

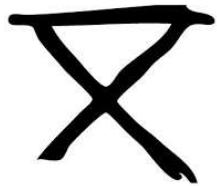
# A SAFE PLACE TO STAY

Combating Homelessness, Police Violence  
and Jim Crow in Greensboro

Krista Craven, Sonalini Sapra & Justin Harmon

In collaboration with the Homeless Union of Greensboro

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**Krista Craven, Ph. D, and Sonalini Sapra, Ph. D**  
Guilford College

**Justin Harmon, Ph. D**  
University of North Carolina Greensboro

In collaboration with the **Homeless Union of Greensboro**  
**A Report from the Street**

## Acknowledgements

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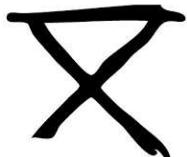
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## The Homeless Union of Greensboro's Purpose Statement.

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We, the Homeless Union of Greensboro are comprised of the homeless community and those who support our cause. We are committed to addressing issues that arise from experiences of homelessness **based on the priorities of people experiencing homelessness themselves**. No longer will we sit idly by while others make decisions affecting our ability to live and thrive in this city. We have a voice, and a face, and we insist on having a seat at the table when decisions are made which affect people experiencing homelessness in Greensboro and Guilford County.



This symbol is an old 'hobo symbol' which means 'safe place to camp' or 'safe place to stay'. Historically it has been used to signify a place where people experiencing homelessness could stay without fear of being harassed by police.

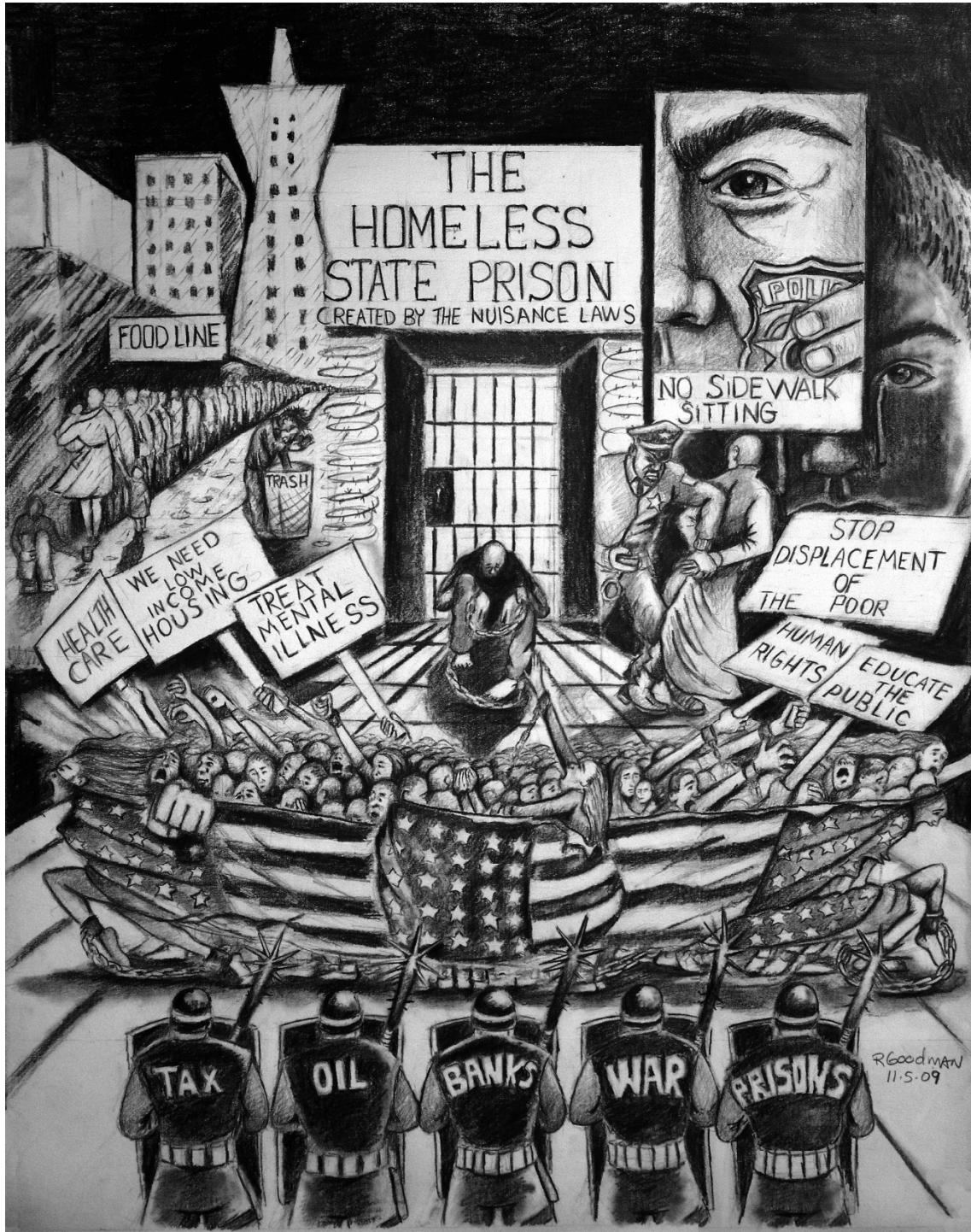


Image courtesy of WRAP. Artisit: Ronnie Goodman.

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# **1 | Introduction and Summary of Findings**

This report documents the causes and consequences of homelessness within the context of Greensboro, North Carolina. A team of faculty and students from Guilford College and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro worked in collaboration with individuals experiencing homelessness to study the ways in which homelessness plays out in Greensboro. This report details findings from a mixed methods study conducted between 2018 and 2019. This study is based on data from surveys and semi-structured focus group interviews conducted with people experiencing homelessness in Greensboro in addition to municipal data acquired from public records requests (see Methods section for more detail). We situate the findings from this study within the larger context of homelessness in the United States to provide insight into how Greensboro compares with larger national trends regarding housing and homelessness.

This report begins by providing some brief background on the emergence of mass homelessness in the U.S., a brief overview of homelessness in Greensboro, and the impetus for conducting this study (Chapter 1). The next section of this report details the methods we used to conduct this study (Chapter 2). The following sections detail the key findings from our study, focusing specifically on the criminalization of homelessness and access to legal representation (Chapter 3) and shelter access of quality (Chapter 4). We conclude our report with key conclusions from our study's findings (Chapter 5) and a list of policy recommendations provided by the Homeless Union of Greensboro (Chapter 6). Overall, this report aims to influence local policies and practices such that the crisis of homelessness in Greensboro is addressed in a more systemic, comprehensive, and humane manner.

## **1.1 Summary of Key Findings**

- **People experiencing homelessness in Greensboro lack adequate options for obtaining housing they can afford.**
  - Providing safe, decent, and affordable housing is the only long-term solution to homelessness.
  - More permanent low-income housing options should be made available by the city of Greensboro.
- **People experiencing homelessness in Greensboro are often subject to discriminatory and unnecessary police harassment, tickets, and arrests.**
  - The cumulative effect of quality-of-life policing, extra-judicial harassment of low-income people, court costs and fines, and our cash-bail system, means that poverty and homelessness are effectively criminalized in Greensboro.
  - Local government should adopt policies that protect the rights of homeless and low-income residents.<sup>i</sup>
- **Police in Greensboro appear to target people experiencing homelessness, African-American residents, and other marginalized communities in ways that go beyond the letter of the law.**
  - This dynamic is reminiscent of the *Jim Crow* era, wherein second-class treatment of minority populations and people experiencing homelessness often extends beyond official policy.
  - There are numerous officers who, according to data we retrieved from public records requests, show a high propensity for targeting, ticketing, and arresting homeless residents, particularly those who are African-American.
  - This phenomenon is confirmed by the sentiments expressed by our survey respondents - 43.6% of survey respondents believe they have been ticketed or

arrested because of their race, and 42.6% because they appeared to be homeless.

- It is imperative that Greensboro police who are guilty of misconduct or have established a pattern of racial profiling be held accountable for their actions.
- **People experiencing homelessness in Greensboro lack access to adequate legal representation in both civil and criminal court.**
  - Greensboro is currently experiencing an *eviction crisis* with an average of 13 families per day facing evictions in Guilford County. The lack of adequate legal representation for people facing evictions puts these families at a great disadvantage in court.
  - Improvements should be made in how those who are facing eviction are informed and supported, as well as the creation of a legal representation programs that can prevent families from losing their homes.
- **People experiencing homelessness in Greensboro lack adequate access to basic emergency services, particularly access to shelters.**
  - The majority of survey respondents, 84.2%, report being unable to access an emergency shelter bed on at least one occasion (see chapter 4). Furthermore, survey respondents expressed concern of about specific barriers to accessing services, the quality of services available and treatment from by shelter staff.
  - Access to services should be improved to meet the needs of Greensboro residents.

## 1.2 The Modern Crisis of Mass Homelessness in the U.S.

Between 1978 and 1983, federally-funded affordable housing programs were cut by 77%; this funding has not been reinstated to this date. Simultaneously, the federal legislature also made deep cuts to welfare spending, passed laws affecting worker's rights to unionize, and began investing more heavily into the prison system. The "War on Poverty" was transformed into a "War on the Poor." As a consequence, most U.S. cities reported a

tripling or quadrupling of homeless populations throughout the 1980's.

In 1983, the federal government first administered grants to fund programs to address the growing crisis of homelessness through the Federal Emergency Management Agency (FEMA).<sup>ii</sup> This set a precedent for homeless policy that focuses on promoting temporary Band-Aid solutions, like emergency shelters and soup kitchens, rather than providing ample funding for larger-scale solutions to end homelessness, such as providing permanent affordable housing. Policymakers in the 1980s addressed the crisis of homelessness as if it were a passing problem caused by a temporary lull in the economy. More than three decades later, the same patchwork of short-stop measures to address homelessness prevail, which consequently do not address the long-term structural and national problem of mass homelessness.

**Chart 1: HUD Low/Moderate-Income Housing Budget Authority and McKinney/Homeless Assistance Outlays**

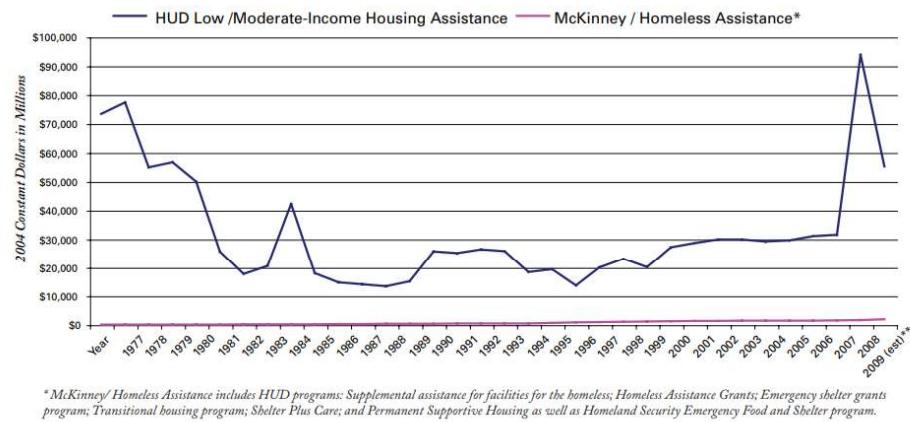


Figure 1.1: Graphic Courtesy of Western Regional Advocacy Project, Without Housing: Decades of Federal Housing Cutbacks, Massive Homelessness, and Policy Failures 2010 Update, 2010.

The burgeoning crisis of street homelessness<sup>iii</sup> in the 1980's deepened racial disparities in the U.S. Just as neighborhoods began racially integrating housing (following the 1968 Housing Rights Act) and white families began returning to urban city centers, the federal government began divesting from and tearing down affordable housing. As housing prices grew and wages remained stagnant, more Americans needed public housing than

ever before, but the government began divesting and mortgaging off public housing units through privatization schemes which culminated in programs called HOPE VI, Transforming Rental Assistance, and the current Rental Assistance Demonstration (RAD) program. As a result, more people were forced out onto the street in the 1980s and 1990s than any prior period. Consequently, homelessness - which was once a rare crisis experienced by few Americans - has become a widespread and seemingly permanent crisis affecting millions of Americans each year.

### 1.3 Homelessness in Greensboro

Greensboro's housing and homelessness crisis reflects larger national trends. The official "Point in Time" head count (PIT) estimates that, at a *bare minimum*, 586 people experience homelessness on any given night in Guilford County in 2019, 525 individuals who are sheltered and 61 individuals who are unsheltered. This is likely a severe undercount, however, as most people who lack stable housing are hard to find and account for. Guilford County Schools, which uses a more accurate definition of "homelessness", indicated that during the 2016-2017 school year, they had 3,094 students experiencing homelessness<sup>iv</sup> - a number far greater than the official PIT count of total people experiencing homelessness.<sup>v</sup> Homelessness and poverty also exacerbate racial disparities in Guilford County. Across the country, African Americans are overrepresented within homeless populations. In Greensboro, these racial disparities are stark; while African Americans make up only 43% of the city's general population, over 72% of those experiencing homelessness in Greensboro are African American.<sup>vi</sup>

People experiencing homelessness in Greensboro are also subject to many nonconsensual interactions with police. Our study finds that there are Greensboro police officers who frequently harass, ticket, and arrest people experiencing homelessness (see Chapter 3). Furthermore, our study findings suggest that racial disparities in the policing of people experiencing homelessness are prevalent in Greensboro. These patterns are consistent with regional studies that show that in North Carolina, while African Americans make

up only 22% of the state's population, they account for 47% of prisoners.<sup>vii</sup> Moreover, in 2015 policing practices in Greensboro made the front page of the New York Times Sunday Edition with the headline, "The Disproportionate Risks of Driving While Black".<sup>viii</sup> The NYT reported that police in Greensboro "were also more likely to stop black drivers for no discernible reason. They used their discretion to search black drivers or their cars more than twice as often as white motorists, even though they found drugs and weapons significantly more often when the driver was white. That was true both for searches conducted with a driver's consent and for probable cause."<sup>ix</sup>

## 1.4 Study Rationale

Every few years a new federal or local initiative to "end homelessness" is launched. To date, there have been 355 "Ten-year plans to End homelessness" covering 860 U.S. cities.<sup>x</sup> However, none of these initiatives have addressed the underlying causes of mass homelessness: a lack of affordable housing, systemic poverty, and the criminalization of those living in poverty. Rather than addressing the structures that have forced people onto the streets for the past three decades, political discourse has often focused on managing the increasing homeless population. Under the pressure to appear to be doing something about the "homeless problem," policy-makers occasionally funnel large sums of money into projects that do little or nothing to change the material conditions of the lives of homeless people. These are short-term fixes like emergency shelters and homeless outreach teams (or sometimes efforts to simply remove homeless people from public spaces through criminalization efforts). Regardless of whether these policies are well-intentioned and can relieve some of the immediate issues associated with homelessness, they do not entail comprehensive solutions to end homelessness. As a result, the crisis of homelessness is exacerbated. This is known as the "Vicious Cycle of Homeless Policy" (See figure 1.2).<sup>xi</sup>

With a lack of meaningful response to the crisis of Mass Homelessness from the federal government, local communities have had to deal with this epidemic on the local level.

While federal funding for affordable housing programs ought to be restored to pre-1978 levels, As such, it is imperative that local governments act immediatly by investing in local initiatives to address homelessness.

This report details the ways in which homelessness plays out within the local context of Greensboro. In particular, we focus on the experiences of homeless persons in Greensboro and their ability to access to safe and adequate shelter, the nature of their interactions with law enforcement, and their access to quality legal representation. At the end of this report, we have provided a copy of the Homeless Union of Greensboro's 10-point policy platform which serve as a starting point for a strategic plan towards ending homelessness in Guilford County. In short, policy experts and communities with direct experiences of homelessness agree that the most effective approach to addressing the epidemic of mass homelessness is to attack the root of the problem - the lack of available affordable housing and systemic poverty. The basic wisdom still holds true: **Homelessness ends with a home, nothing else.**



Figure 1.2: Graphic Courtesy of Western Regional Advocacy Project, Without Housing: Decades of Federal Housing Cutbacks, Massive Homelessness, and Policy Failures 2010 Update, 2010.

## **2 | Methods**

In collaboration with the Homeless Union of Greensboro, a team of faculty and students from Guilford College and the University of North Carolina at Greensboro worked in 2018 and 2019 to conduct surveys and focus groups with individuals experiencing homelessness in Greensboro. These focus groups and surveys were conducted for the purpose of: illuminating the key issues facing people experiencing homelessness; informing the advocacy work and actions of the Homeless Union of Greensboro; informing the public about issues regarding homelessness in Greensboro; and, influencing local policy that affects people experiencing homelessness.

A total of 203 individuals experiencing homelessness in Greensboro participated in the survey. The survey we used was adapted from the Western Regional Advocacy Project (WRAP) national survey instrument. We primarily used the Interactive Resource Center (IRC), a day center for people experiencing homelessness, to situate ourselves and ask individuals if they would be interested in participating in the survey. 35 of the 203 surveys were administered at the Greensboro Urban Ministry (GUM). To thank individuals for their participation in the survey, we provided a \$5 gift card to Wendy's at the end of the survey. The charts below illustrate demographic information for survey participants, including race, age, gender, and educational level. The demographic information collected includes the survey participants race, age, gender, and educational level.

Our research team also conducted three focus group interview sessions over a period of two months from January-March 2019. About 15-18 individuals participated in each of these sessions, and 5-7 participants participated in each focus group interview within each session. The topics of these focus groups were determined based on the main themes that emerged from the surveys. These themes were: 1) interactions between police and homeless populations; 2) access to and quality of shelters; and 3) access to legal services.

The first focus group session was held at the IRC and the second and third sessions were held at GUM. Each participant received a \$10 gift card from Wendy's for participating in the focus group. Consent forms were provided to participants and participants were encouraged to ask any questions they had about the study or about their participation in it. Participants were informed that they were free to withdraw their consent at any time without penalty or loss of benefits, and that they did not have to answer any questions they did not feel comfortable answering.

We filed requests through Greensboro's Public Information Request Tracking System (PIRT) asking for all the records between January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2017 and April 30<sup>th</sup>, 2019 for 8 different charges which were frequently mentioned during our interviewing process.<sup>xii</sup> The purpose of the public records request was to match the self-reporting data we collected via survey responses about interactions with police by accessing the city government's data regarding these interactions. We asked for data regarding citations and arrests for crimes such as loitering, panhandling, sitting/sleeping in public, and public urination/defecation (because of the reported lack of access to hygiene facilities). We also asked for data regarding the identity of the officer who gave the citation or made the arrest, the place of residence listed for those who were cited/arrested, and other key demographics (e.g., race). In particular, we examined the frequency of citations and arrests for the quality of life ordinances listed above for individuals who listed their place of residence as either the IRC or GUM which are places that serve individuals experiencing homelessness.

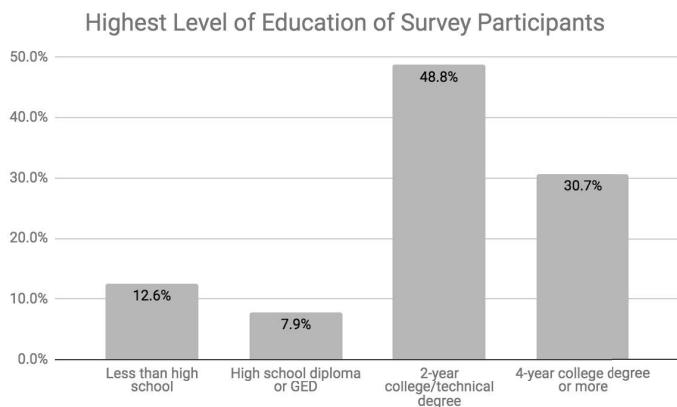


Figure 2.1

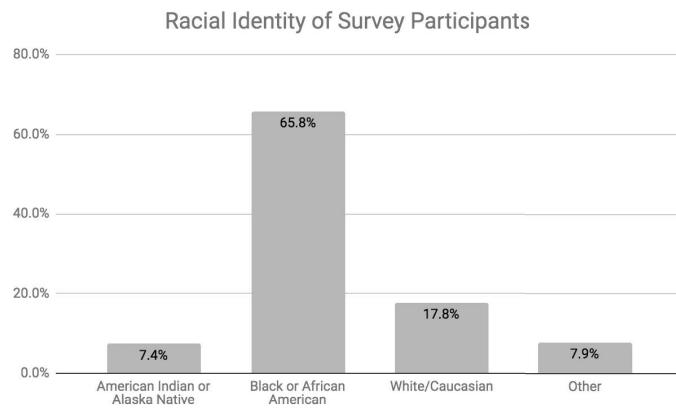


Figure 2.2

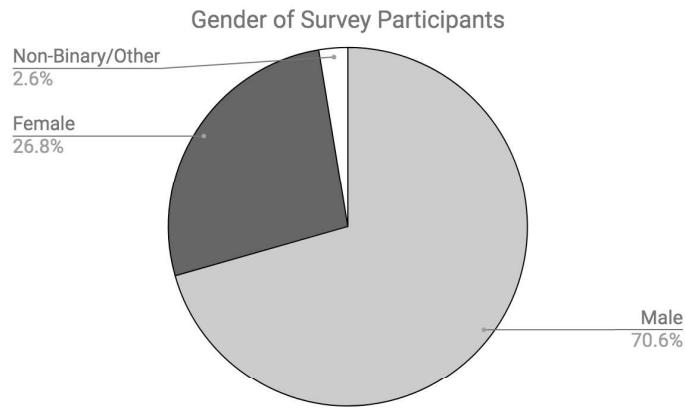


Figure 2.3

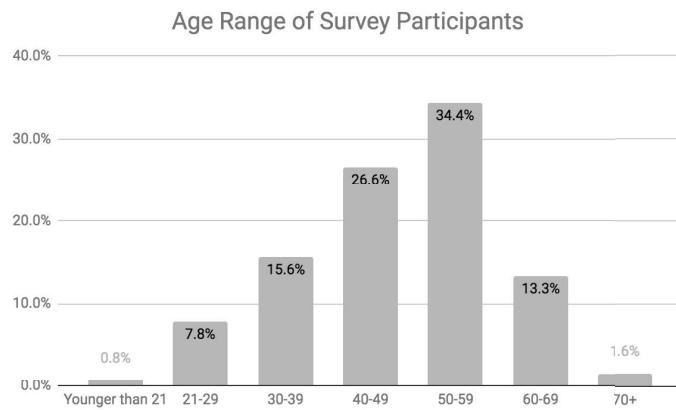


Figure 2.4

## 3 | The Criminalization of Homelessness and Legal Representation

*I'm no criminal, I'm just homeless. I'm looking for help. Is it a crime to ask for a helping hand? I thought it was the American way to help the next person up.* - Study participant.

Individuals who are homeless are more likely to be harassed, cited, or arrested by police departments that enforce ordinances targeting those in poverty (e.g., laws that prohibit vagrancy, panhandling, loitering, sleeping in public). As shelters were being built across the country in the 1980's, business groups were forming powerful lobby groups called Business Improvement Districts,<sup>xiii</sup> which used public money to lobby local governments for thinly-veiled, but racially-biased forms of "tough on crime" and "broken windows" policing practices.<sup>xiv</sup> With such forms of policing came the emergence of "stop-and-frisk" policing and the implementation of "quality of life" ordinances that criminalize the presence of homeless people in public. In fact, the Greensboro City Council recently tried to pass an ordinance criminalizing "aggressive solicitation" but revoked that decision because their lawyers informed them it would be ruled unconstitutional.<sup>xv</sup>

Arrests of people experiencing homelessness are higher than the national average for housed individuals<sup>xvi</sup>, indicating that ordinances in place in many municipalities enforce a "double-bind" on persons experiencing homelessness by criminalizing their ability to exist<sup>xvii</sup>. Based on the qualitative and quantitative data collected for this project, it is apparent that Greensboro police officers use a vast array of laws to harass, ticket and arrest people experiencing homelessness. In examining these data further, we find that racial disparities in the policing of homeless individuals in Greensboro are particularly striking. Moreover, several homeless individuals communicated that if they try to assert their rights when interacting with police officers, they are more likely to face resistance or

aggression from law enforcement officials and may end up being arrested and incarcerated as a result. Furthermore, when seeking help for citations or arrests, access to quality, affordable legal representation seems to a major issue for many individuals experiencing homelessness in Greensboro. These findings will be detailed below to illuminate the ways in which homelessness is criminalized in Greensboro.

### 3.1 Interactions Between Homeless Persons and Law Enforcement Officers in Greensboro

Based on the survey data we collected from over 200 individuals experiencing homelessness in Greensboro, patterns of frequent police harassment are apparent. For example, approximately half of our survey respondents indicated that they have been harassed by police officers for sleeping, loitering, or sitting or lying down in public. Slightly more than one third of survey respondents reported being harassed by police for panhandling. Oftentimes, these interactions with law enforcement led to citations or arrests for homeless survey respondents (see figure 3.1).

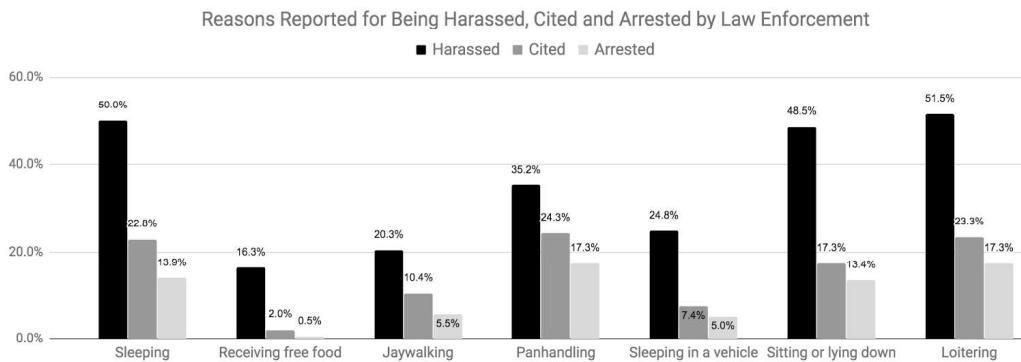


Figure 3.1

The data from the survey we administered reflect similar patterns in data we acquired from a public records request of citations and arrests made by Greensboro Police Department officers between January 2017 and May 2019. According to our public records request, 40.5% of the individuals who were cited or arrested for trespassing in Greensboro documented their home addresses as either the Interactive Resource Center (IRC) or the Greensboro Urban Ministry (GUM).<sup>xviii</sup> Moreover, approximately one quarter of those

who were cited or arrested for either loitering or trespassing in the City of Greensboro reported GUM or IRC as their home address (see figure 3.2).

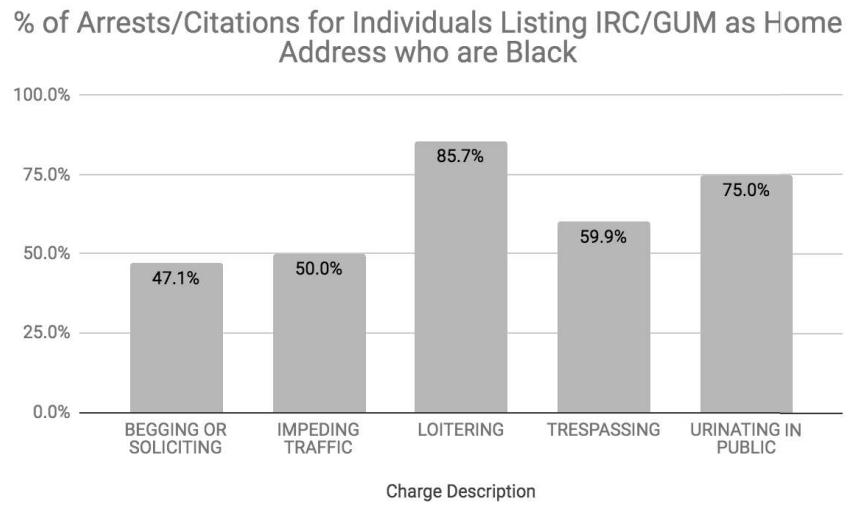


Figure 3.2

Our interviews with those experiencing homelessness illustrate the ways in which these interactions with law enforcement play out. Several participants in our focus group interviews indicated that they feel targeted for merely being homeless. For example, one participant communicated that the police target homeless individuals to appease affluent residents of Greensboro:

*[The police] spend time on some guy who is not bothering nobody and he is just homeless in the wrong area, so rich people don't want him to be there... [the police] waste time on that.*

Similarly, several participants expressed that they feel targeted for being homeless and traveling through the "wrong neighborhood":

*Some of us are homeless and at night we're trying to find a place to lay down or whatever. But if you're in the wrong neighborhood or something, I've had police just do a donut on me and just throw the light on me [and ask] "Where ya goin'... Where's your ID?" I said "Man, I just need somewhere to stay"... They just assume you're always doing something.*

*You better not be by Lawndale, somewhere like that in the middle of the night... we don't have the right to go where we want to go.*

Several participants also indicated that they are stopped by police officers when they are simply going about their daily business:

*I could leave outta here right now, walking down there by that bridge and they'll pull me over just to see my identification... For no reason!*

One individual shared their experience of being targeted for being homeless and trying to find a safe, dry place to sleep:

*Being homeless, and the [police] see you around the homeless area, their authority just blows up... Seems like they just sit there planning, "let's go harass them." You know what I'm saying?... For one instance, under the parking garage one day, [the police were] standing out there, it was two of 'em. And we went up to the parking garage to lay down... we timed it we went up there and just sat there for about like a hour and a half, said I guess they ain't coming so we gone lay down. The [police] bum rushed us, bout like ten of 'em... you know made us take off our shoes and stuff like that, searched us and everything, but they seen us when we went in there. Why they ain't just stop us then? Why they wait to we get inside and get comfortable to come bum rush us with more cops? [It's] cause we was homeless.*

Unfortunately, many of the participants in our focus group interviews indicated that in addition to being harassed by police officers in Greensboro, they have experienced or observed law enforcement officials use harsh or excessive force in their interactions with individuals experiencing homelessness. One individual observed the following incident (which was confirmed by other participants in the focus group interview):

*[There was] a girl who was pregnant, an officer straight up slammed her, because they thought she was banned from the property.*

Another participant had a particularly harsh encounter with police officers due to being misidentified as a suspect of interest:

*I was approached because I looked like someone else they wanted to arrest. They grabbed a hold of me, threw me to the ground... they bust my nose. They didn't care. They did not apologize. And yet, according to them, they're doing their job... I was trying to not let them cuff me because I've never been arrested in my life.. Because I was resisting the cuffs, bang, my face goes straight into the ground, bloody nose. And then, then they found my identification. "Oh, we gotta release this guy, wrong one." No apology. You know? So, what gives them the right to grab someone like that?*

Harsh treatment by law enforcement has increased mistrust of the Greensboro Police Department among many of those experiencing homelessness:

*I believe the [police] more or less [is] an organization that's just for self, they ain't for the public... I say they ain't for the public because when they come into a situation, instead of making it better and trying to calm it down, then more often they make it worse. Then they think it's a joke, and they find when you're dealing with homeless people or people with a need. I mean they feel you deserve it. I've seen 'em choke people out. I've seen 'em slam people on their head when people not resisting. When people ask questions, they tell 'em to shut up. They zap 'em with their Taser gun. I've seen people get shot when people don't even got a weapon.*

Several participants in our focus group interviews also indicated that there are particular police officers in Greensboro that are notorious for targeting homeless individuals and that some of those officers use are known to use excessive force in their interactions with those who are homeless. For example, one interviewee shared the following story:

*I mean you cannot do anything. You could just be walking through the block... like one day I was going down there to the Urban Ministries to eat and I stopped and talked to a friend and I wasn't even there for 'bout like 2 minutes... And [a police officer] pulls up real quick, just throwed me up against the fence... I mean I can't speak to somebody? Patted me down and stuff like that to make me stand there for about like an hour, lunch is over. Then he decided that I ain't got nothing on me he'll let me go. No "sorry" or nothing. And I done seen where it happen too many times with him (the same police officer).*

Indeed, a handful of Greensboro Police Department officers have made many of the arrests of people experiencing homelessness. According data from our public records request, between January 2017 and May 2019, 10 GPD officers made approximately 25% of the total citations and arrests of individuals listing IRC or GUM as their home address. A large percentage of the total citations and arrests made by these 10 officers are of individuals who are likely to be homeless (median = 39.7%; see figure 3.3). Moreover, the racial disparities in the citations and arrests of individuals who listed GUM or IRC as their home address that were made by these 10 officers are striking (median = 64.6%; see figure 3.4).

In addition to appearing homeless, racial profiling<sup>xix</sup> was noted as one of the most frequent reasons participants in our survey (see figure 3.5) and focus group interviews reported being harassed, cited, or arrested by the police. For example, one focus group participant observed the following:

Percent of Total Arrests/Citations by Officer Compared to Arrests/Citations by Officer for IRC/GUM Addresses

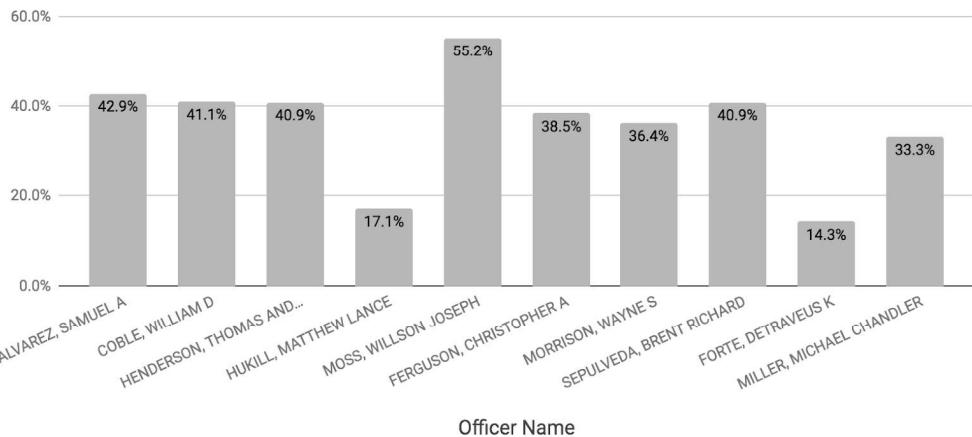


Figure 3.3

Percent of Total of Arrests/Citations by Officer of Individuals who are Black and also listed IRC/GUM as their Address

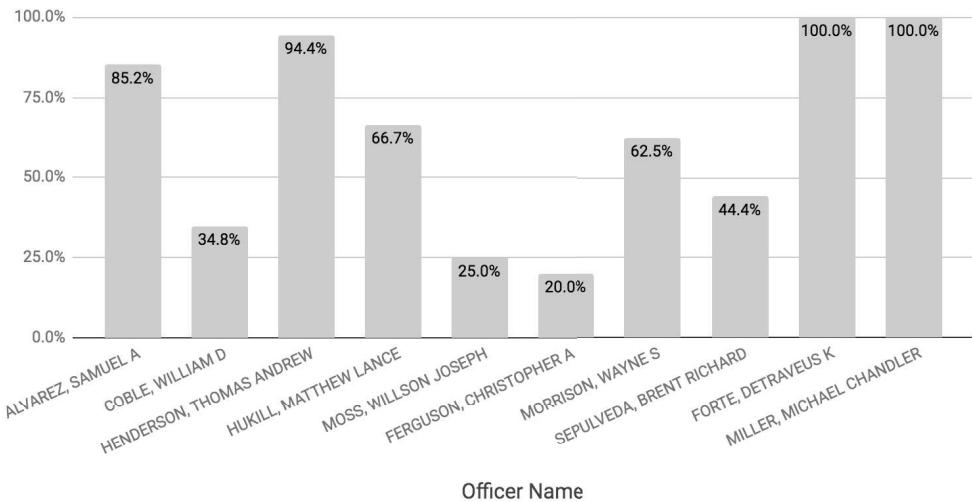


Figure 3.4

*The way [the police] go in town. If there be a lot of Black people standing hanging around, they will lock us up, that is all I got to say, they will lock us up... a lot of what is going on is racial, and it is all in the police department.*

In particular, respondents indicated that African American men who are homeless tend to be targeted by the police in Greensboro:

*There is a lot of racial profiling and stuff like that... it depends on the officer. I*

*think a lot of them in general do, even officer of color will attack and specifically go for people of color, especially black males.*

Some participants suggested that the individual racial identity of police officers does not necessarily play a role in racial profiling, indicating that the practice of racial profiling pervades the police department:

*If you're an opposite color of the [police], they don't like you... like if a white cop is dealing with a black person, they're going to have issues with them. Or if a black cop's working with a white person they're going to be having an issue. Or even if a black man is working with another black man, they're still racist. They still have a problem with them.*

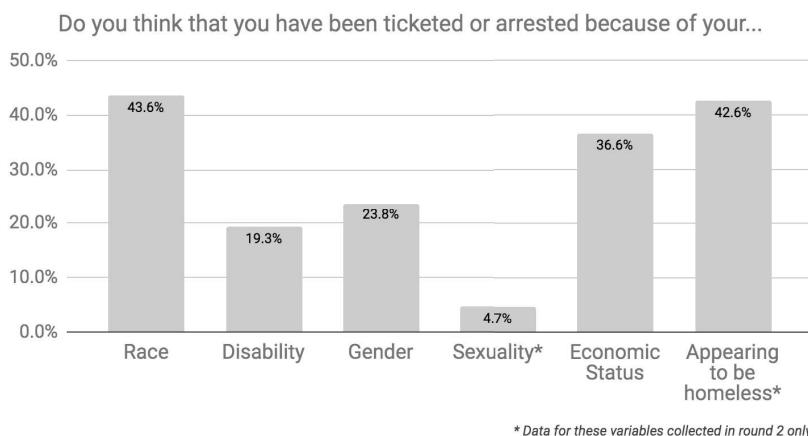


Figure 3.5

Survey and focus group respondents' perceptions of racial profiling are corroborated by the data from the public records data, which illustrate that many of the individuals who list IRC or GUM as their home address and are arrested for "quality of life" ordinances are Black.

In accordance with these trends, the website opendatapolicing.com shows visualizations of demographic data regarding police traffic stops, which local police departments are required under state law NC §G.S. 114-10 to disclose. According to data from the Greensboro Police Department, African Americans are stopped at a ratio of 2.08 to 1 compared white drivers.<sup>xx</sup> African Americans make up only 41.8% of Greensboro's population overall, but 57% of people stopped by the police for any reason, and 82% of people searched by the police in 2019. Of the individuals with whom the GPD uses force, 84%

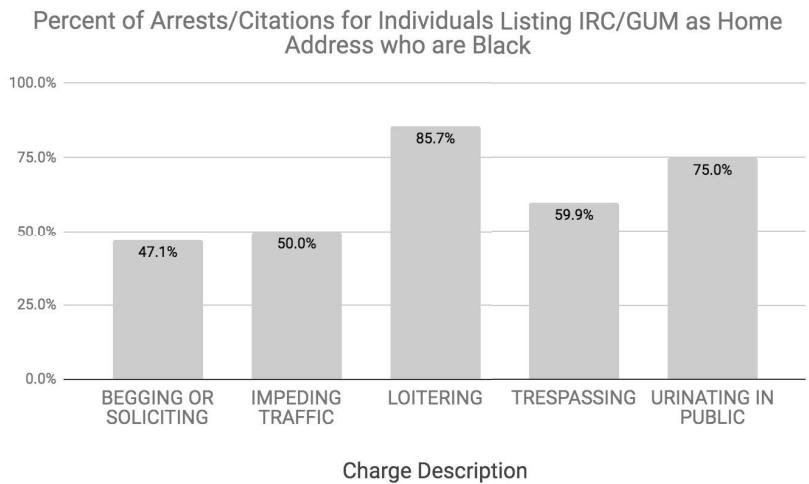


Figure 3.6

are African American. African Americans are stopped more frequently than white people for any number of reasons, including seat belt violations, safety violations, and equipment violations, such as a broken taillight. White people are only stopped more frequently for Driving While Impaired (DWI). Yet the GPD's data also shows that, when searched, white drivers are more likely than black drivers to have illegal substances and weapons on them.

Additionally, disparities along the lines of race and policing in Greensboro were highlighted in an anonymous letter from a small group of Greensboro Police Department officers sent to Greensboro's mayor, police chief, and several city councilors. The letter suggests that the needs of low-income residents of color have not been given the same attention by the GPD as the needs of their wealthier white counterparts, asserting: "[Chief] Scott has continuing difficulty in personally engaging in quality of life issues in the minority community. He does not personally come to an equal percentage of community meetings in response to violent crime in high crime areas as he would with business contacts in more industrial areas of the city. In violent crime response, he does not respond equally to task force walks and engaging in direct minority community contact with lay citizens himself as he directs command level subordinates to represent him."<sup>xxi</sup> Based on the aforementioned evidence, numerous forms of racially disparate treatment seem to

pervade the GPD.

### 3.2 Awareness of Legal Rights and Access to Legal Representation

Considering the frequency of interactions between individuals experiencing homelessness and local law enforcement in Greensboro, it seems crucial that individuals experiencing homelessness have an awareness of their legal rights. However, only about two-thirds of survey respondents indicated that they were aware of their rights when interacting with law enforcement (see figure 3.7).

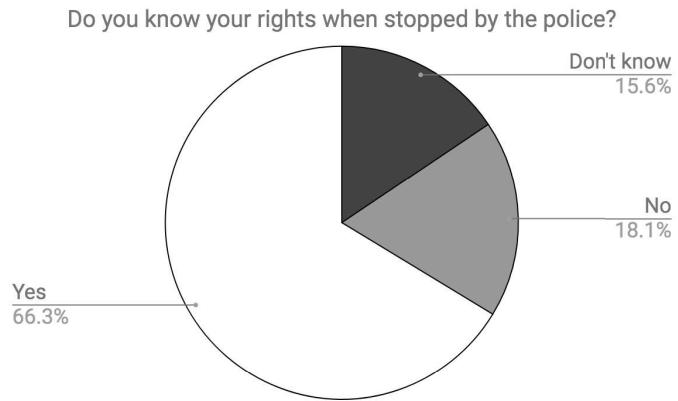


Figure 3.7

Additionally, when asked to rank one's awareness of their legal rights on a scale of 1-10,<sup>xxii</sup> the average score was 6.9 for respondents. Only about one-quarter of respondents felt they had a full awareness of their legal rights, but many individuals reported that they did not feel they were fully aware of their rights (see figure 3.8).

In our focus group interviews, we also asked participants to comment on how well they knew their legal rights. Participants' interview responses reflected similar patterns to the survey data, with individuals indicating that they had varying levels of knowledge about their legal rights. Although several participants communicated that they were familiar with their rights when interacting with law enforcement officials, some individuals indicated that it is difficult to keep up with new laws that are passed:

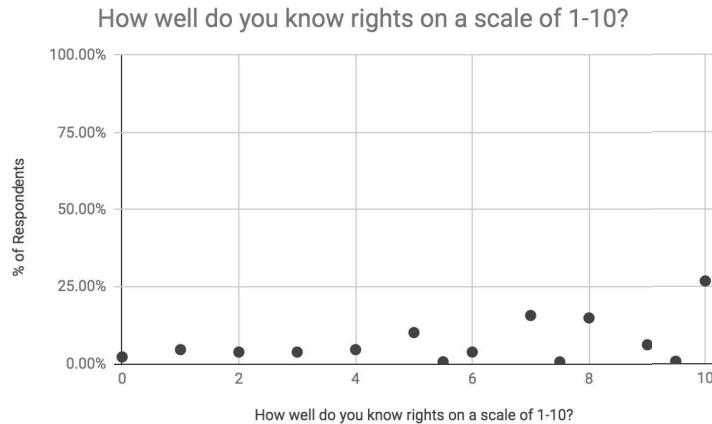


Figure 3.8

*I mean you know your rights with the police. But it's like, they have laws that changes that you don't know nothing about. A law can be something else and you be like, "Well I know I'm doing this right," and then they come up with another general statute that you ain't heard of before... I know my rights, but I just don't know my laws.*

Some participants indicated that it was not until they had interactions with police officers that they came to learn about their legal rights, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

*I have more of an understanding of my legal rights now than I previously did. I know that we don't have to necessarily answer their questions or even give our name or anything. Previously, I guess I was less informed or knowledgeable about [that]. I guess I thought I was pretty much forced to be able to answer their questions or have to answer their questions. But I know from more knowledge and experience now that I don't have to answer anything. And also that I have a right to representation... I have pretty much previously been a victim of local law enforcement because I didn't really know and understand my rights more fully, previously, about myself or my property or whatever. So, unfortunately, I've learned a lot of it the hard way - through difficult circumstances and experience with local law enforcement.*

Some participants also indicated that they learned about their rights through "know your rights" training sessions and informational "know your rights" cards that have been distributed to individuals experiencing homelessness. However, according to several participants, knowing your rights does not necessarily mean that one will be treated in a respectful manner by police officers, as illustrated below:

*I feel I know my rights. I carry that ["know your rights"] card with me all the*

*time. But I mean, what gets me is the way [the police] treat you... they should treat you with the same respect they treat everyone else.*

Furthermore, according to several of our participants, exerting one's rights can result in harsh or aggressive treatment by police, as illustrated in the following stories:

*My stance is to not comply with the police because complying incriminates you and you have a right to not incriminate yourself and a right to remain silent. So, when I assert my right, when it comes to the police, they feel like it's a disrespect because they believe they're above the law.*

*If you start talking like you know your rights, [the police] become immediately ten times more aggressive... your best bet is to just stand there and say nothing.*

*[The police] hate when I speak what's on my mind... I question 'em a lot when they stop me. 'What's the reason? What's the probable cause?' And then that's when they really get uptight.*

Thus, illustrating familiarity with one's rights or putting those rights into practice when interacting with law enforcement does not necessarily result in positive outcomes for individuals experiencing homelessness.

Legal representation to help homeless individuals who have come into contact with the criminal justice system is viewed as vital by many participants in our study. However, study participants communicated that access to legal representation is not easily acquired. Our survey data indicate that fewer than one-fifth of respondents have an advocacy group or legal representative they can contact if they need help with citations or arrests (see chart below).

Participants may be indicating that they have limited access to legal representation due, in part, to the fact that individuals charged with Class 3 misdemeanors (e.g., second degree trespass; violation of city ordinances<sup>xxiii</sup> including soliciting alms, urinating in public) are not guaranteed access to a public defender in North Carolina. Rather, "for misdemeanors, a defendant has a Sixth Amendment right to counsel only if an active or suspended sentence of imprisonment is imposed."<sup>xxiv</sup> Typically, an individual who is convicted of a Class 3 misdemeanor, and has three or fewer prior convictions, will be fined rather than imprisoned. If an individual should fail to pay this fine, however, there is a chance that they could be imprisoned and then should be able to gain access to a

Do you have access to an advocacy group or legal representation for help with tickets or arrests?

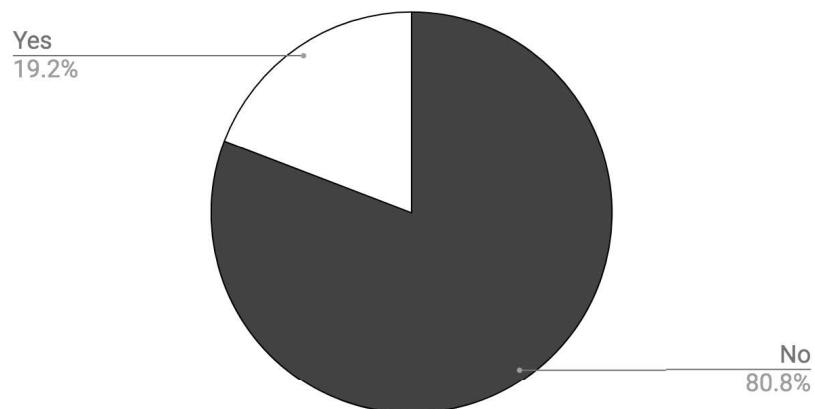


Figure 3.9

public defender. However, the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU) of North Carolina suggests that "courts often do not appoint legal counsel for people who face incarceration for nonpayment of fines and fees. Many people are unconstitutionally sentenced to jail without being provided a lawyer or a meaningful process to voluntarily waive counsel."<sup>xxv</sup> As individuals experiencing homelessness who are stopped by law enforcement are often charged with Class 3 misdemeanors for violating "quality of life" ordinances, gaining access to legal representation proves challenging.

For those participants who have been able to gain access to a public defender, many expressed that mere access to legal representation is not enough to successfully mitigate their encounters with law enforcement. Rather, participants communicated that high-quality legal representation is crucial to successfully navigating the criminal justice system. Although public defenders are provided for those who cannot afford to hire private attorneys, several focus group participants communicated their distrust of or disappointment in the public defenders they have been assigned, using terms like "public pretenders" or "public offenders" in lieu of the term public defender. One reason for such disappointment in the quality of legal assistance received is the length of time it takes to actually meet with a public defender upon being incarcerated:

*One of the main things that I've noticed in homelessness from doing time in*

*different places is this legal aspect, because that's most important part of doing time or locked up is this legal aspect... So, access to getting to your lawyer to really talk about your case... your public offender, offender... he's the offender. So, a lot of times getting to your public offender, offender, at times is really hard to do. And then seeing eye-to-eye, make a phone call or come down to see you. Then it's 45 days until they see you again. Hold it. There's been times where the next time I see my lawyer, I'm in court... It's hard to build a case against a case being built against you... By the time I go to court, I've done more time for these charges that I've got that I haven't been convicted on. So, I might as well do the time, I've done the time. So, how you win?*

Many participants also lamented the number of cases public defenders are required to take on that makes it difficult for these lawyers to fully invest the time required into an individual's case:

*[The] lawyer has 45 cases... How do you even make time? How can you spend any time on anyone's case? How?*

In addition to time constraints, many focus group participants communicated their distrust in public defenders' desire to fight in favor of the individuals they represent, as illustrated in the following excerpts:

*It's a rarity to get a lawyer that's gonna be on your team.*

*The [public defenders] already know who they're gonna send down the road and who they're gonna keep and send to the courtroom. Your case's already been decided by the time your lawyer come talk to you, "This is what we gon' do, we're gonna ask the judge for three years' probation."*

*Even though there was a public defender and a retained attorney, they both lined themselves up with the State, which was against me.*

An added component of the distrust communicated by study participants above is rooted in the fact that plea deals are often proposed by public defenders as a way of reducing an individual's sentence. For example, participants communicated their concern that their public defenders seemed to be promoting taking a plea deal rather than fighting their charges:

*[The] lawyer is gonna come and be like "I got a plea agreement." What? You don't even know my name, yet you [got] a plea agreement?*

*The charge actually on books was a month. [The lawyer says] "I'll see if I get a plea for a year. But if you don't sign this, you looking at 10 years. What*

*you wanna do? You wanna go to trial?"... You my lawyer, you supposed to be working for me, why you sound like you working for them (the State)?*

An added barrier to accessing quality legal representation is money. Several participants suggested that they do not have the financial resources necessary to fight their cases or successfully navigate the criminal justice system, as illustrated below:

*The way the courts handle you depends on how much money you have. And if you're at the bottom of the barrel, they make up how they feel about you. In my particular case they wanted to create a case against me, so when you're part of the legal system as a homeless person or indigent person everyone is against you in the court room: the judge, the other side is against you, your lawyer has an incentive to be against you and if you're not well-educated about your rights and don't know how to advocate, you're going to find yourself on the losing end.*

Similarly, participants communicated that even when they have been falsely accused of a crime or there were no grounds for their arrest, money is the main factor preventing them from receiving quality legal representation:

*It's heartbreaking because most times, you be innocent. Trust me. You don't have the finances to romance the court... Lawyer goers "Who got dough? Ok, let's do y'all first, everyone else can wait."*

*I will just say that I have experienced situations where I needed legal counsel. And the legal counsel, I don't think, does as well a job for people experiencing homelessness or poverty, coming from the public defender's office. I especially remember one particular time, many years ago, where I felt like the public defender's office wasn't really advocating for me, wasn't really stepping up and defending me and helping me to win the case and everything. Unfortunately, I actually lost that particular case, even though I was falsely accused and everything by the other side, the person on the other side. So, I think that that's something people need to be aware of. Because people are in situations like homelessness and poverty and stuff, that they don't have the resources to be able to afford attorneys. So, they're basically stuck by default with public defenders, who aren't really trained or experienced enough to help people in those situations. And they might not also have the heart and care and compassion to help those people, in those situations.*

Thus, although individuals experiencing homelessness are entitled to legal representation, there is widespread concern among study participants that this legal representation often is not adequately addressing their needs or the particular intricacies of their cases. As such, it is clear that access to free or affordable legal representation that is also high in quality is a serious deficit in Greensboro.

### **3.3 Conclusion**

Overall, our findings indicate that homeless individuals in Greensboro regularly encounter local law enforcement and oftentimes experience harassment for occupying public spaces. The daily routines of individuals experiencing homelessness are criminalized through the enforcement of municipal ordinances that target life-sustaining activities, such as panhandling, sitting, or lying down in public spaces. As many of these violations are considered Class 3 misdemeanors, courts typically issue fines to individuals convicted of violating these city ordinances. However, it is often difficult for homeless individuals to be able to pay these fines, and they can face imprisonment for failure to pay these fines. As such, the ACLU of North Carolina asserts that "North Carolina has sought to turn the judiciary from its role as a neutral arbiter of justice toward service as a state debt collector... [and] the resulting unjust system criminalizes poverty, violates people's rights, and preys on many of our state's most vulnerable residents."

Our data also suggests that being homeless in combination with being a racial minority make police encounters and harassment even more likely in Greensboro. Moreover, many individuals experiencing homelessness who try to exert their legal rights experience negative pushback from police officers. Finally, it is clear that quality legal representation is neither accessible nor affordable for those who are experiencing homelessness in Greensboro and come into contact with the criminal justice system.

It is imperative for Greensboro to stop criminalizing homelessness by removing ordinances that specifically target those experiencing homelessness. Additionally, the GPD is directly implicated in enforcing anti-homeless ordinances in a manner that often results in the harsh and racially disproportionate treatment of individuals experiencing homelessness. These harmful practices must be acknowledged and addressed by the Greensboro City Council, and members of the GPD who engage in these practices must be held accountable. Finally, it is crucial that more affordable, high-quality legal support be made available to homeless individuals in Greensboro so that they can successfully navigate the criminal justice system.



Image courtesy of WRAP. Artist: A. Hazelwood.

### 3.4 From Black Codes and Jim Crow to Broken Windows Policing & Marcus Smith

| The following is adapted from WRAP's Historical Criminalization Fact Sheet<sup>xxvi</sup>

**The United States has a long history** of using mean-spirited and often brutal laws to keep certain people out of public spaces and consciousness. Jim Crow, Sundown towns, Anti-Okie laws, Operation Wetback, and Ugly laws targeted various populations based on their racial, economic, social, immigration, or disability status. This history provides context for today's exclusionary and discriminatory laws that specifically target homeless people for what are referred to as "Quality of Life" or "Nuisance Crimes."

**Modern anti-homeless laws criminalize sleeping, sitting, loitering, panhandling, and even food sharing.** Like the laws from our past, they deny people their right to exist in local communities and encourage extra-judicial violence. They have their roots in the *Broken Windows Theory*, which holds that one poor person in a neighborhood is like a first unrepaired broken window, and if such a "window" is not immediately fixed

or removed, it is a signal that no one cares, disorder will flourish, and the community will inevitably fall apart.

### "Anti-Okie" Laws

Agricultural workers who migrated to California for work in the 1900s were often referred to as "Okies." They were assumed to be from Oklahoma, but they moved from other states as well. The term became derogatory in the 1930s when massive numbers of people migrated west to find work. In 1937, California passed an "**anti-Okie**" law which made it a misdemeanor to "bring or assist in bringing" extremely poor people into the state. The law was later considered unconstitutional.

### "Black Codes" and "Jim Crow" Laws

In the years after the American Civil War (**1861-1965**), most Southern states passed laws denying black people basic human rights. Later, many border states followed suit. These laws were first called "black codes" and later became known as Jim Crow laws after the name of a popular **black-face** character that would sing songs like "Jump Jim Crow. In California, Jim Crow targeted Chinese immigrants as well. From 1866-1947, Chinese residents of San Francisco were segregated to one area of the city. The same laws prohibited **interracial** marriage and educational and employment laws were also enforced. In 1879, the California constitution read that no Chinese people could vote; this law was not repealed until 1926. Oregon and Idaho had similar provisions in their constitutions.

**Loitering laws**, which had previously existed under the Elizabethan Poor Law system (British), were first codified into American law during the Post-Civil War Era. To "loiter," a person simply needs to "stand or wait around idly or without apparent purpose" - something which newly freed formerly enslaved persons would necessarily do from time to time. The point of loitering laws and Black Codes was blatantly apparent: to find mundane and arbitrary reasons to arrest African Americans and other minorities, and force them into the system of convict leasing - wherein formerly enslaved people would be forced to do manual labor within the prison system (often on the

same properties that had been slave plantations) for pitiful wages, or no wages at all.

### "Ugly" Laws

From the 1860s to the 1970s, several American cities had laws that made it illegal for people with "unsightly or disgusting" disabilities to appear in public. Some of these laws were called "unsightly beggar ordinances." The first ordinance was in San Francisco in 1867, but the most commonly cited law was from Chicago: *"No person who is diseased, maimed, mutilated or in any way deformed so as to be an unsightly or disgusting object or improper person to be allowed in or on the public ways or other public places in this city, or shall therein or thereon expose himself to public view, under a penalty of not less than one dollar nor more than fifty dollars for each offense."*



Picture circa 1958 - Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. is arrested, for loitering, in Montgomery while trying to attend the arraignment of a man accused of assaulting his friend, Ralph Abernathy.

### Operation "Wetback"

Operation Wetback began in 1954 in California and Arizona as an effort to remove all undocumented Mexican immigrants from Southwestern states. The Operation was by the United States Immigration and Naturalization Service (INS) and coordinated 1,075 border control agents along with state and local police agencies. The agents went **house to house** looking for Mexicans and performed citizenship checks during traffic stops. They would stop any "Mexican looking" person on the street and insist on seeing identification. Operation Wetback was only abandoned after a large outcry from opponents in both the United States and Mexico.

### **"Sundown Towns"**

Sundown Towns did not allow people who were considered minorities to remain in the town after the sun set. Some towns posted signs at their borders specifically telling people of color to not let the sun set on them while in the town. Town policies and real estate covenants supported this racism, which was enforced by local police officers. Thousands of Sundown Towns existed throughout the U.S. before the Civil Rights Act of 1968 prohibited racial discrimination in housing practices. The state of Illinois had the highest number of Sundown Towns, but they were a national phenomenon that mostly targeted those of African, Chinese, Jewish heritage. If undesired people were to wander into a Sundown Town after the sun had set, they would be subject to any form of punishment, from harassment to lynching.

### **Today's "Broken Windows" Laws**

Today's laws have their roots in the "broken-windows theory" - a policing theory (first popularized in the 1980s as homelessness first became a national epidemic) which holds that one poor person in a neighborhood is like a first unrepainted broken window, and if such a "window" is not immediately fixed or removed, it is a signal that no one cares, and that disorder will flourish and the community will go to hell in a handbasket. A direct outcome of this theory is the introduction of legislation to criminalize the presence of homeless people in public.

Current "**Quality of Life**" laws also take a certain population into account: people experiencing homelessness (who are disproportionately black and/or people of color). Using these laws, people are criminalized for simply walking, standing, begging, sleeping, and other regular human behaviors. In other words, they are penalized and harassed simply because of who they are. Just as with Black Codes, Jim Crow, Ugly Laws, Anti-Okie Laws and Operation Wetback, how people look and their very existence is the basis for charging them with criminal behaviors.

## Beyond the Letter of the Law: Extra-Judicial Violence and Harassment

It's important to note that the official policies listed above do not adequately describe the extra-judicial violence that was encouraged by the existence of such laws. Beyond the shame of the official policy of Red-Lining, Jim Crow, poll taxes and literacy tests, we know that laws which encouraged less-than-equal treatment for certain groups of people also inspired many extrajudicial acts of violence.

### Section 1983 of the Civil Rights Code

First adopted in 1871, 42 U.S.C. Section 1983 of the Civil Rights Act of 1871 was commonly known as the Ku Klux Klan Act. As part of the wave of post-Civil War legal developments that include the Thirteenth, Fourteenth, and Fifteenth Amendments, Section 1983 was designed to give citizens a means of suing government actors for conspiring with groups like the Ku Klux Klan to deny citizens their civil rights. The Supreme Court's 1978 decision in *Monell v. Department of Social Services* further clarified that citizens may sue municipalities and local government units if official policies are in clear violation of constitutional rights, and state actors can be sued if they knowingly deprive individuals their constitutional rights under "the color of law".



Image courtesy of WRAP. Artist: A. Hazelwood.

### 3.5 The Wrongful Death of Marcus Deon Smith

On September 8th, 2018, just after midnight, Marcus Deon Smith was having a mental health crisis when police approached him on Church Street near Market Street in downtown Greensboro. He asked them to take him to the hospital and help him. Instead, they hogtied and killed him.

Marcus Deon Smith, 38, was a beloved member of Greensboro's community, and known in the homeless community as "a great encourager," an artist, a musician and poet, and a kind soul who often volunteered his time giving free haircuts to people at the Interactive Resource Center. The Smith family lost their son, their brother, and their best friend.

#### What Happened?

Eight Greensboro Police Officers used a device called a "RIPP Hobble" restraining device to hogtie Marcus Deon Smith. Two Guilford County EMT personnel watched as the officers handcuffed his arms behind his back, and then spent about a minute strapping his legs together and then forcing his legs and feet to bend so that the RIPP Hobble strap could be attached to his handcuffs. Smith strained, moaned and asked them to stop. The police tightened the straps so that his shoulders and knees were elevated from the ground. Then his moaning stopped, and his face laid in the dirt.

The police talked over his lifeless body for several moments before noticing that he had stopped breathing. Once they noticed, one officer checked his pulse and stated there was none. The officers quickly untied him, but it took the officers and EMT more than



Marcus Smith

three minutes before they administered CPR. He was officially pronounced dead an hour later at the hospital.

### **Police & Local Government Try to Cover Up the Homicide of Marcus Smith**

The United States Department of Justice issued an advisory to local police departments in 1995 telling police departments to no longer hogtie prisoners or people in custody. The RIPP Hobble manufacturer's instruction manual states in bold black letters on the front page "**NEVER HOGTIE A PRISONER**", and their training materials state clearly that hogtying individuals is medically dangerous and should never be done. Yet, under the leadership of Chief Wayne Scott, Greensboro Police Officers had used the RIPP Hobble device to hogtie individuals over 100 times in the last several years.<sup>xxvii</sup>

When Marcus Smith died, Chief Scott knew that the police should not have hogtied Marcus Smith. So, the initial press release issued after the death described a "suicidal" man who "became combative" and "collapsed." Notably, it mentioned nothing about the police hogtying and killing Marcus Smith. The officers involved were put on administrative duty (desk duty) for a short time, but were released back onto patrol before the State Bureau of Investigations report was complete. On November 30th, 2018, the State Medical Examiner's officer declared the manner of Marcus Smith's death a **homicide**<sup>xxviii</sup> and identified cause of death as heart attack "due to prone restraint." The City of Greensboro immediately filed a petition to release the body camera footage of the incident which are now available online.

On December 3rd, 2018, at a community meeting regarding the homicide death, Mayor Nancy Vaughan referred to the official press release issued by the Greensboro Police Department, saying, "Obviously, that was a lie."

The Homeless Union of Greensboro, along with many other organizations and community members in Greensboro have called for the Greensboro City Council and District Attorney Avery Crump to hold the officers involved and the Chief of Police, Wayne Scott, accountable for this homicide death.<sup>xxix</sup> Activists have also asked Guilford County Commissioners to hold the Guilford County EMT accountable for their employees'

negligence and indifference during his death.

After eight months of inaction by local government, and no accountability for the homicide death or deprivation of rights that occurred on September 8th, 2018, Marcus Smith's family filed a federal Civil Rights lawsuit (under Section 1983) on April 10th, 2019 naming the eight officers, two EMT personnel, Guilford County, and the City of Greensboro as defendants. The Smith family's lawsuit states the following:

*City of Greensboro and its Police Department have a long history of racist police violence and misconduct and deliberate indifference, including, most recently, the targeting of African-Americans for, among other things, driving while black and being downtown while black, and the accompanying use of force, violence, false charges, perjury, and cover up by superiors using the Professional Standards Division, the Chief of Police, the City Manager, the City Attorney, and the City Council, to condone and ratify police misconduct, which causes Greensboro police officers, such as the officers in this case, to believe that they can abuse Black citizens with impunity and with no fear of consequences."*



Vigil held on December 8, 2018 in honor of Marcus Deon Smith, near where he died. Photographer: E

## **4 | Access to Shelter**

### **4.1 Introduction and Background**

In December 2018, the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) reported that on a single night in America, approximately 553,000 people are homeless, with 35% of those experiencing homelessness being unsheltered. The report also shows that between 2017 and 2018, the number of unsheltered individuals increased by 3%.<sup>xxx</sup> While this national statistic is eye-opening, this problem is very much a local issue as well. The Guilford County nonprofit, Partners Ending Homelessness (PEH), indicated in their point-in-time survey in 2007 that there were 1,182 people in Greensboro experiencing homelessness, with 202 of those individuals being unsheltered.<sup>xxxii</sup> Although in 2019 PEH indicated an overall decrease of those who are unsheltered to 61 individuals, with a total decline in those experiencing homelessness to 525<sup>xxxiii</sup> in Guilford County, this is likely a gross underestimation, as will be illustrated in this chapter.

Those who are experiencing homelessness are often divided into two groups: chronic and acute. Chronic homelessness refers to individuals who have been without stable housing for more than one year or have had four bouts of homelessness in a three-year period.<sup>xxxvii</sup> Whereas, acute homelessness refers to those who have intermittent access to housing, but are "housed" more often than not. Acute homelessness is a misleading categorization because it does not take into consideration that those who are acutely homeless often rely on the support of friends and family; if someone stays with relatives or sleeps on a friend's couch, agencies that work with homeless populations do not recognize them as chronically homeless and therefore those individuals have less access to much-needed resources.<sup>xxxiv</sup> Just as often, those experiencing homelessness may avoid agencies that provide resources and services for those without homes for numerous reasons, including everything from safety and hygiene concerns<sup>xxxv</sup> to issues of pride and

self-sufficiency.<sup>xxxvi</sup>

Recently, Guilford County Schools indicated that during the 2016-2017 school year, they had 3,094 students experiencing homelessness.<sup>xxxvii</sup> These numbers suggest a few key issues: one, that the problem of homelessness is getting worse;<sup>xxxviii</sup> two, that those experiencing homelessness are not as easily identifiable as current measurement tools suggest;<sup>xxxix</sup> three, that there are inadequate resources available to those in need;<sup>xl</sup> and four, that issues of both societal stigmatization and self-imposed stigmatization are at play in the underreporting of those experiencing acute or chronic homelessness.<sup>xli</sup> Each of these factors affect housing and shelter needs.

## 4.2 Access to and Quality of Shelters

Based on the data from surveys and focus groups conducted for this study, it is evident that accessing shelter beds is a key issue facing individuals experiencing homelessness in Greensboro. According to our survey, for those individuals who have tried to access a shelter bed (84.2% of respondents), more than 60% of those individuals indicated they either rarely or never could gain access to a shelter bed (see figure 4.1).

Many survey respondents indicated that there were several barriers to accessing shelters, including a limited number of beds being available, as well as privacy concerns and inadequate safety and hygiene conditions (see figure 4.2).

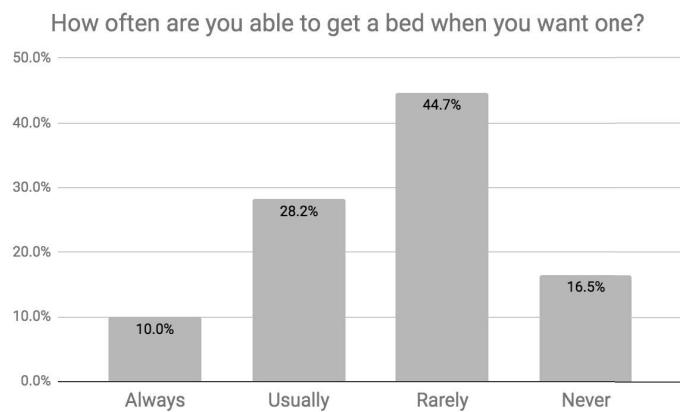


Figure 4.1

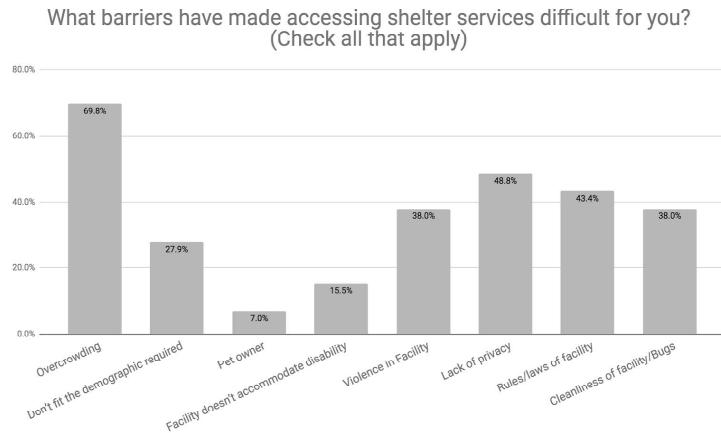


Figure 4.2

Additionally, it is important to note that because shelters are intended for emergency situations, not long-term solutions to homelessness,<sup>xlii</sup> the longer people experience homelessness, the less likely they are to rely on shelter services.<sup>xliii</sup> These patterns may explain, in part, the decrease in numbers for those seeking shelter in Greensboro over the course of the last 12 years reported by Partners Ending Homelessness.<sup>xliv</sup>. According to our survey data, participants have been homeless for an average of 3.8 years, with an overall range of participants experiencing homelessness that spans 3 days to more than 30 years. These trends may illustrate one of the reasons why 16% of the participants in our survey stated that they have not tried to access a shelter bed.

As demonstrated in the survey data, there are numerous reasons people experiencing homelessness do not or cannot access shelter. Three broad themes emerged from the focus group interviews regarding shelter access and quality: abuse or attempts to control the guests by staff in accompaniment with strict rules; lack of shelter beds for single women; and general safety concerns while seeking shelter.

The subject of abuse by staff at shelters came up frequently. When asked who abused them, one participant stated:

*Mainly staff...by their rules, by their words, or talking about you, as well as any individual in here, if you say something to them, they're not gonna talk to you. And they'll make trouble; just to come up and get in your face, stare at you, and mistreat you.*

Moreover, when asked to elaborate on why participants think shelter staff behave in such a manner, one participant shared the following reflection:

*Because to me they don't treat us like people, they treat us like they're above us because we're down here. And it shouldn't be that way. We should be all equal - but they don't look at it that way. They look at it, like "well I've got a job. I can go home when I get finished. And y'all can't. So y'all beneath me." But we're not. Cause at the end of the day, I was a person first before I became homeless.*

Many focus group participants also felt that the rules of the shelters were too strict and deprived people of their autonomy and humanity. In particular, participants noted the short time frame for staying at shelters pose a challenge for many individuals. However, some participants indicated that these strict rules do not apply to everyone, as illustrated in the following excerpt:

*Technically the rule is we have three months to get our stuff (find stable housing) together, get back on our feet. But people have been here longer than that. And that's what he's saying, like they have seniority, they've been here for a while so they can just come and go and do what they do versus someone like me that's just kind of here.*

Other informants found that the rules were fluid and subject to the whims of staff, which several participants attributed to favoritism:

*The [staff] make up their own rules as they go along. It's not like established... they make up their own rules as they go along. And they expect you to abide by them.*

Another key issue with accessing shelters includes the lack of adequate shelter beds for single women. One focus group participant stated:

*I am a single woman. I don't have my child with me. Greensboro Urban Ministry is probably the only shelter that lets me stay. All the other places are asking for family and dependents with you. And there are a lot of single women here. They really need to do something about that. It is hard being single. It is hard sleeping on the street and that is not what I want to do.*

In some cases, the issue of being a single woman trying to access shelter beds intersected with being elderly and disabled. One woman reported:

*I am a single elderly female and invisible. Every time I come here (Greensboro Urban Ministry) there are not enough beds and they have to transport me out*

*of the city to High Point and it is because we don't have enough beds. We need more disability beds where homeless people can come. I think that will help.*

Some participants also noted that while churches had opened up centers for men to stay and even given them access to homes, this was not the case for women:

*The churches in Greensboro have come together and opened up certain, like, areas. Umm, I don't know if it's in their churches or if they rent out houses for the winter, but certain churches have funded a center for men to come and stay for the winter, but they haven't done that for women so I don't agree with that. I think there needs to be more for women 'cause it's not enough.*

A final challenge that was commonly reported by focus group participants was that many people simply did not feel safe staying at many of the shelters. For example, one participant stated:

*I would just say safety has been the number one thing, like, scaring me and trying [to] make me, you know, find somewhere else to go, like ... safety is the biggest thing.*

Sometimes safety concerns derive from a perceived lack of training of staff to address certain situations, such as mental health issues that some shelter guests experience. As a result police are often called to address such situations and some participants stated that they, too, inadequately respond:

*The police came in and they didn't know how to talk to her, they don't know how to handle people with disabilities like that.*

Some participants suggested that more support for individuals experiencing homelessness and mental health issues is needed. For example, one participant felt that there were few resources outside of shelters that indirectly lead to mental health crises arising inside shelters, which can result in unsafe environments:

*I mean, I feel like a lot of it has to do with people's mental health, but no one comes here under any diagnosis. Sometimes the arguments just spiral out of like hatred or I don't like you or you don't like me, because I've been assaulted here and to my awareness, she doesn't have a mental health problem.*

The unfortunate reality for many respondents is that due to their usage of public or private services, they were viewed as "less than" by individuals who are designated to help them find stability and rest in shelters:

*We're not just looked at as being homeless, we're not just looked at as somebody who is, you know, a burden to the city or a burden to the community.*

Overall, issues related to bed availability, shelter safety, and poor treatment by shelter staff seem to be pervasive in Greensboro. Thus, accessing safe, comfortable, and adequate shelter poses a significant problem for many individuals experiencing homelessness in Greensboro.

### 4.3 The Effects of Eviction on Homelessness

Research conducted by the Eviction Lab at Princeton University, the first national database detailing eviction rates, shows that Greensboro has the highest eviction rate of large cities in North Carolina.<sup>xliv</sup> Greensboro also has the seventh-highest eviction rate in the country (see figure 4.3). This is in large part because of the lack of affordable housing options in the city. The average rent for a one-bedroom apartment in Greensboro (non-subsidized) is currently \$789/month. Low-income renting families in Greensboro can sometimes devote over half of their income to housing costs.<sup>xlv</sup>

In 2016, 8.4% of renters in Greensboro were evicted from their homes, affecting approximately 13 families per day.<sup>xlvii</sup> It is important to note, however, that this research only tracks formal evictions. The rate of informal evictions (where a landlord throws a tenant out summarily or padlocks the door) places the number much higher. Research conducted by the University of North Carolina's Center for Housing and Community Studies shows that a year after being evicted, only one-third of residents were able to find safe, clean, and affordable housing.<sup>xlviii</sup> During our focus groups, participants shared stories of their evictions, particularly how having an eviction on one's record significantly disadvantaged them when they tried to find another place to live:

*All of that happened long ago, but I have been turned down for apartments and houses because of the eviction that the landlord put me on. And I had went to about six places to get apartments and I paid a deposit or fee. So, I lost \$250 in application fees and still didn't get the apartment because of the eviction and I still didn't get my money back, because it was non-refundable. And so, every apartment I get, I get turned down because of that eviction, it's on me. I was told that if I get a private owner, that they might give me an apartment. So,*

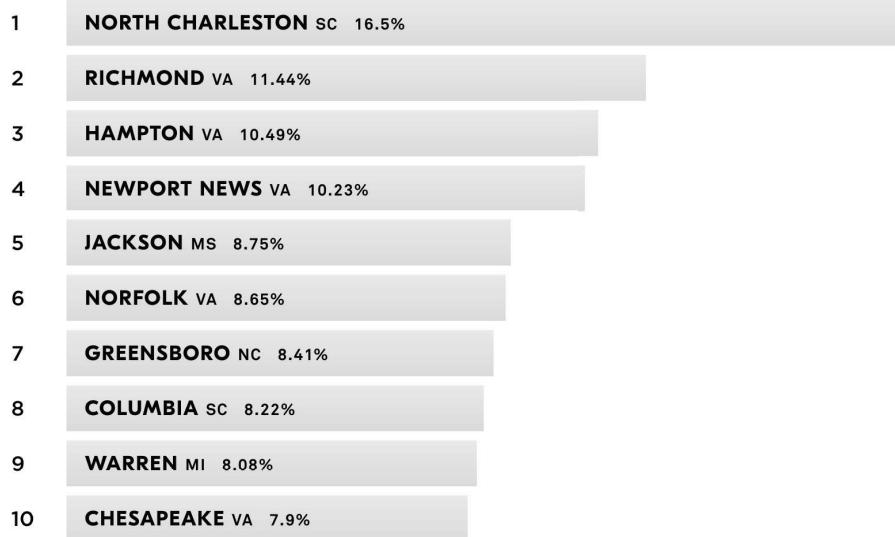


Figure 4.3: Top Evicting Large Cities in the United States.  
Data from the Eviction Lab, Princeton University

*I had gotten one and where I'm at he's a private owner. But where I'm at, I don't like it. But I thank God for that, because at least I'm not outdoors. But I want a better place.*

Some participants also pointed to how they felt like the system was rigged against them because they could not afford legal aid in housing court but that landlords could afford such costs:

*I think the relationship between the court system and the homeowners here in Greensboro is biased and skewed. There needs to be lawyers involved in the process for the tenant, because the landlord is going to have a lawyer and you're not going to have yours. But, I really think it was more, in my case, this good ol' boy system that was going on between the [judge] and the landlord. Because there was direct evidence, that I think I presented very well and pointed out what was going on and chronicled what was going on and still... they sided with the owner. So, it's the relations, I think.*

*I've been evicted. This was in 2016, after my mom passed. It was about a year later. But I lost the house, my parents' house, I didn't need it since she'd passed away but I just, cause of medical bills, I had to put equity on the house. I was living in a condo. I got hurt on the job with Time Warner and I couldn't go to work and they were not paying me worker's comp and I was unable to pay rent. And the owner of the condo just took me to court for eviction. And I didn't have the means at that point of getting an attorney. So, I just showed up into court without legal representation and I was out that following week, I had to get everything and move it into a storage unit. I was trying to get legal representation.*

Overall, the high eviction rates in Greensboro coupled with the challenge of finding housing after being evicted lead many individuals to become homeless.

#### **4.4 Housing Affordability and the Costs Related to Temporary/Emergency Shelters**

The approach to homelessness since the 1980s has generally been to treat the problem as a temporary issue, with a general disregard for the larger systemic issues that have caused the housing crisis.<sup>xlix</sup> Pressured by homeless advocates, the U.S. Interagency Council on Homelessness and HUD have stated goals that prioritize "housing first" and "permanent supportive housing" programs as strategies for addressing homelessness.<sup>l</sup> Unfortunately, funding for Housing First has come from limited HUD homeless assistance dollars rather than HUD housing dollars, resulting in the program only meeting a small fraction of the need for affordable housing. The Housing First program, which focuses on housing "Chronically Homeless" individuals<sup>li</sup> through permanent supportive housing programs (PSH), has gained a lot of national attention for having had some measurable success,<sup>lii</sup> but has also led to some misleading claims about "ending homelessness."<sup>liii</sup> While Housing First programs make the common-sense claim that the best way to support people experiencing homelessness is to place them in stable housing first, and then provide whatever case management and supportive services are needed, the reality is that the majority of people experiencing homelessness need housing but do not fit the criteria to be eligible for the Housing First program.<sup>liv</sup>

Consequently, these limited programs prove to be woefully inadequate responses to the widespread social problem of housing inaffordability that drives mass homelessness. The approximately 95,000 Housing First and permanent supportive housing units built since the late 1980s pale in comparison to the hundreds of thousands of public housing and section 8 units lost during the same time period.<sup>lv</sup> Thus, more than three decades since the widespread emergence of homelessness in America, the number of people without housing and dependent on emergency shelter services in America continues to grow as

average home prices.<sup>lvii</sup> continue to outpace wages and average family wealth.<sup>lviii</sup>

A 2019 study found that over 55% of Americans (and more than 63% of children) live in "asset poverty," meaning these families have little or no savings or assets to rely on in the event of a financial emergency such as a medical crisis, job loss, or natural disaster.<sup>lviii</sup> And while there has been an increase in multifamily housing development in recent years, the average cost of housing has increased. Between 2005 and 2015, the number of rental units in the U.S. costing \$2,000 per month or more increased by 1.5 million, while the number of units renting for less than \$800 declined by 261,000.<sup>lix</sup>

In cities where housing prices exceed 32% of the median income, rates of homelessness generally increase sharply.<sup>lx</sup> Moreover, as the number of units available to low-income people become more scarce, the length of time individuals experience homelessness becomes much greater, exacerbating the social cost of homelessness. A 2019 study from the Seattle School of Public Health found that unaffordable rent prices, incarceration rates, and court-imposed fines were the primary drivers behind an average increased duration of homelessness.<sup>lxii</sup>

In Greensboro, housing prices have risen steadily over the last decade while wages have remained stagnant. The average rent in Greensboro increased by 35.3% between January 2011 and May 2019, while the minimum wage (set by federal standards) has remained a mere \$7.25/hr.<sup>lxii</sup> Consequently, a minimum wage worker living in Greensboro today would need to work at least 105 hours per week, 52 weeks per year, in order to afford an average-rent apartment within the city.<sup>lxiii</sup> Unsurprisingly, the Guilford County Homeless Information Management System (HMIS) reports that the average length of time people remain homeless has increased by 26% in the last 4 years alone, which corresponds with the general trend of increased housing costs.<sup>lxiv</sup>

The social cost of longer durations of homelessness are quite apparent as the longer a person is on the street, the more likely they are to be dependent on publicly funded social services, to rely on emergency room visits for healthcare needs, and to become incarcerated. Numerous studies have shown that investing in permanent affordable housing is not only a more effective and humane approach to combat homelessness than our current

approach, but also much more affordable for taxpayers.<sup>lxv</sup> One study of 10,193 individuals experiencing homelessness in California found that the average cost of placing a person in subsidized affordable housing (with voluntary supportive services offered) resulted in a 79% reduction in public costs - or more than \$2,000 per person per month - compared to leaving that person on the street and dependent on emergency social services.<sup>lxvi</sup>

The Cost of Where People Sleep	
Location	Cost/Night
Guilford County Jail	\$73.00
Veteran's Affairs (Traditional housing)	\$108.00
Winter Emergency Shelter*	\$8.50 <sup>lxvii</sup>
Greensboro Urban Ministries (Weaver House)	\$22.70
Salvation Army of Greensboro	\$75.00
Room at the Inn	\$186.00
Open Door Ministries**	\$11.64
HUD/GHA Voucher***	\$15.53

\* Shelter option is the most basic & is only available during cold weather nights  
\*\* This shelter is in High Point, NC  
\*\*\* Cost of Voucher divided by 30

Table 4.4

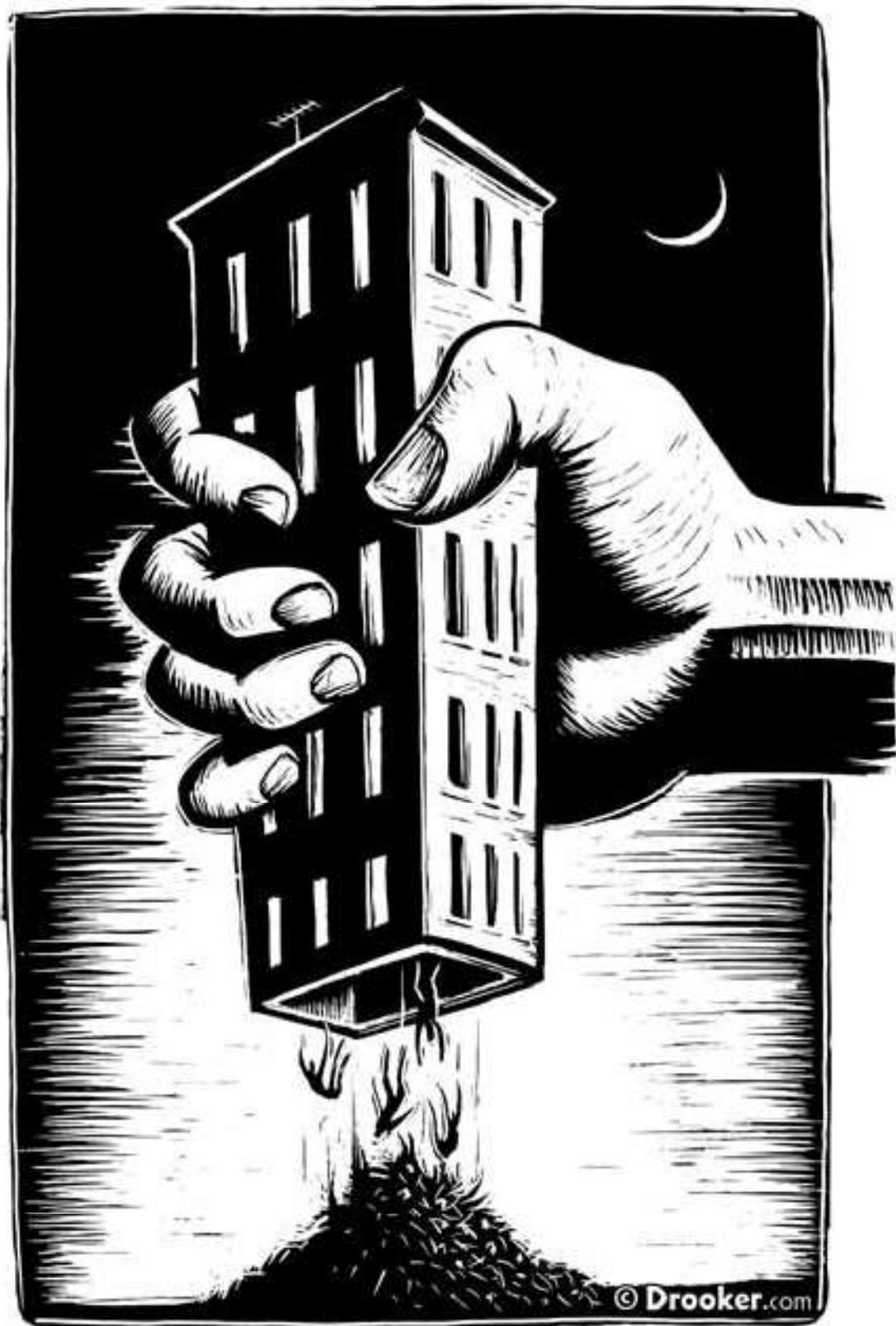
Likewise, in Guilford County, the public costs associated with homelessness could be mitigated or reduced if there was serious investment in affordable housing rather than a focus on providing shelter beds or engaging in policing-first strategies. As illustrated in figure 4.4, one month spent in Guilford County Jail costs an average of \$2,190 per inmate, and the average cost of shelter at one of Greensboro's largest shelters - Greensboro Urban Ministry's Weaver House - is \$681/per month. In comparison, the Greensboro Housing Authority reports that the average cost to maintain subsidized housing through a Project Based Voucher is \$466 per unit.<sup>lxviii</sup>

## 4.5 Conclusion

Our research shows that there remain significant barriers for individuals experiencing homelessness to access adequate shelter services in Greensboro. Based on the data we collected, the main barriers to accessing shelters include abuse or attempts to control

shelter guests by staff, strict rules that are not applied to all guests at a shelter, lack of shelter beds for single women, and general safety concerns while seeking shelter. While we believe that improving shelter access is an important short-term goal, we believe that the most important intervention would be for the city to adopt a more comprehensive affordable housing policy to meet the needs of the homeless population in Greensboro.

In 2000, the National Alliance to End Homelessness launched Ten-Year Plans to End Homelessness. Communities across the country adopted 355 ten-year plans, covering 860 cities, and unsurprisingly, none of these plans worked, because none of them adequately addressed our affordable housing crisis. If Guilford County is serious about addressing the crisis of mass homelessness, investments ought to be made to create more affordable housing options for low income people, rather than merely investing in short-term emergency housing programs.



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Image courtesy of WRAP. Artist: Eric Drooker.

## 5 | Conclusion

The purpose of this report is not solely to be critical of the practices and perceived priorities of Greensboro, North Carolina, especially as it relates to policing, criminal ordinances, and the availability and allocation of the requisite resources for those experiencing homelessness. Instead, its purpose is to inform the broader public and the power holders in the city (i.e., City Council, GPD, homeless service providers) about how those living in extreme poverty are affected by our policies, police profiling, and societal stigmas associated with the economic condition of those experiencing homelessness.

Right or wrong, we understand that many who view this report will look at the crisis strictly through an economic lens: how much it will cost the city to make the necessary improvements to improve the lives of those most in need. However, it should be pointed out that aside from the humanitarian benefits of intentional interventions in policing and resource access (which should be enough in its own right), there is broader economic and sociocultural benefit for the city as well.

As Greensboro seeks to retain its knowledge base from its seven institutes of higher education, and recruit other creative and entrepreneurial minds to the city to enhance its image and desirability, the move to enhance the wellbeing of those living in extreme poverty can have dramatic and positive effects on whether or not people want to stay, or move, here. For instance, tolerance and diversity are frequently rated as some of the most desirable traits of a city for young adults when deciding where to live and work.<sup>lxix</sup> How we treat those most in need speaks volumes to whether or not others would find Greensboro to be a desirable place to live that also speaks to their system of values.

Equally so, cities that lead the way in innovation become incubators of talent and ideas that are adopted in other municipalities.<sup>lxx</sup> By embracing progressive strategies for improving the lives of those experiencing homelessness, Greensboro can serve as a standard-bearer in championing the cause of human rights. Much as homeless people

have been called an "indicator species" for the broader health of a community, this metaphor does not have to be seen in a negative light; imagine if our indicator species showed improvement in their station in life instead of festering, chronic illness.<sup>lxxi</sup>

Greensboro should stand firmly on principles of respect and care for all residents of the city, regardless of their economic station in life, and certainly without prejudice as to inhabitants' race, color, creed, religion, gender identity, or sexual orientation.

Anti-homeless legislation and discriminatory treatment from police institutionalize those in extreme poverty as second-rate citizens in a manner that is reminiscent of Jim Crow era treatment of racial minorities; inadequate support services and a flawed "emergency" shelter system reinforce the crisis of homelessness by trapping those in extreme poverty in a cycle not designed to help them improve their lives; a lack of accountability for police who violate poor and low-income people's rights endangers the safety and well-being of the public; and a general lack of foresight and critical understanding of the origins of this national problem continue to cloud the judgment of those in position to make real changes which is exacerbated by those same people being unwilling to listen to the very people who have the most knowledge on how to fix the problem - those who are homeless.

What follows are a series of actionable policy recommendations from people experiencing homelessness in Greensboro and Guilford County. In tandem with the survey, focus group, and public information request data, members of the Homeless Union of Greensboro developed a "10 Point Program" as a way forward for improving the homelessness crisis in the area. While some of their recommendations are directly related to the data collected (e.g., #2 police accountability, #5 due process and adequate legal representation, #8 the right to safe shelter), others are rooted in the lived experiences of those who have no permanent shelter - something none of the authors of this report have been forced to endure, and thus are not able to speak to. We do, however, support the recommended policy proposals.

## 6 | Policy Proposals from the Homeless Union of Greensboro

Guilford County and the City of Greensboro have a crisis of mass homelessness and it appears to be growing worse. Yet, there does not seem to be any meaningful plan to address this crisis. Homelessness is not an unsolvable problem that is too complex for us to comprehend or find a solution to - even if that is how it is often talked about by the media, policy leaders, or homeless experts. Put quite simply, homelessness is the result of people not being able to afford rent. **Homelessness ends with a home, and nothing else.**

Since mass homelessness first emerged as a national epidemic in the 1980's, politicians and policy leaders have attempted to address the crisis with temporary Band-Aids rather than addressing root causes. Our current homeless policies - which prioritize a *policing-first* strategy, or an *earn-your-way-out-of-the-shelter* approach - take limited resources away from efforts that can actually address homelessness - such as providing permanent safe and affordable housing. Those who are forced out onto the street by an eviction or a steep rent increase often find themselves in precarious legal situations. With inadequate housing or emergency shelter options, and few legal places to sleep (or even sit or lie down), people experiencing homelessness live with a constant threat of being harassed, ticketed, or arrested by police for simply existing in public space. Worse yet, issues of housing insecurity and policing only compound existing racial disparities in our community.

**We need a new approach - we need a plan to address homelessness that focuses on long term-solutions like permanent affordable housing, respects the dignity and rights of people experiencing homelessness, and is accountable to the needs and priorities of people directly affected by poverty and homelessness.**

ness in our community.

The Homeless Union of Greensboro has developed a "**Ten Point Platform**" called "**Homes, Jobs, & Justice Now - not Death in the Streets**" which serves as a platform for developing policies that we believe will improve material conditions of people experiencing homelessness in Greensboro and aims to help eradicate homelessness in our community. We believe that the most helpful solutions to homelessness come from homeless people themselves; they foster self-determination for everyone, stress the need for housing, respect people's rights, and do not involve the police at any step during the process.

While America's housing crisis at large, systemic poverty, and systemic racism are all national issues, we believe that meaningful action can and must be taken here at the local level. Guilford County and the City of Greensboro have a great opportunity - and a responsibility - to address homelessness in our community, but that opportunity can only be actualized if there is significant community investment into combating homelessness, and only if policy leaders remain accountable to the needs and priorities of people experiencing homelessness. We call on poor people, homeless service providers, local government, and the general public to work together towards ending homelessness in our community and making Guilford County a more just and equitable place to live.

#### **House Keys not Handcuffs!**



## 6.1 The Homeless Union of Greensboro Ten Point Platform

### "Homes, Jobs & Justice Now - Not Death in the Streets"

1. **We have a right to self-determination:** We demand a seat at the table and a say in policies that affect our lives. We call on local government to develop a plan to combat homelessness that is accountable to the needs and priorities of people experiencing homelessness by including them in decision making processes from the start.
2. **Everybody's got a right to live:** We demand an immediate end to police harassment, brutality, and the killing of people. In particular, we call for an immediate end to targeting and violence towards black people, other people of color, LGBTQIA people, people living with disabilities, people experiencing homelessness, and other marginalized people. We demand accountability and citizen oversight for police and public employees who violate the rights of citizens.
3. **Housing is a human right:** We demand safe, decent, and affordable housing fit for human beings -not underfunded Band-Aid services.
4. **We have a right to living wages and adequate compensation:** We demand living wage employment and real opportunities to escape poverty and homelessness.
5. **We have a right to due process:** We demand fair treatment before the court for low-income people. This means adequate legal representation in both criminal and civil courts - including evictions - and an end to the money bail system.
6. **Healthcare is a human right:** We demand adequate access to healthcare and services such as emergency shelters, hygiene facilities, and places that serve food. We demand that all service providers respect our rights, involve clients in decision making, and have a fair grievance process for clients/guests.
7. **We have a right to be treated with dignity:** We demand access to non-police emergency services. Non-police personnel are best equipped to deal with and de-escalate crisis related to mental health, drug-use, and medical emergencies.
8. **Everyone has a right to a safe place to stay. Homelessness is not a crime:** We demand safe and legal places for people experiencing homelessness to sleep without the fear of police harassment and violence.
9. **We have a right to be secure in our persons and free from unreasonable searches and seizures:** We demand local government adopt policies to protect the rights of people experiencing homelessness.
10. **We have a right to equal treatment and opportunity:** All people working on homeless issues ought to commit to anti-racism and anti-oppression work as central to that work.

## 1. We Have a Right to Self-determination.

---

We demand a seat at the table and a say in policies that affect our lives. We call on local government to develop a plan to combat homelessness that is accountable to the needs and priorities of people experiencing homelessness by including them in decision making processes from the start.

---

People working on "poverty issues" must be held accountable to the priorities of people most directly affected by these issues. If you ask poor and homeless people what they need to get off the streets, the answers come quickly. Enough with the Band-Aids! We need housing that we can afford, living wages, and an end to police harassment and violence.

- We believe people experiencing homelessness deserve a seat at the table when the city and county discuss housing issues, homeless services, code enforcement, economic justice and development plans. We want poor and homeless people appointed to city and county commissions and boards that deal with these issues.

HUD mandates that local communities create "Continuums of Care" ("CoC") networks to coordinate homeless services. The CoC should remain politically independent of local mayoral, council, and commissioner elections. And furthermore, in order to be effective:

- The Guilford CoC should commit to being accountable to the priorities of people experiencing homelessness by including people with lived experience of homelessness in their decision-making processes and by doing regular, sustained, and documented outreach to people experiencing homelessness.
- At a minimum, the Continuum of Care and all CoC member organizations should comply with HUD's regulation 24 CFR §576.405 which states: *"To the maximum extent practicable, the recipient or sub-recipient must involve homeless individuals and families in constructing, renovating, maintaining, and operating facilities assisted under ESG, in providing services assisted under ESG, and in providing services for occupants of facilities assisted under ESG."*<sup>lxix</sup>

## 2. Everybody's Got a Right to Live.

---

We demand an immediate end to police harassment, brutality and killing of people. In particular, we call for an immediate end to targeting and violence towards black people, other people of color, LGBTQIA people, people living with disabilities, people experiencing homelessness, and other marginalized people. We demand accountability and citizen oversight for police and public employees who violate the rights of citizens.

---

The two most dangerous things to be in Greensboro are homeless and black. There is a long-standing pattern and practice of racialized violence in the Greensboro Police Department that must be addressed. We demand an immediate end to police harassment and brutality and murder. Furthermore, we demand citizen oversight and accountability.

- The City of Greensboro should fire Chief Scott and the eight officers involved in the Marcus Deon Smith homicide death case: A.G. Lewis, M. Montalvo, J. Bailey, L.A. Andrews, J.C. Payne, R.R. Duncan, Sgt. C. Bradshaw, and Corporal D. Strader
- The City of Greensboro should use its investigatory and managerial powers granted to them under state law<sup>lxxiii</sup> to hold officers accountable when they violate the rights of citizens and reform the culture of violence and racism within the Greensboro Police Department.
  - This includes firing officers who violate citizens' rights and/or show a propensity to arrest a disproportionate amount of homeless and black residents.<sup>lxxiv</sup>
- The City of Greensboro should pass a resolution instructing the Greensboro Police Department to require a signed written-consent policy for all consent searches (see next page).
- The Greensboro Police Should be given additional training in de-escalation, anti-racism, LGBTQ issues, and mental health training.<sup>lxxv</sup>
- The City of Greensboro should advocate for change to state law to allow for an independent review board with subpoena power and better access to police body worn camera footage.<sup>lxxvi</sup>

## Sample Policy: Written Consent

The Fourth Amendment of the U.S. Constitution gives all Americans protections from unreasonable or unjustified searches. People stopped by the police have a constitutional right to deny requests to be searched if the officer lacks legal cause. However, many people stopped by law enforcement don't know that they have the right to refuse a search and are never asked for consent, even when consent is required. Unjustified searches by law enforcement result in unnecessary arrests<sup>lxvii</sup> for low level non-violent offenses (eg. possession of marijuana). Arrests for such low-level offenses do not make our communities safer.

Additionally, there are significant racial disparities in who is exposed to these searches. In Greensboro, data from the GPD shows that African Americans are stopped at a rate of 2.08 to 1 compared to white drivers, even though police found illegal drugs and weapons on white drivers more often. Police are also much more likely to use force against African Americans than Whites.

Often, people are misled into "consenting" to consent searches. Officers will order (or "ask") people to empty their pockets or open up their bags, without telling them that they have the right to refuse. These searches lead to negative interactions with police and unnecessarily funnel community members through the criminal justice system. Arrests resulting from unlawful or coercive stop-and-frisk practices, and the convictions or pleas that often follow, can have devastating consequences, including the loss of jobs and hiring prospects, inability to get student loans, housing evictions, lengthy and costly court procedures, and debt. These trends only worsen racial disparities.

Consent to search policies can mitigate the harms of these searches and reduce people's exposure to incarceration by ensuring that those stopped by police are made aware that they have the right to refuse a search. Durham, Fayetteville and Asheville, NC, all have written consent to search policies which have reduced racial disparities in police stops and searches. It is time for Greensboro to adopt a similar policy.

DURHAM  
1869  
CITY OF DURHAM

Durham Police Department  
505 W. Chapel Hill St. Durham, NC 27701  
919-560-4242

POLICE DEPARTMENT  
DURHAM, NC

Consent to Search Form

Person to be Searched	IR#:	
<input type="checkbox"/> Person I, _____, agree to allow law enforcement to perform a complete search of my person, including all property on my person.		
Property to be Searched		
<input type="checkbox"/> Vehicle Plate: _____ VIN: _____ Make: _____ Model: _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Premises Address: _____ Description: _____		
<input type="checkbox"/> Electronic Device Type of Device: _____ Make: _____ Model: _____ Serial Number: _____ Passwords/log-ins/specific directions for entry: <input type="checkbox"/> Other (Describe property): _____		
I, _____, own, possess, or have authority over the property described above and do hereby agree to allow law enforcement to perform a complete search of the property listed above, to include all property located on or within the vehicle, premise, electronic device, or other property listed above.		
I have been advised of my right to refuse to consent to this search. I give this consent voluntarily, without any promises made to me, or threats of any kind made against me. I understand any evidence of a crime may be seized as a result of this search.		
Signature: _____	Date/Time: _____	
<input type="checkbox"/> Check if consent denied		
Person Authorizing		
Name: _____	Employee ID#: _____	
Date of Birth: _____	Age: _____	Phone Number: _____
Address: _____		
Officer Name: _____	Employee ID#: _____	
Division/District/Unit: _____	Contact #: _____	
Officer Signature: _____	Date/Time: _____	

General Order 4004 A-I R-1  
REV 8/14

Submit original to records.  
Copies may be kept with case file.

Figure 6.1

It is time for Greensboro to adopt a similar policy.

### **3. Housing is a Human Right.**

---

**We demand safe, decent and affordable housing fit for human beings - not underfunded Band-Aid services.**

---

People experiencing homelessness and policy experts agree that the primary cause of mass homelessness is the severe lack of housing that moderate and low-income people can actually afford.<sup>lxxviii</sup> Moreover, there is an overwhelming amount of research that shows that providing long term affordable housing for low-income people is not only more effective and humane than emergency shelter options, but also far more fiscally responsible.<sup>lxxix</sup>

- Local government should invest in permanent low-income housing development (0-30% Area Median Income [AMI] Housing), and advocate for state and federal investments dedicated to affordable housing development.<sup>lxxx</sup>
- Local Government should work to preserve the existing supply of affordable housing by restoring vacant deteriorating properties to safe condition,<sup>lxxxi</sup>, by adopting new property management ordinances, and by using code enforcement to require compliance when negligent landowners are unwilling to repair or sell.<sup>lxxxii</sup>
- Local Government should revise zoning codes to allow for more affordable housing options.<sup>lxxxiii</sup>
- Local Government should commit to ensure that all Greensboro Housing Authority residents displaced through the Rental Assistance Demonstration Program are relocated into safe, permanent and affordable housing.<sup>lxxxiv</sup>
- Local government should pass an ordinance making it unlawful to deny housing or social services based upon an individual's or family's perceived or actual housing status, including: lack of an address, lack of rental history due to homelessness, poor credit history due to homelessness, source of income, status as a victim of domestic violence, sexual assault or human trafficking, or one's criminal record.

### We Need Permanent Low-Income Housing, Not Just "Affordable" Housing:

In 2016, Greensboro residents voted to approve a \$25 million bond to fund affordable housing development, yet there has been no commitment to use these funds for low-income housing. HUD uses a measurement called "Area Median Incomes" or "AMI" based on regional assessments of "Fair Market Rent" to determine eligibility for various programs. 0-30% AMI is considered "low-income" housing, while 30-60%, and 60-80% AMI housing is considered "affordable" (or sometimes "workforce") housing.

The few housing development projects which have utilized local housing bond funding since 2016 have been at the 60-80% AMI level.<sup>lxxxv</sup> And because of the way the government calculates AMI levels<sup>lxxxvi</sup>, these units often cost more than the preexisting housing within the area. One developer promised to build apartments which would cost \$817 per month - \$55 dollars less than the average priced market-rate apartment in Greensboro.<sup>lxxxvii</sup> Yet this project is called "affordable" and gets a tax subsidy. Unless the housing being built in an area will be rented for a lower price than pre-existing housing, "affordable housing" development often comes with gentrification, the displacement of communities of color, and neighborhood upheaval. While 0-30% AMI (low-income) housing may be the most difficult form of housing to finance, it is also the type of housing that is in greatest demand in Greensboro, and exactly what the government should be prioritizing.

## **4. We Have a Right to Living Wages & Adequate Compensation.**

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**We demand living wage employment and real opportunities to escape poverty and homelessness.**

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Many people experiencing homelessness in Guilford County are working but cannot afford housing as rents continue to increase and wages remain relatively flat. While the average rent in Greensboro increased 35.3% between January 2011 and May 2019, the minimum wage (set by federal standards) has remained a mere \$7.25/hr.<sup>lxxxviii</sup> Consequently, a minimum wage worker living in Greensboro would need to work at least 105 hours per week, 52 weeks per year, in order to afford an average-rent apartment within the city.<sup>lxxxix</sup>

While state law prohibits cities from setting a separate minimum wage for workers within a local municipality<sup>xc</sup>, the City of Greensboro and County of Guilford can take the following steps to ensure workers make living wages within the county.

- Set a living wage for all city and county employees including entry-level and temporary positions.<sup>xcii</sup>
  - This ought to include contracts with current part-time non-benefited employees at the Greensboro Coliseum Complex, the recycling center and seasonal Parks & Recreation Department positions<sup>xcii</sup>
- Local government should invest in low-barrier employment programs that pay living wages.<sup>xciii</sup>
- Local government should only incentivize companies who pay living wages to come to Guilford County.
- Local government should commit to hiring local and minority owned companies for city and county contracts.<sup>xciv</sup>
- Local government should advocate for the repeal of state laws that ban cities from setting their own minimum wages.

## 5. We have a Right to Due Process.

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We demand living wage employment and real opportunities to escape poverty and homelessness. This means adequate legal representation in both criminal and civil courts - including evictions - and an end to the money bail system.

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### In Criminal and Civil Courts:

Many of the charges which low income residents face in court are classified as Class 3 Misdemeanors. Under North Carolina State Law, there is no guaranteed right to counsel for defendants charged with Class 3 Misdemeanors, which means defendants often never speak to a lawyer before their case is tried. This places people experiencing homelessness at a great disadvantage. The ACLU has studied the cumulative effects of quality of life policing in North Carolina,<sup>xcv</sup> and found that hundreds of people are incarcerated in North Carolina each month for failure to pay court fees imposed by civil and misdemeanor courts. They found that African Americans made up the majority of people incarcerated for failure to pay court fines, despite being minorities in the counties observed. Accordingly, "The collateral consequences of unpaid court debt, even if someone is not jailed, can be devastating. People who cannot pay off court fines and fees can lose their driver's license, their right to vote, eligibility for anti-poverty programs, and more. Many North Carolinians are forced to make difficult, if not impossible, decisions about whether to sacrifice basic necessities in order to pay off court debt."<sup>xcvi</sup>

- Local government should fund legal representation for low-income people faced with misdemeanor and civil offenses and reduce the fines imposed by courts.

### In Pre-trial Detention: Eliminating Cash Bail

According to the U.S. Justice Department, over two-thirds of the 700,000 people who sit in local jails across America are awaiting trial and have not been convicted of any crime.<sup>xcvii</sup> Most of these individuals remain in jail because they cannot afford to post a bail amount determined by the court. The effect of the modern cash bail system is obvious: courts that impose cash bail on defendants who are presumed to be innocent create a two-tiered and wealth-based system of injustice wherein those who can afford to bail themselves out do so, and those who cannot afford to pay (either in cash or through a bondsman) are incarcerated for months, if not years, awaiting trial without being convicted of a crime.

North Carolina State Law<sup>xcviii</sup> stipulates that judges and magistrates may only confine people before their trials if they pose a danger, threaten to flee or might destroy evidence. Despite this prohibition on arbitrary bail setting, 67% of people arrested for misdemeanors in North Carolina in 2017 had a secured bond imposed by a judge or magistrate, meaning they had to pay, put up collateral, or pay a bondsman in order to be released from jail before attending their trial.<sup>xcix</sup> The system of money bail not only negatively impacts people accused of crimes, but also their families who struggle to make ends meet in order to bail out their loved ones out or pay for necessities without the income of an incarcerated family member. The for-profit bail bonds industry makes billions on the backs of poor families through the cash bail system every year - a system that only further impoverishes poor communities.

Moreover, the current bail system is unconstitutional in the following ways: violating due process rights and equal protection under the Fourteenth Amendment; the prohibition against excessive bail in the Eighth Amendment; and the right to a speedy trial guaranteed by the Sixth Amendment.

States such as New Jersey,<sup>c</sup> and cities such as Philadelphia, PA,<sup>ci</sup> have introduced meaningful bail reform legislation which has shown that it is possible to release more people without increasing rates of recidivism or flight risk. Allowing more individuals to be released could save the county millions of dollars and help families remain together while going through court proceedings.

- Guilford County should eliminate the Cash Bail System in County Court.

## Eviction Hotspot Map and Greensboro's 1936 Redlining Map

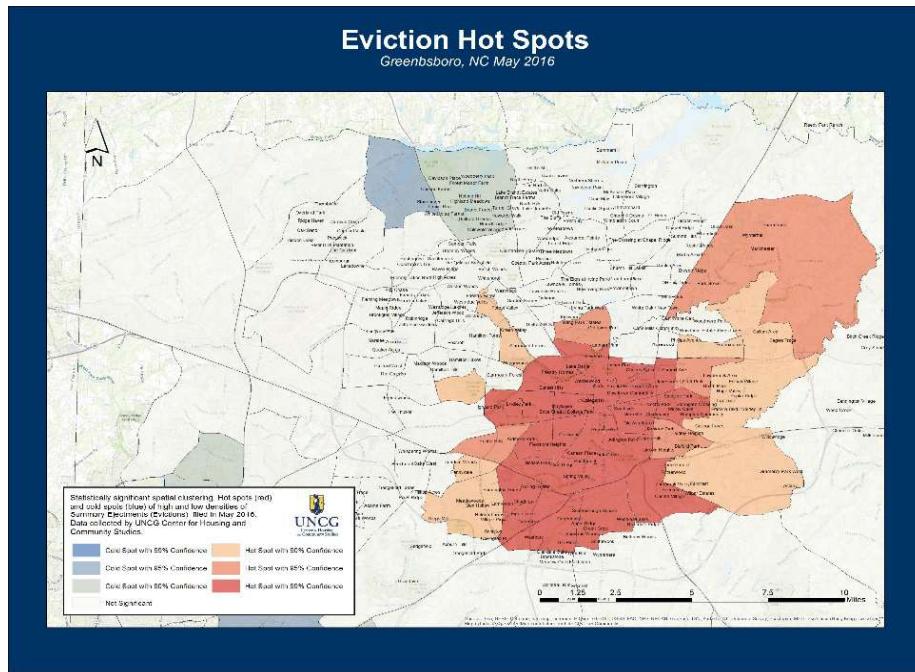


Figure 6.2

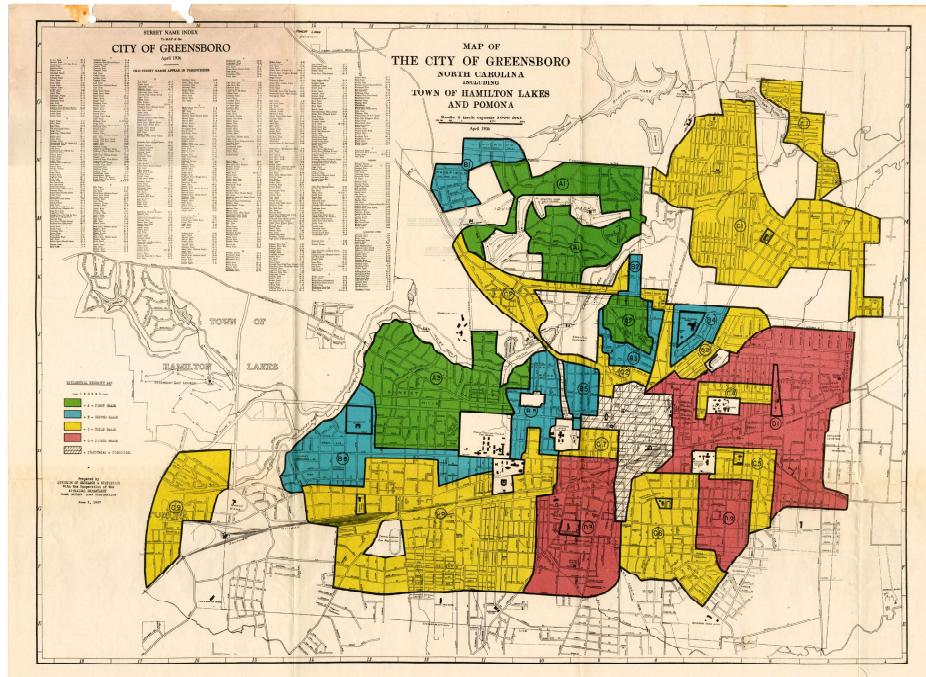


Figure 6.3

## Pilot Program: Eviction Resolution Pilot Program (ERP)

**Goal:** Develop a pilot program to address the high rate of evictions that negatively impact health, mental health, educational achievement, economic sustainability, and family relationships. Partners include: Legal Aid of NC (LANC), Greensboro Housing Coalition (GHC), Homeless Union of Greensboro (HUG), & UNCG Center for Housing and Community Studies (CHCS).

**Resources Needed:** \$280,000/Year (120 Tenants, Attorneys, Peer Navigators, etc.)

**The Problem being addressed:** Greensboro has the highest eviction rate of large cities in North Carolina and the 7th highest eviction rate of large cities in the nation.<sup>cii</sup> In 2016, the eviction rate was 8.4 % - meaning 13 families were evicted from their homes each day. In total, 4,948 Greensboro households experienced evictions in 2016. Over half of these families experienced homelessness for some time after eviction, and most became more reliant on emergency services.<sup>ciii</sup> Many cost-burdened renters in Guilford County are one car-repair, hospitalization, or high-utility bill away from being evicted from their homes. Housing instability has been shown to affect mental and physical health outcomes, children's academic achievement, employment, and neighborhood vitality. Furthermore, evictions cost landlords thousands of dollars.<sup>civ</sup> Evictions are also highly concentrated in neighborhoods which already have high poverty levels, further destabilizing vulnerable communities (See figure 6.2 & 6.3). Other Cities, such as New York and Minneapolis have implemented Right to Counsel Programs with promising results:<sup>cvi</sup> access to legal defense and support when facing an eviction results in fewer evictions, less costs to social services, less homelessness, and more family stability.

### The Plan:

Peer Navigators + Eviction Hotline + Legal Defense + Social Worker + Rental Assistance/Relocation Assistance + Follow Up + Evaluation  
=> Fewer people getting evicted & Less Homelessness

### Details:

This program will utilize paid peer navigators (new positions organized through HUG), GHC staff and court notices to connect tenants to an Eviction Hotline number hosted by LANC. The Eviction Hotline will provide legal advice, screen and refer eligible tenants to a local LANC attorney. GHC social workers will meet tenants to assist in resolving problems with employment, health, or family relationships that interfered with fulfilling lease responsibilities. GHC will document any unsafe housing conditions and determine the tenant's eligibility for financial assistance. LANC will attempt to negotiate a settlement with the landlord to allow the tenant to remain in their unit. If the owner is unwilling to settle, LANC will represent the tenant in court, with GHC and HUG peer navigators as witnesses where needed. GHC will assist the tenants with relocation as needed. Peer navigators will encourage tenants to persist in the process to resolve the crisis and reach stability. GHC will follow up with the tenant at regular intervals and will pay up to \$100 of the monthly rent for up to three months. CHCS will interview tenants & help with program evaluation and program expansion.

## **6. Healthcare is a Human Right.**

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**We demand adequate access to healthcare and services such as emergency shelters, hygiene facilities, and places that serve food. We demand that all service providers respect our rights, involve clients in decision making and have a fair grievance process for clients/guests.**

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No human being ought to die in the streets of America due to a lack of healthcare. Our current system operates as if healthcare was a commodity rather than a human right, and therefore denies certain people adequate healthcare because of their inability to pay. As a consequence, many people suffer from unnecessary health problems and death. Moreover, this system is incredibly wasteful. Rather than people getting the care they need; low-income people rely on a patchwork of emergency services which are more expensive than it would be to fund and maintain a system of quality care.

Homeless services ought to be treated as a part of a greater system of care, rather than a separate system of care. Creating siloed systems of care for individuals who are low-income and/or homeless only results in separate and unequal treatment for the most vulnerable in our community. Hence, the following policy recommendations deal with both homeless services and broader issues of healthcare.

Greensboro does not have adequate shelter options for the hundreds of people who lack stable housing each night within the county. Moreover, Guilford's homeless population is more diverse than the images that the media portrays of people experiencing homelessness (i.e. single middle-aged men) yet, the majority of homeless services are dedicated to single men. There are too few options for women, children, and LGBTQAI communities. During the 2018-2019 winter months, for instance, no dedicated shelter for women was opened. Furthermore, there are not any emergency shelter beds within the county for couples - married or unmarried - who do not have children, despite many of Greensboro's unsheltered homeless population being in committed romantic relationships. Our survey respondents have also stated numerous issues regarding conditions in shelters which ought to be addressed including: overcrowding, dirt/filth, unsafe and inadequate sleeping conditions, a lack of accessible beds for people living with disabilities, program hours, and a lack of respect from staff for clients.

Homeless service providers have a substantial amount of power in distributing and holding resources that people experiencing homelessness are dependent on. After more than three decades of Mass Homelessness, and no end to our nation's housing crisis in sight, the temporary emergency shelters of the 1980's have now become a permanent tier of housing. Within this context, service providers and people experiencing homelessness often clash and frustrate one another because of economic realities: service providers are often being asked to do more and serve more people with less, while people experiencing homelessness are often being told to do without. Furthermore, the professionalization and institutionalization of homeless service provision often results in a deep division between people administering services and the communities which they serve. With few resources of their own, people experiencing homelessness are often at the whims of nonprofits and rarely have adequate means to challenge unfair treatment.

Our hope is that homeless service providers and people experiencing homelessness can work together to combat homelessness, but in order for this to happen, people experiencing homelessness need to have a say and have direct input into how services are provided, and be given a fair grievance process.

- Healthcare can be considered a human right and public good that is adequately invested in. Local government should advocate for Medicaid expansion and increased access to healthcare. In the interim, the Guilford County Orange Card program should be expanded to help with healthcare coverage gaps.
- All homeless service providers should follow HUD's regulation 24 CFR §576.405<sup>cvi</sup> which instructs service providers to involve homeless individuals and families in the "constructing, renovating, maintaining and operating" homeless services sites.
- Homeless service providers should adopt a fair grievance process to ensure that people experiencing homelessness can appeal decisions made and to stop biased treatment within shelters and other homeless service sites.
  - San Francisco, CA has had a model shelter grievance policy since the 1990's.<sup>cvi</sup>
- All healthcare and homeless service providers should establish a consumer advisory board as is considered a best practice within these professions.<sup>cix</sup>
- Local government should support expanded access to safe emergency shelter that meet the needs of Guilford's homeless population and demographics.
  - Options for couples, single women, people living with disabilities, LGBTQAI communities, and families ought to be prioritized.
- **Conditions within shelters must improve:**
  - Greensboro's "White Flag" emergency shelters are overcrowded, understaffed, and dangerous. People are asked to sleep on mats made out of plastic bags on the floor during white flag shelter nights. In other shelters, people are often asked to sleep sitting up in chairs in the lobby when beds are full. These conditions lead to sleep deprivation, health complications, and prolonged homelessness.
  - Many emergency shelters are not accessible to people living with disabilities. Under the Americans with Disabilities Act, shelters that are open to the public have an obligation to reasonably accommodate people living with disabilities.
  - The Guilford County CoC should not be funding any programs that discriminate against LGBTQAI people for religious reasons or otherwise.
  - Police are a constant presence at many homeless service sites throughout Guilford county, which results in dangerous situations for guests, unnecessary harassment, citations and arrests, which only perpetuate homelessness and poverty.

Do you have adequate access to hygiene in your community?					
(% Reporting inadequate access)					
Drinking Fountains/ Drinking Water	Bathrooms*	Showers*	Laundry	Hygiene Products	No Adequate Access to Hygiene
42.1%	43.1%	43.1%	42.6%	29.2%	16.6%

\*Questions regarding Bathrooms and Showers were combined on one of the surveys.

- Access to bathrooms, water, and hygiene facilities should be improved
  - Our survey shows that the vast majority of people experiencing homelessness do not have adequate access to basic hygiene within our community. Without access to public restrooms or places for people to wash themselves or access water, many people live with the fear of being ticketed or arrested for relieving themselves in public spaces.
  - There are many successful models of how to implement a public bathroom system, including the Portland Loo.<sup>cix</sup>

What barriers have made accessing shelter services difficult for you?			
(Check all that apply)			
Overcrowding	Don't Fit the Demographic Required	Pet Owner	Facility Doesn't Accommodate disability
69.8%	27.9%	7.0%	15.5%
Violence in Facility	Lack of Privacy	Rules/Laws of Facility (eg. hours)	Cleanliness of Facility/Bugs
38.0%	48.8%	43.4%	38.0%

- Guilford County should develop a "Coordinated Entry" System that respects client confidentiality and moves people toward long-term housing
  - Guilford County is in the process of creating a coordinated entry system, as is an expectation of all Continuums of Care. Coordinated entry systems create a central intake process for people experiencing homelessness. Theoretically, this is a good idea. However, there are concerns that many coordinated entry systems violate people's right to privacy by sharing client information inappropriately.<sup>cx</sup> Systems that are developed should commit to high standards of client consent and confidentiality.
- All institutions that receive public funds, such as prison/jail/detention centers and health/mental health care facilities should develop and implement a plan to discharge residents into housing as quickly as possible.

## **7. We Have a Right to be Treated With Dignity.**

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**We demand access to non-police emergency services. Non-police personnel are best equipped to deal with and de-escalate crisis related to mental health, drug-use, and medical emergencies.**

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Many emergencies which Greensboro residents face do not require law enforcement's attention. Moreover, the relationship between the police and communities of color, people experiencing homelessness, trans people, and other marginalized communities have long been filled with hostility and mistrust. This, and the real or perceived threat of violence from the police towards members of historically marginalized communities make efforts of de-escalation in times of crisis functionally impossible. Consequently, many people refuse to call 9-1-1 in times of emergency, even when they desperately need assistance, for fear of arrest or violence.

Professionals with knowledge and training in de-escalation, mediation, mental health, and drug-related intervention are better suited to handle many calls for help which come from the community. Police are not trained, nor can they be expected to fill the role of medical professionals, mental health counselors, social workers, drug counselors, or fire department personnel.

Recognizing these dynamics, some communities have taken proactive steps to create police-free crisis intervention teams. One such example is CAHOOTS (Crisis Assistance Helping Out on the Streets) in Eugene, OR, which has been active and effective in handling crises without police involvement since 1989.

- Local government should invest in non-police emergency response teams to handle crises related to substance use, housing crisis/homelessness, first aid and medical services, transportation services, suicide prevention, de-escalation intervention, mental health crises, and interpersonal conflict resolution.<sup>cxi</sup>

## **8. Everyone has a Right to a Safe Place to Stay. Homelessness is Not a Crime.**

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**We demand safe and legal places for people experiencing homelessness to sleep without the fear of police harassment and violence.**

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As has been demonstrated throughout this report, there are countless barriers to accessing housing and shelter for many residents in Greensboro. With a lack of adequate housing options, people experiencing homelessness are chased off of both public and private property and are unsure where they can legally sleep. There needs to be designated spaces for people experiencing homelessness to sleep and not fear being harassed, ticketed or arrested.

- Local Government should designate a piece of land for people to be able to rest without fear of police harassment.
  - The National Healthcare for the Homeless Council (HCH) has published a statement of best practices regarding local municipalities and homeless service providers can best support people experiencing homelessness who live in encampments.<sup>cxi</sup> The statement makes the following recommendations which we support:
    - Jurisdictions should avoid destruction of encampments and instead focus on rapid creation of permanent, affordable housing with appropriate support services as needed.
    - As an interim measure, services should be provided at encampments to promote safe and sanitary living conditions for residents and the broader community.
    - As an interim measure, public buildings or other facilities should be opened to provide options for shelter for people without homes. No one should be evicted from an encampment without a safe, stable alternative.
    - The [local community] should engage in robust [non-police involved] street outreach to isolated individuals in need of care and connect them to comprehensive health care and housing services.
    - The [local community] should advocate for the human and civil rights of all community members, including those who are homeless.

## **9. We Have a Right to be Secure in Our Persons and Free From Unreasonable Searches and Seizures.**

---

We demand that local government adopt policies to protect the rights of people experiencing homelessness.

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People experiencing homelessness in Guilford County are subject to frequent and unnecessary harassment, citations, arrests and violence from the police. In order to protect the rights of people experiencing homelessness in our community and improve community relations, the Greensboro City Council should adopt an ordinance that explicitly protects the rights of Greensboro residents from being harassed by the police for simply existing outside.

- **The Greensboro City Council should adopt a policy that protects the rights of people experiencing homelessness from police harassment.**
  - The Greensboro Police Department needs clear guidelines to respect people's rights. The following principles should be observed:
    - No person shall be subject to, or threatened with, civil or criminal sanctions or harassment by law enforcement, other state actors, and/or private security personnel for moving, resting, sitting, standing, lying down, sleeping, protecting oneself from the elements, or conducting other life sustaining activities on public property or in a legally parked car.
    - The right to use and move freely in places of public accommodation without discrimination based on actual or perceived housing status shall not be abridged.
    - No person shall be subject to civil or criminal sanctions for soliciting, sharing, accepting, or offering food, water, money or other donations in public places.
    - No person shall be discriminated against or improperly searched, questioned or interrogated because of their perceived housing status.
    - Personal property of homeless persons shall not be subject to unreasonable search and seizure.<sup>cixiii</sup>

## **10. We Have a Right to Equal Treatment & Opportunity.**

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**All people working on homeless issues ought to commit to anti-racism and anti-oppression work as central to that work.**

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Mass Homelessness is a visible manifestation of economic policy, social oppression and racial injustice. It is unreasonable for any community whose aim is to eradicate homelessness to adequately address these issues without clarity about these issues. Without an analysis that recognizes and confronts the many layers of oppression that create and perpetuate homelessness, policy leaders, nonprofit leaders and volunteers will continue to talk about the crisis of mass homelessness as if it were the result of personal troubles rather than systemic forces and policy choices. This is what we've experienced since the 1980's, and it has gotten us nowhere.

Any meaningful response to homelessness will center on addressing the issues of housing affordability, economic inequality and racial justice and actively work to combat the histories and structures of discrimination and oppression that marginalize some and divide all of us. These oppressions include ableism, ageism, classism, heterosexism, racism, religious discrimination, sexism, transphobia, xenophobia, among others.

- Local groups working on homeless issues, nonprofit and policy leaders, including the Guilford County CoC, ought to specifically name and commit to economic justice, eradicating racism and combating social oppression as a central component of their work.
- Nonprofits that serve homeless and low-income populations ought to undergo anti-racism and anti-oppression training as a regular part of their work.
- Organizations working on issues of homelessness ought to be led by the priorities of people directly affected by those issues, have leadership within their organization that reflects that commitment, and documented means of outreach in order to remain accountable to people directly affected by racism, housing insecurity and poverty.

## Appendices

### A: Public Information Request Data on Citations and Arrests Jan. 2017-May 2019



Figure 6.4: The above image depicts the place of arrest or citation for individuals listing their home address as either address 407 E Washington St. (Greensboro Urban Ministry) or 305 W Gate City Blvd. (Interactive Resource Center), and who are thus likely individuals experiencing homelessness.

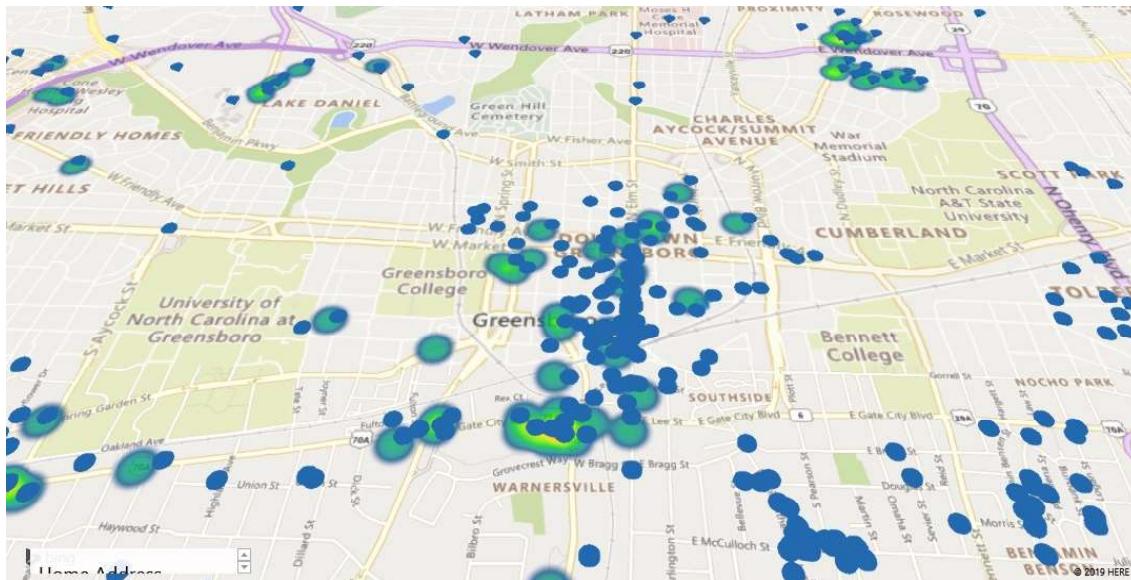


Figure 6.5: The above plots are the addresses of arrests. The highest concentration of arrests occur in or around downtown Greensboro.

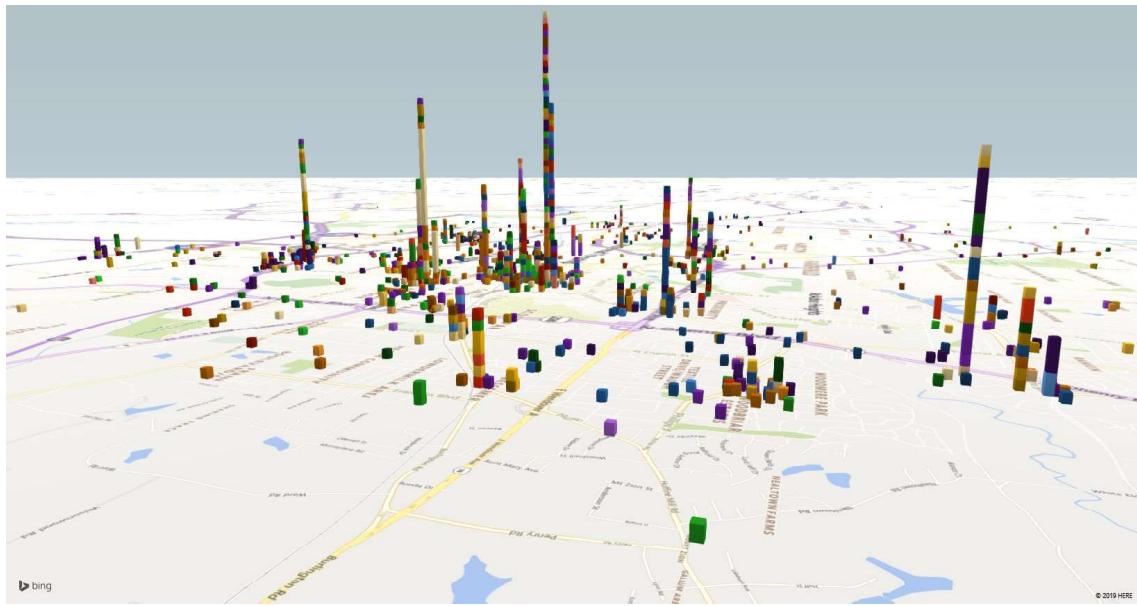


Figure 6.6: The above image depicts the concentration of officers arresting those who are likely to be experiencing homelessness. It can be seen that Officer Thomas Samuel Alvarez (in beige) has made the most recurring arrests (27+). The bar graphs are plotted at the site of arrests. The images also reiterate that there seems to be the highest concentration of arrests in and around downtown Greensboro.

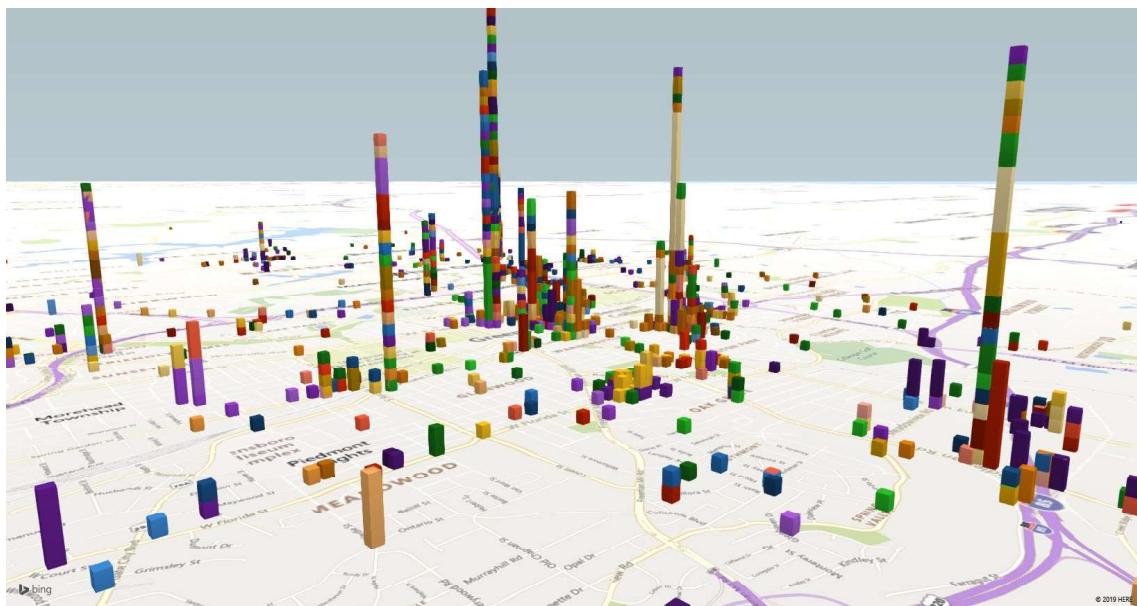


Figure 6.7: The image is the same image as the previous one, but rotated 180 degrees and zoomed in.

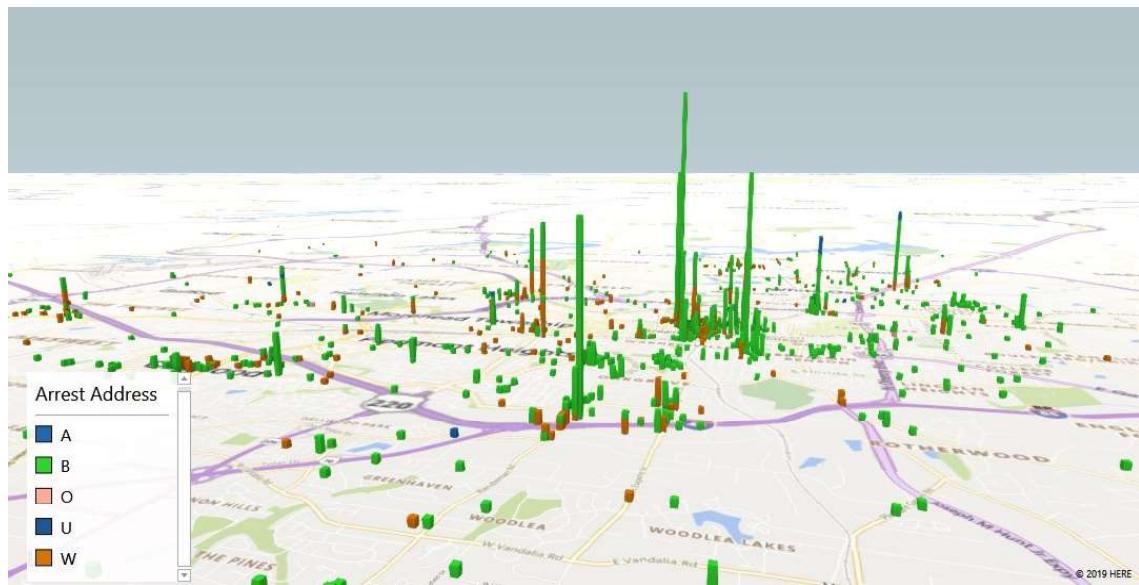


Figure 6.8: This image depicts the racial identity of those who were arrested or cited. It can be seen that the arrest of black residents who are homeless is the most frequent.

## B: References

### Notes for chapter 1

- i. According to the University of North Carolina Greensboro Center for Housing and Community Studies 2018 report: <https://chcs.uncg.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Eviction-Interviews-Report-docx.pdf>
- ii. The first federal homeless assistance fund grants were established by the House Appropriations Committee on March 24th, 1983 through the Emergency Food and Shelter Plan (EFSP) administered through the Federal Emergency Management Agency. These grants were part of President Reagan's "Jobs Stimulus Bill" (P.L. 98-8) and were a direct response to the outcry of many homeless organizers demanding help for the growing need for homeless services. These initial grants set guidelines for community groups to procure canned food and blankets to establish emergency shelters in church basements and community centers. Rather than addressing the systemic need for affordable housing, the federal government established a path by which mass homelessness would become permanent and the need for shelters would increase. By 1987, community organizing and advocacy efforts compelled the federal government to concede that homelessness was indeed a national problem. Congress passed the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act of 1987, the first major federal legislation devoted solely to addressing homelessness (P.L. 100-77, signed into law on July 22, 1987; subsequently reauthorized under P.L. 100-628, and signed into law on November 7, 1988). But rather than restoring funding to affordable housing, this legislation created a small funding stream that functioned to further institutionalize the shelter system. P.L. 106-400, enacted October 30, 2000, renamed the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Assistance Act as the "McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act." The McKinney-Vento Homeless Assistance Act remains the main funding framework for federal homeless assistance funds.  
<https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/FEMA-HUD%20-%20Emergency%20Food%20and%20Shelter%20Program%20Transition%20Plan.pdf>
- iii. There is an important distinction to be made. During the first period of mass homelessness in the 20th Century (the Great Depression), government leaders developed housing programs to address the gross inadequacy of slum housing conditions and poorly managed tenements. The 1980's was the first time in modern history when Americans were literally forced onto the street in droves.
- iv. Guilford County Schools. (2018). Homeless services and community support. Retrieved from <https://www.gcsnc.com/Page/42407>.
- v. The federal government refuses to acknowledge what mass homelessness is - an affordable housing crisis - or the effect that the gap in affordable housing has on millions of people's lives every year. Instead, the government has created bizarre and purposefully ineffective means of counting the number of people experiencing homelessness, and byzantine formulas used to determine if whether or not someone qualifies for homeless housing and services. The "Point in Time" head counts are the official means of tracking homeless population sizes. These counts are conducted nationwide by local volunteers during the last week of every other January. Volunteers are asked to count the heads of people they see sleeping outside. These numbers are then added to the number of people residing in HUD funded emergency shelters and transitional or supportive housing programs. This process varies greatly by locality and results in a gross undercounting that is then promoted in the media as the "official" state of homelessness nationally. The US Department of Education uses a definition of homelessness that includes children, youth and their families living in hotel or motel and "doubled-up" situations - two important categories not covered by HUD. HUD's arbitrary and narrow definition leaves many people who need assistance without housing. Advocates have urged Congress to broaden and better align the definitions used by various government agencies in order to gain a more accurate and consistent representation of who is homeless in the United States and serve more people in need. The National Law Center on Homelessness & Poverty released a report in 2017 detailing ways to improve the counting methods (<https://nlcchp.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/10/HUD-PIT-report2017.pdf>). But perhaps we should simply use the definition of "homeless" from the Merriam-Webster Dictionary: having no home or permanent place of residence. If our society used this definition as the starting point for our affordable housing programs, we could stop creating grades of inequality and put our collective efforts to work making truly affordable housing a human right for all.
- vi. According to Partners Ending Homelessness, the Homeless Information Management System (HMIS) for Guilford County reports that 1,471 out of the 2,024 people living in emergency shelters and transitional housing in Guilford County in 2019 were African American (72.6%)
- vii. ACLU of North Carolina. (2019, April 9). At all costs: the consequences of rising court fines and fees in North Carolina. Retrieved April 10, 2019, from:  
[https://www.acluofnorthcarolina.org/sites/default/files/field\\_documents/aclu\\_nc\\_2019\\_fines\\_and\\_fees\\_\indent\hskip2em\relaxreport\\_17\\_singles\\_final.pdf](https://www.acluofnorthcarolina.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/aclu_nc_2019_fines_and_fees_\indent\hskip2em\relaxreport_17_singles_final.pdf)
- viii. LaFraniere, S., & Lehren, A. (2015). The disproportionate risk of driving while black. International New York Times, 5, 5-5. Retrieved April 24, 2019 from:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/25/us/racial-disparity-traffic-stops-driving-black.html>
- ix. LaFraniere, S., & Lehren, A. (2015). Greensboro puts focus on reducing racial bias. New York Times, 165(57048). Retrieved April 25, 2019 from:  
<https://www.nytimes.com/2015/11/12/us/greensboro-puts-focus-on-reducing-racial-bias.html>

- x. UNITED STATES INTERAGENCY COUNCIL ON HOMELESSNESS - FSP Supplemental Document #4 (Page 12):  
[https://www.usich.gov/resources/uploads/asset\\_library/BkgrdPap\\_Community.pdf](https://www.usich.gov/resources/uploads/asset_library/BkgrdPap_Community.pdf)
- xi. This diagram was created by Western Regional Advocacy Project, a national coalition of homeless and formerly homeless led organizations that the Homeless Union of Greensboro works closely with.

## Notes for chapter 2

- xii. We made the following ordinances requests:
- N.C. Gen Stat. 14-159
- N. C. Gen. Stat. 14-159.13 Second Degree Trespass
- N. C. Gen. Stat. 14-174.1 Standing, Sitting or Lying upon Highways or Streets Prohibited
- C.O. 18.1 Failure to leave Premises; C.O. 18-44 Blocking or impeding streets and sidewalk access
- C.O. 18-45 Urinating or Defecating in Public
- C.O. 18-46.1 Solicitation and Distribution of Items in public parking garages and public parking lots prohibited
- C.O. 18.46.2 Harassing in Public Places Prohibited
- Prior C.O. 20.1 Begging or soliciting alms

## Notes for chapter 3

- xiii. Greensboro's Business Improvement District is called "Downtown Greensboro Incorporated".
- xiv. Learn more about Business Improvement Districts: A 2018 report from UC Berkley School of Law entitled "Homeless Exclusion Districts" is available at: <https://wraphome.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/PAC-BID-Report-2018-web-rev.pdf>
- xv. Newsom, J. (2018, July 25). Greensboro passes aggressive solicitation ordinance - but plans to repeal and replace it. Greensboro News & Record. Retrieved from:  
[https://www.greensboro.com/news/government/greensboro-passes-aggressive-solicitation-ordinance-but-plans-to-repeal-and/article\\_43b906a1-5d28-5dcc-bd8f-6bba4bcac927.html](https://www.greensboro.com/news/government/greensboro-passes-aggressive-solicitation-ordinance-but-plans-to-repeal-and/article_43b906a1-5d28-5dcc-bd8f-6bba4bcac927.html)
- xvi. Wilking, J., et al. (2018). Understanding the implications of a punitive approach to homelessness: A local case study. *Poverty & Public Policy*, 10(2), 159-176.
- xvii. Mitchell, D. (2003). *The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space*. New York: Guilford Press.
- xviii. As the IRC and GUM are two of the largest organizations in Greensboro that provide support and/or shelter for homeless persons, it is likely that these individuals are experiencing homelessness.
- xix. 65.8% of survey participants identified as Black and 15.3% identified as another racial minority.
- xx. <http://fbaum.unc.edu/TrafficStops/Reports2014/GreensboroSummary.pdf>
- xxi. <https://htv-prod-media.s3.amazonaws.com/files/letter-to-scott-administration-1-1497973057.pdf>
- xxii. 1 on the scale representing no awareness of one's rights and 10 representing full awareness of one's rights
- xxiii. <https://nccriminallaw.sog.unc.edu/overcriminalization-ordinance-violations-as-crimes/>
- xxiv. <https://www.sog.unc.edu/resources/faq-collections/appointment-counsel-class-3-misdemeanors>
- xxv. [https://www.acluofnorthcarolina.org/sites/default/files/field\\_documents/aclu\\_nc\\_2019\\_fines\\_and\\_fees\\_report\\_17\\_singles\\_final.pdf](https://www.acluofnorthcarolina.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/aclu_nc_2019_fines_and_fees_report_17_singles_final.pdf)
- xxvi. <https://wraphome.org/wp-content/uploads/2008/09/HistoricalCriminalizationFactSheet.pdf>
- xxvii. Statement from Mayor Vaughan during the April 2nd, 2019 Council Meeting; "The RIPP Hobble device had been used for 10 years, It had been used many times a month; it has been used hundreds of times."  
<https://yesweekly.com/3-council-members-call-for-independent-investigation-of-death-of-marcus-smith/>
- xxviii. Definition of homicide
  - 1:a person who kills another
  - 2:a killing of one human being by another
- xxix. On August 9th, 2019, Wayne Scott announced his retirement effective January 31, 2019.  
[https://www.greensboro.com/news/crime/greensboro-police-chief-wayne-scott-announces-his-retirement/article\\_fb7a0891-e533-5aea-8eca-2484cfcf8907.html](https://www.greensboro.com/news/crime/greensboro-police-chief-wayne-scott-announces-his-retirement/article_fb7a0891-e533-5aea-8eca-2484cfcf8907.html)

## Notes for chapter 4

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<http://pehgc.org/wp-content/uploads/2017/06/2017-PITC-Comparison.pdf>
- xxxii. Partners Ending Homelessness. (2019). *The experience of homelessness on any given night*. Retrieved from:  
<http://pehgc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2019-PITC-Comparison.pdf>

- xxxiii. Housing and Urban Development. (2007). *Defining chronic homelessness: A technical guide for HUD programs*. Retrieved from:  
<https://www.hudexchange.info/resources/documents/DefiningChronicHomeless.pdf>
- xxxiv. Partners Ending Homelessness. (2018). *The experience of homelessness on any given night*. Retrieved from:  
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- xl. Shinn, M., et al. (2017). Mismatch between homeless families and the homelessness service system. *Cityscape*, 19(3), 293-307.
- xli. Rose, J. (2014). Ontologies of socioenvironmental justice. *Journal of Leisure Research*, 46(3), 252-271.
- xlii. Ranasinghe, P. (2017). *Helter-Shelter: Security, Legality, and an Ethic of Care in an Emergency Shelter*. Toronto: University of Toronto Press, Scholarly Publishing Division. Retrieved from:  
<http://search.ebscohost.com.ezproxy.guilford.edu/login.aspx?direct=true&db=nlebk&AN=1605319&site=ehost-live>
- xliii. It's important to note that we don't use the term "service-resistant" here. This term has become a popular way to describe people who, for whatever reason, decline to accept offers to enter into shelters or other homeless services. It is akin to the "homeless by choice" narrative which became popular under the Reagan administration as modern mass homelessness emerged as a national crisis. A recent study conducted by the NYU Silver School of Social Work found that, while the length of time a person has spent homeless factors into whether a person will accept help from a social worker or outreach worker, bureaucratic barriers rather than "personal intransigence" were the primary reasons that many people experiencing homelessness in New York City refused outreach workers' offers of shelter. "Our research indicates that if people were really being offered permanent housing," writes Professor Deborah Padgett, "they would take it without hesitation. The allure of living on the streets is a myth." Wusinich, C., Bond, L., Nathanson, A., & Padgett, D. (2019). "if you're gonna help me, help me": Barriers to housing among unsheltered homeless adults. *Evaluation and Program Planning*, 76. doi:10.1016/j.evalproplan.2019.101673
- xliv. <http://pehgc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/05/2019-PITC-Comparison.pdf>
- xlv. Eviction Lab. 2016. Data retrieved from: <https://evictionlab.org/>
- xlvi. Rent Trend Data in Greensboro, NC. 2019. <https://www.rentjungle.com/average-rent-in-greensboro-rent-trends/>
- xlvii. Eviction Lab. 2016. Eviction Rankings. Data retrieved from:  
<https://evictionlab.org/rankings/#/evictions?r=United%20States&a=0&d=evictionRate&l=5>.
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<https://www.dhs.gov/sites/default/files/publications/FEMA-HUD%20-%20Emergency%20Food%20and%20Shelter%20Program%20Transition%20Plan.pdf>
- l. [https://www.usich.gov/resources/uploads/asset\\_library/Home-Together-Federal-Strategic-Plan-to-Prevent-and-End-Homelessness.pdf](https://www.usich.gov/resources/uploads/asset_library/Home-Together-Federal-Strategic-Plan-to-Prevent-and-End-Homelessness.pdf)
- li. <https://www.hudexchange.info/homelessness-assistance/resources-for-chronic-homelessness/>
- lii. <https://www.npr.org/2015/12/10/459100751/utah-reduced-chronic-homelessness-by-91-percent-heres-how>
- liii. Here is one especially egregious example from the High Point Enterprise about Guilford County having "nearly ended chronic homelessness":  
<http://files.constantcontact.com/7b28c99f001/927d3484-160a-48d5-832c-a9cb3640d857.pdf>
- liv. Reprinted from Without Housing (2010): "Chronically" homeless people are defined as single homeless individuals with severe challenges of mental illness or substance abuse who have experienced four episodes of homelessness over the past three years or who have been homeless continuously for over a year. This definition was recently expanded to include families with a disabled head of household who meet the durational criteria. The federal government decision to fund Housing First out of a limited pool of HUD homeless assistance dollars rather than with a sustained increase in HUD housing dollars means that the program only meets a small fraction of the need. This decision has also led many local communities to change their homeless programs and reduce vital emergency services to families and unaccompanied youth in order to comply with HUD priorities. Furthermore, communities that cannot afford to build new housing at any reasonable scale with the limited dollars available are leasing hotel or apartment units from for-profit landlords, a short-term use of scant

- resources that does nothing to address the overall lack of permanent affordable housing. When "supportive housing" is the only type of housing being discussed as a solution to mass homelessness, it reinforces the stereotype that "regular" affordable housing is not what the majority of people experiencing homelessness are lacking, but that they need "supportive" housing because they are dysfunctional. It also provides public relations opportunities for government officials, who point to their small investments in supportive housing initiatives without acknowledging the decades-long divestment in other subsidized housing. The approximately 95,000 supportive housing units created since the late-1980s pale in comparison to the hundreds of thousands of Section 8 and public housing units lost over the same period.
- lv. <https://wraphome.org//wp-content/uploads/2010/10/Without-Housing.pdf>
  - lvi. Saez, E., & Zucman, G. (2014). Wealth inequality in the United States since 1913: Evidence from capitalized income tax data. Working Paper Series, 20625(20625).
  - lvii. <https://www.census.gov/construction/nrs/pdf/uspricemon.pdf>
  - lviii. Rothwell, D., Ottusch, T., & Finders, J. (2019). Asset poverty among children: A cross-national study of poverty risk. Children & Youth Services Review, 96.
  - lix. [https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/harvard\\_jchs\\_state\\_of\\_the\\_nations\\_housing\\_2017\\_chap1.pdf](https://www.jchs.harvard.edu/sites/default/files/harvard_jchs_state_of_the_nations_housing_2017_chap1.pdf)
  - lx. [https://wp.zillowstatic.com/3/Inflection\\_Points\\_20181213-ee1463.pdf](https://wp.zillowstatic.com/3/Inflection_Points_20181213-ee1463.pdf)
  - lx. Mogk, J., Shmigol, V., Futrell, M., Stover, B., & Hagopian, A. (2019). Court-imposed fines as a feature of the homelessness-incarceration nexus: A cross-sectional study of the relationship between legal debt and duration of homelessness in Seattle, Washington, USA. Journal of Public Health (oxford, England), 2019 Jun 04. doi:10.1093/pubmed/fdz062
  - lxii. <https://www.rentjungle.com/average-rent-in-greensboro-rent-trends/>
  - lxiii. This calculation utilizes HUD's definition of affordability, which says that individuals and families should not spend more than 30% of their income on rent or mortgage payments. Exceeding this threshold makes a person "housing insecure" - meaning that one unexpected financial cost such as a medical emergency or the loss of a job could result in an eviction or homelessness.
  - lxiv. Average length of homelessness as reported per fiscal year: 2014-2015: 69 days, 2015-2016: 82 days, 2016-2017: 84 days, 2017-2018: 87 days. Information provided by the Guilford County Homeless Information Management Coordinator.
  - lxv. [https://economicrt.org/publication/where-we-sleep/where\\_we\\_sleep\\_2009/](https://economicrt.org/publication/where-we-sleep/where_we_sleep_2009/)
  - lxvi. <https://economicrt.org/publication/where-we-sleep/>
  - lxvii. This option includes plastic mats made from disposable plastic bags laid out in a room for dozens of people seeking shelter.
  - lxviii. As of the most recent Voucher Management System report, Greensboro Housing Authority manages 4,712 active Housing Choice Vouchers. The following is a summary of the types of vouchers managed and the monthly costs of each.

	Standard	Homeowner-ship	Family Unification	Tenant Protection	Ported Out	VASH	Non-Elderly Disabled
Number of Vouchers	\$2,169	\$66	\$101	\$117	\$33	\$73	\$350
Monthly Cost per Voucher	\$466	\$399	\$585	\$411	\$461	\$356	\$406
Monthly Cost	\$1,011,205	\$26,347	\$59,083	\$48,130	\$15,207	\$25,988	\$142,083

<https://affordablehousingonline.com/housing-authority/North-Carolina/Greensboro-Housing-Autohty/NC011>

## Notes for chapter 5

- lxix. Storper, M., & Scott, A. J. (2009). Rethinking human capital, creativity and urban growth. Journal of Economic Geography, 9, 147-167.
- lxx. Florida, R., Adler, P., & Mellander, C. (2017). The city as innovation machine. Regional Studies, 51(1), 86-96.
- lxxi. Mitchell, D. (2003). The right to the city: Social justice and the fight for public space. New York: The Guilford Press.

## Notes for chapter 6

- lxxii. "ESG" means Emergency Service Grants, the most common source of HUD funding for emergency services.
- lxxiii. NC State Law §160A-80. Power of investigation; subpoena power. (a) The council shall have power to investigate the affairs of the city, and for that purpose may subpoena witnesses, administer oaths, and compel the production of evidence. (b) If a person fails or refuses to obey a subpoena issued pursuant to this section, the council may apply to the General Court of Justice for an order requiring that its order be obeyed, and the court shall have jurisdiction to issue these orders after notice to all proper parties...
- lxxiv. See Chapter on the Criminalization of Homelessness.
- lxxv. Service providers can play an invaluable role in training police. More importantly, though, alternatives to relying on police must be invested in. (See recommendations listed below under Point 8)

lxxvi. Under current state law (§132-1.4A.) police body camera recordings are not considered a public document which undermines the purpose of body camera footage. Furthermore, members of Greensboro's Criminal Justice Advisory Commission or Police Citizen's Review Board are currently sworn to secrecy by a confidentiality agreement which undermines the purpose of a Citizen's Review Board. Independent citizen-led initiatives that have the power to influence policy and make disciplinary and hiring decisions have proven to be some of the most effective tools to improve police department behavior.

[https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/nacole/pages/111/attachments/original/1458086717/13an1\\_rpt.pdf](https://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/nacole/pages/111/attachments/original/1458086717/13an1_rpt.pdf)

lxxvii. Available at: [opendatapolicing.com](http://opendatapolicing.com)

lxxviii. See:

- [https://endhomelessness.atavist.com/mayorsreport2016fbclid=IwAR15UpLYK\\_NHRvs7OHyIQ9Sb2XWVesqtts\\_FemtiuBtUp3u1uRPZzILcCM8](https://endhomelessness.atavist.com/mayorsreport2016fbclid=IwAR15UpLYK_NHRvs7OHyIQ9Sb2XWVesqtts_FemtiuBtUp3u1uRPZzILcCM8)
- [https://endhomelessness.org/homelessness-in-america/what-causes-homelessness/?fbclid=IwAR15UpLYK\\_NHRvs7OHyIQ9Sb2XWVesqtts\\_FemtiuBtUp3u1uRPZzILcCM8](https://endhomelessness.org/homelessness-in-america/what-causes-homelessness/?fbclid=IwAR15UpLYK_NHRvs7OHyIQ9Sb2XWVesqtts_FemtiuBtUp3u1uRPZzILcCM8)

lxxix. See:

[https://economicrt.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Where\\_We\\_Sleep\\_2009.pdf](https://economicrt.org/wp-content/uploads/2009/11/Where_We_Sleep_2009.pdf)

<https://endhomelessness.org/study-data-show-that-housing-chronically-homeless-people-saves-money-lives>

lxxx. This includes CDBG funds, Economic Opportunity Zone, Housing Trust Fund, Low-Income Housing Tax Credits, etc. Furthermore, local government could explore Social Impact Bonds for housing.

lxxxi. This includes prioritizing the remediation of health risks (lead paint, asthma triggers, etc.)

lxxxii. Local government should also advocate for legislative change to allow for greater flexibility and enforcement powers regarding housing code inspections - e.g. G.S. §153A-364 which prohibits municipalities from requiring landlords to obtain a Certificate of Occupancy before renting to tenants.

lxxxiii. Clear any roadblocks for building multi-family low-income housing units, allow secondary units in single family zones and encourage the development of shared housing or clustered housing units.

lxxxiv. GHA is set to convert all of its public housing stock into "mixed income developments" through HUD's Rental Assistance Demonstration Program. The end result will be less overall low-income units and displacement of many residents. There are tools to help residents, however. Find out more here:

<https://www.nhlp.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/01/Things-to-Know-About-Your-Local-RAD-Conversion-FINAL.pdf>

lxxxv. Here is the status of investments made according to the City of Greensboro's Bond Tracker website, updated March 31, 2019:

<http://greensboro.maps.arcgis.com/apps/opsdashboard/index.html#/ef71cf87ef134d969be9e15d32467bda>

Budget	Spent	Obligated	Remaining
<b>Code Compliance Repair Initiative Revolving Loan Fund</b>			
\$3 million	\$0	\$0	\$3 million
<b>East Greensboro Housing Development Fund - Revolving Load Fund</b>			
\$4 million	\$159,800	\$540,200	\$3.3 million
<b>Handicapped Accessibility Improvements</b>			
\$1 million	\$0	\$0	\$1 million
<b>Supportive Housing Units for Homeless/Disabled Veterans</b>			
\$2 million	\$0	\$0	\$2 million
<b>Nonprofit Homebuyer Lending Revolving Load Fund</b>			
\$1 million	\$0	\$0	\$1 million
<b>Emergency Repair Programs</b>			
\$1.5 million	\$124,946	\$54	\$1,375,000 million
<b>Multifamily Affordable Housing Development</b>			
The following projects have been contracted (none of which include 0-30% AMI housing):			
Printworks lofts (217 units), Ryan Ridge (60 units), Elmsley Trail (60 units)			
\$3 million	\$1,547,667	\$532,333	\$920000 million
<b>Homeowner Rehabilitation</b>			
\$1.5 million	\$0	\$0	\$1.5 million
<b>Workforce Housing Initiative</b>			
\$8 million	\$1,117,931	\$0	\$6,882,069 million

lxxxvi. See: <https://www.huduser.gov/portal/datasets/il/il18/Medians-Methodology-FY18r.pdf>

lxxxvii. For more Information:

<https://triad-city-beat.com/developer-city-cite-differing-rents-subsidized-affordable-units/>

<https://www.rentcafe.com/average-rent-market-trends/us/nc/greensboro/>

lxxxviii. <https://www.renjungle.com/average-rent-in-greensboro-rent-trends/>

lxxxix. This calculation utilizes HUD's definition of affordability, which says that individuals and families should not spend more than 30% of their income on rent or mortgage payments. Exceeding this threshold makes a person "housing insecure" -

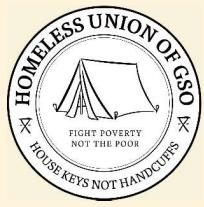
- meaning that one unexpected financial cost such as a medical emergency or the loss of a job could result in an eviction or homelessness.
- xc. §95-25.3. Minimum wage.
  - xi. The U.E. Local 150 Public Workers Union and IAFF 947 Professional Firefighters of Greensboro have produced a compensation study for the city of Greensboro which includes a fair step-plan for city workers.  
<https://www.pffg.org/compensation-study>
  - xii. These are positions which people experiencing homelessness often fill. Day Labor companies are notorious for paying substandard wages and charging unreasonable fees to employees.
  - xiii. Many other cities have invested in low-barrier day works programs to employ people experiencing homelessness. Greensboro could invest in a similar program and should commit to starting employees out with living wages and transitioning people into full time work as soon as possible. Denver's Day Works program is documented success:  
<https://denver.cbslocal.com/2019/05/23/denver-day-works-homeless-jobs/>
  - xiv. The Greensboro Business League has done significant work identifying ways in which local government can more fairly hire minority owned companies:  
<https://yesweekly.com/spotlight-greensboro-business-league/>
  - xv. [https://www.acluofnorthcarolina.org/sites/default/files/field\\_documents/aclu\\_nc\\_2019\\_fines\\_and\\_fees\\_report\\_17\\_singles\\_final.pdf](https://www.acluofnorthcarolina.org/sites/default/files/field_documents/aclu_nc_2019_fines_and_fees_report_17_singles_final.pdf)
  - xvi. <https://www.acluofnorthcarolina.org/en/press-releases/aclu-report-court-fines-and-fees-prey-low-income-north-carolinians>
  - xvii. <https://www.bjs.gov/content/pub/pdf/ji16.pdf>
  - xviii. §15A-534. Procedure for determining conditions of pretrial release.
  - xix. <https://www.charlotteobserver.com/news/state/north-carolina/article224673805.html>
    - c. <https://www.njcourts.gov/courts/assets/criminal/2017cjannual.pdf>
    - ci. [https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract\\_id=3335138](https://papers.ssrn.com/sol3/papers.cfm?abstract_id=3335138)
    - ci. <https://evictionlab.org/rankings/#/evictions?r=United%20States&a=0&d=evictionRate&lang=en>
    - ci. <https://chcs.uncg.edu/wp-content/uploads/2018/04/Greensboro-Eviction-Brief.pdf>
  - civ. The average back rent owed was \$998.52 (2016). Additionally, landlords pay fees for padlocking doors and court fees. Landlords also lose months of rent as they "flip" the unit for future tenants. One landlord reported losses of nearly \$4,000 from each eviction. These costs are generally passed down to tenants.
  - cv. In NYC, after one year of implementation, 84% of tenants w/ representation were able to remain in their homes.  
<https://www1.nyc.gov/assets/hra/downloads/pdf/services/civiljustice/OCJ-UA-2018-Report.pdf>
  - cvi. This regulation regards all grant recipients under Emergency Service Grants (ESG) funding, but this is really a best practice for all homeless service providers regardless of funding source.  
<http://hsh.sfgov.org/wp-content/uploads/2018/08/Shelter-Grievance-Policy-Final-8-25-16-4.pdf>
  - cvi. The National Healthcare for the Homeless Council has a good manual on how to establish and facilitate consumer advisory boards:  
[https://nhchc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/NCAB\\_Manual-rev-Jan10.pdf](https://nhchc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/NCAB_Manual-rev-Jan10.pdf)
  - cix. <http://citylab.com/design/2012/01/why-portlands-public-toilets-succeeded-where-others-failed/1020/>
  - cx. The Electronic Privacy Information Center was amongst the many groups who raised concerns about privacy rights of individuals using the HMIS system:  
<https://epic.org/privacy/poverty/hmiscomments.html>
  - cxi. Some examples of successful models include:  
CAHOOTS (Crisis Assistance Helping Out On The Streets - Eugene, OR) <https://whitebirdclinic.org/cahoots/>  
and PROJECT RESPOND (Multnomah County, OR) [https://www.portlandoregon.gov/inr\\_view.cfm?id=915](https://www.portlandoregon.gov/inr_view.cfm?id=915)
  - cxii. <https://nhchc.org/wp-content/uploads/2019/08/encampment-statement-finalized.pdf>
  - cxiii. There are numerous models of Homeless Bill of Rights legislation across the country. One exemplary policy is Duluth Minnesota's Police Protocol Policy 431: Interactions with Persons Experiencing Homelessness which outlines appropriate behavior for police personnel when interacting with individuals experiencing homelessness and protects citizen's rights.  
<https://duluthmn.gov/media/7634/dpd-policy-manual.pdf>





UNC  
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Department of  
Community and  
Therapeutic Recreation



**GUILFORD**  
COLLEGE

CENTER for PRINCIPLED  
PROBLEM SOLVING and  
EXCELLENCE in TEACHING