



## NO PLACE TO CALL HOME

### The Affordable Housing Crisis in the Gulf South

BY JEANIE DONOVAN, M.P.A., M.P.H.

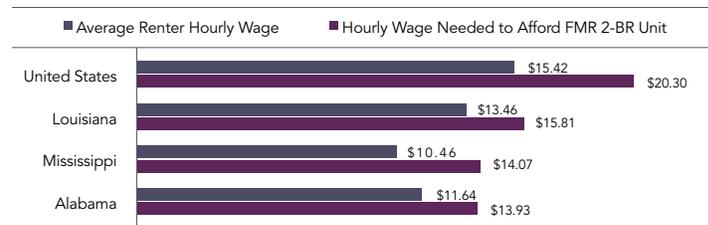
“A house is much more than roof over one’s head. [It is] a place where a person creates and lives out his or her life,” said Saint Pope John Paul II.<sup>1</sup> Having a stable home to establish our daily routines and relationships is something many of us may take for granted. The benefits of secure, affordable housing are numerous and well-documented, especially for children and other vulnerable populations.<sup>2,3</sup> Unfortunately, millions of working families in the United States and thousands in the Gulf South struggle to find affordable, safe housing where they can create and live out their lives.

The root of the problem is two-fold: household incomes have not kept up with inflation and funding for housing assistance programs has not kept pace with the growing need. The results include: homelessness; families forced to forgo other necessities such as food and medical care; and an increase in the number of low-income households living in substandard or overcrowded housing. Leaving families to live in such situations violates a basic premise of Catholic social teaching—the right to life is fundamental and includes a right to food, clothing, shelter, rest, medical care, and essential social services.<sup>4</sup> Fortunately, the affordable housing crisis is not a problem without solutions; with appropriate policy changes and public investments we can and must increase housing security for families and children.

#### WAGES NOT KEEPING UP WITH HOUSING COSTS

A recent report by the National Low Income Housing Coalition found that the average fair market rent (FMR) for a two-bedroom rental unit in the U.S. is \$1,056 per month.<sup>5</sup> The annual income needed to afford that rental unit is \$42,240, or \$20.30 per hour. A full-time worker earning the federal minimum wage would need to work 112 hours per week, or 2.8 minimum wage jobs to pay for that unit and still be able to afford other household expenses. The average hourly wage of the 41.8 million renters in the U.S. is \$15.42—nearly \$5 per hour below what is needed to afford the average two-bedroom apartment.<sup>6</sup>

Chart 1. Average Renter Wages vs. Wages Needed to Afford 2-Bedroom Apartment



Source: National Low Income Housing Coalition: Out of Reach 2016 Report

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As illustrated in Chart 1, housing costs in Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana are substantially lower than the national average, but wages are as well. Increasing the state minimum wage above the federal rate is a critical first step toward closing the gap between household incomes of working families and the cost of housing. Establishing a state Earned Income Tax Credit (EITC) is another proven way to boost the incomes of working families and relieve some strain on their household budgets.<sup>7</sup> All three states' legislatures have repeatedly defeated proposals to increase the minimum wage despite broad public support. Also, while Louisiana established a modest EITC in 2007, the Mississippi and Alabama legislatures have defeated proposals to do the same in their states.

### FEDERAL HOUSING ASSISTANCE ONLY REACHING A FRACTION OF ELIGIBLE HOUSEHOLDS

Even with wage increases and state EITCs, some households still will be unable to afford adequate housing. Several federal housing assistance programs exist to fill the gap between vulnerable households' income and the fair market rent for the area in which they live. The three major federal housing programs include: public housing developments, privately-owned subsidized rental units, and housing vouchers that low-income renters use to pay for rent in the private rental market.

Unfortunately, federal funding for such programs has not significantly increased since 2003 while demand has increased, resulting in substantial unmet need.<sup>8</sup> Rental subsidies or public housing units are only offered to the extent that they are available when a household applies; if nothing is available, the household is put on a waiting list. In fact, federal housing assistance serves only about one-quarter of the 20 million eligible households.<sup>9</sup> What's more, housing programs often prioritize vulnerable populations including veterans, persons with disabilities, and the elderly, leaving an increasing number of poor working families without assistance.

Low-income working households who are eligible but do not receive housing assistance have several undesirable options. They can take on a severe housing cost-burden, meaning they pay more than 50 percent of their income in rent; live with family or friends in often over-crowded conditions; or live in a shelter, car, or on the street. Not surprisingly, most in Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama end up taking the first option and spend the majority of their income on rent.

**Chart 2. Low-Income Household Living Arrangements By State**

	Households Paying >50% Income in Rent	Homeless Persons	Children in Unstable Housing*
Alabama	128,800	4,561	13,979
Mississippi	82,000	2,226	11,919
Louisiana	145,600	4,606	17,983

Source: Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Federal Rental Assistance State Fact Sheets, 2014.  
\*Includes the number of school-aged children living in hotels or motels or doubled-up with other families.

### STATE INVESTMENTS IN HOUSING ASSISTANCE ARE CRITICAL

In addition to raising wages and establishing EITCs, states have an important role to play in increasing the availability of affordable, secure housing. Many states and municipalities have made investments in housing assistance programs that supplement the federal programs. Notably, state-operated housing trust funds have been effective in increasing the number of affordable rental units available to low-income families and leveraging private investment to maximize the impact of public funds. For example, Louisiana created the Louisiana Housing Trust Fund in 2003 with a one-time investment of \$25 million. Housing advocates estimate that the initial state funding helped to secure an additional \$61 million in private funding for the development and rehabilitation of housing for low-income families.<sup>10</sup> Unfortunately, the legislature has failed to establish an ongoing revenue source for the fund and it has been dormant since 2009. Alabama created the Alabama Housing Trust Fund in 2012 but has yet to dedicate any state revenue to the fund, despite an ongoing campaign by state housing advocates, human service providers, and low-income housing developers. A group of advocates also have banded together in Mississippi to promote the establishment of a state housing trust fund, but the effort has not been successful to date.

Louisiana, Mississippi, and Alabama must take action to increase wages and household income for renters if they are to stem the growing housing crisis. By raising the state minimum wage to a living wage and ensuring that their state tax systems include a robust EITC, state legislators can ensure that more families can afford secure housing and have enough money left over to afford basic necessities. Through the establishment of state housing trust funds with a dedicated stream of funding, states also can increase the availability of affordable homes in which families can safely create and live out their lives.



# Catholic Social Thought and Gun Violence

Twenty-two years ago, the U.S. Catholic bishops wrote:

Our families are torn by violence. Our communities are destroyed by violence. Our faith is tested by violence.<sup>1</sup>

Not only was violence then destroying lives, dignity, and hopes, the bishops wrote, but fear of violence was “paralyzing and polarizing our communities.”

The violence then described by the bishops is now compounded in our consciousness by terrorism abroad, wars across the Middle East, mass shootings in places like San Bernardino, Charleston, Sandy Hook, and Orlando, shootings by police and others of Black men, women, and children, shootings of police officers, and violent political discourse. Despite our impressions and fears, as the bishops then noted, “It doesn’t have to be this way.”

Change has to begin in this nation because, as the bishops continued, “No nation on earth, except those in the midst of war, has as much violent behavior as we do—in our homes, on our televisions, and in our streets...”

At the heart of much of this violence are guns—from handguns to assault weapons. There are almost as many guns in the United States as there are people.<sup>2</sup>

Change begins with the simple sign seen on some church properties: *Thou shalt not kill*. The fifth commandment’s mandate is rooted in the essential dignity and sanctity of every human life—life

that is tragically assaulted by every bullet that tears through human flesh. One practical and compelling step in reducing gun violence is gun control, as the bishops have written:

We support measures that control the sale and use of firearms and make them safer (especially efforts that prevent their unsupervised use by children or anyone other than the owner), and we reiterate our call for sensible regulations of handguns.<sup>3</sup>

In a recent statement, the bishops’ conference enumerated its support for “implementing reasonable regulations on firearms” such as: universal background checks for all gun purchasers; limiting civilian access to high-capacity weapons and ammunition magazines; making gun trafficking a federal crime; improving access to mental health and addiction treatment for those who may be prone to violence; and supporting reentry programs to help people avoid re-offending.<sup>4</sup>

The Vatican has urged the international community “to assume its responsibility in establishing an obligatory legal framework aimed at regulating the trade of conventional weapons of any type, as well as of know-how and technology for their production.”<sup>5</sup> As one of the world’s leading producers and exporters of conventional arms, the United States has a heightened responsibility to add support for control of conventional weapons to our existing commitment to control of weapons of mass destruction. Gun violence is nurtured by a pervasive culture of violence. Popes and bishops

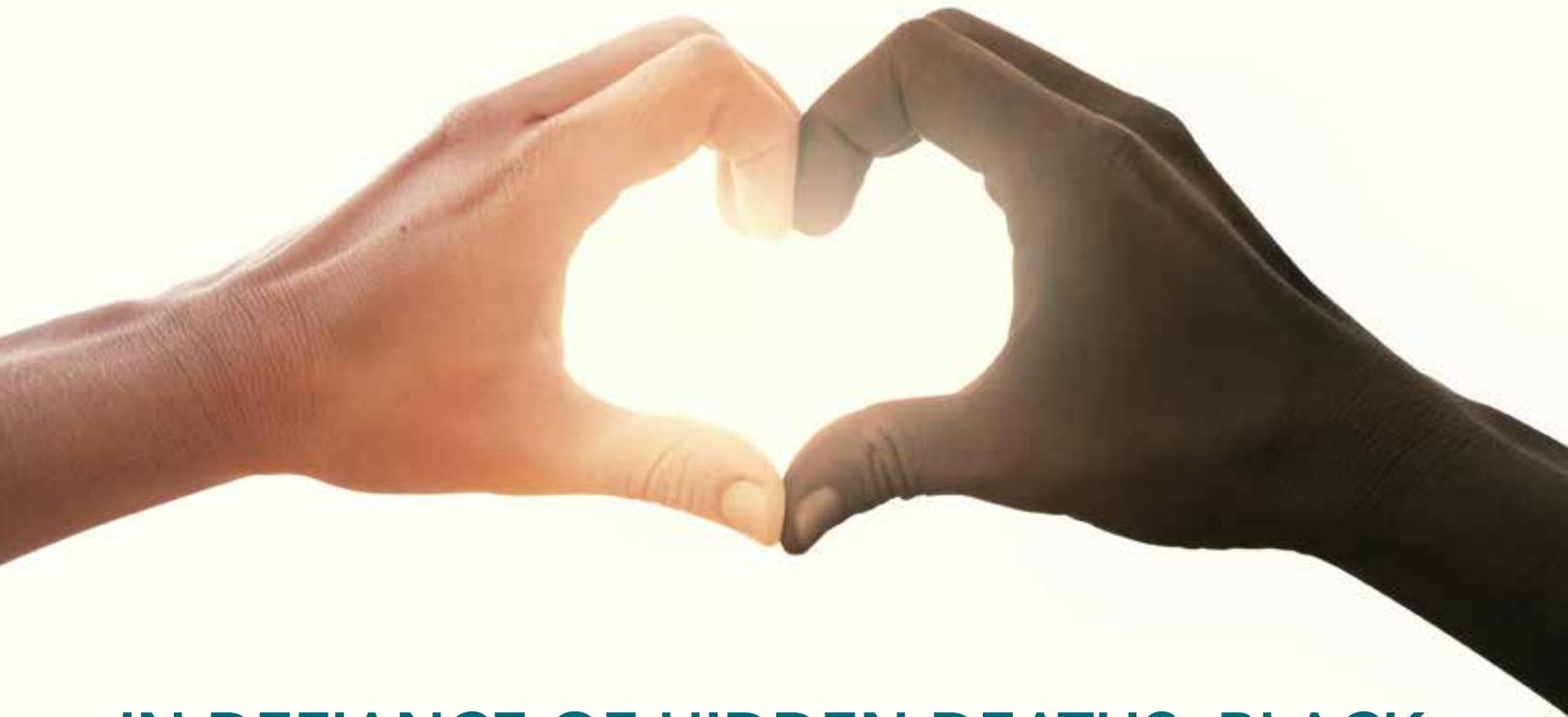
repeatedly have urged us to confront that larger culture in many different ways. As Saint Pope John Paul II put it,

To choose life involves rejecting every form of violence: the violence of poverty and hunger, which afflicts so many human beings; the violence of armed conflict; the violence of criminal trafficking in drugs and arms; the violence of mindless damage to the natural environment.<sup>6</sup>

The U.S. bishops also have emphasized confronting domestic violence, the glamorization of violence in the media and music, abortion, and “the slow-motion violence of discrimination and poverty, hunger and hopelessness, addiction and self-destructive behavior.”<sup>7</sup>

## ENDNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Confronting a Culture of Violence: A Catholic Framework for Action*, November 1994.
- <sup>2</sup> “According to the Congressional Research Service, there are roughly twice as many guns per capita in the U.S. as there were in 1968: more than 300 million guns in all.” [www.npr.org/2016/01/05/462017461/guns-in-america-by-the-numbers](http://www.npr.org/2016/01/05/462017461/guns-in-america-by-the-numbers)
- <sup>3</sup> U.S. Catholic Conference, *Responsibility, Rehabilitation, and Restoration: A Catholic Perspective on Crime and Criminal Justice*, November 2000, no. 4.
- <sup>4</sup> U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops, Office of Domestic Social Development, *A Mercy and Peacebuilding Approach to Gun Violence*, January 2016.
- <sup>5</sup> Statement by the Pontifical Council for Justice and Peace on behalf of the Holy See concerning the International Trade in Conventional Weapons, October 10, 2006, no. 3.
- <sup>6</sup> Saint Pope John Paul II, *Evangelium Vitae*, March 25, 1995, no. 57.
- <sup>7</sup> *Confronting a Culture of Violence*, op. cit.



# IN DEFIANCE OF HIDDEN DEATHS: BLACK LIVES MATTER AS A LIVING PHILOSOPHY

BY NICHOLAS E. MITCHELL, P.H.D.

Noted political philosopher Charles Mills argues, in order to understand the current state of race relations, one must first accept the following premise: White Supremacy is one of the most consequential ideologies in human history and the modern world is a direct consequence of it.<sup>1</sup> It belongs in the pantheon of ideologies that changed how humans frame their very existence and has claimed the lives of untold millions. This premise is not an indictment of individuals or their morality; but rather it reflects world history and how we arrived at the current status quo, which can be accurately described as what Mills calls “the racial contract”: a racial, caste system in the United States

where people of color are scheduled castes and denied a life free from the machinations of racists.<sup>2</sup> In this context, Black Lives Matter has emerged as not only a political movement, but also as a living philosophy dedicated to nonviolence that seeks to emancipate human bodies—of all races—from the racial contract.

In its intersectional form and as a living philosophy, Black Lives Matter is the current incarnation of the centuries-long Black resistance against White Supremacy across multiple fronts. As a movement, it was catalyzed and given form as a response to the extrajudicial murders of Black men like Michael Brown, Walter Scott, and Alton Sterling; Black women like Sandra

Bland, Islan Nettles, and Tanisha Anderson; and Black children like Trayvon Martin, Tamir Rice, and Aiyana Jones. Black Lives Matter is continuing the work of the Maroon communities, Tubman, Douglass, Wells, Randolph, Rustin, and King; it is the intellectual and spiritual successor of all of the men and women who struggled so that their children would not have to know what oppression looked like, smelled like, or felt like.

As a political movement, most recently enunciated in the platform of the Movement for Black Lives, Black Lives Matter is dedicated to emancipatory transformation and has given rise to a number of organizations. Black Lives Matter’s holding of politicians,

presidential candidates, and the various police departments around the nation accountable for the murders of Black men, women, and children is an echo of the early twentieth century NAACP's anti-lynching efforts. They force Americans to see what is happening around them, which makes many people, of all races, uncomfortable. This is intentional and rooted in the Black prophetic tradition and politic which holds that change only happens with tension and the only way to achieve tension is through peaceful agitation.

In response to Black Lives Matter, a counter movement has emerged—"all lives matter." For those who are dedicated to social justice, "all lives matter" may very well be shorthand for a radical commitment to combat injustice everywhere, no matter who is the victim, and a recognition of collective responsibility. The U.S. Conference of Catholic Bishops affirmed this position in 1968,

To varying degrees, we all share in the guilt. We must recognize the fact that racist attitudes and consequent discrimination exist, not only in the hearts of men but in the fabric of their institutions.<sup>3</sup>

The opposition to the Black Lives Matter movement, however, has appropriated this terminology as a tactic to marginalize Black Lives Matter in the public discourse through a straw man argument that asserts that the Black Lives Matter movement must hold all other lives as inferior by virtue of affirming that Black lives matter.

Broadly speaking, "all lives matter" is an expression of White resistance, which is fed by an anxiety regarding the cultural implications of the impending shift from a majority White to a majority-minority population. Noted ethics scholar Rev. Bryan Massingale succinctly asserts that "we are no longer a White Christian

nation, and many White Christians are anxious."<sup>4</sup> Where the Civil Rights movement desegregated public spaces, Black Lives Matter seeks to desegregate the institutions of power which perpetuate racism on the macro level. Institutional racism is infringement on the dignity of human beings. Moral theologian Thomas Massaro, S.J., asserts about institutional racism,

A key example of such an evil social structure is racial discrimination—blatant unfairness towards minority groups and their members. Although we are free as individuals to reject this temptation, the accumulated weight of racial bias exerts an indisputable influence on our cultural environment.<sup>5</sup>

Black Lives Matter, as a living philosophy, asserts that, while being a necessary step in the commitment to social justice, it is not enough to reject interpersonal racism without confronting and defeating institutional racism. To create a more just society, the institutions that perpetuate racism must be replaced.

Opponents of Black Lives Matter never hesitate to cite the Black on Black murder rate as a means to undermine the movement. It must be noted that murder is largely intraracial with Whites following similar patterns. According to the FBI 2014 statistics,<sup>6</sup> where the race of the offender is known, of the 3,021 Whites murdered, 2,488 were murdered by other Whites. Of the 2,451 Blacks murdered, 2,205 were murdered by other Blacks. What is being implied with the omnipresent citation of the Black on Black murder rate? Is the intended implication that African Americans are inherently more violent than other groups and must be kept in line through terror brought on by unwarranted murders in the most public of settings? This tactic has a name: Lynching.

To be frank, the state of Black people in America is a dire one. Underfunded and crumbling schools and creeping poverty eroding economic opportunities are problems that all Americans face. However, the pauperization of Black people through Supreme Court-backed Jim Crow laws, red lining, and the school-to-prison pipeline have been official policies of the United States for most of its history that have only been addressed in the last 50 years; and those gains are not immune to the less overt forms of institutional racism or the mass incarceration of adults and juveniles. All of this is compounded by the grotesque spectacle of Black extra-judicial killings by vigilantes and the police.

The Black struggle is both external and internal. Externally, Black people resist oppression. Internally, Black people battle nihilism. That's what oppression does eventually—it turns one into a nihilist. "Black Lives Matter" is a revolutionary statement that echoes throughout Black history and that always starts with who we see in the mirror. Black Lives Matter is the philosophical cure to the spiritual damage of centuries of oppression. They are right to stand before the world and say, "Our lives matter. Black lives matter." They refuse to die hidden deaths anymore.

## ENDNOTES

- 1 Charles Mills, *The Racial Contract*, (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1997), p. 17.
- 2 *Ibid*, p. 28.
- 3 National Conference of Catholic Bishops, *Statement on National Race Crisis*, April 25, 1968.
- 4 Bryan N. Massingale, *Racial Justice and the Catholic Church*, (Ossining, N.Y.: Orbis Books, 2014), p. 10.
- 5 Thomas Massaro, *Living Justice: Catholic Social Teaching in Action*, (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield, 2008), p. 150.
- 6 See: 2014 Crime in the United States Expanded Homicide Data Table 6 courtesy of [https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/tables/expanded-homicide-data/expanded-homicide-data-table\\_6\\_murder\\_race\\_and\\_sex\\_of\\_victim\\_by\\_race\\_and\\_sex\\_of\\_offender\\_2014.xls](https://ucr.fbi.gov/crime-in-the-u.s/2014/crime-in-the-u.s.-2014/tables/expanded-homicide-data/expanded-homicide-data-table_6_murder_race_and_sex_of_victim_by_race_and_sex_of_offender_2014.xls)



**TABLE 2. Unaccompanied Immigrant Children Released to Sponsors in Gulf South States<sup>4</sup>**

STATE	FY 2014	FY 2015	FY 2016*
Alabama	786	808	670
Florida	5,445	2,908	3,851
Louisiana	1,755	480	663
Mississippi	290	207	239
Texas	7,409	3,272	4,738
<b>GULF SOUTH TOTAL</b>	<b>15,685</b>	<b>7,675</b>	<b>10,161</b>
<b>US TOTAL</b>	<b>53515</b>	<b>27840</b>	<b>37574</b>

\* Through June 30, 2016

The Zetas, a violent transnational criminal organization from Mexico, appear to be consolidating control over local police and the military in Guatemala,<sup>5</sup> and four Northern Triangle cities—San Salvador, Tegucigalpa, San Pedro Sula, and Guatemala City—recently were ranked among the top five most murderous metropolises in the world.<sup>6</sup> Family sponsors in Gulf South states have received over a quarter of unaccompanied minor children in FY 2014, FY 2015, and FY 2016 through June 2016. (See Table 2.)<sup>7</sup>

It might be tempting to shrug our shoulders and say it is up to Northern Triangle countries to solve their own problems, but to do so would require denying incontrovertible historical evidence that the U.S. has long played a role in undermining democracy and economic and social stability in the region. A case in point is the CIA orchestrated coup in Guatemala in 1954 that led to a long and deadly civil war from which the country has yet to recover.

**HISTORY OF 1954 GUATELMALAN COUP D'ETAT**

Following the "October Revolution" of 1944, led by Guatemalan university students and middle-class citizens greatly influenced by Franklin Roosevelt's New Deal programs, the repressive regime of Dictator Federico Ponce

After the "surge" in the number of unaccompanied immigrant children and immigrant families crossing the border dominated headlines in the summer of 2014, the Mexican government, at the urging of the United States, began apprehending and deporting more migrants in Mexico and cracking down on the use of Mexican freight trains (*la Bestia*) as a method of transportation.<sup>1</sup> Although the number of Central American children and families (largely composed of women and children) apprehended at the border dropped precipitously in FY 2015, it began climbing again in FY 2016 (see Table 1) as flexible and opportunistic smuggling rings developed new routes to exploit. More importantly, conditions that cause children and families to flee the Northern Triangle countries (Guatemala, Honduras, and El Salvador) have not improved since 2014; if anything, levels of violence are worse. The murder rate in El Salvador has increased 200 percent since a 2012 truce negotiated between rival gangs began to break down.<sup>2</sup>

**TABLE 1. Unaccompanied Immigrant Children (UIC) and Immigrant Families\* (IF) Apprehended at Border by Fiscal Year<sup>3</sup>**

	FY 2013		FY 2014		FY 2015		FY 2016**	
	UIC	IF	UIC	IF	UIC	IF	UIC	IF
El Salvador	5,990	NA***	16,404	NA	9,389	10,872	12,800	18,225
Guatemala	8,068	NA	17,057	NA	13,589	12,820	13,755	14,732
Honduras	6,747	NA	18,244	NA	5,409	10,671	7,058	13,006
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>20,805</b>	<b>NA</b>	<b>51,705</b>	<b>NA</b>	<b>28,387</b>	<b>34,363</b>	<b>33,613</b>	<b>45,963</b>

\* Number of immigrant families represents number of individuals in all apprehended family units (children under 18 and parent or legal guardian).

\*\* Through June 30, 2016.

\*\*\* U.S. did not begin tracking number of apprehended families as distinct from other migrants until FY 2015.

was overthrown, with fewer than 100 lives lost. Soon a philosophy professor with moderate political views, Juan José Arévalo, well-known to the teachers who formed the backbone of the revolutionary movement for his patriotic textbooks on Guatemala, won the first free and fair election in Guatemalan history.<sup>8</sup>

When Arévalo took office in March, 1945, he was confronted by an impoverished country that had changed little since achieving independence from Spain in 1821. Seventy-two percent of the land was owned by two percent of the landowners. Indigenous people in the countryside were forced to work 150 days a year for large plantations at no pay. Life expectancy for indigenous people was only 40 years, versus just 50 years for ladinos (persons of native and European ancestry who had adopted a westernized culture). Most workers were employed by foreign-owned companies, with the largest number—40,000—employed directly or indirectly by United Fruit Company, an American owned corporation headquartered in New Orleans which grew bananas throughout Central America and the Caribbean for export to the U.S. and Europe.<sup>9</sup>

Arévalo's administration approved the country's first social security law, modeled after FDR's New Deal measures, guaranteeing workers the right to safe working conditions, compensation for injuries, maternity benefits, and basic education and health care. Dozens of medical facilities were built throughout the country to serve peasants living outside the capital city. The Labor Code passed in 1947 instituted a minimum wage and guaranteed urban workers the right to organize.<sup>10</sup>

When Jacobo Árbenz Guzman was elected president in a largely free election in 1951, agricultural workers earned an average of \$87 a year and were 90 percent of the workforce. Of the four million acres owned by large plantation owners, less than one fourth was under cultivation.<sup>11</sup> Árbenz promised not only to expand the reforms begun under Arévalo, but also to reform Guatemala's semi-feudal agricultural practices. His agrarian reform bill, Decree 900, expropriated all uncultivated land from large landholdings, compensating owners at the value the owners had declared in tax returns. By June, 1954, approximately one-sixth of the population (500,000 people) had received 1.4 million acres of land.<sup>12</sup> Although many landowners were affected, the main target of Decree 900 was the United Fruit Company, by far the largest property owner in the country. By February, 1954, 386,901 acres, or 70 percent of the company's landholdings, were expropriated and given to landless peasants.<sup>13</sup>

Accustomed to pliant Guatemalan dictators who had granted the company massive concessions, the United Fruit Company responded to the reforms of the Arévalo and Árbenz administrations by launching an intensive lobbying and public relations effort to convince U.S. government officials and the U.S. public that the Guatemalan government needed to be replaced because it had been infiltrated by Communists and was anti-American.<sup>14</sup>

In August, 1953, in the throes of Cold War McCarthyism, President Dwight Eisenhower authorized the CIA to overthrow the democratically elected government of Jacobo Árbenz. His Secretary of State, John Foster Dulles, and his brother, CIA director Allen Dulles, had close ties to the United Fruit Company through a law firm for which they had both worked, and were eager to challenge threats to U.S. national security interests, which they conflated with the interests of United Fruit Company.<sup>15</sup>

A paramilitary invasion of just 480 men, using a handful of bomber planes supplied by the CIA, was able to overthrow Árbenz in June 1954, due in large part to CIA-controlled radio broadcasts that convinced the Guatemalan army and the civilian population that rebel forces had overtaken the capital.<sup>16</sup> Carlos Castillo Armas, the leader of the coup, was installed as president and soon began reversing the reforms of the Arévalo and Árbenz administrations.<sup>17</sup>

In reaction to the rolling back of progressive policies and increasingly repressive actions by the government, leftist insurgencies in the countryside began in 1960, triggering the 36-year long Guatemalan Civil war between rebels and U.S. backed government forces. By the time peace was brokered in 1996, 200,000 civilians had been killed, many victims of a genocidal scorched-earth military campaign in the 1980s against the indigenous Mayans.<sup>18</sup>

## CONCLUSION

Americans have notoriously short historical memories, but it is important that we acknowledge that the migration of children and families from Northern Triangle countries has its roots in decades of Cold War gamesmanship, as well as a relentless international war on drugs, that have left a legacy of violence and impunity in those countries.<sup>19</sup>

How shall we respond to the growing number of Central American refugees? As a problem to be solved, or as sisters and brothers to be welcomed, respected, and loved? Is it a supreme irony that so many children and families are seeking refuge in the very country that played such a large role in creating the poverty and violence they are fleeing—or is it perhaps something all together different—an opportunity for our redemption?



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### ENDNOTES

- 1 Pontifical Commission on Justice and Peace, *What Have You Done to Your Homeless Brother? The Church and the Housing Problem*, Rome, December 27, 1987.
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- 2 Silva Mathema, "They are refugees: An increasing number of people are fleeing violence in the Northern Triangle," Center for American Progress, February 24, 2016 at <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/immigration/news/2016/02/24/131645/they-are-refugees-an-increasing-number-of-people-are-fleeing-violence-in-the-northern-triangle/>
- 3 United States Border Patrol Southwest Family Unit Subject and Unaccompanied Alien Children Apprehensions Fiscal Year 2016: Statement by Secretary Jeh C. Johnson on Southwest Border Security and Immigration Enforcement Priorities, October 18, 2016, at <https://www.cbp.gov/newsroom/stats/southwest-border-unaccompanied-children/fy-2016>
- 4 From *Unaccompanied Children Released to Sponsors by State*, Office of Refugee Resettlement, July 25, 2016, at <http://www.acf.hhs.gov/orr/programs/ucs/state-by-state-uc-placed-sponsors>
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- 19 See Roque Planas and Ryan Grim, "Here's how the U.S. sparked a refugee crisis on the border, in eight simple steps," *The Huffington Post*, July 18, 2014, at [http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/18/refugee-crisis-border\\_n\\_5596125.html](http://www.huffingtonpost.com/2014/07/18/refugee-crisis-border_n_5596125.html)

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