WESTERN REGIONAL ADVOCACY PROJECT

WITHOUT HOUSING

DECADES OF FEDERAL HOUSING CUTBACKS & MASSIVE HOMELESSNESS

&

A HOMELESS BILL OF RIGHTS CAMPAIGN

May 2020

Artwork by Ronnie Goodman

www.wraphome.org
Member Organizations

Coalition on Homelessness
San Francisco, CA  
www.cohsf.org/en/

Sacramento Homeless Organizing Committee
Sacramento, CA  
www.sacshoc.org

Denver Homeless Out Loud
Denver, CO  
www.denverhomelessoutloud.org

St. Mary’s Center
Oakland, CA  
www.stmaryscenter.org

Los Angeles Community Action Network
Los Angeles, CA  
www.cangress.org

Sisters Of The Road
Portland, OR  
www.sistersoftheroad.org

Right 2 Survive PDX
Portland, OR  
www.right2survive.wordpress.com
Overview

1. Historical Context
2. Political & Economic Factors
3. Cuts to Low-Income Housing Programs
4. Criminalization of Homelessness
5. Band-Aid Solutions
6. Federal Funding Priorities
7. What *must* be done!
A Tale of Two Acts

Over the last century there have been two episodes of mass homelessness in the United States. Legislation from each era tells the story...
Act I

• The Housing Act of 1937 committed:
  “to remedy the unsafe & unsanitary housing conditions & the acute shortage of decent, safe, & sanitary dwellings for families of lower income...”

Artist: Claire Leighton
Act II

- The Quality Housing & Work Responsibility Act of 1998 declared:
  “the Federal Government cannot through its direct action alone provide housing of every American, or even the majority of its citizens.”

Artist: Eric Drooker
Housing As Commodity

- Feds turn housing over to private market in the 1970s.

- 1995 - 2011: HUD dismantled 290,588 units of public housing and 360,000 Section 8 units. A total of 650,588 units lost. In March 2012, another 7,107 units were approved for demolition/disposition.

- 2011 - 2018: The stock of public housing fell by 144,000 units, an average of over 20,500 units per year.

- Over 5 million foreclosures from 2008 - 2014.

- 13 million vacant housing units in 2013.
Rural Housing Cuts

USDA built 38,650 affordable housing units in 1979 & only 763 in 2011 — in 2012 & 2013 the number is 0.

Rural Affordable Housing Units Created by Section 515 (USDA)
Starving Public Housing

- Over 260,000 units lost through sales, demolition, & HOPE VI program.
- $26 billion in repairs needed due to ongoing capital fund cuts.
- HUD now says only private investment can save public housing.
- New demonstration (RAD) allows 60,000 units to be mortgaged off.
- Nation’s most permanent form of low-income housing is being lost.
Cause and Effect

HUD’s budget authority was cut by 77% from 1978 to 1983. Since 1983 Laws Criminalizing Homelessness tripled (Calif).
Comparison of Federal Funding Priorities

2013 Dollars (in Billions)

- **2 Virginia Class Attack Submarines**: $4.25
- **All Homeless Assistance Grants**: $1.73
- **29 F-35 Fighters (Joint Strike Fighter)**: $9.17
- **All Public Housing Operating Fund**: $4.06
- **4 Littoral Combat Ship (LCS)**: $2.24
- **All Public Housing Capital Fund**: $2.18

**Inventory**:
- 10 in Inventory
- 100 in Inventory
- 8 in Inventory
Mortgage Interest Deductions

- Federal Tax Expenditures on Home Ownership
- HUD Low/Moderate-Income Housing Assistance

* Includes stimulus funding under the American Reinvestment and Recovery Act.
Mortgage Interest Deductions

- Federal Tax Expenditures on Home Ownership
- HUD Low/Moderate-Income Housing Assistance

*NOT 2004 Constant Dollars in Millions

- $0
- $20,000
- $40,000
- $60,000
- $80,000
- $100,000
- $120,000
- $140,000


WESTERN REGIONAL ADVOCACY PROJECT: WITHOUT HOUSING
The Vicious Cycle of Homeless Policy

- Temporary responses to homelessness that fail to address the systemic causes of homelessness.
- Increased homelessness.
- Stereotypes of homeless people as degenerate.
- Periodic calls for local homeless plans based on the newest policy.
- Premise that homelessness is caused by the deficiencies of homeless people.
- Ever-changing policies geared toward fixing different sub-populations of homeless people.
## Race & Homelessness

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Race/Ethnicity</th>
<th>Estimated % of nation’s total population (from US Census Data 2010)</th>
<th>Estimated % of nation’s homeless population (homeless counts/surveys between 1991 and 2009)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>African-American</td>
<td>12.6%</td>
<td>40-56%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Asian/Pacific Islander</td>
<td>4.8% - 0.2%</td>
<td>1-3% - 1%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hispanic/Latino</td>
<td>16.3%</td>
<td>12-15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Native American</td>
<td>0.9%</td>
<td>3-4%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>White</td>
<td>72.4%</td>
<td>32-39%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Criminalization of Homelessness / Poverty

At the heart of our Civil Rights work is outreach to homeless and poor people that documents their experiences with local police and private security. We have recently surveyed 1,657 people in five states and twelve cities. There can be no denying that “Broken Windows,” “Quality of Life,” “Civil Sidewalks,” and “Safer Cities” initiatives are anything less than a reincarnation of “Ugly Laws,” “Anti-Okie laws,” “Sundown Towns,” “Bracero Treaty” and “Jim Crow” when you hear directly the voices of those who are the targets of today’s campaigns.

The main “illegal offenses” that homeless people are being targeted with:

- **82%** for sleeping, with **51%** of these people cited and **31%** arrested
- **77%** for sitting or lying down, with **44%** of these people cited and **26%** arrested
- **75%** for loitering or hanging out, with **43%** of these people cited and **26%** arrested

Do you know of places where it is safe and legal for you to sleep outside?
* **74%** No
* **26%** Yes
Historical Criminalization

The United States has a long history of using mean-spirited and often brutal laws to keep “certain” people out of public consciousness. Jim Crow, Sundown towns and Anti-Okie laws, Operation Wetback and Ugly laws - they all targeted various populations based on their racial, economic, social, immigration or disability status. Understanding this history is important. Today’s exclusionary and discriminatory laws target homeless people; they criminalize sleeping, sitting, loitering, panhandling and even food-sharing in public spaces. Just like the laws from our past, they deny people their right to exist in local communities.
Our Right to Rest Act (#Right2Rest) in Oregon, California & Colorado proposes legislation that protects the following rights and prohibits the enforcement of any local laws that violate these rights:

- Right to move freely, rest, sleep and be protected in public space without discrimination.
- Right to rest in public spaces and protect oneself from the elements in a non-obstructive manner.
- Right to occupy a legally parked vehicle.
- Right to share food and eat in public.

Artists: Art Hazelwood, Ronnie Goodman
Laws that segregate, that make criminals of people based on their status rather than their behavior, are not just sad relics from history. Our HBR campaign stands on the shoulders of social justice campaigns of the past. It seeks to provide a framework for communities to protect the following rights and prohibit the enforcement of local laws that violate these rights:

1. Right to move freely, rest, sleep and be protected in public spaces without discrimination.
2. Right to occupy a legally parked vehicle.
3. Right to share food and eat in public.
4. Right to legal counsel if being prosecuted.
5. Right to 24-hour access to “hygiene facilities.”
6. Require judges consider necessity defense when hearing homeless related cases.
Organize Around People

- Build alliances across race, nationality, class, gender, & religion.
- Connect organizing for housing to education, health care, dignified work, immigrant rights, Native People’s sovereignty, & economic security.
- Value mutual humanity.

Artist: Art Hazelwood
Download Without Housing
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www.wraphome.org