be something we do need to look at.

9 Again, the actual agreement would not have been
10 binding, but it would have been an opportunity -- the
11 mandatory mediation itself would have been elected by either
12 party. Either the complainant could have elected it or the
13 employer, but the decision following the mediation was not
14 binding.

15 MR. BROWN: These issues, for the most part, are not
16 new, the task force coming in, and that has been discussed
17 earlier.

18 I oppose the mandatory mediation-up-front process
19 for a number of reasons: First of all, contrary to what Betsy
20 and the CBIA thinks, CHRO does not represent the complainant,
21 even at public hearings. We represent the State of
22 Connecticut, and we represent the peace and dignity of the
23 state of Connecticut. Just like the prosecuting attorney in a
24 criminal case, we prosecute on behalf of someone violating the
25 public policy of the State.

1 If the complainant benefits indirectly, fine; but we
2 do, at the public hearing stage, we do advocate for
3 eradication of the discrimination. In the investigative
4 stage, we give respondents just A's much support A's we give a
5 complainant, and we have a duty to do that. If anyone tells
6 me, can convince me that we are taking sides during the
7 investigation, then I will be very much concerned about that
8 because statutorily, we cannot do that.

9 So if the complainant wants to settle for a banana,
10 the CHRO employee is not going to say anything, even though he
11 thinks it may be worth a million bucks. It's not our position
12 to tell anybody about their rights because, number one, when
13 you get into the area of advising persons, you should be
14 licensed; and number two, you should have some type of
15 attorney/client relationship, something that would protect
16 you. Our statutory scheme would not, in my judgement -- a
17 certain AG has told us it would not do that.

18 But the other reason I'm concerned about a mandatory
19 mediation process is this: You're talking about 3,000
20 complaints, and you're talking about taking staff resources
21 and making sure that each one of those complaints goes through
22 some form of up-front effort to settle during the first 30 to
23 45 days. That effort to settle is going to entail 2 to 4, 6,
24 8 hours.

25 And our experience shows us that not enough cases

1 are going to leave the process to justify taking each case
2 times an additional 4 hours; you're talking about 10 to 12
3 staff persons per year, doing nothing but that in order to
4 make sure that each one of those cases goes through mandatory
5 mediation.

6 Now, our process already allows for the respondent
7 to ask for a mandatory mediation up front, if he wants to.
8 Our process tells the respondent, and tells the complainant
9 too, that we have what we call a no-fault conciliation
10 process. That process must be accessed within the first 45
11 days, and it must be complete prior to the answer due date.

12 But we do not initiate that process at the
13 complainant's request. We only initiate it when the
14 respondent requests us to, for two reasons: What we used to
15 do, A's a matter of course in our cases, the respondent was
16 contacting us, our legislators, the governor's office,
17 everybody, talking about CHRO forcing them to pay out money
18 when we hadn't done anything to determine the merits of the
19 case.

20 So Mr. Mar, being guided by that process and
21 thinking that that's a coercive process, changed the procedure
22 around; and respondents know today that all they have to do is
23 send a letter or telephone call to us and say, "I want to
24 pursue early mediation." We'll set out and pursue it before
25 the respondent has to file an answer. That happens in two,

1 three cases a year.

2 Now, I mean if you're talking about taking a third
3 of our staff -- the only thing the governor was doing over the
4 past six months was taking it away -- but you're talking about
5 taking ten persons, almost a third of our staff, to allocate
6 to a process that's going to be completed in the first 30 to
7 45 days.

8 If it doesn't take any cases out, then you've still
9 got the same work load, 20 percent, 30 percent less people to
10 do it. I really do believe that a respondent wanted to do
11 mandatory mediation up front, they would take advantage of the
12 process we have. All they have to do is write that letter,
13 and I guarantee you, we will meet with them and we will seek
14 to mediate.

15 One other thing I did find in those cases,
16 respondents oftentimes come in with the intent or purpose of
17 changing the complainant's mind. Complainants come in and
18 say, I want to buy this new home I saw in Avon; here's the
19 bill. Respondents say, You made a mistake; we don't
20 discriminate. We sat and talked about that. We don't know
21 what the facts are. So I mean, it bores down -- we were
22 settling a hundred cases a year through that process, and it
23 just wasn't working.

24 Besides, the cases that would most likely settle
25 during that 45 days would be cases that are going to be

1 dismissed 45 days later; because in the 90 days, the way we
2 have to process cases, we've got to get out about -- a large
3 portion of our inventory has to go within the first 90 days.
4 We have staff and resources to investigate about 1,500, give
5 or take a couple hundred cases a year on the merits. Any
6 other cases, people have got to go. That's just what the
7 legislature said to do; that's what they said.

8 MR. KAELIN: To give people a sense of our timing,
9 we're going to take statements from some of you all out there,
10 representatives of the public and other agencies, at about
11 4:00. I want to give the rest of the members of the committee
12 an opportunity to ask questions.

13 Did you want to add something?

14 MR. SANDERS: I just wanted to weigh in on this
15 mediation issue. ADR or mediation is something that EEOC is
16 really pushing this year. Our process, however, will be
17 strictly voluntary; both parties have to agree to engage in
18 litigation. The individual who will be conducting the
19 mediation session will be an individual who will be impartial
20 and not a part of the investigatory process.

21 If, in fact, mediation is unsuccessful, then the
22 charge goes back into the normal pile of unassigned cases and
23 nothing that took place in mediation will be a part of that
24 file. That is something that we will be engaging in a lot in
25 '98 and subsequent years.

1 DR. MCKENZIE-WHARTON: I just wanted to pretend that
2 I was John Q. Public and I had enough money to go to Boston.
3 What advantages and disadvantages would I then have in
4 selecting one office over the other in filing?

5 MR. SANDERS: People often ask that question. One
6 is if you're coming from CHRO or coming from Connecticut,
7 compensatory damages is one area that you can obtain by coming
8 to the EEOC that you cannot get by filing with CHRO. But I
9 don't tell people to come to Boston just for that reason.

10 By the way, you don't have to actually come to the
11 office to file, physically, in person. You can do that -- we
12 can take charges over the phone or by mail. We do try to make
13 it A's easy a process A's possible.

14 DR. CHUN: But is that piece of information widely
15 known to the public? Until this moment, everybody was left
16 under the impression that somehow you have to come to Boston,
17 and that's crucial. What do you think, does the public know
18 about that?

19 MR. SANDERS: Connecticut is Louis's bailiwick. To
20 the extent that I'm asked to come and speak to groups in
21 Connecticut, I do so. When we're asked, we provide answers;
22 but whether it's widely known or not, one of the things you've
23 got to understand about EEOC, we operate under a strict
24 privacy act. Nothing that comes before EEOC becomes public
25 knowledge until we file litigation.

1 I can have the best case in the world, I can settle
2 a case for the highest amount in Connecticut and you will
3 never know about it, unless you represent the employer or you
4 represent the charging party or you are the charging party. I
5 cannot make public any of that information.

6 One of the reasons I think the agency latches onto
7 high-profile cases is it wants to let the public know we
8 exist. I get people calling me all the time saying, Do I have
9 to go to MCAD before I come to you? And the question that she
10 just asked, people just don't know. One of the reasons is a
11 lot of the things we do, we can't publicize.

12 MR. MARTIN: One advantage coming to CHRO is if you
13 look at the gross numbers, you probably had a greater chance
14 to getting your case litigated if you came to CHRO. EEOC, I
15 think they took 550 cases through litigation last year; so if
16 you're looking for a determination on the merits, you're
17 probably more likely to get it here.

18 You're less likely to get -- you won't get
19 compensatory damages through our process; but the chances that
20 you'll get compensatory damages here is lessened by the fact
21 that -- does general counsel still make the decision on which
22 cases get litigated?

23 MR. SANDERS: No, the regional attorney does.

24 MR. MARTIN: In our process, once you make
25 reasonable cause, the statute says we must go to hearing.

1 There is no discretion in not going. Our Commission counsel,
2 if there's not an error of law or fact, is going to go to
3 hearing. Then the downside is you won't get compensatory
4 damages.

5 I think another advantage from a
6 respondent/complaint standpoint is -- it's not so much now
7 with priority charge processing -- you're going to get a
8 determination of what we think about your case in 90 days,
9 whether we think it's a good case, in 90 days. Complainants
10 and respondents will know that.

11 And we give you the reason why we think it is. If
12 you don't like the decision at the administrative level here,
13 you have the option of appealing our decision. In EEOC, you
14 do not have that option; your option is to go to court.

15 MR. SANDERS: You have the option to ask for
16 reconsideration, but it may not be granted.

17 MR. MARTIN: I was talking about appeal through the
18 court system, which is more likely our case here. We're not
19 allowed to act arbitrarily or capriciously and all that. I
20 think those are the advantages and disadvantages. I think if
21 you're really talking about the money, if that's your big
22 issue, then you need to go to Boston and maybe you'll be one
23 of those 550 cases.

24 DR. MCKENZIE-WHARTON: What's the percentage of the
25 550 cases?

1 MR. MARTIN: Nationwide?

2 DR. MCKENZIE-WHARTON: No. You say 550; from what
3 pool, what number? What's the percentage?

4 MR. MARTIN: How many cases did EEOC -- I don't know
5 that number. Do you know that number?

6 I just read it in the Labor Law Report. Last year,
7 you litigated 550; the year before that, 663, and the year
8 before that, 775, nationwide.

9 Those are not bad numbers; I'm not suggesting those
10 are bad numbers, even though the people on the committee in
11 Washington are criticized because the number's going down and
12 they've been explaining how they get Mitsubishi and Hooters
13 cases and all that kind of stuff. I don't know the number
14 from which that pool was drawn, but it's thousands.

15 MR. BROWN: Roughly 60,000, I believe.

16 MS. PULDA: A's a matter of priority, I'm not so
17 sure that the EEOC doesn't have -- I think it might have its
18 priorities right. I think maybe it should be doing nationwide
19 litigation. It is the federal agency with the federal
20 perspective. It's certainly in need of investigators; even
21 so, it certainly shouldn't necessarily be doing individual
22 You-said-this-to-who cases A's a matter of national federal
23 policy.

24 Putting those numbers in perspective, I think
25 they're probably more class action, more broad-based cases in

1 which you affect more people, or that the employer is more
2 than one small employer. I don't criticize that.

3 MR. MARTIN: We do have a local enforcement plan in
4 this district, which is more localized.

5 MR. SANDERS: Throughout the 1980s, early 1990s,
6 every case on which we determined there had been a violation
7 of the law had to go to Washington, and the Commissioners made
8 a decision whether or not to litigate it. So our number of
9 cases that were litigated during that period was very high.

10 In 1995, Commission Chairman Casayas (phonetic) and
11 his commissioners came on board, they took a look at -- of
12 course, we were getting criticized for only doing individual
13 cases or not doing large impact cases. So the chairman came
14 on, and now we changed direction. Now we're doing systemic
15 cases, large impact cases; we're being criticized for not
16 doing individual cases, so you can't win.

17 But the fact of the matter is there is a national
18 enforcement plan which you might think of A's a menu that's
19 set in stone. Every one of the districts in the country has
20 this list of issues that the Commission has decided on, issues
21 like egregious sexual harassment, multibased cases; those are
22 all on the national enforcement plan and on the local
23 enforcement plan.

24 These are the cases that we are looking to
25 litigate. These are the issues that we designate A's A1 in

1 our priority charge process and procedures.

2 MR. BROWN: Let me add this too: The EEOC,
3 additionally, through the guidelines that they publish, and
4 through the regulations and the cases that they litigate, but
5 I mean, when the EEOC settled the case against -- or when the
6 Texaco was published, you'd be surprised at the type of
7 environment that those types of settlements and litigation
8 create on the local level.

9 Respondents then see that the \$30, \$40 million
10 settlements, or \$200 million settlements really help cultivate
11 enforcement for the local agency. The other day, we were just
12 looking at our law in terms of mental disability, because we
13 don't have the quality of experts that the EEOC does. I mean,
14 there's no way, without their leadership and their
15 publication, we could do anything approximating a competent
16 job.

17 Just that type of indirect resources that they
18 provide is instrumental on the local level. I'll be the first
19 to agree that I think the EEOC should direct their resources
20 to litigating the large cases, A's opposed to mom-and-pop
21 individual ones.

22 MR. JOHNSON: This is to change the topic a little
23 bit, I suppose, but I would ask each of the panelists to
24 comment on the status of Affirmative Action in the state of
25 Connecticut and what future directions you believe it ought to

1 take.

2 MR. MARTIN: In the public sector or private
3 sector?

4 MR. JOHNSON: Both.

5 MR. MARTIN: I think it's fairly healthy in the
6 private sector in the state of the Connecticut. I see major
7 Connecticut corporations doing outstanding jobs A's far A's
8 diversifying their work force. I think they have now
9 instituted diversity A's work/life issues, and they're
10 approaching it from an operational point of view A's a
11 business strategy.

12 If you look at the top ten major corporations in
13 this state and you look at their strategic plans, and you see
14 mentioned Affirmative Action A's business strategy, A's
15 impacting them, especially those corporations who are doing
16 business internationally, outside the United States, I think
17 it's gone beyond the requirements of OSCCP.

18 Even our federal contracts in this state, who do
19 international business, do see it A's a business strategy to
20 understand that the markets that they want to penetrate
21 require that in order for them to be successful, they have to
22 not only give lip service, but operationally, do some good
23 work there.

24 I think in the private sector, it's a different
25 story. A's you know, we at CCHRO review Affirmative Action

1 plans for state government. We just did a report, because the
2 regulation for Affirmative Action had been in effect for 20
3 years now, ten years effectively. We've seen a doubling of
4 racial minorities and the leveling out of women in the state
5 government work force over that last ten-year period of time.

6 It's more than double for blacks, Hispanics and
7 Asians. You see a grouping where those gains have been made
8 at, in occupational categories of service maintenance, the
9 lower job categories, the lower pay, the lower status, without
10 a lot of decision making.

11 In the higher job classifications, officials,
12 administrators and professionals, you see not much growth at
13 all. So operationally, Affirmative Action, from an
14 operational standpoint, has not been that effective at the
15 state level, and we see that mirrored in the municipalities in
16 Connecticut also.

17 What we anticipate coming to Connecticut, from our
18 brethren in California, Texas, and places around the country,
19 A's there are more constitutional challenges to the idea. .
20 Those who see Affirmative Action preferences, we have to start
21 thinking about what is going to insulate our efforts to
22 diversify the work force and the benefits that we get from
23 that diversity, whether they be municipalities or the private
24 sector, and I think there are many.

25 How can we couch that, insulated from attack from

1 those who think Affirmative Action does mean legal
2 preferences, preferences without a basis in history or fact;
3 but, again, I think business is on the right track. They
4 understand it's a business strategy, various business units of
5 their corporations demand that it happen in order for them to
6 get a market share; and they look at it just like that. Pick
7 up any of the stockholders' reports now, that is a prominent
8 issue. Some people like to think they should have got there
9 based on morality, but I'm glad they got there.

10 MS. PULDA: I don't have the bird's-eye view that
11 Louis has, so I'm glad to hear that. I do know that I
12 continue to get reports from the Glass Ceiling Commission,
13 which, again, remember, is a creation of the Bush
14 administration. It's not one of these things that people like
15 me developed. They continue to report that while there is
16 more inroads, the phenomenon that I think you're describing,
17 of the glass ceiling for women and people of color, and of
18 sticky floor, which is also what you described, when you get
19 in, you're getting in at the floor and not penetrating the
20 higher level decision-making places is still a phenomenon.

21 That's reflected in pay, and in the legal
22 profession, our own Connecticut Bar Association issued a
23 report that women aren't making partners. They're on the
24 slower track, that they're paid less, simply paid less for
25 working more hours than their male counterparts.

1 Whatever you call it. If you call it Affirmative
2 Action -- sometimes I think that people are brought in and
3 then left there. So I consider the real work of Affirmative
4 Action, of mentoring, of making people -- giving people,
5 really, the opportunity to advance, is hardly done. It's not
6 my reports; it's these federal reports that just come across
7 my desk and institutions like the Connecticut Bar Association
8 put out. They trouble me. I'm very interested to hear you
9 say that.

10 MR. MARTIN: I just saw recently -- and have always
11 known it -- A's far A's gender is concerned, you see a lot of
12 females ride to the top in certain areas of corporate America;
13 and those are what areas? You see them in law, Human
14 Resources, other support functions within corporate America;
15 but decision-making functions and finance, those kinds of
16 areas, you hardly ever see females. Those numbers are skewing
17 when you look at the private sector, but it's the support
18 functions in corporate America, where it's kind of the kitchen
19 of corporate America.

20 MS. GARA: Well, I was pleased to hear Louis's
21 comments, and they match my perception of what is happening
22 there. I think he's right, that diversity of staff and
23 diversity awareness within companies is a strategic part of
24 their overall business plan; it makes business sense.

25 But it also makes good sense. I think most of our

1 employers are very good corporate citizens. On the other end
2 of the spectrum, you do see more companies getting involved in
3 mentoring projects in the urban communities with young
4 minority students A's well A's other low-income students.

5 It's been very gratifying to see them try to break
6 people into professions that maybe these kids weren't really
7 exposed to, which a lot of the projects that CBIA and its
8 members companies are involved with are really targeted to
9 do. It's something we need to continue to work on.

10 It's going to be part of our overall effort to let
11 our employers know that they should be doing diversity
12 training within their organization and try to make that
13 training available to them. I guess I think government should
14 stay out of it. Usually, when they get involved in it, it
15 makes it more contentious. It's just happening on its own,
16 and I guess, leave well enough alone.

17 MR. SANDERS: No comment.

18 MR. KAELIN: It's 4:00, and I'm going to let you ask
19 questions, but before I do that, just to get a sense of -- is
20 Michelle Duprey here? Hector? Thomas Connors? Arthur
21 Paine?

22 So Elam and Michelle, you would like to make
23 statements, right?

24 MS. DUPREY: Yeah, I would.

25 MR. KAELIN: Since it's just the two of you -- is

1 there anyone else that would like to make a statement? If
2 it's just the two of you, I'll hold that off to the end, and
3 finish the panel's questions.

4 MR. SPRINGER: There's one question that I would
5 like the panel to respond to, and I realize this is somewhat
6 open-ended, but I think it's critical for the purposes of this
7 committee.

8 How would you respond -- and this is a question I
9 will direct to, I guess, Elizabeth -- how would you respond to
10 those who argue that given the practical realities of civil
11 rights enforcement in Connecticut with CHRO A's well A's with
12 the EEOC, for that matter, that it is rather inconsequential
13 to abolish CHRO or to abolish EEOC than to allow people,
14 instead, to have a direct action to go into the court to
15 vindicate discrimination violations? How would you respond to
16 that?

17 MS. GARA: I've never advocated abolishing CHRO or
18 EEOC.

19 MR. SPRINGER: How would you respond to those who
20 would advocate the abolition of CHRO or EEOC?

21 MS. GARA: There's a need for an informal
22 administrative process designed, again, to advance equal
23 opportunities while also encouraging the informal resolution
24 of complaints. The very nature of discrimination complaints
25 is one that is a very sensitive subject. It involves a lot of

1 emotional baggage and feelings that come out.

2 Unfortunately, what you want to do -- the whole goal
3 of civil rights enforcement is get people back to work
4 quickly, to get people's complaints resolved quickly; you
5 can't do that in court, particularly in Connecticut. You do
6 need to have an efficient administrative process, and we're
7 very fully supporting of that.

8 It's also important, from the employer's standpoint,
9 because you don't need to tie up an employer with a complaint
10 that can be sometimes very easily resolved. A lot of times,
11 it is just misunderstanding. We are all becoming more aware
12 of problems in the work place.

13 For example, with sexual harassment, the pendulum is
14 really swinging, and we're hoping that we're seeing less and
15 less of it. I know in my office, people are afraid to comment
16 on anything, whether it's somebody's tie or jacket; we just
17 don't talk. Again, I think we definitely need that informal
18 process.

19 DR. CHUN: There's one question I'm dying to have .
20 Ruth elaborate on, but I do have a couple of quick
21 informational questions, quickie ones: If I went to see or
22 call your Boston office and say, I'm seriously thinking of
23 filing a complaint; if I do, when would you be able to assign
24 an investigator? Then I also ask, How soon would you be able
25 to give me some sense of resolution, or better yet,

1 resolution? What would the typical answer be, say, in
2 November '97?

3 MR. SANDERS: My answer would be it would depend on
4 the facts you provide me and how I assess your case and how I
5 prioritize it. If I prioritize it A's a "C," I'll tell you
6 before you leave the office that we aren't going to do
7 anything with it; here's your notice of right to sue.

8 If you don't give me enough information about
9 comparatives and other people that may have been affected,
10 then I would say it's a "B" and we need to get more
11 information.

12 DR. CHUN: The statutory time limitation, A's it is
13 with the case of CHRO. And the other question is based on the
14 experience, which I think is considerable: I think there is
15 an optimal number of cases you can assign to an investigator,
16 assuming that that person is working at a level of high
17 efficiency, what would you say the number of cases per year
18 would be for this employee?

19 MR. MARTIN: Are you asking how many an investigator
20 can do in a year?

21 DR. CHUN: A hard-working investigator.

22 MR. MARTIN: A top investigator, last year, like the
23 talented tenth, those investigators do 120.

24 DR. CHUN: Would you say the same?

25 MR. SANDERS: My top investigator last year did 269.

1 DR. CHUN: Are you happy with the quality of the
2 product?

3 MR. SANDERS: Yes; otherwise, I wouldn't sign off on
4 them.

5 DR. CHUN: One may sign off because of political
6 procedures. I think I would like to see more in-depth
7 investigations.

8 MR. SANDERS: The bottom-line standard that we
9 currently use is more likely than not. Based on the
10 information the charging party has provided, the information
11 we've gotten from the employee, our analysis of that evidence,
12 if we determine that further investigation is more likely than
13 not going to lead to a finding of a violation, then I dismiss
14 the case.

15 DR. CHUN: From those figures, extrapolation is
16 saying that in both CHRO and the Boston office, your
17 investigators are overloaded.

18 MR. SANDERS: If I assigned every case that I have
19 in the office to an investigator, yes, it would be
20 overloaded. At one time, the most an investigator probably
21 has is 35 to 55 cases, and we're talking senior investigator.
22 It also depends on the level of expertise of the
23 investigator. If I have a trainee who is a GS-5, then I'm not
24 going to give him or her 55 cases; but if I've got a GS-12 who
25 has twelve or thirteen years of experience, then he or she is

1 going to have 50 cases.

2 MR. MARTIN: All our cases must be assigned to an
3 investigator after the merit assessment process, the ones that
4 are left within 30 days after the end of that process.

5 Currently, our investigators carry anywhere from 15 to 30
6 cases apiece; that's down from 60 or 70. But again, we only
7 have 1,200 to 1,300 cases now, where we had 3,400; and we had
8 the same exact number of people -- we have a little bit less
9 now than we did when we had 3,400, and we've got 1,200. You
10 can see that we're carrying much too much.

11 We think optimum, 30 cases -- an average
12 investigator can juggle 30 cases of different complexity, some
13 single-issue cases, some multiple-issue cases, and maybe one
14 kind of systemic case, but that's about it. If you get above
15 that, you're really -- we're able to assign every case by 30
16 days after the merit assessment.

17 DR. CHUN: The real question: I think earlier a
18 couple of times, you said you and your colleagues have tried
19 many, many times, and you've gone to state legislature and
20 tried to argue your case, that some compensatory damages
21 should be granted; and every time, you've failed.

22 If you can just share with us a little about, let's
23 say, what happens? That is to say, the arguments against,
24 maybe, and the composition of the sort of forces of different
25 camps for and against? Can you tell us something about inside

1 the deliberations of the state legislature on this issue?

2 MR. MARTIN: Yeah. You have some of the major
3 actors here. Certainly, the advocacy community groups have
4 been in favor of granting authority once -- it wasn't
5 stripped. It was interpreted that we never had, we never had
6 authority to grant those types of damages, even though our
7 interpretation was that we did have.

8 CBIA has been opposed to, first, generally speaking,
9 the institution of granting us authority to have the hearing
10 officers grant compensatory damages. I think -- and Betsy can
11 speak to her arguments of why they believe -- but over the
12 last year, I think we've tried it twice now, two efforts,
13 three efforts. But the case just came out two years ago,
14 didn't it?

15 Because you don't have a jury trial -- isn't that
16 one of the arguments? -- because there's not a jury trial, it
17 shouldn't be awarded compensatory damages. And there isn't
18 really an injury here, I've heard argument, a tangible injury
19 that you can measure.

20 I think it was stated earlier that you can come into
21 a hearing and just get these compensatory damages, and hearing
22 officers pull them out of the sky; that's not true. You have
23 to put on probative evidence to prove your injury. If you're
24 saying you suffered some mental anguish A's a result of the
25 discriminatory act, you have to put on the medical testimony

1 just like in PI cases.

2 You send your person to a therapist for a couple of
3 years. It's no different. Then that expert comes in and
4 testifies A's to the damage that you suffered, and you bring
5 your wife and kids in and all that kind of stuff to show that
6 you've been damaged.

7 I think there's a real concern that because the
8 damage suffered is intangible in nature and, therefore, is
9 hard to get a hold of, I think that's a concern, that you have
10 these hearing examiners -- who are also perceived A's
11 impartial in some instances -- making that type of
12 determination. In the past, when hearing officers thought
13 they did have that issue, they only were awarding \$5,000 or
14 \$10,000; they weren't awarding a lot of money. They didn't
15 find a lot of damage.

16 MS. PULDA: The issue of compensatory damages is one
17 that was troubling for us because we do support the idea that
18 it should be an informal process. When you add compensatory
19 damages in the mix, which could be anywhere from \$10,000 -- I
20 know in Massachusetts, a lot of times it's a \$100,000 -- you
21 end up raising the stakes in the litigation, and you end up
22 making it more contentious.

23 One of the reasons that it has failed in the
24 judiciary committee is I think people understood that there
25 are very little due process protections in an administrative

1 process, A's it should be. They don't have the right to
2 depose witness. They don't have the right to subpoena
3 documents. So there's very little that they're putting on in
4 terms of a case. They just did not feel that it was fair in
5 that venue to award compensatory damages.

6 In the past, we felt that hearing officers were
7 awarding compensatory damage with very little evidentiary
8 support. We did suggest to the committee that if they did
9 authorize the Commission to award compensatory damages, that
10 they require some kind of evidence of psychological harm to be
11 adjudicated at the hearing process stage.

12 There were also concerns -- the proposal before the
13 legislature authorized compensatory damages in all cases. The
14 Civil Rights Act, from what I understand, only authorizes
15 compensatory damages in cases of intentional discrimination.
16 They also cap the amount of damages based on the size of the
17 employer. Those things were something that the judiciary
18 committee was unwilling to put in the bill, I think primarily
19 because the trial lawyers have a problem anytime you talk
20 about capping damages.

21 Also, the issue came out that what other state
22 agency in Connecticut is authorized to award compensatory
23 damages? I don't believe that the complainants could come up
24 with any agency that does award compensatory damages. They
25 look to the example of the Workers' Compensation situation,

1 where if you want emotional distress damages, then you go to
2 superior court; otherwise, you file within the Worker's Comp
3 Commission.

4 DR. CHUN: How close were the votes?

5 MS. GARA: Very close. I earned my money on that
6 day.

7 DR. ECHOLS: Can any of you see any directions in
8 which the legislative process might go, particularly around
9 the things that seem to hobble the intent of the laws that
10 were passed to create an opportunity to serve more cases, but
11 at the same time, to tax it to death with the amount of money
12 that's required for the hearings and so on. I'm thinking in
13 terms of our legislature, which generates so many laws that
14 are imperfect, and the repair work that needs to go on on some
15 of them just never seems to occur.

16 Is there any hope for that? Do you go back on a
17 yearly basis to seek amendments or changes?

18 MR. MARTIN: Our legislative package was submitted
19 on October 30 to the governor's office, and we have three
20 bills in the package this year: One, we've submitted Senate
21 Bill 414, which is a bill that encompasses several changes,
22 but it primarily centers around full-time hearing officers and
23 setting up that process. We have two other bills this year:
24 One related to state contracting, and one related to police
25 community relations.

1 The one employment discrimination is that procedural
2 bill that deals with the hearing officer, which is our first
3 priority this year.

4 MS. PULDA: If I can just say about the pain and
5 suffering and other reform, how long did it take for the gay
6 rights bill to pass? Ten, maybe even 20 years; so I think we
7 can hang in there, and some of us intend to. I think
8 eventually -- Connecticut didn't end when the gay rights bill
9 was passed and business didn't fail when it was passed.

10 Same with the Family Medical Leave Act. Originally,
11 we had the same arguments about the Family Medical Leave Act,
12 that you keep layering requirements on business, and business
13 will fail. I think, eventually, that shakes down and we
14 realize that we have more in common in these battles than we
15 don't. So I think that if we hang in there, eventually --
16 these don't get better solved by litigation, and that there
17 ultimately will be some common ground. I really think that
18 will happen.

19 MR. KAELIN: At this point, I would like to give the
20 public the opportunity to make statements, and I'll start with
21 you, Michelle, if that's okay.

22 MS. DUPREY: Good afternoon. My name is Michelle
23 Duprey. I'm here wearing several hats. I'm a plaintiff
24 attorney. I have been a defense attorney, I've been a
25 complainant, and I'm the chairperson of the Connecticut

1 Women's Disability Network; so I'm here kind of trying to
2 represent all those different interests.

3 I think that Connecticut has done quite a disservice
4 to its citizens. I think the Commission on Human Rights is
5 grossly underfunded, and I think by doing that, we've really
6 compromised employers' positions along with individual
7 employees.

8 I think that that's happened not only because of the
9 process and the time frames and the requirements that have
10 been set up to keep the case load manageable, but also the
11 fact about emotional distress damages. I'm a firm believer
12 that anybody that's been a victim of discrimination or sexual
13 harassment inevitably has emotional distress damages.

14 By not giving individuals the opportunity at an
15 administrative procedure to get compensated for that damage,
16 you really put plaintiffs in the position where they --
17 absolutely, to get made whole again -- have to go into court.

18 When people come into my office, they say, We've got
19 to spin our wheels seven months at the Commission on Human
20 Rights, but then we can go to court, because most of their
21 damages are compensatory damages.

22 I think that there's something that needs to be
23 done, and I think that we should not let ourselves believe
24 because the EEOC is here and the CHRO is here, that
25 discrimination is getting eradicated in Connecticut, because I

1 don't believe that's happening.

2 I just think it's very important for this group and
3 a lot of the other Connecticut citizens to understand there's
4 still a lot of work that needs to be done, and that work needs
5 to begin at the Commission on Human Rights & Opportunities.

6 I think Ruth's position -- she said it much more
7 eloquently than I could -- but I think an informal process
8 would facilitate remedying some of the problems with
9 discrimination and sexual harassment. I think that we should
10 not let ourselves think that that's getting better with the
11 system we have. I think that the system is causing A's much
12 damage A's some of the employers, and I think that we ought to
13 do something to stop that. That's it. Thank you.

14 MR. KAELIN: Elam Lantz is with the State Office of
15 Protection and Advocacy for Persons with Disabilities.

16 MR. LANTZ: I'm a staff attorney with the State
17 Office of Protection and Advocacy. I did type up a few things
18 this morning; I got asked to pinch-hit this morning. Please
19 excuse a few of the typos that I didn't pick up.

20 I guess the one practical suggestion, since I
21 prepared the written things, is to just summarize for you that
22 at the Office of Protection and Advocacy, we receive nearly
23 5,000 calls a year on a variety of disability issues. Over 10
24 percent of the calls we received in the last two fiscal years
25 related to employment questions; many of those questions

1 related to employment issues relating to people with
2 disabilities.

3 We are constantly amazed at the lack of information,
4 despite the passage of the bills, despite the fact that the
5 Rehab Act of 1973 imposed many of the same requirements A's
6 the ADA on various organizations and employers, that people
7 still lack the basic knowledge that is needed.

8 A's we get into the nuances of many of the systems,
9 we should not forget that there's still a lot of public
10 education and technical assistance that needs to be done to
11 inform employers of their requirements and inform individuals
12 of their rights.

13 I've listed some of the examples that we get in our
14 organization, just very basic questions, questions that are
15 clearly, at times, addressed in the implementation of
16 regulations of the different laws, which are practice that are
17 continually engaged in.

18 Once again, we hear only the cases where something
19 has gone awry, so I'm not saying that it's a pervasive
20 practice. In fact, we still need to -- we would urge the
21 Commission to continue public education, training technical
22 assistance A's a continued piece.

23 I know I've been practicing in disability law for, I
24 guess, close to 17 years now. I am still constantly amazed at
25 the amount of training and information that we need to

1 continue to disseminate, to teach individuals their rights,
2 and to explain the requirements of the law. So that's the one
3 piece that I would add to that. Thanks.

4 THE CHAIRPERSON: Mr. Lantz, is the real problem the
5 one dealing with, quote, "inexpensive accommodations that can
6 effectively assist a qualified person"? Is this where the
7 real fight comes between the employer and the agency?

8 MR. LANTZ: We have found that many times,
9 accommodations can, in fact, be accomplished that are
10 inexpensive; but if you notice, I guess, the paragraph before
11 that, I said that many times, reasonable accommodations are
12 viewed with suspicion and people immediately think big bucks,
13 A's opposed to seeing it A's an interactive process between
14 the employer and the individual, to try to evolve some sort of
15 working relationship where the individual can still
16 contribute.

17 I mention the area of psychiatric disability, which
18 has gotten a lot of press nationally lately; and many of the
19 individuals who contact us are really calling about flexible
20 working schedules, which are a very difficult issue to work
21 out and one that just isn't often on the radar screen of many
22 employers, despite the Family Medical Leave Act, which
23 applies, and despite the ADA, which may require some
24 accommodation. So these are the kinds of technical issues
25 that we need to continue to address and expose people to.

1 Thank you.

2 MR. KAELIN: Well, then, in closing, I would like
3 to, on behalf of the committee, thank each of the members of
4 the panel for participating in the discussion today. I know
5 you all have spent time preparing for this. You've given us
6 your valuable time today, and we recognize that and appreciate
7 that. We'll see if we can make some good use of it.

8 Neil, would I be upstaging you if adjourned us?

9 THE CHAIRMAN: I'd like to extend my appreciation
10 too, and thank the panel for a really great job.

11

12 (The conference was adjourned at
13 approximately 4:25 p.m.)

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C E R T I F I C A T E

I, Kelly A. Hickson, Notary Public
and Stenographer, do hereby certify that
the foregoing testimony is a true and accurate
transcription of my stenographic notes to
the best of my knowledge and ability.

WITNESS MY HAND AND SEAL, this 23rd day of
November, 1997.



Kelly A. Hickson
Court Reporter