Housing and Community Development Policy II

Spring 2023

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Office Hours: Typically before class by appointment at Furman Center Wilf Building, 2nd Floor (139 MacDougal Street) (other locations can be arranged)

Course Information

- Class Meeting Times: Tuesdays 4:55 pm – 6:35 pm, March 21 through May 2, 2023
- Class Location:
- Course Prerequisites: CORE-GP.1022 or URPL-GP.2660

Course Description and Learning Objectives

This course in the Housing and Community Development sequence advances two goals: (1) providing a foundational understanding of housing and community development policy and (2) examining how key policy drivers, the current political and social moment, and core stakeholders are likely to create and/or limit opportunities moving forward.

In the first three classes, we will explore the historic, economic and social context of current housing policy in the U.S., including how housing and community conditions and policies are intertwined. It provides an overview with an emphasis on major federal policies and how they play out on the ground. A key goal of this segment of the course is for students to develop content knowledge of the field as well as insights for assessing the relative merits of various policies and interventions- what problem are we trying to solve? How might this approach address that problem, or not? What other related outcomes should we worry about? The role of race and space is considered throughout.

In the remaining classes, the course will delve into how housing policy does and does not change by going into greater depth regarding the high-profile issues related to the challenges of homelessness, the provision of housing to persons with serious mental health conditions, and the efforts to address racial inequality. In doing so, it will raise the dynamics related to political
movements and the tensions between competing ideologies at the national and state level to better understand the dynamics at play.

In both sections, the course is designed to further students’ policy development understanding and skills through examination of the key political factors that influence the development of housing and community development policy and the leverage points and forms of intervention that public and private sector actors use.

The course is designed to accomplish the following goals:

- Further understanding of housing and community development policy such that students can identify the core issues raised by major proposals and frame the appropriate questions and additional information needed to evaluate them;
- Survey and explore the key political factors and other influences that shape the development of housing and community development program and policy, with a focus on current opportunities and challenges and what affects the potential for change;
- Deepen understanding of and appreciation for key leverage points and forms of intervention with their respective strengths and weaknesses that public and private actors can use to further desired social aims.
- Foster creativity and analysis in considering novel approaches to remake housing and community development policy.
- Strengthen skills to (1) quickly analyze potential proposals and present them succinctly but with nuance in writing, (2) critically assess literature and other information in developing or responding to policy proposals, and (3) advance ability to use analytic frameworks and identify potential options and challenges in shifting policy and practice settings, including by engaging with adverse perspectives.

**Learning Assessment Table**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Graded Assignment</th>
<th>Course Objective Covered</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Short Analytic Papers (2)</td>
<td>#1, #2, #3, #5</td>
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<tr>
<td>Final Paper</td>
<td>#1, #3, #4, #5</td>
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**Required Readings:**

Most readings will be linked on the syllabus, or posted in the Resources folder of NYU Classes. The following books will be used for more than one class and therefore worth accessing regularly:


Assessment Assignments and Evaluation Assessment

• Class participation (including breakout room leadership) = 25% • Two Analytic Papers = 35% • Final Paper, 40% CLASS BY CLASS Course Overview

Class by Class Overview:

CLASS ONE: March 21

INTRODUCTION TO HOUSING POLICY AND CHALLENGES: What Are We Trying to Solve, and Why Do We Care?

Various rationales and objectives have been stated as housing and community development policy has evolved. These are critical starting points as one develops housing and community policy in the present. This class is intended to clarify objectives and drawbacks of existing housing policy, and place housing and community development policy in a larger political and historical framework.

We start with an overview of major policies and themes that we will examine more deeply for the remainder of the course. In doing so, we will examine goals for housing policy and affordability. What should the goal of housing policy be? Does this align with those suggested by Katz? Should affordability be considered the key priority for housing policy? If so, is this just an income problem, so why focus on housing? This discussion is intended to help clarify what policy objectives and social values have been prioritized in pursuing housing and community development policy, and differing viewpoints on which they should be. The Briggs, Katz and other readings may be particularly helpful.

And then, in the second part of class, we will turn to a bold and controversial housing policy proposal to address homelessness currently being put forward by the Mayor of Sacramento. This proposal seeks to revisit the responsibilities and expectations of both government in terms of providing housing and individuals in terms of accepting housing. This proposal surfaces some of the core questions and tensions about the purpose of housing policy and what is required to make substantial change, and also introduces the lens of homelessness which we will explore more deeply in the second half of the class.

Throughout this class, we will ask:

- How do the ways in which the purposes of housing policy are defined affect the ways in which we assess the value (costs and benefits) of particular benefits?
- Recognizing the way in which race has been fundamental to the construction of modern housing policy, what policy and analytic frameworks might be most helpful in advancing racial equity in housing and community development policy moving forward?
- In the context of pressing and politically volatile hot-button housing issues, how can and should we analyze the value of a specific (and controversial) housing proposal?
INTRODUCE ASSIGNMENT #1 (due Monday March 27)

Required Reading

A. Overview of Housing Policy, its Purposes and Elements

1. Schwartz, Housing Policy Chap 1: Intro (1-10) and portions of Chap 2: Trends, Patterns and Problems, specifically, Housing Affordability/Tenure/Problems (pp 27-43); and Federal Expenditures (pp 47-52). These readings should be read to understand the broad framework and overall trends in housing markets and housing policy. Skim details in tables. Those less familiar with housing programs might choose to skim additional portions of Ch 2 as needed, going forward.

2. Hayes, Federal Government and Housing, Community Development and Housing, Hayes excerpts CD (pp 45-50). Provides a concise summary of policy trends in community development through a political lens. Can skim or consider optional remainder of chapter on macroeconomy and housing.

3. Race & Housing/Community Development Policy: Wealth Inequality Charts, Urban Institute; Dream Revisited: Contemporary Debates about Housing, Segregation and Opportunity, Introduction, pp. 2-14


5. Xavier Briggs, Testimony on HUD’s 50th Anniversary Before House Financial Services Committee.

6. Katz et al., Rethinking Local Affordable Housing Strategies (focus on chart on p. viii with skim of Exec Summary vi – xiv only).

7. Glaeser and Gyourko*How do we know when Housing is Unaffordable (SKIM, Poverty and Housing Affordability section starting on p 110, and How Should Housing Affordability be measured, p 114).

B. Examining a Transformational Effort in the Field: Sacramento’s Proposal to Create a Right to Housing and Obligation to Accept It
Proposed Ordinance

Press on Proposal:
  - L.A. Times
  - Sacramento Bee
  - Globe and Mail

Optional: Podcast of Darryl Steinberg, Mayor of Sacramento, making case for his proposal

CLASS TWO: March 28

Thinking About Who, What and Why: The Structures, Actors, and Major Interventions in Housing/Community Development Policy and Practice

This class frames out key elements of current housing policy by going deeper into a select number of core policies and approaches. In doing so, it also introduces several interpretative frameworks to consider as explore efforts to make change in the field. These are intended to identify core tensions that have and continue to challenge constituents, policy makers and the public.

The remainder of the class will dig deeper into several of the core elements of housing policy, drawing on student perspectives to address:

- What are the forms of interventions and how well are they working?
- Who are the key actors in both shaping and implementing the policy?
- How should we think about the role of government at both the federal and non-federal level and the role of other actors in the private and non-profit sectors, including how these actors influence the creation, operation, and modifications of these programs?

Following initial conversation about the analytic frameworks, the class will be structured around each of the 3 policy areas below.

Reminder: For those students writing Assignment #1 for this class, it should be uploaded to Classes by 5:00 p.m. Monday March 27
Readings

**A. Perspectives on the Politics of Housing and Community Development**

- Alice O'Connor, *Swimming Against the Tide* (Chap 2 in the Community Development Reader, ed. James DeFillipis and Susan Saegert (2012), pp. 11-14, 26-29; (note relevance of 26-28 for OZs)

**B. Specific Elements of Housing and Community Development Policy**

All students are expected to read the first item under each heading, and, for whichever area they choose for Assignment #1, to read the rest of the material in that section. During class discussion of each subtopic, students who have written on that topic should expect to participate actively in answering questions.

3. **State and Local Approaches**: Schwartz, Chap 9 (pp 238-245, Block grants, CDBG and HOME). Specific contributions to *Housing Policy Debate, Vol 24: Issue 1* on the Community Development Block Grant (CDBG) program: Rich, “Community Development Block Grant at 40: Time for a Makeover,” Skim Implementation II: Local Choices (pp,65-75) for themes and what is known about how localities spend resources; Bostic, “Opportunities and Obstacles,”; Briggs, “Looking Back and Ahead,” and consider what problem federal support for community development is trying to solve and
what that might mean for reform, or the role of various actors (fed. vs local, gov. vs private).

Class Three: April 4

Making Change in the Housing and Community Development Policy: Lessons from history

To deepen our perspective on how change in housing and community development occurs, we will examine some of the constraints and dynamics that historically have influenced the potential for significant change and then look at several historical examples of significant efforts to promote change in housing and community development policy.

We will start by examining key aspects of the environment in which these proposals arise, examining issues related to budgets, politics, and narrative. And we will then delve into the historical examples both to understand their purposes and how they might be assessed and their effects anticipated.

In terms of the historical examples, these have sometimes been driven by recognition of failures or potential for improvement, sometimes by recognition of new dynamics that require response, and sometimes because new energy or leadership enters that tries new things. In examining several different situations, we will focus on the factors that influenced their success or failure, how they shaped future efforts in policy or program, and any lessons that might be drawn.

Reminder: For those students writing Assignment #1 for this class, it should be uploaded to Classes by 5:00 p.m. Monday April 3.

Readings:

Key Context, Dynamics, and Constraints for Change in National Housing and Community Development Policy

- Political
  - Pew polling on housing:
  - 2021 Affordable Housing Ballot Initiatives
  - Federal Housing Bill Analysis, selected pages (10, 12, 13, 14)(This is not yet available so will be provided during a later class.)
Interpreting Electoral Politics: The Dream Revisited, Discussion 13 (Segregation and Politics), pp. 190-198. (Skim)

- **Budgetary**
  - CBPP non-discretionary summary (review to understand what NDD means and how it affects housing)
  - CBPP, Significance of COVID Relief Spending on Poverty and Recovery (pp. 1-4)
  - CBPP, Build Back Better Housing Resources (2022)(skim)

- **Messaging/Framing**
  - Enterprise Community Partners, You Don’t Have to Live Here: Why Housing Message is Backfiring and 10 Things We Can Do About It (24pages)
  - OPTIONAL READING: Anat Shanker Oso, Housing Framing Analysis (Summer 2019)(not yet available and will be distributed in later class)

### Specific Innovations

**NOTE:** All students should read the first reading in each section, with the remainder of the readings in each section for those who are focused on it as assigned in Class One.

- **MTO: Moving to Opportunity** (housing voucher mobility program):
  - Rosin, *American Murder Mystery* (Atlantic July 2008);
  - CityLab, *Do Poor People Make Neighborhoods Less Safe.*

- **Opportunity Zones**:
  - *Where is the Opportunity in Opportunity Zones*, Tax Foundation (June 2019)
  - Origins and Supporters: Economic Innovation Group (review website) at Economic Innovation Group,
Class Four: HOMELESSNESS AND THE CHALLENGE OF POLICY COMPLEXITY AND PUBLIC FRUSTRATION (April 11)

The challenge of homelessness is frequently seen as the most obvious example of the failure of U.S. housing policy. In this class, we will delve into the issue by attending to the programmatic, political, and institutional dynamics that are at play in considering how the nation has and should respond to the challenges posed by the reality of 600,000 persons remaining unsheltered at any given time.

To do so, we will start by considering what is meant when policy-makers attempt to address “homelessness,” including who the evidence shows are unsheltered and why.
We will then dig into policy and program efforts that attempt to address “homelessness” by looking in greater depth at specific efforts in California (especially Los Angeles) and at the federal level.

This is intended to enable us to consider not only specific policy approaches but the significance of political forces and narrative frames that implicate what is pursued. In addition, we will look in more detail at the concept and application of Housing First to understand how it has advanced – and failed to advance-- policy and practice. Core questions we will engage include:

- To what extent can and should housing policy be viewed as the central tenet in addressing U.S. homelessness?
- In a multi-dimensional challenge such as homelessness, what mechanisms and institutional reforms might be pursued to improve interventions?
- How can and should political pressures be integrated to adopting effective and just policy responses, especially given the long-term and structural challenges that exist?

**READING:**

**Homelessness Overview**

- [Social Work's Grand Challenge to End Homelessness](#) (pp.1-15, 39-44)
- [Furman Center, How to Address Homelessness](#)

**Housing First Description and Critiques**

- [Housing First description and critiques](#)
- [Manhattan Institute critique](#) (esp 5-12 with recommendation for those writing to read all)
- [UCSF](#)
- [Housing First assessments](#)

**California and Los Angeles**

- [Hilton Foundation Approach](#) (3 phase approach)
  - [Case Study of Local Success](#)
  - Abt Associates, [Developing and Passing HHH, Highlights and Full Report](#) (pp. 1-8)
- [Review Sacramento Proposal](#) (Class One)

**Federal Policy**
• **Urban Institute Report** (read exec summary and pp 15-29)
• Trump Administration Homeless Policy:
  o **White House report on homelessness** (exec summary and skim 1-9)
  o **City Lab**
  o **L.A. Times**
  o **Washington Post**
• Biden Homeless Policy:
  o **Bloomberg**
  o **American Rescue Plan**

Optional:

• **Universal Basic Income**
• **The Guardian**: *Is Universal Basic Income Too Simple to Meet Housing Needs?*

Please note: we will be joined at outset by a guest, Fred Karnas, who has a long and distinguished career related to housing and homelessness, including stints as head of the National Coalition for the Homeless, as a head of the federal Interagency Council on the Homeless, stints at HUD and in state government, as well as philanthropy, and most recently in the Biden Administration helping oversee the emergency rent program.

**CLASS FIVE: THE POTENTIAL AND CHALLENGES OF USING A HEALTH LENS TO ADVANCE HOUSING POLICY (April 18)**

In considering potential ways to advance housing policy, one area of increasing attention is the intersection between housing and related social policy domains, particularly health and healthcare. From a family’s perspective, this reflects the self-evident proposition that quality housing in a neighborhood of opportunity advances multiple interests, including furthering access to employment and education and addressing challenges that negatively affect one’s health. In this class, we will dig more deeply into the policy dynamics that arise from using a health lens and engaging health-oriented actors to advance housing policy and practice. We will begin by examining some of the evidentiary base for this interconnection and framework offered by the rubric of “the social determinants of health.”

We will then dig into the policy implications of this connection, noting some of the examples in how the health lens has been used and ways in which health resources (including Medicaid) and constituencies (health insurers) have begun to attend to housing policy and practice. In doing so, we will explore several core questions:
- What are the advantages of a health-oriented lens to housing policy, including the significance of new resources, constituencies, narratives, and potential program opportunities?
- What are the disadvantages and constraints of such a frame, including the ways in which health sector priorities potentially distort housing policy objectives and the challenges to operationalize a health lens in a housing context?
- How some of the most visible and pressing questions and challenges regarding the health connection to housing might be addressed?

Guest Speaker: Deb DeSantis, CEO and President, Corporation for Supportive Housing

Reading:

- Overview:
  - Robert Wood Johnson Foundation; Health Affairs, Health and Housing Literature Review;
  - Schwartz on Special Needs Housing, pp. 311-329 (2014 version) (skim for overview of HUD special needs programs)
- Use of Health Resources to Provide Housing: government perspectives
  - NCSL
  - CBPP (read overview and skim examples)
  - NEJM, New York State's Boundary Crossing Experiment,
  - COVID response and health resources for social needs (comparing California and Texas health system approaches to housing)
  - Federal government guidance (skim)
- Examples of health framed housing approaches:
  - NYC making housing available as of right to AIDS patients
  - Corp for Supportive Housing Development Guide (pp. 6-14 for purposes of examining business case for health care institutions)):
    - Green and Healthy Homes Initiative, (see especially New York Healthy Homes Collaborative asthma reduction effort by addressing family housing needs)
  - Hospital and Health system investment in housing;
    - Kaiser and CSH and Kaiser,
    - United Healthcare
- Supportive Housing: see generally website for Corporation for Supportive Housing,
  - CSH, Housing is the Best Medicine,
Challenges of Supportive Housing

New York City: Local Tensions in Progressive Places

Class Six (April 25)

Note final paper topic must be approved by this class.

FAIR HOUSING, LOCAL REGULATION AND THE CHALLENGE OF PLACE, PEOPLE, AND AFFORDABILITY

The question of local regulation as a prime driver of housing unaffordability has become increasingly prominent, with recent Administrations of both parties as well as numerous state and local efforts focusing upon this dynamic as a key leverage point for change. Noting this as a prime example of how the use and misuse of policy and issue framing, we will first focus broadly on the dynamics that have led to over-regulation and then delve more deeply into Mt. Laurel— the legal framework created by the New Jersey Supreme Court to address the state’s rampant exclusionary zoning.

In this part of class, we will be joined by guest speaker Adam Gordon who leads the Fair Share Housing Center and is an expert, as well as participants, in what is arguably the most sustained effort to rebalance state and local roles and regulation in expanding housing availability. In this class, questions to be explored include:

- What are the different sources and purposes of housing regulation that are most responsible for increased housing costs, and how do we differentiate between socially valuable local regulation and excessive (and unnecessary regulation)?
- In considering this question how do we assess the importance and application of broader social policy purposes, such as racial equity and climate change, in revisiting the question of appropriate regulation?
In examining efforts to revisit local regulation, what role can and should litigation-based approaches play (as under the Mt. Laurel doctrine and the federal Fair Housing Act), including the most valuable and challenging aspects of using such tools?

Guest Speaker: Adam Gordon, Executive Director, Fair Share Housing Center

Reading:

- Politics of Local Regulation:
  - Curbed, How Yimby Became a Political Rallying Cry
  - Oregon Becomes First State to Ban Single Family Zoning
  - How Minneapolis Ended Single Family Zoning
- Mt. Laurel Doctrine:
  - NYT Editorial
  - Re-examining Mt. Laurel After the Demise of COAH (pp. 1-4, 24-33)
  - NJ Affordable Housing
  - Fair Share Housing Center
- Exclusionary Zoning Reform Efforts in other states:
  - California: SB 9's passage and impact
    - L.A. Times
    - Slate
    - Analysis of Impact: UC Berkeley
  - New York:
    - Furman Center
    - NYC Planning, Data Comparing Building Permits in NYC and NJ
- Race and Local Regulation: Black-white segregation edges downward since 2000
- Dream Revisited, Discussion 9 (Explaining Ferguson Through Place and Race), pp. 141-152.

Class Seven (May 2):
Fair Housing's Affirmative Obligation: A Case Study of the Potential of Making Change on the Hard Stuff (Kathy O'Regan to join)

Note: Final papers due no later than 5pm on Wednesday, May 10

In this class, we will focus on the challenges and potential of building equity specific agendas into housing policy, using as a case study the specific housing and community development equity mandate known as Affirmatively Furthering Fair Housing (AFFH). Looking closely at the approach adopted by the Obama Administration and the response of the Trump Administration, we will discuss how to balance advancing bold social policy goals with the potential of backlash and political trade-offs. In other words, we'll examine the relationship between political will and policy potential, and consider alternatives to advance reform in such areas.

In particular, we'll engage around the following questions:

- To what extent is the use of process-related reforms an effective mechanism for advancing equity related objectives, especially given the decentralized nature of housing policy and multiple stakeholders involved?
- Looking at what happened with AFFH, what does this suggest about the approach taken and, more significantly, what might be done in the future?
- Drawing on these lessons, what might this suggest about ensuring equity issues are made fundamental to ongoing pandemic-related responses in housing and community development domains?

Reading:

- Anti-Discrimination, Residential Segregation and Concentrated Poverty:
  - Schwartz, Chapter 11 (2021 edition) (Fair Housing and Community Reinvestment) (on reserve in Bobst with link to be provided) (Skim to understand basics of Fair Housing Act and changing dynamics of housing discrimination)
  - Joint Center, *Fostering Inclusion in America’s Neighborhoods*, pp. 33-45 (note page numbers refer to those in original version as provided in link)
  - Brigg’s Forward (pp. 10-17)
- AFFH Hopes and History:
How the Government Betrayed a Landmark Civil Rights Law

- Obama Administration Approach: O'Regan and Zimmerman, The Fair Housing Act’s Affirmative Mandate at 50 (Furman Center paper). Read the Cityscape version accessible through Furman Center website https://furmancenter.org/thestoop/entry/the-potential-of-the-fair-housing-acts-affirmative-mandate-and-huds-affh-ru
- Dream Revisited: Discussion 15 (AFFH) pp. 220-229;
- Opportunity Agenda, Talking About AFFH.
- Trump Administration proposal:
  - HUD Proposed Rule, press release and draft rule (pp. 3-15)
  - Comments: New York Housing Conference
- Biden Administration, STATEMENT and PRESS LINK

Optional:

- Edelman, Our History with Concentrated Poverty (12 pp)
- Davidson, Reconciling People & Place in Affordable Housing Reader (p. 391)
- Richard Rothstein, Color of Law, Chapter 12 (Considering Fixes) pp. 195-213;
- Angela Blackwell, Race, Place and Equity Agenda (focus on engaging policy and community as virtuous cycle)

Note: Final papers due no later than 5pm on Monday, May 8

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  - Comments: [New York Housing Conference](#)

**Skim:**

- Edelman, *Our History with Concentrated Poverty* (12 pp)
- Davidson, *Reconciling People & Place in Affordable Housing Reader* (p. 391)
- Richard Rothstein, *Color of Law, Chapter 12* (Considering Fixes) pp. 195-213;
Optional:

- Angela Blackwell, *Race, Place and Equity Agenda* (focus on engaging policy and community as virtuous cycle)

**Academic Integrity**
Academic integrity is a vital component of Wagner and NYU. All students enrolled in this class are required to read and abide by *Wagner’s Academic Code*. All Wagner students have already read and signed the *Wagner Academic Oath*. Plagiarism of any form will not be tolerated and students in this class are expected to report violations to me. If any student in this class is unsure about what is expected of you and how to abide by the academic code, you should consult with me.

**Henry and Lucy Moses Center for Student Accessibility**
Academic accommodations are available for students with disabilities. Please visit the [Moses Center for Students with Disabilities (CSD) website](http://www.mosescenter.nyu.edu) and click the “Get Started” button. You can also call or email CSD (212-998-4980 or mosescsd@nyu.edu) for information. Students who are requesting academic accommodations are strongly advised to reach out to the Moses Center as early as possible in the semester for assistance.

**NYU’s Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays**
[NYU’s Calendar Policy on Religious Holidays](http://www.nyu.edu/about/calendar/policies/policies-holidays.html) states that members of any religious group may, without penalty, absent themselves from classes when required in compliance with their religious obligations. Please notify me in advance of religious holidays that might coincide with exams to schedule mutually acceptable alternatives.

**NYU’s Wellness Exchange**
[NYU’s Wellness Exchange](http://www.wellnessexchange.nyu.edu) has extensive student health and mental health resources. A private hotline (212-443-9999) is available 24/7 that connects students with a professional who can help them address day-to-day challenges as well as other health-related concerns.