

Lubbock Disparity Report

How Old Lubbock's Future is Being Stolen and What to Do About It

Version 2



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

by
Lubbock Compact
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1.0 Introduction

Old Lubbock, the Lubbock inside of Loop 289, is trapped in decline despite having excellent connectivity and resilient infrastructure based on a simple, but elegant, grid system. This decline is not because of inherent economic flaws, but because Lubbock's policy orientation is currently shaped to cause its descent.

The rapid expansion of South and West Lubbock, much of it enabled by the infrastructure investments into Milwaukee Avenue, give the illusion of a thriving city. Instead, what has occurred over time is the pooling of resources and wealth into one concentrated area of Lubbock. The city's grid-design was previously able to handle this disparity, but is no longer equipped for the massive income and resource gap.

This process of resource aggregation has left behind a city more stratified by socio-economic status than it has ever been. While the main roads of Old Lubbock, 34th and 50th Street, once served a broad range of Lubbock citizens across income levels, their customer bases have now become separated by income.

Old Lubbock's decline is directly tied to the pooling of wealth, both of private citizens and public resources, outside of Loop 289. Without a single public vote, the City of Lubbock spurred this rapid development by utilizing over \$124 million raised through a regressive tax¹ on citizens. That total is larger than the \$99.6 million bond election for infrastructure Lubbock County recently passed through the traditional democratic process of citizen voting.²

Citizens of Lubbock inside Loop 289 were forced to finance the creation of new neighborhoods that share little in common with the rest of the city. Ultimately, there is a noticeable difference between the household incomes of Old Lubbock and these new neighborhoods in South Lubbock. In addition, their children do not attend the same school districts, the homes in the new development area are unaffordable for most citizens of Lubbock, and the job opportunities created by new businesses are not accessible by public transport.

The citizens of Lubbock never had the opportunity to vote for or against this extractive process, yet it is deeply embedded into the economic growth model and political system of the city. Achieving the rapid growth of Lubbock outside Loop 289 has required the continuous extraction of any limited resources available for revitalization. These resources instead feed a growth process that will lose money for the city. As a result, Old Lubbock neighborhoods are also losing population, its schools are closing, its roads are deteriorating, and more residents are experiencing poverty.

What Old Lubbock is currently experiencing is not unique. This issue is common within the urban design community, and the reason why cities across the US have explored ways to right-size³ their communities through de-annexation and transitioning to development strategies that build density and utilize existing infrastructure, often referred to as smart-growth.⁴

¹ See Glossary.

² "ELECTION RESULTS: Lubbock Co. Road Bond Approved, Unofficial Results Released."

³ See Glossary.

⁴ See Glossary.

The reason for this is clear. Newly built suburban subdivisions do not pay for their own weight. Strong Towns,⁵ a well-regarded urban design group, puts the general estimate for new suburban subdivisions as being able to finance only 20% of their long-term costs. The cost of infrastructure (roadways, utilities, wastewater, etc.) continue to increase at a rate faster than inflation or cities revenues do. The outcome of this reckless growth is a negative city balance sheet which causes either higher taxes or cuts in city services for all.

What is even worse in the case of Lubbock, is that its citizens are actively being compelled to pay for this collapse. Projections from Lubbock's 2040 Land Use Plan estimate another 25,000 units of new housing will be built through this extractive process by 2030.⁶ If the trends discussed below continue, Old Lubbock in 2040 will consist of gutted out neighborhoods, untouchable slumlords, and a failed school district. The evidence for this is already here, as will be shown through various means.

How can this be happening in Lubbock? Simply put, it is because the city intentionally avoids conducting the necessary financial analyses that show where resources come from and where they go. There is no accounting of how much a neighborhood gives versus receives in services, and that is by design.

Why does Lubbock not conduct these analyses like other cities do? The answer to that question is complex and requires a level of understanding of Lubbock's history and of the political power structure here that determines Lubbock's most important decisions behind closed doors.

The following report seeks to illustrate how the city's power brokers and complicit partners have led to disparities between many of the established neighborhoods in Old Lubbock and those in new developments. It encourages Lubbock policymakers and citizens to act now to initiate smart-growth strategies and refocus attention on revitalization. It is an optimistic document that provides a cost-effective pathway for transformational change, but first a thorough discussion of how Lubbock developed is necessary.

While some continued expansion may still be needed to accommodate population growth, it must be done judiciously and prudently and benefit, rather than burden, already existing neighborhoods. This report will also present recommendations for how this can be accomplished.

1.1 Quantifying Disparity

The City has never investigated or accounted for the true cost of its rapid southwest growth.

While economic stagnation in Old Lubbock is evident, it is currently impossible to quantify the imposed costs of Lubbock's relentless expansion strategy on to the neighborhoods and citizens of Old Lubbock because the City has never conducted two commonly used tools to determine the cost and benefits of growth:

- I. A comprehensive fiscal impact analysis which includes both operational and maintenance and capital debit service costs that can be used to determine current disparities and set new developments as budget neutral.

5 "Strong Towns."

6 Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 137."

II. A scenario-based fiscal impact analysis comparing the city's current growth strategy vs smart-growth oriented approaches focused on infill in old neighborhoods versus new subdivision development.

The cost of these analyses is not prohibitive, the only city policy that addresses this is the 2040 Plan, adopted on December 17th of 2018, that includes in the implementation matrix under goal F: "Pursue a comprehensive fiscal impact analysis of existing development patterns to inform future growth policies."⁷

Despite the essential nature of this study to quantify disparity, the city gave itself a deadline of 5 years to conduct it—approximately half the time projected for the city to expand another 25,000 housing units, far too long to be useful for changing the current trajectory.

2.0 Race and Old Lubbock

Neighborhood inequity, resource extraction, and systemic racism are embedded into city policies and land use plans governing neighborhoods of color in East and North Lubbock.

No part of Old Lubbock has suffered more from extractive policies than historic neighborhoods of color in East and North Lubbock. During the days of Jim Crow and beyond, city leaders in Lubbock enacted policies to ensure that East and North Lubbock were separated and apart from the rest of the city, effectively exploiting them for economic resources. This began in 1923 when Lubbock's mayor signed an ordinance forbidding Black residents from living west of Avenue C (modern-day I-27) and north of 16th Street.⁸ In subsequent years, the city of Lubbock used its zoning power to both segregate neighborhoods of color from White neighborhoods and concentrate toxic industrial uses near majority Black and Hispanic neighborhoods. Job opportunities for Black and Hispanic residents during Jim Crow were limited—residents often worked at industrial facilities for low wages doing hazardous and dangerous work.

ORDINANCE NO. [PENCILED "223"]

An Ordinance prescribing that portion of the City of Lubbock within which negroes and persons of African descent, containing as much as one-eighth negro blood, shall reside, except bona fide servants residing on the place where employed; forbidding persons to sell property outside of such district to negroes or persons containing as much as one eighth negro blood; forbidding the rental of property outside such district to persons containing as much as one-eighth negro blood, providing penalties and declaring an emergency account of negroes living in other districts and causing danger to health and pollution of the atmosphere.

Be it ordained by the City Council [Commission] of the City of Lubbock, Texas.

Section 1.

No negro or persons of African descent or containing as much as one-eighth negro blood shall own property or reside thereon in any part of this city except that part lying South of 16th St. and East of Avenue C, and no person shall rent or lease to any such negro or person of African descent or one containing as much as one-eighth negro blood outside of the territory limits, as above,

Section 2.

Section 1 shall not apply to bona fide servants living on the premises of their employer; provided that such servant or servants shall receive living quarters as a part of their compensation and that such servants shall be employed the major portion of their time by the family or person on whose premises they reside.

Section 3.

Any person violating any part of this Ordinance shall upon conviction, be punished by a fine of not more

than \$200 and each transaction or days residence shall constitute a separate offense.

Section 4.

The fact that negroes and persons of African descent and persons containing as much as one-eighth negro blood are residing in various portions of this city and their residents is dangerous to the health and pollutes the earth and atmosphere, creates an emergency and necessity that the removal of the charter requiring an ordinance to be read at two several meetings be suspended and this ordinance been acted at the meeting of its introduction and effective upon publication.

Approved this "8" day of "March" 1923.

/s/ Percy Spencer

Mayor.
City of Lubbock, Texas.

Attest:

/s/ J. R. Germany

City Secretary
City of Lubbock, Texas.

Approved as to form. R. A. Sowder, City Attorney.

This is a copy of the Ordinance found in the Ordinance File at City Hall, Lubbock.

Lubbock's first land use plan, published in 1943,⁹ surrounded the modern-day Chatman Hill neighborhood with industrial uses and created an industrial buffer zone between Black and White residents to enforce Jim Crow segregation (see the map to the below, industrial and manufacturing uses are highlighted in purple). Page 14 of the plan openly considered race as a factor in recommending not to encourage the growth of the "central business district" in the north or the east sides which were majority Black and Hispanic:

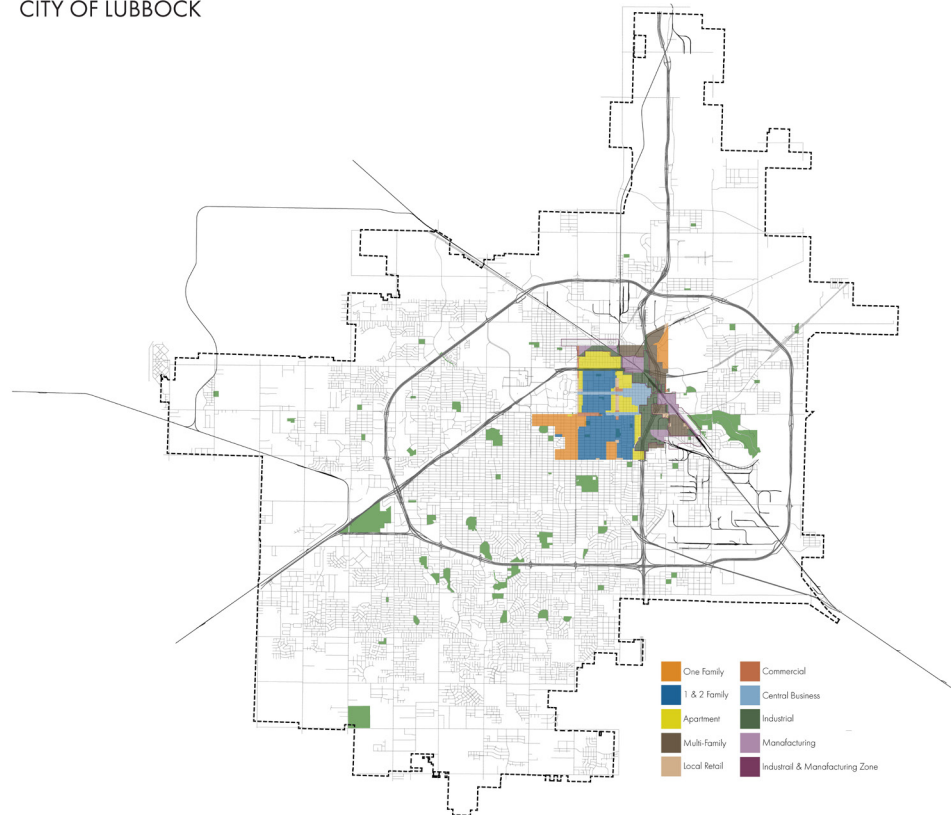
⁸ Foster, "Black Lubbock: A History of Negroes in Lubbock, Texas, to 1940."

⁹ "The City Plan of Lubbock, Texas, 1943."

“The area to the East and to the North of the present business district has been preempted by the Santa Fe Railroad right-of-way tracks and yards. Immediately beyond this industrial area the attendant development is principally for Negro and Mexican families. This [cannot] be considered as desirable potential property for white residential development excepting probably the area on the heights to the East of the Mackenzie State Park. The prospective developments to the East and North, then, under such circumstances could not be expected to encourage the extension of the central business district in those directions.”¹⁰

1943 ZONING MAP

CITY OF LUBBOCK



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

SOURCE: City Plan of Lubbock, 1943

As recounted by Councilman Juan Chadis, Lubbock’s Hispanic population settled to the north of downtown in the area around the modern-day Guadalupe neighborhoods creating their own economy and culture, separated from majority-White neighborhoods by railroad tracks and industrial land uses. Until integration, White-owned businesses in this central business district were off-limits to Lubbock residents of color.

Subsequent land use plans continued these discriminatory practices. The 1959 plan recognized that “[T]he proper environment for a home is a neighborhood free [...] from the noxious odors, sounds and sights of industry [...]”¹¹ Nonetheless, the plan’s land use map recommended expanding industrial uses on the east and

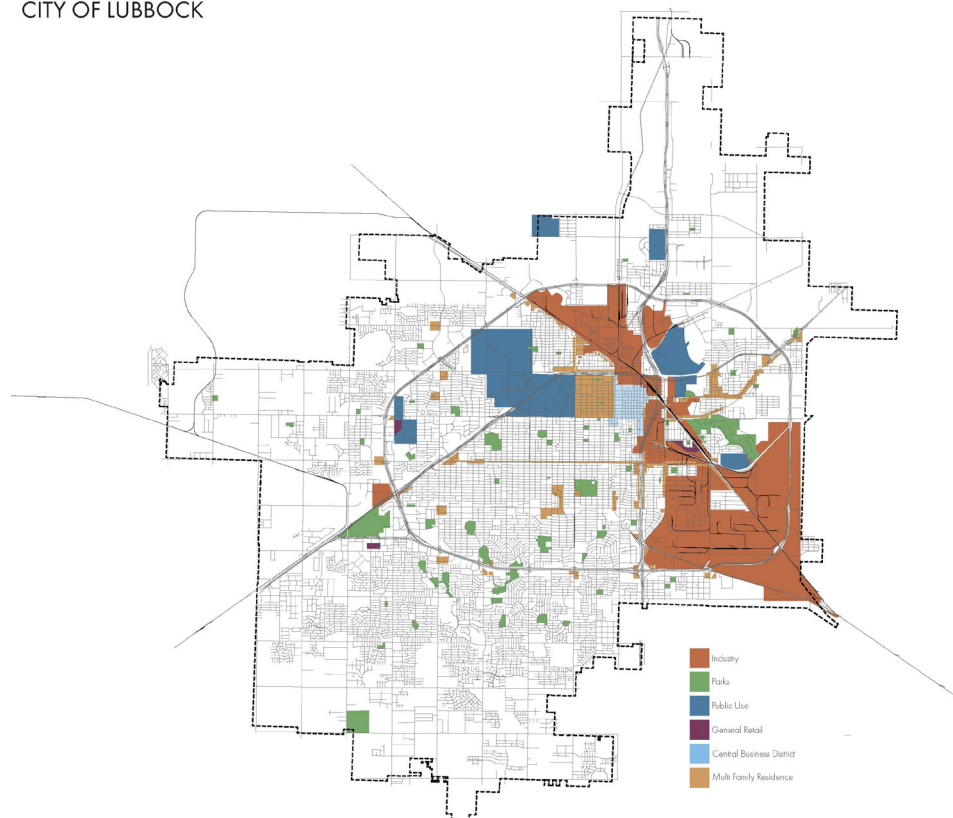
¹⁰ “The City Plan of Lubbock, Texas, 1943.”

¹¹ “The Lubbock Comprehensive Plan Land Use Report.”

north sides. The map below shows the proposed industrial uses in brown.

1959 LAND USE MAP

CITY OF LUBBOCK



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

SOURCE: Lubbock Comprehensive Plan Land Use Report, 1959

At the same time city leaders authored the 1959 plan,¹² they were also in the process of pushing through Urban Renewal,¹³ a federally funded “slum-clearance” program, in the east side. As described by local historian Cosby Morton, the city tore down much of the existing housing and Black-owned businesses existing in East Lubbock.¹⁴ Though the project built back some new homes and apartments, which resulted in the creation of neighborhoods like Dunbar-Manhattan Heights and Yellow House Canyon, many residents and businesses did not come back. Before the Fair Housing Act made housing discrimination illegal¹⁵, the houses built in urban renewal neighborhoods were the only homes in Lubbock that could be purchased by Black Lubbock residents.

The 1986 plan¹⁶ expanded industrial uses around the Parkway-Cherry Point neighborhood in the northeast side. Originally a White neighborhood, Parkway had been spared from industrial uses in previous land use plans. But by 1986, the demographics of the neighborhood had changed to being majority Black and

12 Ibid.

13 Collins and Shester, “Slum Clearance and Urban Renewal in the United States.”

14 Henneberger, “A Friendly City Where the Problems of Race and Equity Go Unacknowledged and Unresolved.”

15 The Fair Housing Act.

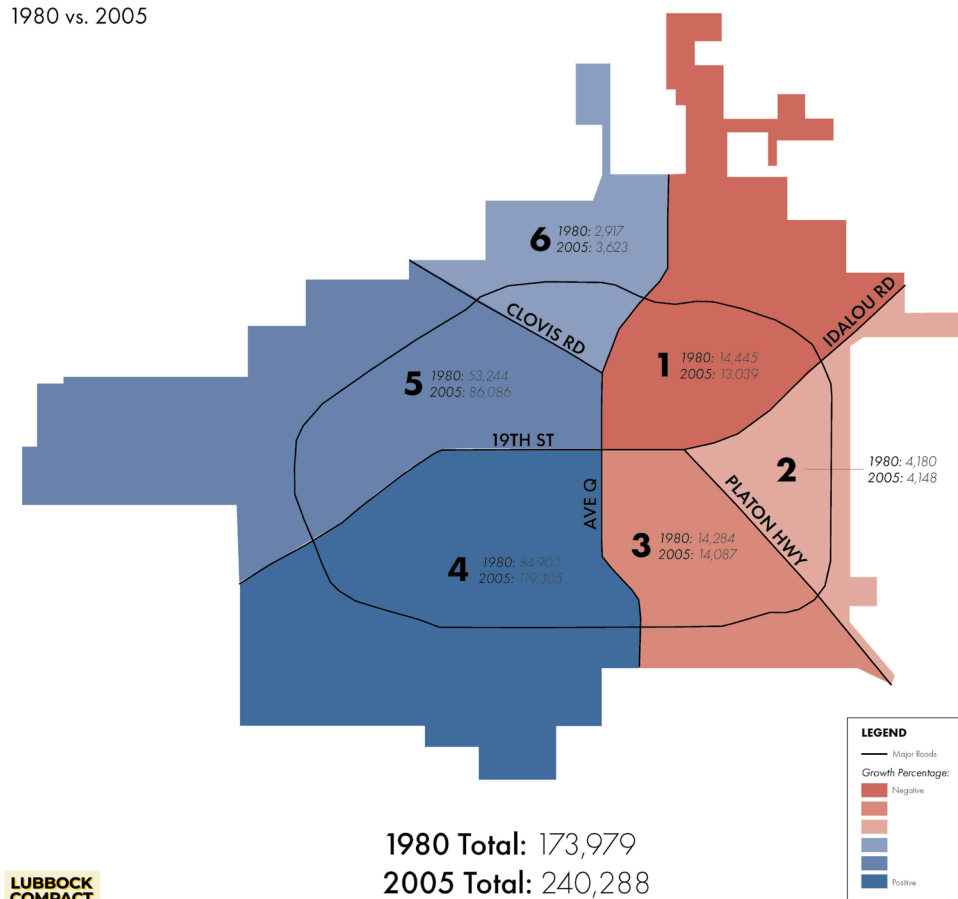
16 “1986 Lubbock Comprehensive Land Use Plan.”

Hispanic. As the demographics changed, so did city land use policy.

Policy makers understood that concentrating industrial growth and limiting residential expansion in East Lubbock would lead to stagnation and population loss. A population study on page 10 of the 1986 Comprehensive Plan¹⁷ estimated that population in sectors east of Avenue Q would decrease or stay the same while predicting massive growth in sectors in the southwest side. Sadly, these policies, along with others mentioned here, made the decline of the east side intentional. It was designed to fail.

POPULATION BY SECTOR

1980 vs. 2005



Plan Lubbock 2040, Lubbock's most recent comprehensive plan,¹⁸ was an opportunity for the city to correct these past injustices and set the stage for revitalization of East and North Lubbock neighborhoods. Starting in 2017, neighborhood associations and other activist groups petitioned the advisory committee and consultant in charge of drafting the plan to start removing industrial zoning that had choked off new growth.¹⁹ Citizens offered comment after comment at city meetings expressing how nearby industrial facilities negatively impacted their neighborhoods including causing asthma, unpleasant smells, oily film on cars and windows, and the proliferation of boll weevils from 10-story tall cotton seed piles.²⁰

¹⁷ "Comprehensive Land Use Plan Policies 1975-1986."

¹⁸ Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan."

¹⁹ Kimble, "Advocacy Groups Say Lubbock's 2040 Land Use Plan Violates the Fair Housing Act."

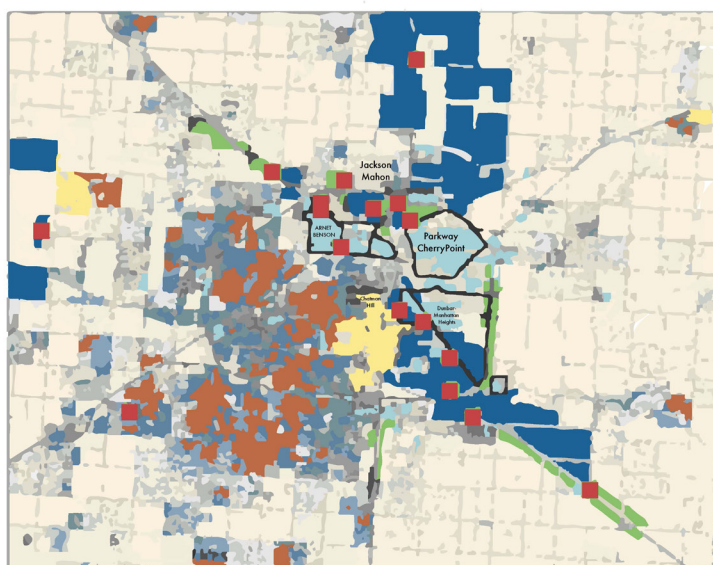
²⁰ Pirtle, "Lubbock's Zoning Has a History of Jim Crow. City Officials Refuse to Reckon with It."

Though residents secured recommendations in the 2040 Plan to end the construction of new industry next to neighborhoods, the city council has so far refused to make changes to downzone noxious industrial uses next to neighborhoods. The Plan Lubbock 2040 land use map left the discriminatory system largely intact.

The map below imposes the 2040 Plan's industrial zoning patterns on top of a racial/ethnicity dot map of Lubbock. The red squares²¹ represent Toxic Release Inventory (TRI) sites—facilities that must annually report their release data to the Environmental Protection Agency because they release harmful chemicals into the air, land, and water. Almost all of Lubbock's TRI sites are near African-American and Hispanic neighborhoods.

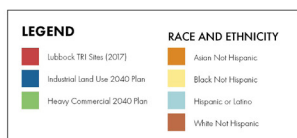
2040 INDUSTRIAL LAND USE ENVIRONMENTAL HAZARDS, AND RACE AND ETHNICITY

CITY OF LUBBOCK



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

SOURCE: Lubbock Comprehensive Plan Land Use Report, 1959



Recommendation K on Page 224 of the 2040 Plan²² recommends formally initiating and funding a Neighborhood Planning Program prioritizing the neighborhoods in East and North Lubbock. The Neighborhood Planning Program is the first step to revitalizing these neighborhoods. Aside from funding the planning segment, the council must also allocate funds to carry out any recommendations created. So far, the council has yet to commit any funds to this critical project.

²¹ Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 176."

²² Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 224."

2.1 Neighborhood Inequities

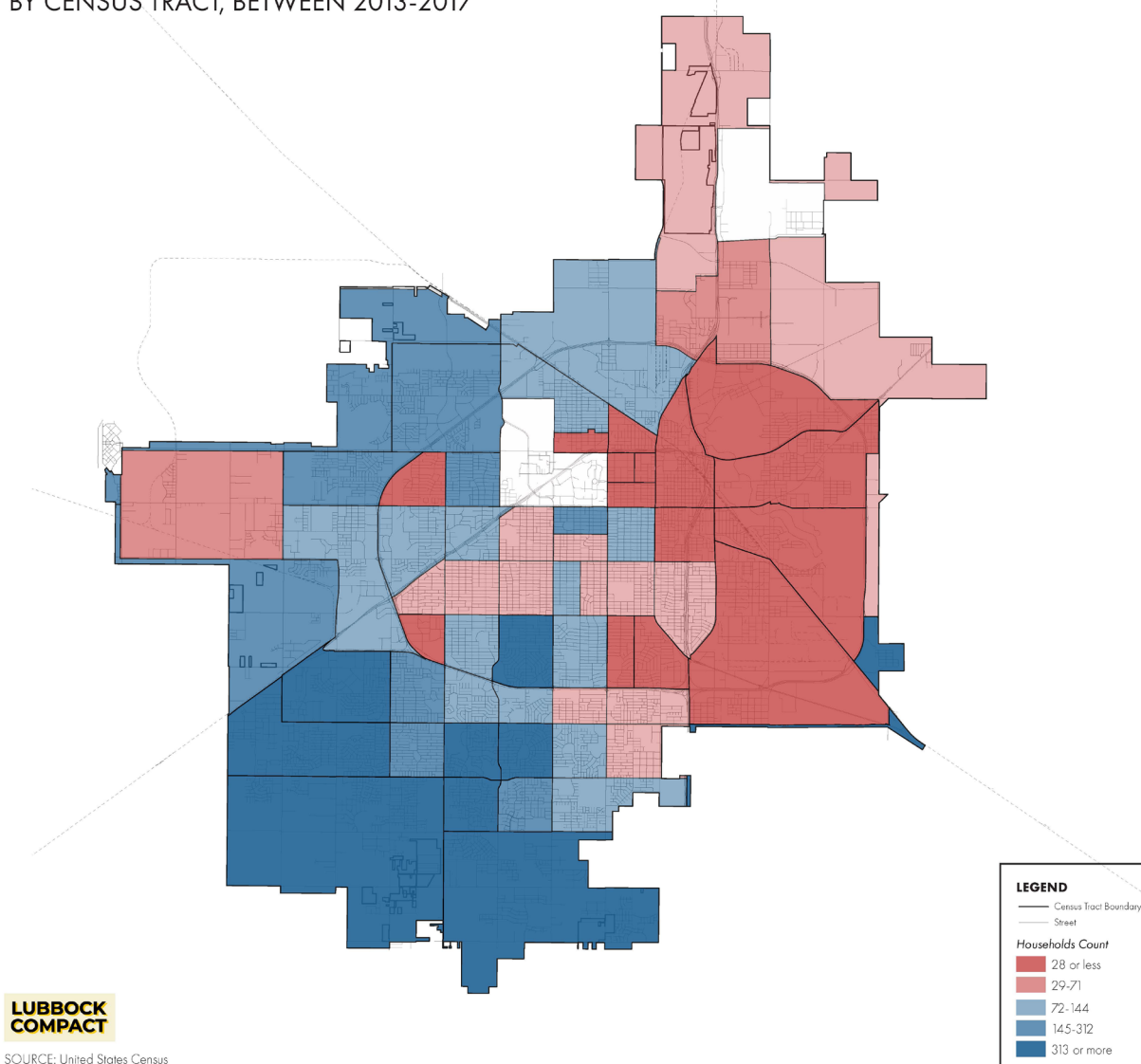
2.1.1 Destruction of Minority Neighborhoods

Lubbock's policy orientation has indicated the eventual decline of minority neighborhoods. The regressive tax gateway projects made this a reality for all Old Lubbock by enabling and accelerating the migration of affluent families escaping from LISD.

This is most easily displayed through maps tracking affluent Lubbock household migration outside of Lubbock Independent School District's boundaries. This is also seen in LISD's stagnant/declining enrollment numbers over the decade,²³ whereas the adjacent Frenship and Lubbock-Cooper have consistently ranked in the top 10 and occasionally top 5 fastest growing in the state during that time.

HOUSEHOLDS WITH INCOMES > \$150,000 PER YEAR

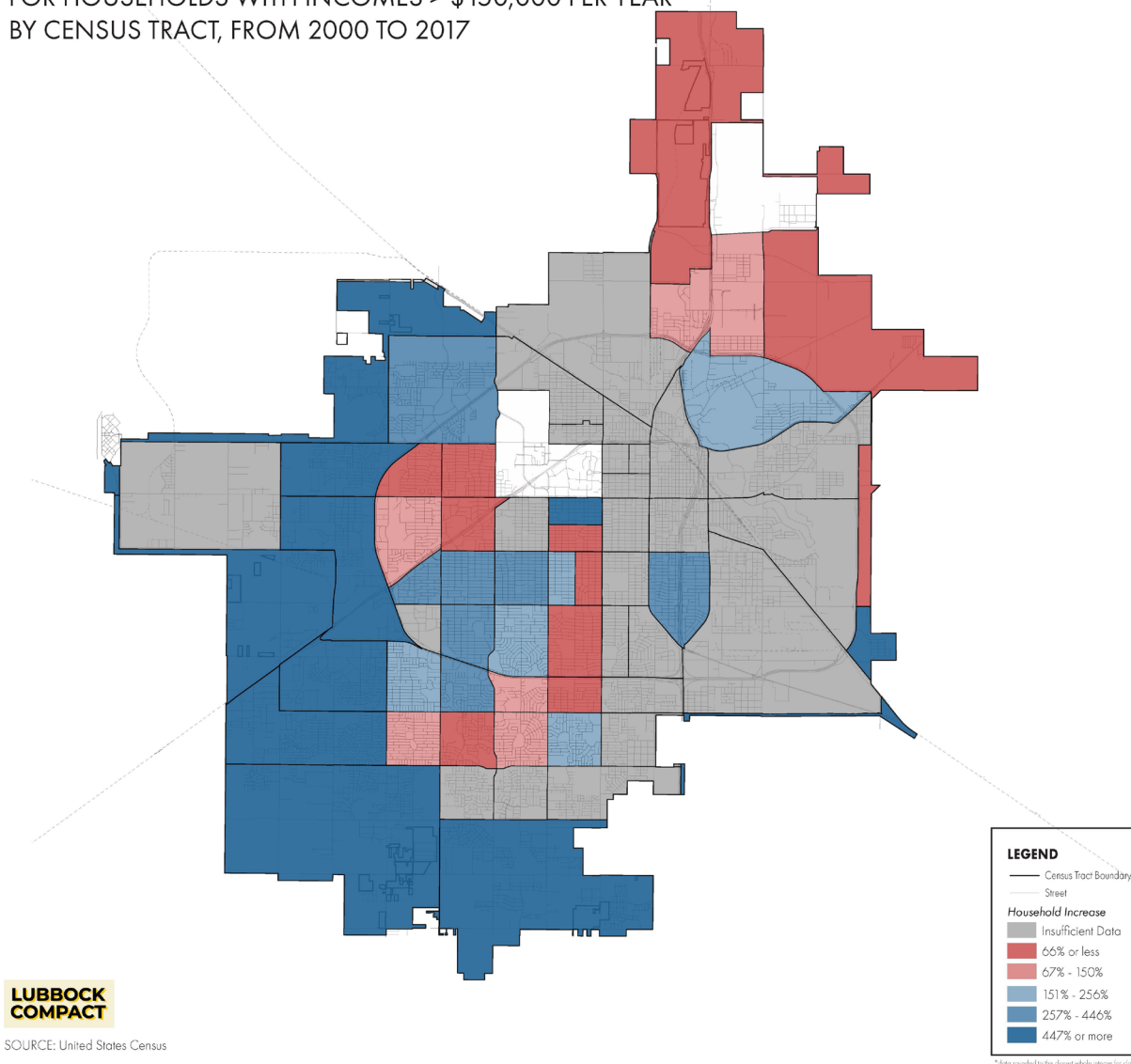
BY CENSUS TRACT, BETWEEN 2013-2017



Add estimates of how these numbers have changed since the completion of the major Southwest Lubbock infrastructure projects and the general trend of migration is clear.

HOUSEHOLD INCOME PERCENT CHANGE

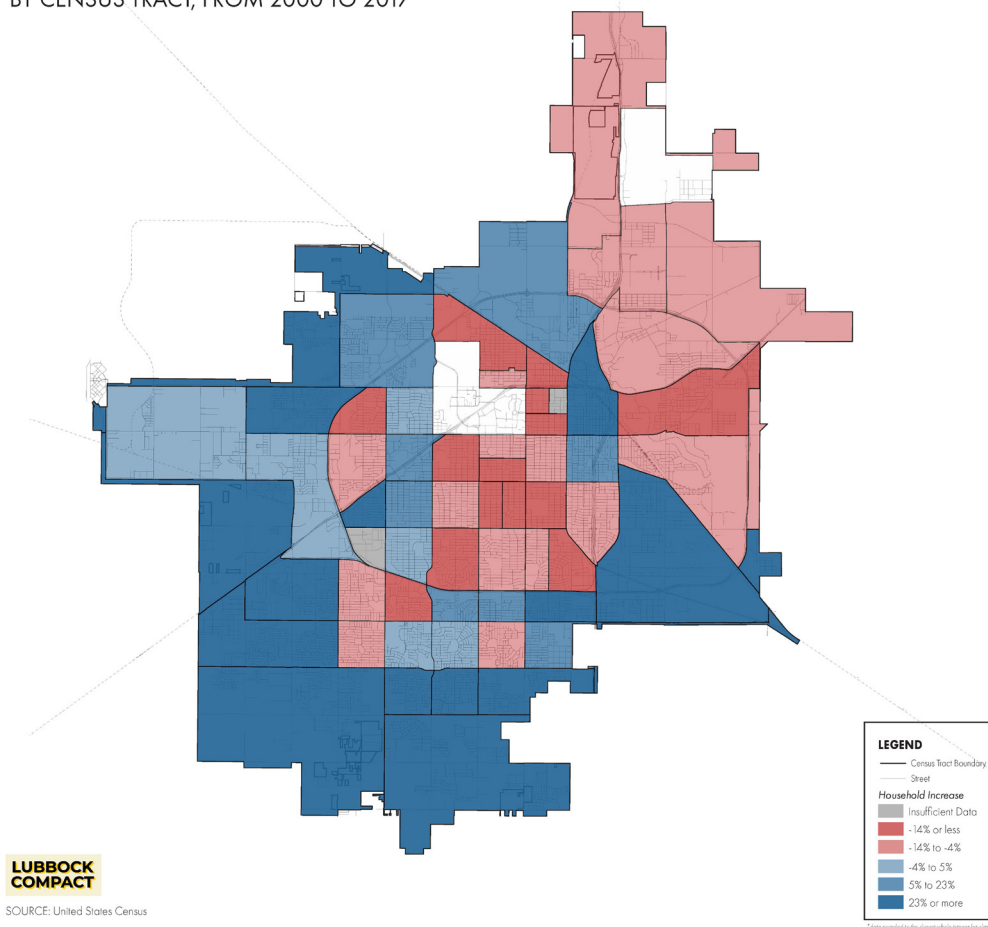
FOR HOUSEHOLDS WITH INCOMES > \$150,000 PER YEAR
BY CENSUS TRACT, FROM 2000 TO 2017



As the more affluent residents migrated, the overall demographics of those neighborhoods shifted significantly. The households that moved either retained their old homes as rental properties or sold them to individuals looking to do so.

HOMEOWNER PERCENT CHANGE

BY CENSUS TRACT, FROM 2000 TO 2017

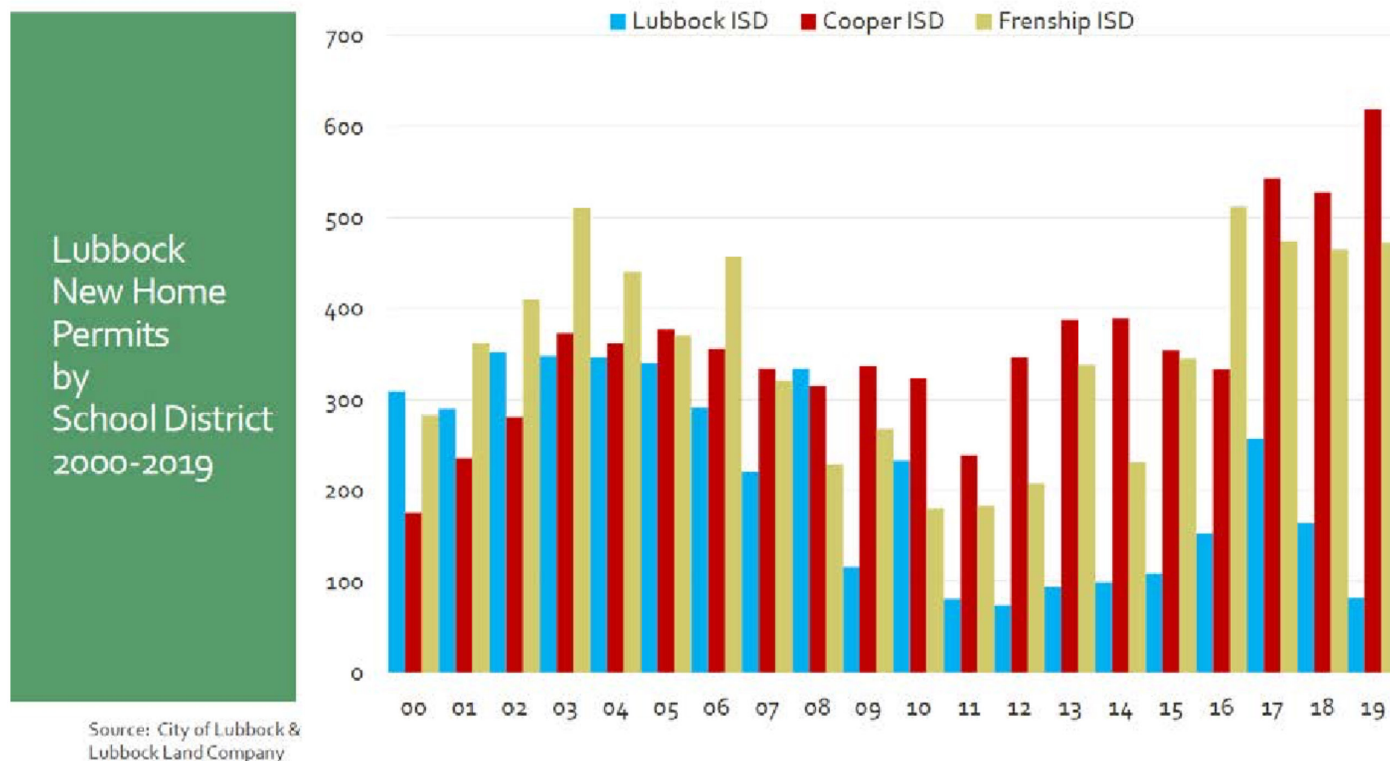


The migration, enabled by extractive resources for new infrastructure, left in its wake significantly changed neighborhoods that are more homogenous in socio-economic status and therefore creating greater risks to the neighborhood's overall health in the event of an economic downturn. In addition, 50% of renters in Lubbock use more than 30% of their income on rent payments indicating significant financial constraints even before COVID-19.²⁴ Currently, 50th St. is the approximate divide between majority homeowner versus majority rental populations.

While these maps are tracking the movement of affluent households, the general trend can also be seen in the changes in new permitting for homes in the different school districts as compiled by the Lubbock Land Company in their annual report.²⁵

24 "PolicyMap, Lubbock TX."

25 "30th Annual Single Family Residential 2019 Market Survey."



Because most of Lubbock's growth during this time has been service sector oriented, these figures are also a useful proxy for the migration of economic activity and job opportunities.

2.1.2 Neighborhood Community Activity Flaws

The imperfection that must be fixed: Old Lubbock neighborhoods almost all have the same fundamental flaw. The lack of spaces for community activity to stay inside the neighborhood besides schools, making them adult dormitories.

Most neighborhoods in Old Lubbock are large 1 square mile subdivisions of single-family housing without any embedded neighborhood-sized commercial zoning activity. The two exceptions to this, Tech Terrace and Monterey-Wheelock both show the effects of containing neighborhood-embedded commercial zoning in their interiors by having comparatively higher surrounding property values,²⁶ indicating they are more desirable to live in.

The rest of Old Lubbock's neighborhoods could only maintain their desirability when the city was small enough that all businesses were readily accessible from any neighborhood. The sprawling nature of the city now has ended this, and the evidence can be seen in the way that 34th, 50th, and 82nd contain businesses that cater to separate socioeconomic groups.

Mathematically, this is expressed in terms of the amount of commercial retail zoned acreage in a community per 100 persons. The generally accepted target ratio is .5,²⁷ meaning that a community needs 1 acre of

²⁶ "Lubbock GIS."

²⁷ Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 65."

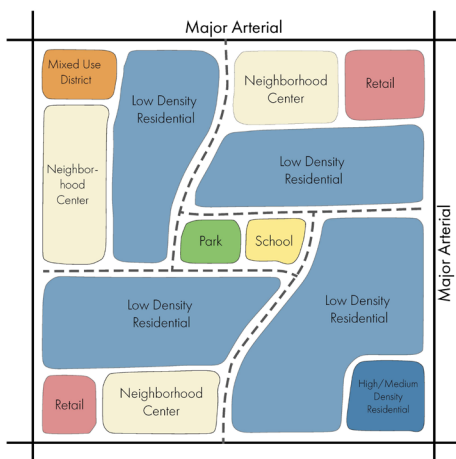
commercial retail zoned property for every two hundred persons. When Old Lubbock was being built, the amount of commercial zoning was not based on anticipated need, but instead was determined simplistically as having to fill the 1-mile long corridors the simple grid design creates.

Lubbock's ratio because of this unthinking approach is .77,²⁸ over 50% higher than what is recommended. To make matters worse, it is arranged in long commercial strips that prevents any benefits from aggregation and foot traffic. This also makes it difficult to maintain a vibrant commercial atmosphere as closed or rundown shops break the continuity and present an aesthetic of decay. This is largely why the 34th St. infrastructure investments did little to change its downward trajectory or attract new private investment to improve retail spaces to a higher-class rental property.

This issue was brought to the city's attention during the creation of the 2040 Plan, which included recommendations to adopt a more blended residential/commercial neighborhood design.²⁹ Their recommendations were to only do this for newly built neighborhoods but provided no input for the now declining ones inside Loop 289. They have effectively become adult dormitories and lack the appropriate land uses to revitalize.

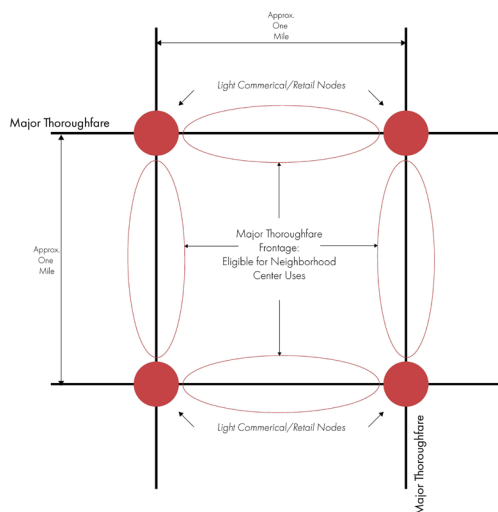
Below are the two new recommended styles:

PROPOSED TRANSIT STYLE



**LUBBOCK
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SOURCE: Lubbock 2040 Plan

COMMERCIAL/RETAIL NODE CONCEPT



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**
SOURCE: Lubbock 2040 Plan

2.2 North Overton Development

The complete razing of North Overton and the unhealed wound of race relations.

The North Overton redevelopment project was announced in 1999, with the first new property development

²⁸ Ibid.

²⁹ Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 47."

breaking ground in 2002 and taking shape over the following decade. The project is described as the “largest private-sector led urban renewal program in US history.”³⁰

The historical revisionism and suppression of viewpoints on this effort are enormous in scope, the modern 21st century lexicon for displacement of the disadvantaged from their neighborhoods does not have a term for the complete physical destruction of place and compelled evictions of the majority 4,725 predominately Black and Hispanic residents that lived there.³¹

Many individuals are stunned that such a process happened so recently, and the still utilized terminology of “urban renewal” shows a lack of understanding of what those policies did to minority communities in the mid-20th century, as discussed by local historian Cosby Morton.³²

North Overton’s risk factors for decline are consistent with many pre-WWII and early post- WWII suburban neighborhoods. They contained small-sized homes that returning GIs with young families found inadequate, lacking appropriate design for emerging modern home appliances, and built with poor-quality building materials in comparison to the wave of suburban homes being constructed in new neighborhoods.

Preference for home size has a generational aspect, as the modern millennial household would have preferred North Overton homes, with their small lot sizes and one to two- bedroom design. Ironically, had the North Overton community survived it would have been subsequently gentrified for the reasons the previous generation of Lubbock homeowners left, beginning its decline.

Proximity to Texas Tech University makes these homes desirable rental properties, as there is always someone willing to rent them based on geographic location. McDougal Companies, one of the largest real estate enterprises in Lubbock, developed a planning process for neighborhood displacement. In this, they discovered that a significant numbers of housing units were owned by out-of-town syndicates, estimating that 94% percent of all structures in the neighborhood by 2000 were owned by people living outside of Lubbock.³³

The fact that so few units in the neighborhood were “owner-occupied” became one of the common justifications used for displacement. The other being that the neighborhood was responsible for almost 30% of Lubbock’s crime.³⁴ These tactics are succinctly surmised by the labeling used to describe the neighborhood, the “Tech Ghetto,” which many residents living there resented.

Through the now more developed terminology for describing the living conditions of the oppressed, it is easy to see the dehumanization and victim blaming aspects used as justification for what was about to occur. This version of history still goes unchallenged and the city of Lubbock’s newspaper continues to use that dehumanizing language as recently as this January 2019 story,³⁵—in the headline no less.

30 Self-Walbrick, “North Overton 20 Years Later: McDougals Say Nation’s Largest Privately Funded Urban Renewal Effort Now Complete.”

31 Privett, *Failure Is Not an Option: Delbert McDougal: A Developer’s Unconventional Wisdom*, Page 62.

32 Ibid.

33 Privett.

34 “Overton Park Land Redevelopment.”

35 Self-Walbrick, “Looking beyond the ‘Tech Ghetto:’ Former North Overton Residents Reflect.”

To move beyond victim-blaming renters for the degradation of North Overton, it's important to understand the disinvestment trap that occurs in single-family neighborhoods once the original homeowners leave. In extractive growth model cities (like Lubbock), suburban homes naturally lose value over time. A map in the previous section proves this by showing the wave of declining homeownership in Old Lubbock as New Lubbock expands.

Homeowners in Old Lubbock neighborhoods can often see a low, or even negative return if they sell their home, which creates an incentive for them to convert the home into a rental property. Over the long term, most individuals do not retain their homes, but ultimately choose to offload it when the condition of the rental property would require them to reinvest in its upkeep.

At that stage, the value of the home is worse plus in addition to needing renovations. With the rare exception of house flippers that solely focus on neighborhoods with gentrification potential, the only type of purchaser interested in this type of home is a specialized investor class that generates profit by extracting the maximum amount of rent from the property without investing in large-scale (expensive) restorations. They are often referred to as slumlords.

Slumlords are aware that neighborhoods oppose their strategies for extraction and use a series of tactics to prevent accountability. They will transfer titles of the homes to various shell companies set up to hide ownership, which can be seen on Lubbock's Central Appraisal District online portal.³⁶ As an illustrative example (not meant to imply the quality of property management), the home of 1510 27th is owned by Kaki Investments,³⁷ whose managing members are actually LLCs as well—Higher Expectations Properties and Impacto Enterprises.³⁸

The utilization of convoluted holding structures is a simple and effective passive mechanism to prevent accountability. Slumlords also exploit policies and laws created to protect the property rights of citizens from the state and its municipalities. In cities Lubbock's size, policies on landlords versus tenet's rights are effectively written by landlords.

Between the obfuscation and deference, slumlords are aware that they can operate outside the boundaries of a city's zoning and codes without fear of significant repercussions. In Lubbock, the only instance that defies this trend is the organized and vocal opposition of the politically well-connected and affluent North Tech Terrace neighborhood who have been effective at getting the city to appropriately police their neighborhood.

The reason predominately rental neighborhoods go into decline is not because the renters themselves are causing a neighborhood to degrade, but that the political axis of cities like Lubbock is heavily skewed towards lax enforcement and punishment of irresponsible landlords—whose means for generating profit is to extract as much rent as possible before a property is considered unlivable.

36 "Property Search."

37 "1510 27th Street Lubbock TX 79411 Appraisal Value."

38 "Kaki Investments, LLC."

The perversity here is that degrading property value is a part of the slumlord's virtuous cycle of profit. Rent prices in Lubbock are more determined by geographic location and number of bedrooms/baths than the overall quality of the property. A slumlord's degrading property devalues those that surround it, decreasing the quality of life and therefore incentivizing neighbors to move. When they do, the market value of their home is worse and makes it cheaper for the slumlord to acquire. Most cities already know the solution to this disinvestment cycle and have the policy tools to prevent it, but lack the political will to oppose these slumlords.

The creation of rental property owner registries is allowed, which eliminates the ability of delinquent landlords from hiding behind shell companies.

Lubbock has already accomplished this for a different kind of landlord, one whose ability to generate income is actually dependent upon the quality of the home—Airbnb renters. Despite opposition from the non-politically powerful Airbnb community, Lubbock easily moved forward with a registry program as it was backed by both Lubbock's hotel/hospitality community and the fact these properties were purchased inside of more affluent neighborhoods whose voices are much harder to politically ignore.

The disinvestment cycle of North Overton was not because of poor quality renters, but because the municipal policies of Lubbock are structured to cause this in neighborhoods that lack the resources and political clout to convince the city to act. A community of almost entirely low-income Hispanic and African American renters never had a chance. In normal times, these voices struggle to be heard in city hall. It certainly didn't help their chances that the mayor of Lubbock through the critical periods of the urban renewal process was the son of the developer spearheading the destruction of their neighborhood.

Many Lubbock citizens understand this process intuitively because it is their everyday lived experience. This can be seen in neighborhood level surveys of the minority neighborhoods of Jackson-Mahon and Parkway Cherry-Point conducted as part of the Neighborhood Action Planning process the North & East Lubbock Community Development Corporation had started to initiate in north and east Lubbock Communities.³⁹ The publication of this information was one of the last activities the NELCDC did before it was defunded by the city of Lubbock in September of 2017.⁴⁰ An excerpt from the Parkway Cherry-Point survey:

This process of suburban neighborhood degradation and collapse is not unique to Lubbock, it is a commonly

10. Rate the following conditions for your neighborhood:

	Very Concerned	Somewhat Concerned	Not Concerned	I Don't Know
Speeding	41%	33%	18%	3%
Traffic	20%	28%	29%	3%
Vandalism	21%	36%	24%	8%
Un-kept Homes	53%	29%	11%	3%
Un-kept Yards	52%	27%	15%	0%
Abandoned Vehicles	34%	20%	29%	8%
Damaged Roads/Sidewalks	26%	31%	26%	4%
Trash/Illegal Dumping	52%	26%	13%	4%
Unleashed Dogs	50%	21%	22%	3%
Noise Violations	29%	21%	39%	3%
Other: varied responses	10%	2%	8%	8%

³⁹ "Parkway-Cherry Point Action Plan."

⁴⁰ "Council Votes 5-2 to Take Away NELCDC Funding."

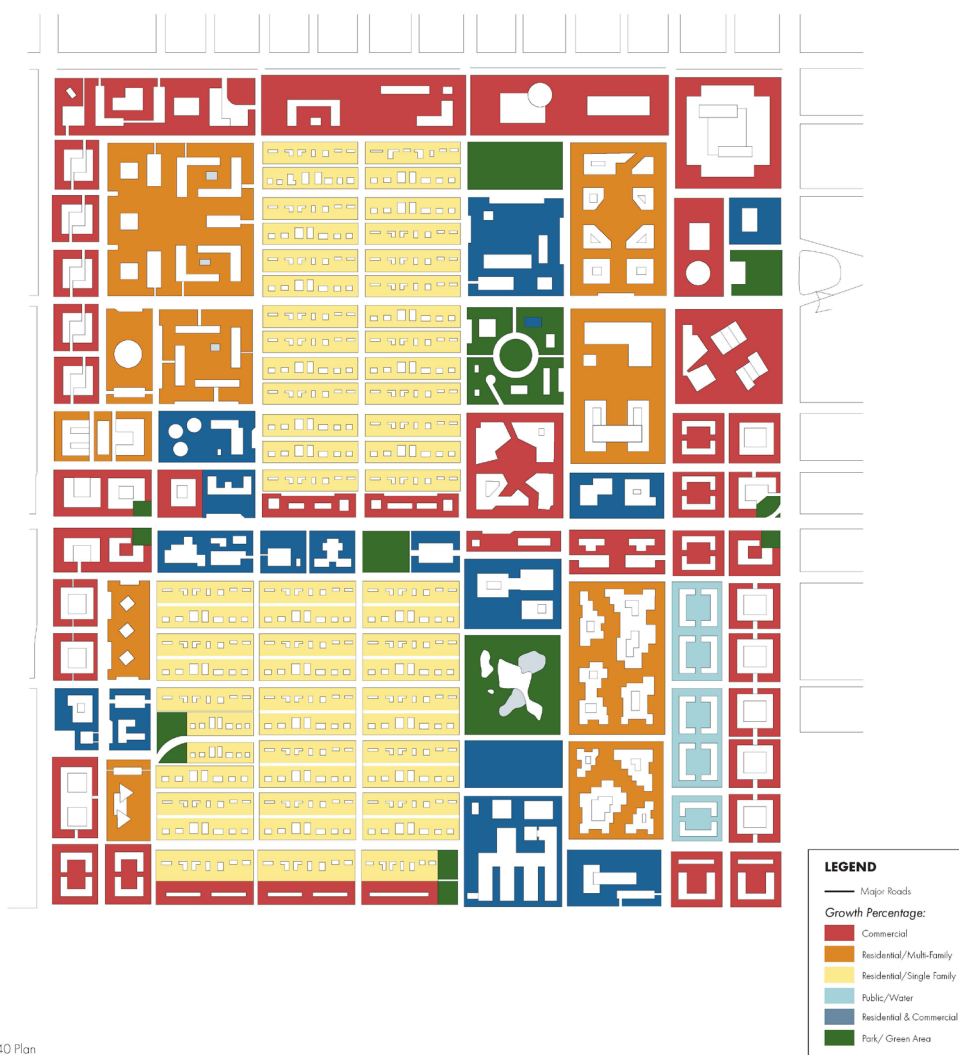
understood issue with the urban designs of the rapid post-WWII and subsequent baby boomer suburban migration, the original “white flight” phenomena. What set Lubbock apart was how resilient the community was to these effects as it expanded because the simplicity of the grid design allowed for more sprawl to be accommodated while maintaining ultra-high levels of connectivity necessary to maintain a One Lubbock model. In addition, homeowner demands for sturdy brick homes rather than faster degrading wood has allowed Lubbock’s neighborhoods to depreciate at a slower rate. This preference is strong across all social strata, Lubbock’s Habit for Humanity is one of the only in the country that builds brick homes as a result.

There was an alternative plan for redeveloping North Overton, seen on the next page. While modern best-practices would critique this plan because it likely did not have robust community participatory elements, it indicates that by 1986 Lubbock developers were being exposed to New Urbanism design concepts.

This redevelopment plan for North Overton shows many aspects of what millennial generation citizens are looking for. Mixed commercial and residential activity, ample public green space, and single-family residential homes buffered from heavy commercial activity by higher density multi-family apartments.

Could Old Lubbock neighborhoods be redeveloped to incorporate some of these principles that would

NORTH OVERTON REDEVELOPMENT PLAN



transform them from dormitories to desirable neighborhoods, preserving citizens' home values? Yes, they can, but until the City takes an interest in revitalizing what is already built rather than extractive growth, the disinvestment cycle will continue for broad swathes of Old Lubbock.

The level of slumlord property consolidation of North Overton had reached an extreme degree when the McDougals began purchasing properties. With speed measured in months rather than years, a significant amount of the neighborhood's residential units were purchased by them from the out-of-town syndicates and the process of displacement began.

By the ethical standards of urban designers, the temporary displacement of individuals during a redevelopment process is acceptable when the redevelopment process is designed with them in mind. This is true so long as those residents can return to the neighborhood and are provided with housing options that fit their income level. In the case of the North Overton development, not a single unit of affordable housing was built.

That a purely private-sector driven urban renewal process would maximize rent and land value by building a "neighborhood" of multi-family apartment complexes for TTU students—properties with some of the highest rents in Lubbock—is predictable. It is a telling example of why redevelopment of neighborhoods has to be done with the input of the neighborhood and City acting in their best interests.

From City Hall's perspective, and that of White Lubbock, the North Overton project was considered an unmitigated success, bordering on near miraculous. A neighborhood of individuals branded as undesirable, crime-committing, renters was completely erased. Even more so, the total tax-base grew from \$28 million to now above \$800 million.^{41, 42}

Even politicians who would be presumed to lament the mass displacement of minorities like County Commissioner Gilbert Flores often quote this fact as a talking point. T.J. Patterson, the African American Councilman representing east Lubbock at the time wrote in his memoir:

"The Lubbock city council embraced the Overton project with great enthusiasm and every municipal support available. City leaders were thrilled that this urban renewal project was putting North Overton back on the tax rolls and eliminating chronic drug violence and prostitution that had plagued the old neighborhood."⁴³

In an interview, former Senior Planner for Lubbock, Randy Henson, provided additional information on the strangeness of the city's municipal support. It was essential to make sure direct public financing did not come from the federal government:

"The city was very careful never to become officially involved in it because had we been involved

41 Privett, *Failure Is Not an Option: Delbert McDougal: A Developer's Unconventional Wisdom*, Page 62.

42 "Delbert McDougal: The Man at the Center of Lubbock's Present Design and Future Blueprint."

43 *Equal Opportunity Hero: T.J. Patterson's Service to West Texas*.

in it--we spent federal money in this area--and there would have been responsibility for relocation assistance for everyone in there. And that would have driven the price up. Sadly, taking care of the folks you displace will cause a project to fail.”⁴⁴

The city’s leadership was aware of federal relocation mandates and actively took measures to avoid a redevelopment plan that would have triggered them. One way this was accomplished was diverting property tax dollars to the redevelopment through the use of a Tax Increment Finance District (TIF). A TIF is given any new increases in property taxes within a designated area to help reinvest in development. Mr. Henson describes:

“Mr. McDougal as an entrepreneur came in with the nerve to try this on a worn-out half section of the city. And we became partners by his request. When he owned all the land, it was easy to form the TIF. Because you have to have the signatures of 50% of the owners, and we only needed one signature, because he owned nearly all the land.”⁴⁵

As the redevelopment project moved forward, homeowners in the neighborhood saw sudden massive increases in the “value” of their property. The Central Appraisal District was reassessing their properties based on the McDougal’s new plans. The new property taxes the homeowners paid were then diverted to the TIF, which the McDougal’s controlled. These households were being compelled to pay for their eventual removal.

Lubbock rewarded the McDougals for their success on the North Overton redevelopment by signing them on as the Downtown Master Developer.⁴⁶ This has been repeatedly critiqued over the years as an obvious conflict of interest, something the current City Council was made aware of by an American Institute of Architects (AIA) sponsored urban design team that spoke out forcefully against this model in all their meetings while in town, stating that in the team’s over half-century of design experience they had never encountered a similar situation.⁴⁷ Subsequently, the City Council renewed the McDougals contract as the city’s Downtown Master Developer.

For minority neighborhoods in Lubbock, especially the Arnett Benson neighborhood north of Texas Tech, the North Overton project is viewed as a window into the future of their communities. It shades and poisons all conversations around redevelopment and makes them believe Lubbock is waiting for their neighborhoods to degrade enough that slumlords will consolidate ownership and “redevelop.” The callousness, racially-coded messaging, and media reporting that invalidates the collective trauma felt from North Overton’s destruction, creates a hopelessness that their community’s history will also be erased.

44 Shihab, *The Private Gaze: A Case Study of the North Overton Redevelopment Project in Lubbock, TX*, Page 12. 2009.

45 Shihab, *The Private Gaze: A Case Study of the North Overton Redevelopment Project in Lubbock, TX*, Page 7. 2009.

46 Dotray, “City Hires McDougal Land Company as Lubbock’s Downtown Master Developer.”

47 “Lubbock, TX SDAT Report.”

2.3 School Closures

2.3.1 *Destruction of Dunbar High School, the Pride of the East.*

It is impossible to overemphasize the importance of neighborhood schools in Lubbock's land use and neighborhood design. Schools have traditionally been the only type of non-residential activity allowed inside of Lubbock neighborhoods, leading to an overreliance of communities on schools as assets to create neighborhood energy and attract residents. They are the substance of a community's identity and social fabric. Lubbock went through a series of closures of east side elementary schools as part of a budgetary push for the greater efficiencies that 600 student facilities can provide over 200 student neighborhood schools. LISD closed at least 6 neighborhood-sized elementary schools from 2010-2020 using the euphemism "consolidation" rather than "closure" to deemphasize community impact.^{48, 49, 50}

The district solves the issue of "underperforming" schools by simply demolishing them instead of addressing the real issues at hand: quality of education and support.

The loss of these schools left behind adult dormitories⁵¹ with no internal activity. It quickly devalued the value of neighborhood homes and contributed to economic decline of those East Lubbock neighborhoods. What happened to Dunbar High School is an illustrative and painful example of the importance these assets have for Old Lubbock communities. As part of the 1991 desegregation agreement between Lubbock and the federal government,⁵² Dunbar was converted into a Junior High that would feed into Estacado High School in North Lubbock.

Dunbar High School, named for Black poet Paul Lawrence Dunbar, was for many years an athletic and academic powerhouse. It had an award-winning marching band, choir, and an athletic program that pulled off an impressive run of statewide basketball dominance, winning five state championships between 1953-1965. In the memoir of T.J. Patterson, Lubbock's first Black city council member, Dunbar is described as the "beacon of the Black community, the traditional public gathering place for the Eastside."⁵³ East Lubbock residents directly attribute the success of the school in educating generations of Lubbock's African Americans to the tight knit community that surrounded the school itself and emphasize how valuable it was that many of the teachers at Dunbar lived in close proximity. In Councilman Patterson's memoir, Jackie Porch, a past superintendent of the Lubbock State School and Dunbar graduate, said

"The teachers, the counselors, the principals, all of us lived in the same community... There was a sense of community and of family. Any time you got in trouble you couldn't get away because the principal lived across the street from you." ⁵⁴

48 Gonzalez, "Current, Former Students, Staff Say Goodbye to Wheatley."

49 "Lubbock ISD Board Votes to Close Three Schools."

50 "Lubbock ISD Announces Names for 2 New Elementary Schools."

51 See Glossary.

52 United States v. LUBBOCK INDEPENDENT SCH.

53 *Equal Opportunity Hero: T.J. Patterson's Service to West Texas.*

54 Ibid.

Vernita Woods-Holmes, LISD school board member 2000-2016 and Dunbar graduate reiterates

“Right across the street from me was my principal and my first-grade teacher. My teachers were friends of my family, and a couple of my teachers were relatives. It was such a close-knit community.”⁵⁵

The destruction of this empowering and supportive environment began in 1967 when LISD’s school board attempted to avoid the federally-mandated racial integration of recently built Coronado and Monterey High Schools. Rather than enrolling Black students into White schools, the board decided to build a new high school. Estacado High would be located in the northeastern portion of the city, in the opposite direction of the predominately White and affluent communities around Coronado and Monterey. Black students from Dunbar and White students from Lubbock High living in the Cherry Point-Parkway neighborhood would be blended together.⁵⁶

Dunbar’s student body was split in half. Individuals living within walking distance of the school were instead enrolled at Estacado as part of LISD’s plan to keep Black students on the East side of town and unable to access the superior resources of the all-White high schools. This plan may have worked, except that the White working class families of Cherry Point-Parkway refused to have their children attend Estacado and rapidly left the neighborhood. Within three years, the process of White flight⁵⁷ was almost complete. The demographics of the neighborhood switched from almost entirely White to almost entirely Black. In 1970, the federal government stepped in and imposed busing on Lubbock to integrate schools. A policy that would continue for two decades. Still, the challenges with Dunbar continue to this day. In 2019, it was one of a handful of schools in the state that had failed its academic achievement requirements for five years in a row.

The relationship between LISD and the African American community of Lubbock has not always been transparent. After five years of academic failure, a school district must decide to either close, turn over management, or shuffle students so that 51% of the student body is different the following year.⁵⁸ The first organized meeting between LISD and the East Lubbock Community Alliance to discuss the matter was scheduled only months before a decision had to be made.⁵⁹ Many East Lubbock residents expressed resentment for not being brought into the process sooner or kept aware of this possible eventuality in the previous four years. LISD organized a series of community listening sessions but made no formal mechanism for how community input could contribute to their decision making.

In the end, this crisis was resolved through a technical sleight of hand in the state’s rules regarding the law that allowed for LISD to establish a separate non-profit. The Lubbock Partnership Network (LPN), handpicked its governing board and then turned the school over to their self-made organization. 2019 was the first year in which LPN governed Dunbar. The junior high has been on an upward trajectory in test scores, which unlocks additional financing to the school on a per pupil basis from the state of Texas. With these additional

55 Ibid.

56 Pickett, *Mighty, Mighty Matadors: Estacado High School, Integration, and a Championship Season*. 2017.

57 See Glossary.

58 Aycock et al., Texas 83rd Legislature, 83.

59 McCleod, “Future of Dunbar College Prep School Meeting.”

resources, Dunbar may recover, but the process of getting there is indicative of the disregard LISD has for the input of communities of color. The school board continues to consolidate neighborhood schools in East and North Lubbock, recently voting in 2019 to “consolidate” three in North Lubbock.⁶⁰ The future sustainability of these communities is still unknown, though the cards are still stacked against neighborhoods of color in Lubbock.

When Lubbock’s neighborhood schools close, all that’s left behind is a neighborhood of undesirable *adult dormitories*.⁶¹

60 Dotray, “LISD Breaks Ground for New Elementary School in North Lubbock.”

61 See Glossary.

3.0 City Policies and Actions

3.1 Elected Official Policies

The policy of not paying elected officials restricts working-class and middle-class citizens from city leadership, especially those living in communities of color and older, established neighborhoods.

Lubbock's tradition of unpaid elected officials is often thought of as preventing "career politicians" who act unaccountable to the general public and become beholden to special interests. That's a noble goal, but there's no body of empirical evidence that paying politicians leads to this end, or not paying elected officials is a better mechanism to prevent careerists than imposed term limits. In fact, Lubbock's history shows that not paying politicians has led to special interests dominating the politics of the city at the expense of working-class families and the economic vitality of the central city.

All growing cities eventually reach a threshold where the financial implications of municipal decision making on businesses is large enough that investing in political patronage becomes necessary from a risk mitigation and expected value standpoint. This does not change if municipal elected officials are compensated. In most communities, the private industry carrying the largest political risks are property developers and are strongly incentivized to ensure municipal policies are oriented favorably.

An illustrative example in Lubbock is the timely election of the McDougal family scion as mayor of Lubbock in 2002 while his father oversaw the displacement of 4,725 mostly Hispanic and African American residents from the North Overton neighborhood in what is described as the largest private sector driven urban renewal project in American history.⁶²

Instead of preventing careerist politicians, not paying elected officials simply results in the exclusion of a large proportion of the population from pursuing elected office because their living conditions do not allow them to remain unemployed while working the full-time position that being a Mayor or council member is. This kind of system incentivizes elected officials to solicit and accept patronage opportunities from special interests groups in order to maintain personal financial stability.

Lubbock's policy position on compensation perversely exacerbates the issue it is presumed to resolve by encouraging the pursuit of revenue generating activities while in office and precluding individuals currently living in disadvantaged socio-economic status conditions from running—the unempowered populations that policies against special interests are supposed to protect.

For comparison, the City of Laredo (pop. 235k) pays their mayor approximately \$71,000⁶³ and city council \$50,000 per year. If Lubbock were to do this, the expense would be 0.039% of the city's adopted budget for FY 2019-2020.⁶⁴

62 Self-Walbrick, S., 2019. North Overton 20 years later: McDougals say nation's largest privately funded urban renewal effort now complete. *Lubbock Avalanche Journal*. <<https://www.lubbockonline.com/news/20190126/north-overton-20-years-later-mcdougals-say-nations-largest-privately-funded-urban-renewal-effort-now-complete>>.

63 "Mayor Pete Saenz, Estimated Annual Salary and Benefits' Summary."

64 "Adopted Operating Budget & Capital Program FY19-20/Volume I."

3.2 COVID-19 Response

Lubbock's power structure could be seen in real-time during the COVID-19 response with its disregard for the community's most vulnerable businesses. When a system is put under stress, the way that it behaves often reveals its baser instincts. It is much easier to see the outcomes of decisions behind closed doors.

How influence works and the alignment of political axes in Lubbock were blatantly on display in the early days of the COVID-19 response when on April 22nd Lubbock's economic development authority, LEDA (Lubbock Economic Development Alliance), announced a big business fund in collaboration with the South Plains Association of Governments for a \$2 million loan fund.⁶⁵ Only businesses making above \$100,000 in annual revenue were eligible, with a maximum cutoff of \$5 million in revenue. LEDA contributed \$1 million for this fund through the rapid re-appropriation from its downtown grants programs.⁶⁶

This program flies in the face of any standard economic analysis of business risk during the crisis, and it's telling that few communities prioritized programs like this across the state and nation. What Lubbock did was abnormal.

There are general assumptions one can make about a business generating an excess of \$100,000 of revenue a year. They would have an already established strong financial services relationship with a bank that is familiar with their balance sheet. They would be managing their books through generally accepted accounting principles (GAAP), including comprehensive payroll numbers. The nature of their business is likely one that requires maintaining a certain amount of liquidity and days-cash-on-hand that would serve as a cushion during the shutdown.

There are always exceptions to general assumptions, but the broader point is that the risk profile of these businesses is not an acute need, and that is why most cities did not prioritize big business loan programs. The reasons for this are clear, besides having strong enough balance sheets to withstand closure, all the federal level loan assistance programs were designed for these businesses as well. The loan terms on the Economic Injury Disaster Loan (EIDL)⁶⁷ program through the SBA are good, and the Payroll Protection Program even better. Businesses eligible for the EIDL could even apply for the program, receive a \$10,000 grant, and not have to take out the loan itself. In order to navigate these programs, an established relationship with a bank was essential and their GAAP bookkeeping more than sufficient to pass regulatory minimums for documentation. In the event they exhausted these options, it is likely these businesses would have sufficient collateral to secure a line of credit through their bank because of their size. There was, and still is, a robust menu of options already available.

The need for a strong banking relationship was widely discussed across various local and national media sources at the time.^{68, 69} What is more insulting is that in 2020, there are no banks in East Lubbock because

65 "\$2 Million Being Provided to Support Lubbock Fund for Small Businesses."

66 "\$2 Million Being Provided to Support Lubbock Fund for Small Businesses."

67 "Economic Injury Disaster Loan."

68 "Lubbock Banking Community Announces \$343,000 Contribution to Support Organizations Affected by COVID-19."

69 Sieber, "Why Relationships Still Matter: How Community Banks Saved The Country During Covid-19."

the Wells Fargo branch inside of the Parkway United Supermarket closed in 2019.⁷⁰ City officials were well aware of this issue, and were happy to participate in a photo opportunity in January of this year to celebrate Lubbock National Bank's eventual opening a branch inside of that same United. The branch has yet to open.⁷¹ What the federal programs did not sufficiently address, and as such where local communities across the US focused their efforts, were micro-sized businesses. These businesses have none of the attributes big businesses have that made access to the very favorable federal lending programs easy. In fact, many of them would attempt to pursue the federal programs only to be turned away by banks because they had no established relationship or were denied because their bookkeeping was insufficient. Micro-sized businesses, typically with 1-5 employees total, are disproportionately owned by minorities.⁷² According to the U.S. Department of Commerce Minority Business Development Agency, only ~4% of Black-owned businesses and ~9% of Hispanic-owned businesses have paid employees besides the owner.⁷³

The recognition of this spurred communities to act, the City of Ft. Worth launched their program with the People Fund,⁷⁴ a federally designated lender specializing in micro-loans for disadvantaged communities, on April 15th. Dallas issued its request for proposals to manage its micro-business fund on April 23rd, a day after Lubbock made its big business fund.⁷⁵

By serendipity, the People Fund had recently opened an office in Lubbock some months before the COVID-19 pandemic, making them the first specialized lender of its type, a Community Development Finance Institution (CDFI), ever in West Texas. Their current office is inside the downtown Hub City Workspace facility. Their Lubbock loan officer began to solicit local leadership here after the establishment of the Ft. Worth program, where this individual helped stand up Ft. Worth's program to bring those learnings here, should Lubbock decide to also partner. The People Fund is considered a top-tier CDFI in the state, one that was directly endorsed by Governor Abbott in a COVID-19 press conference⁷⁶ as the entity that would manage Goldman Sachs' contribution to a Texas small business fund.

If they were not already aware of the need for a micro-loan program, various city officials were made aware by the end of April through mid-May, after the Community Foundation of West Texas began to inquire whether this was something suitable Lubbock should pursue.⁷⁷ The minimum amount of capital necessary to start this program was \$100,000, which would have had an incredible multiplier ratio of 4.5. This means that the People Fund could have made \$450,000 worth of loans specifically tailored for businesses at the greatest risk of collapse if Lubbock could provide \$100,000. As a comparison, this amount is less than half of the \$231,039 collected in Bingo taxes last year.⁷⁸

Now into June, the City of Lubbock has yet to provide a COVID-19 appropriate lending program. On June

70 Larned, "Wells Fargo Closes East Lubbock Branch."

71 Self-Walbrick, "Lubbock National Bank to Open Branch at Parkway Drive United Supermarket."

72 "Small Business Statistics."

73 "U.S. Business Fact Sheets."

74 "City of Fort Worth, PeopleFund Launch New Microloan Program Supporting Local Businesses."

75 "\$2 Million Being Provided to Support Lubbock Fund for Small Businesses."

76 "Texas Governor Greg Abbott Announces Small Business Initiative."

77 Davis, "South Plains COVID-19 Response Fund: Aiding Non-Profits Tackle Coronavirus Impacts."

78 "Lubbock Operating Budgets & Capital Programs, Volume 1, Page 27."

10th, LEDA announced it would directly manage a \$1 million allocation from Lubbock's CARES act dollars to set up a micro-grants program,⁷⁹ the application information can be found on their website complete with a generic stock photo of two Black businesses owners,⁸⁰ stand-ins for Lubbock's Black community that they chose to ignore for months through the peak of the crisis while their businesses collapsed.

The city's inability to provide any relief to those in the greatest need while rapidly finding \$1 million for a big business program is telling.

The CARES Act federal statutes were clear from the beginning that micro-lending programs were an acceptable way to use those dollars, which makes the claim that city officials were "waiting for guidance" just one of the many various ways it attempts to deflect and confuse individuals advocating for efforts it has no interest in taking. It is unclear how many of these small businesses are permanently lost due to the city's unwillingness to act in the peak of the crisis, the implications will ripple through Lubbock's minority communities for some time to come.

What this means is that micro-businesses, disproportionately owned by minorities, had to rely on payday lenders for any kind of emergency liquidity during this time.

This is an insult to injury for advocates like Councilman Juan Chadis, who began his tenure as a councilman by fighting for regulations on Lubbock's rapacious payday lending industry in one of the more openly vicious fights in recent political history. In this AJ news article from the time,⁸¹ Mayor Pope is quoted to have said with regards to regulating the industry, "You want to make sure vulnerable parts of your population aren't being picked on, but the question becomes 'what's the role of city government?'"

Indeed, what is the role of government in preventing its most vulnerable from being preyed upon? From preventing a small group of special interests from dictating extractive policies?

Councilman Chadis lost his battle to regulate the payday lenders. The main opposition to his efforts came from the Chamber of Commerce,^{82, 83} that fought tooth and nail to make sure it wouldn't pass. The interest of the Chamber at the time was not necessarily that payday lenders were members, but that one of Lubbock's largest banks serviced them as clients and made easy money doing so.

After forcefully advocating for allowing payday lenders to continue their predatory practices on Lubbock's most disadvantaged businesses, many owned by minorities, the Chamber of Commerce hosted its first ever Diversity Summit in March of the following year.⁸⁴ At the Diversity Summit, individuals could participate in sessions such as "The Business Case for Diversity and Inclusion," "The New View on Diversity/The Cost of Culture," and a session on the role of faith in operating a business. The Diversity Summit is now an annual event in the Chamber's schedule and is an often used talking point by them as a means to indicate their

79 "\$1M Public Health Emergency Microgrant Support Program for Sole Proprietors and Impacted Workers."

80 "Business and Employment Resources."

81 Dotray, "Councilman Chadis Looking to Regulate Payday Lenders."

82 "Lubbock Chamber of Commerce: Board of Directors Meeting."

83 "Pay Day Loan Ordinance Fails at City Council."

84 "Diversity Summit Initiative."

solidarity with minority communities.

3.3 The Capital Improvements Advisory Committee

One of the outcomes from the 2040 Land Use Plan process, and some would argue the reason why Lubbock undertook that process, was to be able to establish a standardized impact fee structure for new developments. These types of policies make sense because they can incentivize developers to align their for-profit strategies with a city's development goals. Impact fees assess a developer a certain percentage of the costs of building the infrastructure necessary to connect their development to Lubbock's infrastructure. Cities are allowed to set impact fees for water, wastewater, stormwater, and roads.⁸⁵ If used in tandem with smart-growth strategies for infill development they can result in profound changes to the way a city's developer community operates. Cities can set different rates for different types of developments, such as multi-family versus single-family, and can incentivize higher density building or building in specific locations. Determining the amount charged and what that financing will be used to create additional layers of complexity—complexity that has historically been exploited by special interests in Lubbock. An AJ article from June 9th explains some of the issues debated. Thomas Payne, a local developer on the committee provides a telling quote:

“If growth paid for growth, I don’t believe there’d be a city in Texas that has impact fees because all the cities who have begun collecting impact fees have done so because the cost of their growth outpaced their ability to pay for it... When a city enters a higher-growth phase, and clearly Lubbock has, it requires addressing the need to pay for infrastructure.”⁸⁶

If the impact fee process is determined in the usual way Lubbock operates, the impact fee program is likely not to offset even the cost of the new infrastructure, and impact fees do not take into account the cost of the permanent liabilities created by new subdivision expansion. Already, four of the most powerful political organizations in Lubbock, several of which are directly responsible for the extractive growth model of Lubbock, have created an “impact fee task force”⁸⁷ to issue a series of demands and lobby on how impact fees should be structured.

The task forces members, the West Texas Home Builders Association, the Lubbock Apartment Association, the Lubbock Association of Realtors, and the Chamber of Commerce believe the recommendations of the 2040 Plan are far too restrictive, and they want the city to drop water and wastewater impact fees entirely.

The most despicable claim the task force is making is that they are operating in the interest of making sure housing is affordable in Lubbock. Bryce Daniel, the President of the West Texas Homebuilders Association gave this quote to KCBD: “The primary mission of the West Texas Home Builders Association is affordable housing. In keeping with this goal, there are substantial disagreements with the plan that needs to be rectified prior to moving forward.”⁸⁸

85 Local Government Code.

86 Dotray, “Lubbock City Council Taking It Slow on Impact Fees.”

87 Ibid.

88 Chamacho, “Lubbock Organizations Asking City Council to Reject Plan Including Water and Wastewater Impact Fees on Developers.”

This claim is ridiculous based on broad nationwide industry trends in real estate that clearly show a shift towards the creation of higher end homes since the Great Recession.

Affordable housing in 2020 is almost never built without some measure of guidance from municipalities on what their development preferences are. The reason for this is obvious; the margins on creating higher-end homes are better. One way to see this is by examining building preferences for “spec” houses—homes built without a buyer already in place.

Completed “SPEC” Inventory By Subdivision and Price Range As of 12/31/2019	Subdivision	Total # Unsold	\$0- \$100K	\$100K- \$150K	\$150K- \$200K	\$200K- \$250K	\$250K- \$300K	\$300K- \$400K	Over \$400K
	Fox Ridge	10			1	8	1		
	Bushland Springs	7			1	2	4		
	Willow Bend	5				5			
	Day Estates	4				2	1	1	
	Hatton Place	4					2	2	
	Uptown West	4				4			
	Bell Farms	3		1	1		1		
	Eastwick at Kelsey Park	3					3		
	Lakeridge Estates	3							3
	Memphis Gardens	3					3		
	Stratford Pointe	3						1	2
	The Ridge	3					2	1	
	Cambridge Way	2			1	1			
	Enclave at Kelsey Park	2							2
	Fountain Hills	2					2		
	Sundance Estates	2							2
	Others	21	1	3	6	1	3	6	1
	Totals	81	1	4	10	23	22	11	10

Source: City of Lubbock &
Lubbock Land Company

Spec houses represent a real estate developer’s willingness to take a risk on their own balance sheet because there are various ways to decrease expenses in comparison to custom built homes, increasing profitability. Lubbock is no different from any other community with regards to developers chasing more lucrative returns.

Year to Date Permit Comparison		2017	2018	2019	2018-2019 % Change
	\$0-100,000	32	12	27	125%
	\$100,001-150,000	284	248	242	-2%
	\$150,001-200,000	450	338	306	-9%
	\$200,001-250,000	169	195	214	10%
	\$250,001-300,000	112	135	188	39%
	\$300,001-400,000	140	124	106	-15%
	OVER \$400,000	87	105	90	-14%
	TOTALS	1,274	1,157	1,173	1%

Source: City of Lubbock

The general trend is for higher end homes. The median home sales price in 2019 was \$173,700 which is well out of reach of most Lubbock citizens.⁸⁹ The median home value for owner-occupied housing is \$130k,

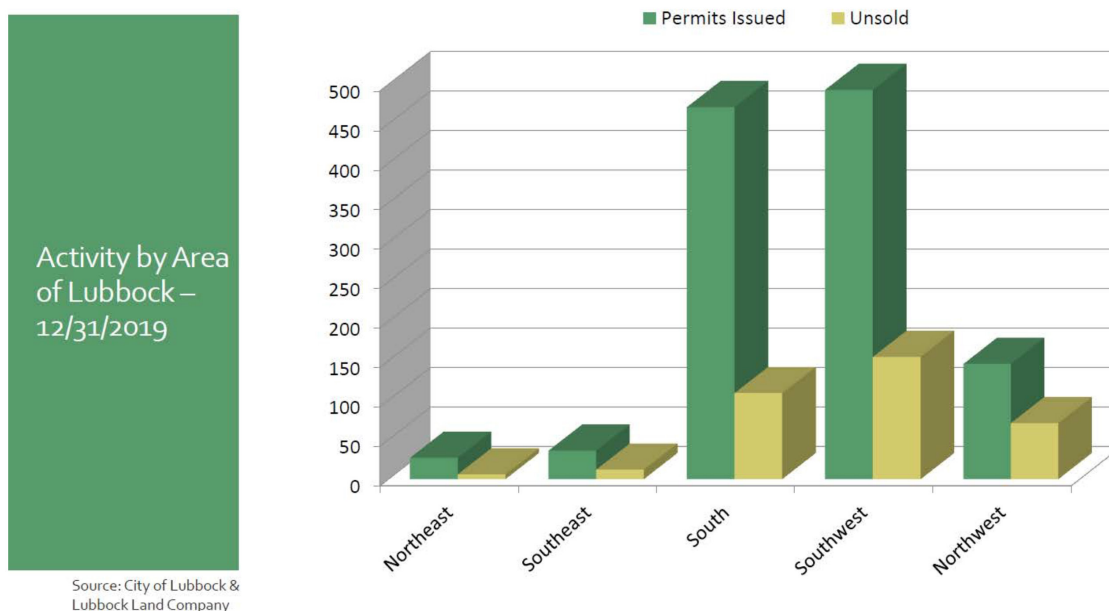
and the median monthly mortgage costs here are \$1,370 based on US Census Bureau statistics.⁹⁰ With the median household income of Lubbock at \$50,473,⁹¹ developers are already not building homes for Lubbock's current population. This is in lieu of impact fees supposedly changing this dynamic. In the past three years, the only meaningful growth of housing permits has been in the \$200k-300k range.

Who are Lubbock developers building homes for? It is certainly not for the majority of Old Lubbock citizens. Real estate developers in Lubbock, over time, have shaped the policy orientation of the city towards their preferred style of building large subdivisions of homogenous homes in cotton fields. The price points of which are unavailable to the citizens who are paying for their infrastructure and future maintenance of the neighborhood the developers are building.

This makes sense. They are operating under profit maximizing motivations. The same motivations that cause them to shape Lubbock's policies of extractive growth. This is not a "free market," city design, and planning policies shape the nature of a community's housing market. The fact that single family home superblocks in cotton fields outside of LISD are the most profitable is because that is how the game is set up.

Should a city's housing strategy be determined by what is the most profit maximizing for real estate developers? Or should it first be based on what is beneficial to all of Lubbock by creating a strategy that preserves and increases the home values of citizens who already live here rather than degrade them?

Is it possible to build in Old Lubbock? Yes, there's substantial amounts of acreage throughout Old Lubbock where housing development could occur, but the City's policies are not oriented towards encouraging it and preventing harmful social stratification of neighborhoods. It is telling to look at the lack of unsold inventory in areas inside the Loop:



90 "QuickFacts: Lubbock County, Texas."

91 Ibid.

4.0 Texas Tech University Outreach

Texas Tech, the mercurial partner and sometimes complicit enabler of disparity.

Texas Tech's community engagement strategy is best described as incoherent. Texas Tech's updated strategic plan that began implementation in 2017 elevated community engagement, defined, "transform lives and communities through strategic outreach and engaged scholarship" as a core third pillar of the university's mission.⁹²

In practice, the university is still determining what that means, as the highest level position for this at the university has been a tacked on job title for the Vice Chancellor for Academic Affairs, who presumably was already working a full-time position. In the brief existence of this position it has already been organizationally reshuffled from Associate Vice President to Associate Vice Provost.^{93, 94}

The university's relationship to disadvantaged communities has some definitive highlights, specifically in education.

In 1978, Linda Anderson, the principal of Illes elementary, collaborated with her husband Robert Anderson, the Dean of TTU's College of Education, to transform Illes into an experimental magnet school.⁹⁵ It was a pioneering model in the time of desegregation that was able to sustain a diverse student body through voluntary transfers. A future outcome of this would be the rise of Lubbock High School as a premier educational institution in West Texas, one of the few that can be found on national high school rankings.

A more recent example, illustrative of the exceedingly idealistic relationship TTU has with the community, is the East Lubbock Promise Neighborhood initiative.⁹⁶ It began in 2012, when Lubbock was selected as one of eight locations receiving a \$22 million grant.⁹⁷ TTU was the only university that was designated as the primary awardee for one of these grants, meaning the money and responsibilities for program implementation were theirs.

The federal Promise Grant initiative was based on the premise that schools can serve as the engine for neighborhood revitalization by incorporating social services and innovative approaches to education to create "cradle to career" programming. In 2018, TTU was awarded the W.K. Kellogg Foundation Community Engagement Scholarship Award for the ELPN initiative,⁹⁸ the university's press release seems to imply the increase in graduation rates from 67% to 93% was a result,⁹⁹ but there is no peer-reviewed research paper indicating causation that can be found through a Google Scholar search.

One of the few publications that can be found is a thesis dissertation that describes an attempt to increase

92 "University Strategic Plan."

93 "John Opperman, Ph.D."

94 "Organizational Chart."

95 *Equal Opportunity Hero: T.J. Patterson's Service to West Texas.*

96 *East Lubbock Promise Neighborhood.*

97 "Promise Neighborhoods Awards."

98 "2018 W. K. Kellogg Foundation Community Engagement Scholarship Awards."

99 Castro-Crist, "Texas Tech Named Finalist for National Community Engagement Award."

nutritional food intake by fourth and fifth graders that didn't work, but it did increase students' awareness of health foods.¹⁰⁰

On the Federal Department of Education's website for the program, searching for the term "Lubbock" yields only a 6-minute YouTube video.¹⁰¹ The links that TTU provides for the ELPN website are both broken: www.eastlubbockpromise.org¹⁰² and www.elpngrant.org,¹⁰³ the ELPN Facebook page's last post was April 2019.

One outcome recently mentioned, and listed as Service 12 in TTU's application for the program¹⁰⁴ was the creation of Estacado's college credits program, the first graduating class was this year, in this Fox news article, Trustee Stubblefield indicates the program costs \$450,000 dollars.¹⁰⁵

It's necessary to provide that context because a common refrain in East Lubbock is, "where did the money go?" \$25 million sounds like a very large sum, and there's general feeling in the community that they were co-opted by the university to get a big grant so it could do studies like this one to determine which is the more accurate way to measure children's play with an accelerometer, if they wear it on the wrist or the waist?¹⁰⁶

It is very well possible the outcomes from ELPN are large in scope and future publications are pending to show the impact, but from the neighborhood perspective they have no idea what it did substantively for the children of their communities.

When universities are not self-aware of their impact and community perceptions, they can end up being complicit enablers of creating disparities.

For this reason, many universities today incorporate racial disparity housing impact analysis when they are involved in development projects. When the University of Texas at San Antonio decided to expand its campus, it hired the National Association of Latino Community Asset Builders to conduct an impartial study of how the expansion will impact gentrification and neighborhood affordability in the surrounding area.^{107, 108}

Texas Tech has no such policy, which is worrisome because in their Master Campus Plan from 2014 the university explicitly lists its desire to become a property management company to "implement mixed-use development into the western and northwestern peripheries of the campus" and to "establish strategic partnerships via land parcel leases."¹⁰⁹

100 "Nutrition Education Intervention to Increase Nutrition Knowledge and Healthy Food Choices among Fourth- and Fifth-Graders in East Lubbock, Texas: A Promised Neighborhood Project."

101 *East Lubbock Promise Neighborhood.*

102 "East Lubbock Promise Neighborhood (Eastlubbockpromise.Org)."

103 "East Lubbock Promise Neighborhood (Eplngrant.Org)."

104 "East Lubbock Promise Neighborhood Management Plan."

105 King, "Estacado Early College High School Program Graduates First-Ever Cohort."

106 Kim and Lochbaum, "Comparison of Polar Active Watch and Waist- and Wrist-Worn ActiGraph Accelerometers for Measuring Children's Physical Activity Levels during Unstructured Afterschool Programs."

107 "Policy Studies Host 3-Day Seminar with National Association of Latino Community Asset Builders."

108 Fish, "UTSA Engages Latino Research and Planning Organization to Deepen Dialogue with West Side Community on Downtown Campus Expansion Plan."

109 Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 9."

There is potential for these development plans to accelerate gentrification of one of Lubbock's oldest Hispanic neighborhoods, the Arnett Benson. Residents in the neighborhood already report frequent unsolicited mailers and flyers attached to their doors offering to purchase their homes: a collective low-level hazing of the proud neighborhood endures. The existential threat is made more real because of the North Overton urban renewal initiative and the commonly held view that the city and university are also supportive of displacing them.

At the time of the North Overton project, university development strategies were openly hostile to minority and low-income neighborhoods across the US, viewing them as impediments to growth and hurting the prestige of the university with prospective families, damaging enrollment prospects. There was no reason to hide their desires for displacement, TTU leadership at the time was an open partner to the urban renewal of North Overton, though its role has never been documented in an organized way.

Currently, the university is working with the affluent North Tech Terrace neighborhood to create a virtual tour map on its ArtTrek app cataloguing the history of the wealthy neighborhood, completely oblivious to the neighbor whose history it helped erase.

With the university's elevation of community engagement as a pillar of the institution, conducting a review of its role in the North Overton urban renewal program and committing to conducting disparate impact analysis for its property management aims would be meaningful steps towards embracing best practices in university community engagement.

During the COVID-19 crisis, the university was an exemplary partner.

TTU should be commended for its actions in combating the spread of COVID-19 in West Texas. It was and will always be, the greatest community outreach and engagement effort in the university's history. Chancellor Mitchell's preemptive closing of the university campus, before a single case had been diagnosed in a TTU-affiliate,¹¹⁰ saved lives and gave Lubbock the breathing space it needed to mount a response.

Every available resource that could be pressed into service was done so. The TTU Health Science Center was one of the first academic medical centers to implement an N95 decontamination protocol that allows for the repeated use of precious personal protective equipment.¹¹¹ It now offers that service to community partners throughout the region. All inventories of masks and gloves across the system were donated, and every 3D printer was devoted to the production of facemasks.

Recent public health graduates staffed the expansion of the city's health department, medical students organized PPE collection and decontamination to allow frontline medical staff to focus on treating patients, a single university laboratory has performed the bulk of the COVID-19 tests performed in West Texas, while another started producing the viral transport media necessary to do those tests. In one of Lubbock's darkest hours, Texas Tech showed what a powerful force for good it can be.

110 "Timeline of COVID-19 or Coronavirus Cases in Lubbock and the South Plains."

111 Price, "Health Science Center Decontaminating N95 Masks for Texas Physicians to Reuse."

5.0 Infrastructure

Disparities are clearly seen in the prioritization of new roadways while old roads degrade.

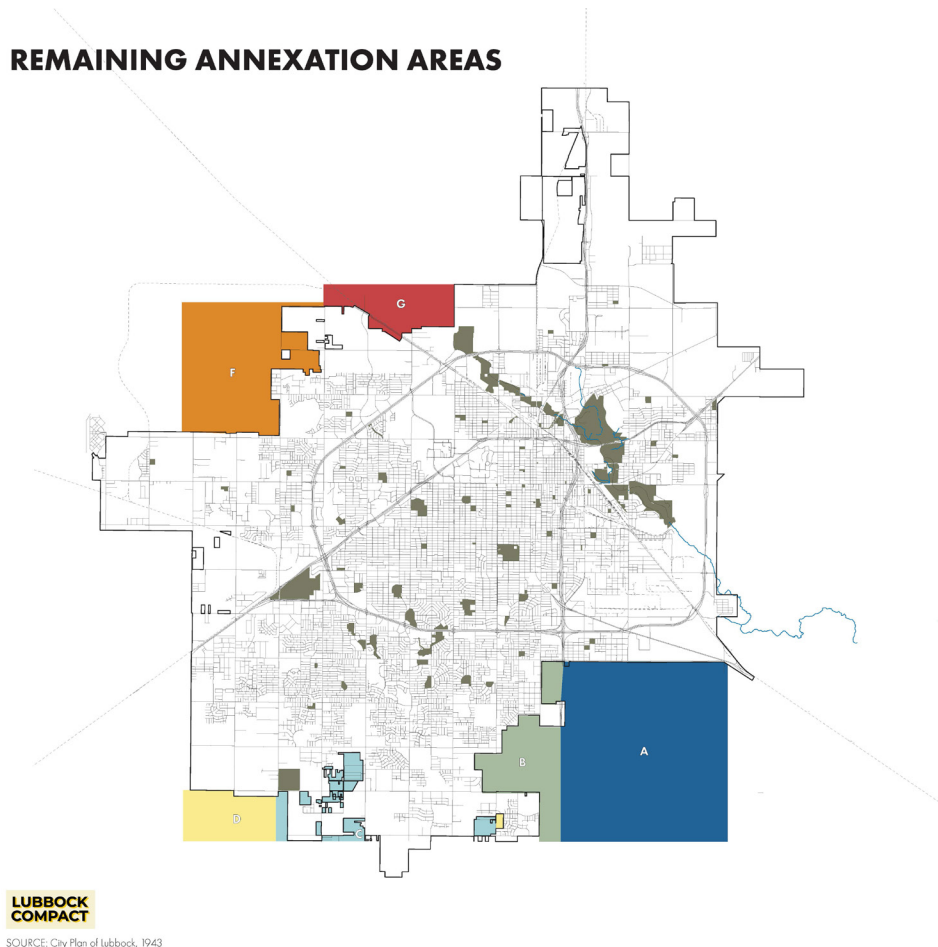
5.1 Annexation

Lubbock is caught in the same infrastructure mismatch that has caused many cities across the US to consider de-annexation policies to shed liabilities caused by urban sprawl. This process is referred to as right sizing. The reason for this is because the cost of maintaining roadways increases each year faster than inflation and growth of city revenues. Every aspect of infrastructure continues to climb in expense, making it more expensive every year to get the same amount of roadway.

Lubbock continues to annex additional land with the oft repeated mantra that growth is inevitable¹¹² and it is therefore necessary to continue expansion. From an urban planning perspective, the claim of inevitability is false. Rather, Lubbock's policies are optimized to promote low-density expansion, the preferred style of development for the local real estate community.

The current city council has already overseen the annexation of 4,479 acres¹¹³ of land over the vehement and vocal protests of people currently residing in those areas. In this “remaining annexation areas” map from 2015, most of areas E, F and H (and portions of B and C) had been annexed by the adoption of the 2040 plan.

REMAINING ANNEXATION AREAS



112 “Lubbock’s Set to Grow.”

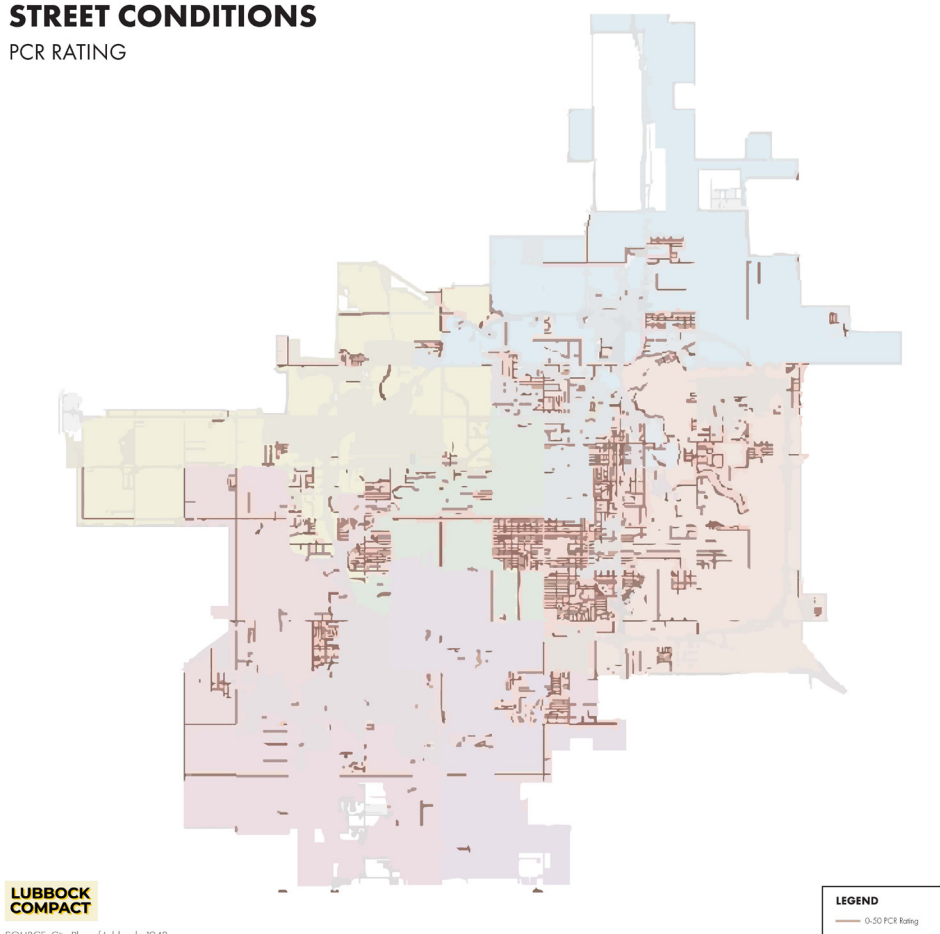
113 Sefko et al., “Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 75.”

5.2 Roads

Lubbock's current road liabilities are enormous. The city has ~1,200 miles of paved streets within the city.¹¹⁴ The map colors in red those roads that score less than 50 on the Pavement Condition Rating. At best they are considered in poor condition. Lubbock's stated goal is to maintain all roads above 80 PCR,¹¹⁵ meaning good condition.

STREET CONDITIONS

PCR RATING



SOURCE: City Plan of Lubbock, 1943

Rebuilding these roads costs either \$785,080 with curb and gutter replacement per mile or \$584,440 without curb and gutter.¹¹⁶ It is practically impossible for Lubbock to keep pace with rebuilding the roads already built. This is not unique to Lubbock, but to all cities still growing through unsustainable resource extraction. Without sustained citizen advocacy, cities of Lubbock's size lose interest in neighborhoods once they are built as the political value of road repair is low and using those dollars for new roads is advantageous for currying favor and not running afoul of the most powerful special interest in the city politics.

¹¹⁴ "City of Lubbock Street Maintenance Program."

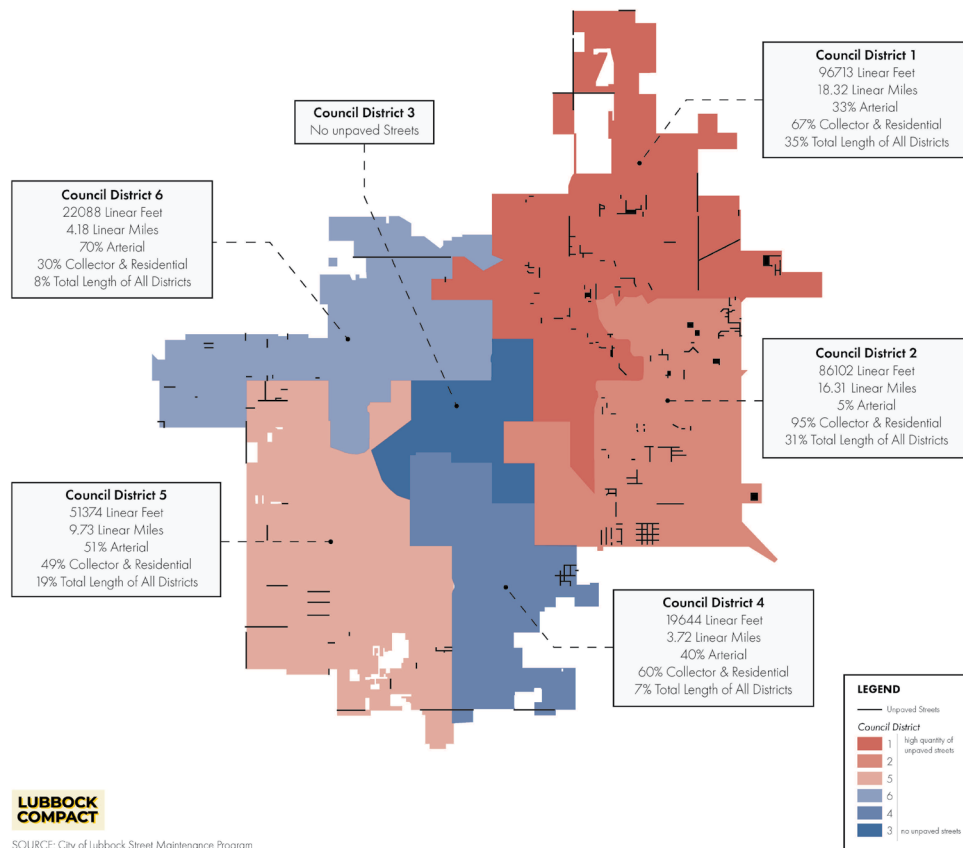
¹¹⁵ Ibid.

¹¹⁶ "Introduction of Future Capital Needs."

The disparities in infrastructure investments becomes clearer when examining dirt streets, where the majority are in Lubbock's minority neighborhoods:

UNPAVED STREETS

CITY OF LUBBOCK



It is important to note that there are not supposed to be permanent dirt residential streets within the city limits except for alleyways. There are currently 54 miles of dirt roads and the cost of paving them is \$800,000 per mile.¹¹⁷ The city budgeted \$400,000 in FY 2019-2020 for dirt streets in total.¹¹⁸ If all those dollars went to paving, Lubbock's dirt streets would be paved in 108 years. If the city were to pay for paving in a lump sum of \$43 million the cost would be \$3 million less than the \$46 million used to renovate Citizen's Tower.

The long-term chronic underinvestment in Old Lubbock infrastructure has significant impacts on the quality of life and desirability of neighborhoods to attract and retain residents. The neglect continues when examining city priorities towards new infrastructure. The map below shows current neighborhood home values in Lubbock based on quintiles and came with this accompanying quote from the city's 2040 Plan:

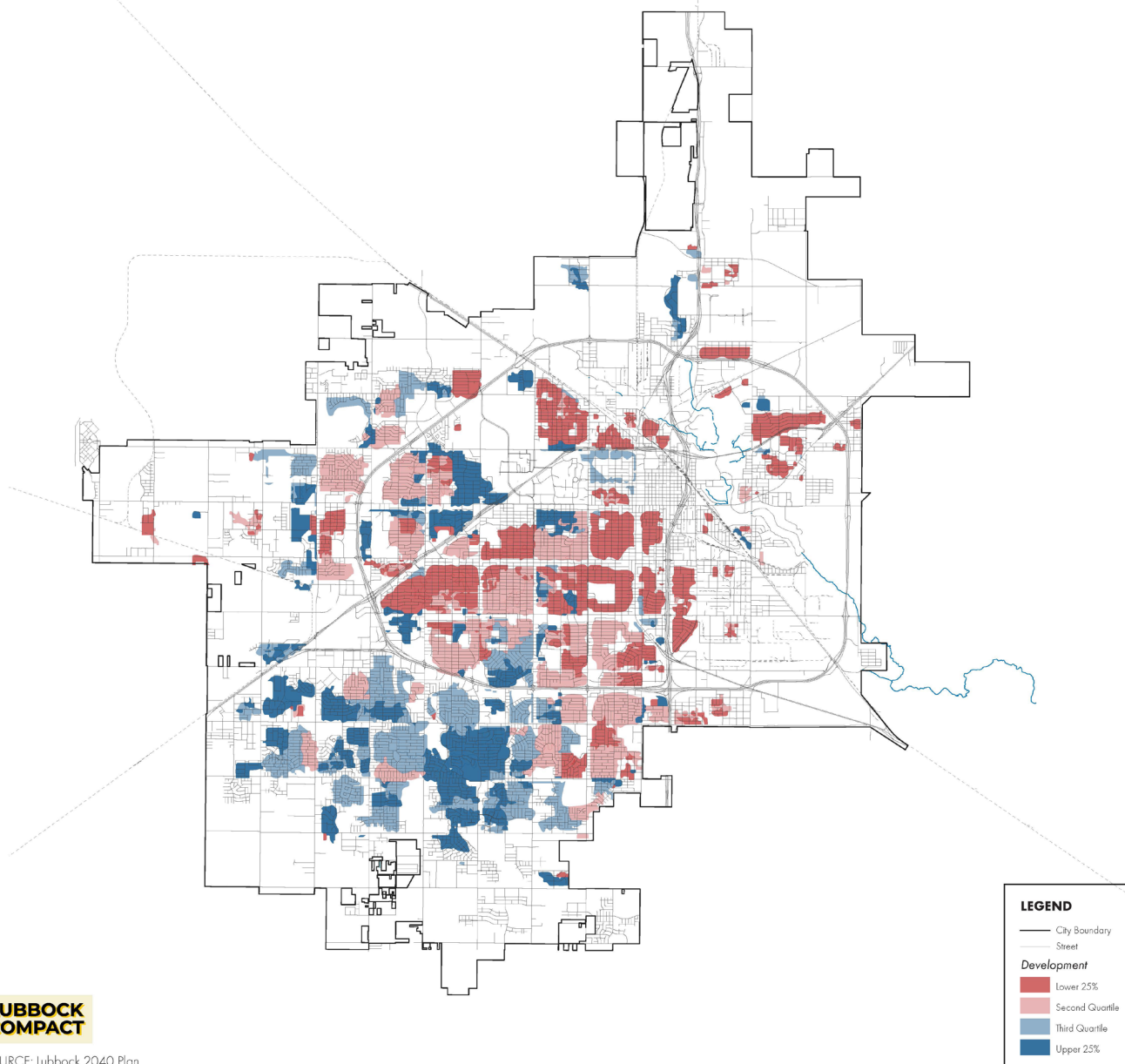
"Housing value in Lubbock is less compartmentalized than housing age, reiterating that many old homes retain or even appreciate in value. Homes valued in the upper 25 percent are located around Texas Tech and in south Lubbock. Homes in the median 50 percent are distributed throughout

117 Ibid.

118 Dotray, "20 Takeaways from Lubbock's Proposed 2019-20 Budget."

Lubbock, though generally to the west of I-27. Housing in the bottom 25 percent is highly concentrated within the loop, and most all housing east of I-27 is valued in the bottom 25 percent.”¹¹⁹

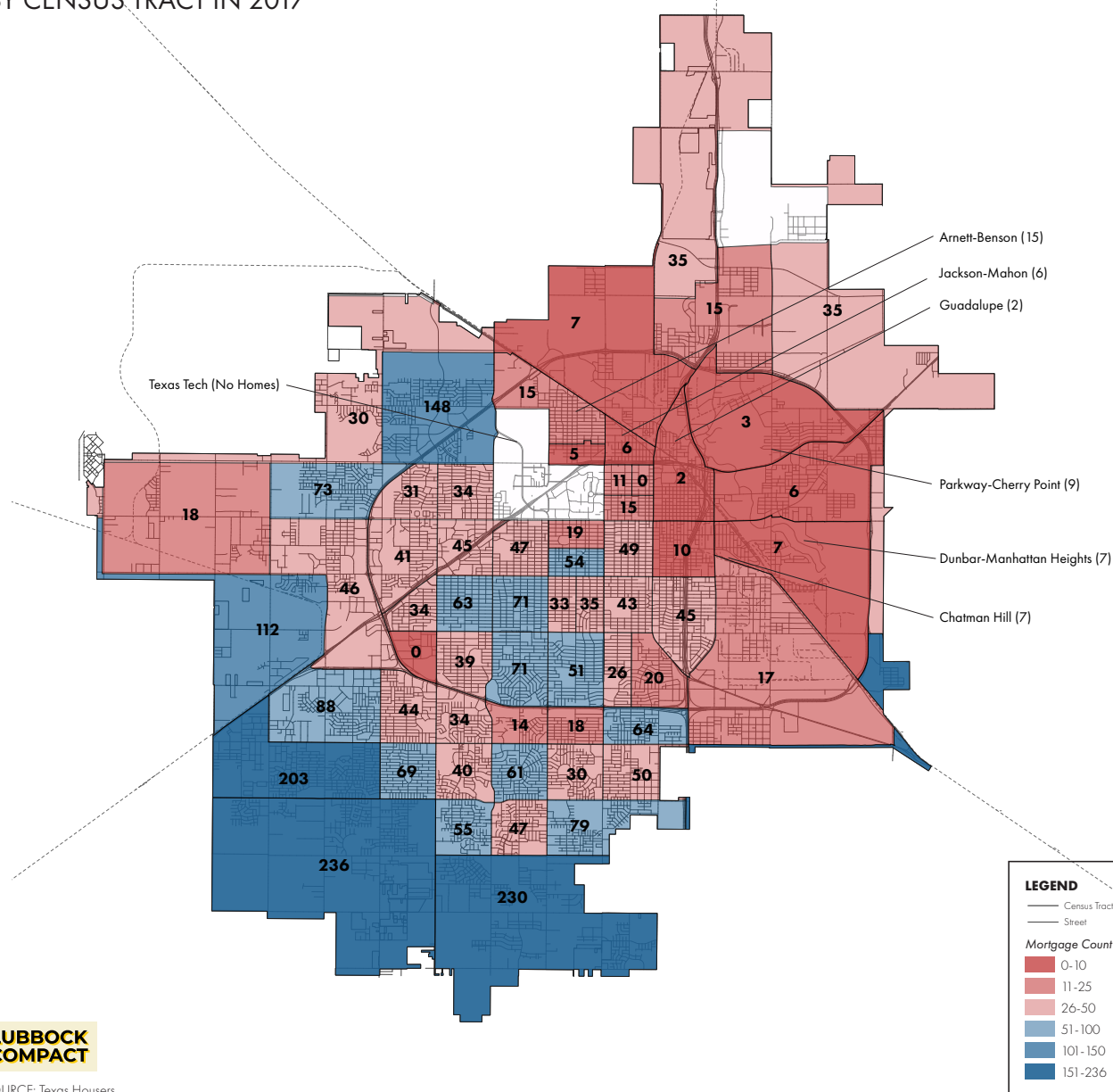
EXISTING RESIDENTIAL DEVELOPMENT



As stated in the quote above, home values in Lubbock cannot be simplistically viewed as being related to the age of the home alone. Still, the overall trend is that home values inside Loop 289 are worse. Certain neighborhoods maintain desirable status despite aging homes, as seen in rates of conventional mortgages, though the general trend provides echoes of redlining.

CONVENTIONAL MORTGAGES

BY CENSUS TRACT IN 2017



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

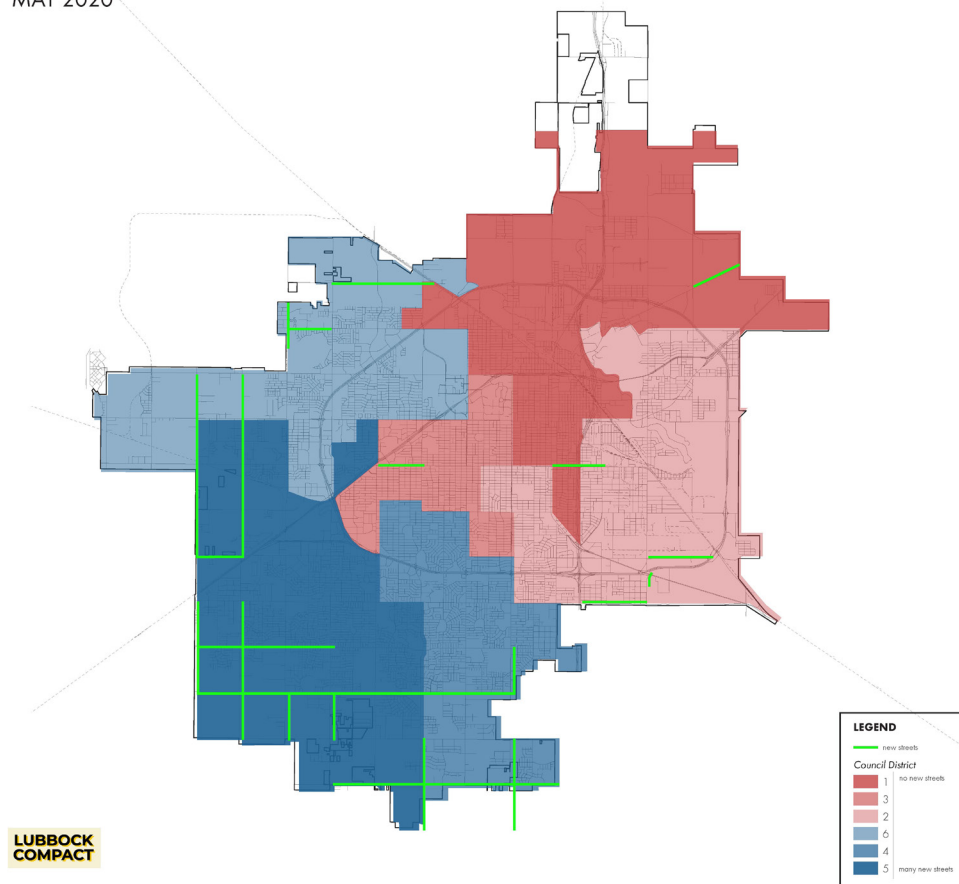
SOURCE: Texas Housers

The same trend appears with respect to home improvement loans, which provide an indication of where in Lubbock someone can expect to see equity value go up if they invest in their home. Even with the majority of housing being newly built, the areas with the highest number of loans are outside Loop 289.

The map below shows anticipated future street projects, these currently are financed through a regressive tax mechanism on Lubbock citizens to build New Lubbock with no citizen oversight. New streets are in green—almost all are in Southwest Lubbock.

FUTURE STREET PROJECTS

MAY 2020



With the costs of infrastructure so high, it's important to note where financing has come from to build out new South and West Lubbock—the “gateway” streets fund. By 2018 the fund financed \$124 million in street construction.¹²⁰ This overwhelmingly went towards creating Milwaukee Avenue and other projects in South Lubbock outside Loop 289.

The gateway fund is financed through a regressive tax on utilities that all citizens of Lubbock pay for. The technical mechanism and term is a “franchise fee” that the city is allowed to levy on all utility companies to use public right of way. On a deeper level of understanding, a significant amount of these fees come from payments from LP&L, the city’s municipal utility.

For the private entities that pay, like Atmos or Suddenlink, they simply act as a pass-through mechanism as the payer for their services is ultimately the one who bears the cost.

120 Dotray, “Leaders Say Lubbock’s Milwaukee Avenue Took Creative Funding, Project of Similar Scope Not Foreseen.”

Because they are either a public entity financed/owned by citizens or able to pass through the fee to customers, what is functionally happening is the city is levying a regressive tax on citizens through utility fees and using that money to raise debt for building outside Loop 289. Fees on essential services disproportionately impact low-income households.

Practically, this way of raising finances is simply an elaborately constructed regressive tax that hits the city's poorest citizens the most.

By passing an act of the council diverting 40% of these fees from going into the general fund to provide services for all Lubbock citizens, the city created a stable revenue source that it is legally allowed to use to raise debt.

An important distinction using this instead of traditional bond elections to finance infrastructure is that the gateway fund lacks citizen accountability or input on how its financing is spent. This lack of transparency empowers special interests to have an outsized role in directing how these dollars are used.

The FY 2019-2020 budget indicates \$8.1 million dollars in revenue was generated through this extractive mechanism.¹²¹ The overwhelming majority of that amount was allocated to future projects located in West Lubbock and South Lubbock in anticipation of the creation of the new outer Loop 88.

5.2.1 Loop 88

Lubbock is currently undertaking the initial phases of a new infrastructure project that will be the death knell for Lubbock inside the loop by stretching economic activity too thin and furthering the exodus of wealth from Old Lubbock.

Now inaccurately referred to as Loop 88 (originally proposed to be a new loop encircling all of Lubbock) this project will provide a major thoroughfare connector between far South Lubbock along 130th street and a north-south component that swings around Wolfforth to Clovis Highway.

The City of Lubbock has already committed \$10 million to the project, the bulk of the financing will come from non-local sources to complete a project with rough cost estimates between \$1-2 billion.¹²² The Milwaukee Avenue build out has shown how economically brittle Lubbock inside the loop has already become from stretching commercial activity out too far for Lubbock's adult dormitory housing model to continue to accommodate.

When Loop 88 is completed, children in south Lubbock could grow up without ever going to Old Lubbock.

¹²¹ Dotray, "20 Takeaways from Lubbock's Proposed 2019-20 Budget."

¹²² "Griffith: Loop 88 Will Be Just as Impactful as Loop 289."

6.0 Accessibility

6.1 Public Transit and Bicycling

As the city's job opportunities moved to Southwest Lubbock, the city did not make alterations to its public transit system to ensure low-income citizens had access.

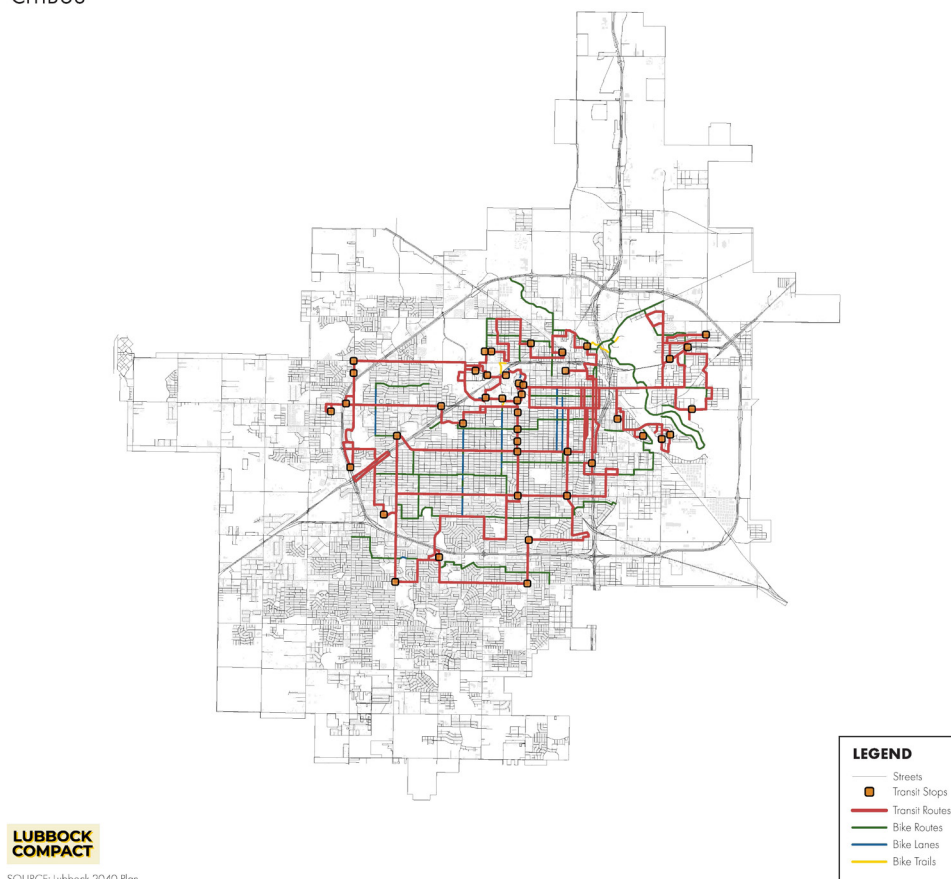
Lubbock is currently in the process of revamping its public transportation system, while this change is welcome, the city council has stated its desire for any reform to be budget neutral.

This is despite the incredible growth the city has had in the past twenty years. Public transit spending during that time was actually reduced by \$1 million in 2002 when the city lost federal funding because the population surpassed 200,000¹²³ and the city declined to pay for the shortfall.¹²⁴

What this means is that all the new developments and aggregation of economic activity in Southwest Lubbock was never made accessible by public transit. In fact, the current bike and transit route map does not even include Milwaukee in its visualization of Lubbock. This effectively bars easy and safe access to new southwest developments in Lubbock to those who rely on bicycling or public transit.

EXISTING TRANSIT ROUTES

CITIBUS



123 "Lubbock, Texas Population 2020."

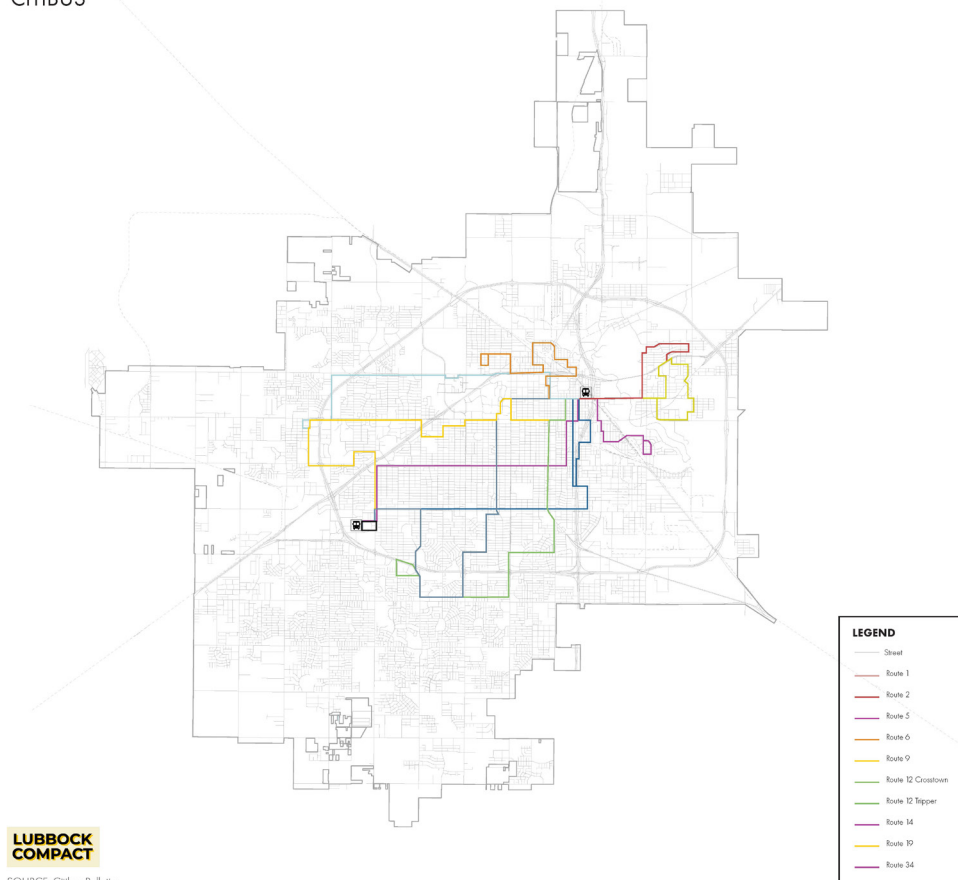
124 "The Rides Of Their Lives."

The budget for Citibus this year was \$14.2 million with the city contributing \$3.2 million to its operations.¹²⁵ Citibus' cost recovery ratio—how much it is able to collect in revenue from ridership versus its expenses—consistently stays above 50%.¹²⁶ This means that more than half of this public good is funded by its own income, not the taxpayers'. While this may sound low for a public good, a 50%+ cost recovery ratio is among the best in the nation.

Lubbock's transportation consultants gave a series of community presentations late 2019 that proposed new alternatives to the current routes. The graphic below shows their budget-neutral proposal that still does not include connectivity to Milwaukee Avenue.

ALTERNATIVE TRANSIT MAP

CITIBUS



In effect, the city took money from Old Lubbock, which is in desperate need of reinvestment, and used those resources to build new neighborhoods that were publicly inaccessible. This widens the socioeconomic gap between Old Lubbock and Southwest Lubbock. Lubbock's plans for public transit must include expanding fixed routes directly to these new economic corridors if it wishes to promote sustainable and equitable growth.

125 "Adopted Operating Budget & Capital Program FY19-20/Volume I."

126 "Lubbock Operating Budgets & Capital Programs, Volume 2, Page 89."

7.0 Homelessness

While there are various definitions of homelessness, the definition offering the most available data as well as drawing the greatest public concern is that of literal homelessness. The Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) defines literally homeless as an “individual or family who lacks a fixed, regular, and adequate nighttime residence.”¹²⁷ This may include places not meant for human habitation, congregate shelters, transitional housing, or hotels and motels paid for by charitable organizations or governmental programs. Literal homelessness does not include people living in doubled-up situations,¹²⁸ substandard housing, a hotel/motel paid for with their own funds, shelters designed for foster care or DFPS, Rapid Re-housing, or Permanent Supportive Housing. The prevalence and characteristics of people experiencing literal homelessness in the United States are surveyed at least annually through a HUD directed Point-in-Time (PIT) Count.¹²⁹ The PIT Count provides the best available data we have on homelessness in Lubbock.

One of the earliest known counts in Lubbock was conducted in 1992 by the Lubbock Homeless Consortium. It reported a total of 234 people experiencing literal homelessness, with 206 people in shelters and 28 unsheltered.¹³⁰ The earliest Lubbock PIT Count on record with HUD is from 2005. It reported 296 people in homelessness, with 248 in shelters and 48 unsheltered.¹³¹ Similar counts in the early 2000s reported total homelessness in the low 300s, with the majority of people being in shelters and between 12 and 38 people in unsheltered locations.

While this data is helpful in some regards, changes in definitions and methodology from these early counts to today limit comparisons. Consistency in definitions and methodology in recent years has improved Lubbock’s PIT data making comparisons more meaningful.^{132, 133}

In January 2020, the Lubbock PIT Count reported 283 total persons, of which 47% were female and 53% were male. 14% (40 individuals) were considered chronically homeless, defined as having been homeless for a year or more and having a disability.¹³⁴ 4.6% (13 individuals) identified as veterans. The racial breakdown of people experiencing homelessness in Lubbock was 64% White, 29% Black or African American (compared to 8% of the general population of Lubbock), 2% American Indian or Alaskan Native, 1% Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander, and 5% reported multiple races. 35% were Hispanic or Latino, matching Lubbock’s general population.

The largest demographic group was adults without children, totaling 189 individuals. Notably, within this

127 “Criteria and Recordkeeping Requirements for Definition of Homelessness.”

128 See Glossary.

129 “Point-in-Time Count and Housing Inventory Count.”

130 “Lubbock, TX Consolidated Plan for 1995 Executive Summary.”

131 “HUD’s 2005 Continuum of Care Homeless Assistance Programs Homeless Populations and Subpopulations.”

132 “2020 SHPC PIT Summary Reports.”

133 Wheeler, “Lubbock PIT Count Reports.”

134 “Federal Register / Vol. 80, No. 233.”

group 116 were unsheltered^{135, 136} and only 73 were in shelters or transitional housing facilities including The Salvation Army (41 individuals), Women's Protective Services (21 individuals), and Open Door Survivor Housing (11 individuals). Among those in shelters, 40 were female and 29 were male. Location trends based on gender, reversed for those in unsheltered locations with 32 females and 83 males unsheltered, making unsheltered men one of the largest subgroups in Lubbock.

Among the 83 unsheltered men, 7.2% were ages 18-24, 80% were ages 25-54, and 13% were 55 and older. The racial breakdown of this group was 62% White (compared to 80% of the general population of Lubbock), 27% Black or African American, 5% American Indian or Alaskan Native, and 2% Multiple Races. 35% were Hispanic or Latino.¹³⁷

Among the 94 persons in families with at least one child, 34 were adults and 60 were children. All of them were in shelters including Women's Protective Services (44 individuals among 15 households), The Salvation Army (20 individuals among 5 households), Open Door Survivor Housing (16 individuals among 5 households), and Family Promise (14 individuals among 5 households).

Out of the total number of people surveyed in the 2020 Lubbock PIT Count, 47%, the largest group, had been homelessness less than 3 months, 16% between 4-6 months, 14% between 7-11 months, 15% between 1-2 years, and 7% for 3 years or more. For comparison, in the Texas Balance of State Continuum of Care (TX BoS CoC), made up of 215 counties including Lubbock, the average length of time individuals and families remained homeless in 2018 was 53 days.¹³⁸ However, because this data does not include people in unsheltered locations, the average length of time in homelessness for all people is likely higher.

According to Lubbock PIT Count data, total homelessness in Lubbock decreased by 35% from 2017 to 2020. In the same period, unsheltered homelessness decreased by 64%, from 326 to 116, chronic homelessness decreased by 53%, from 85 to 40 individuals, Veteran homelessness decreased by 50%, from 26 to 13, the number of adults without children decreased by 48%, 363 to 189, and the number of people in shelters increased by 86%, from 90 to 167. These changes are exceptional signs of progress in Lubbock. Comparatively, the total number of people experiencing homelessness in the United States increased by 3%, chronic homelessness increased by 11%, and veteran homelessness decreased by 7% from 2017-2019. The number of families with children in Lubbock, however, increased by 32%, from 71 to 94 people in families, compared to a 7% decrease nationally.¹³⁹

The most recent data on homelessness in Lubbock was collected prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. Prior to the pandemic, the U.S. was already experiencing a homelessness crisis with systems vastly under-resourced

¹³⁵ Officially, the 2020 Lubbock PIT recorded 88 unsheltered surveys and 28 observation surveys. Observation surveys are recorded when an individual or household declines to participate in the survey or in situations when conducting a survey may be impossible or unsafe. After reviewing the raw data from the 2020 PIT Count, there is reasonable evidence to conclude that most if not all of the observation surveys represent unsheltered individuals.

¹³⁶ "HUD Point-in-Time Count for Lubbock County."

¹³⁷ "2020 Point-in-Time: South Plains Homeless Consortium."

¹³⁸ "Average Length of Stay in ES-SH-TH."

¹³⁹ "State of Homelessness: 2020 Edition."

to meet the needs. Not only are people experiencing homelessness at greater risk of health complications related to COVID-19, the impacts of the economic and housing crises increase the possibility of a massive increase in homelessness. Some experts have predicted a 40 to 45% increase in total homelessness across the country in 2020, amounting to 250,000 new people entering homelessness.¹⁴⁰ The current or projected impact on the number of new people entering homelessness in Lubbock is unknown.

7.1 Places Not Meant for Human Habitation in Lubbock

Places not meant for human habitation commonly include streets, sidewalks, under bridges and overpasses, alleyways, doorways, parks, abandoned buildings, transportation stations, vehicles, tents, outdoor encampments, shanties, and structures without electricity, plumbing, or HVAC (not including substandard housing). On any given night, the majority of adults without children experiencing homelessness in Lubbock live in places not meant for human habitation.

The earliest record from 1992 counted 28 people living in unsheltered locations in Lubbock. The number of unsheltered individuals seems to have peaked in 2017 with 274 recorded in the PIT Count. The largest concentrations of people in unsheltered locations in Lubbock have historically been located near the downtown area, although concentrations were also found in North Overton prior to the mass displacement of its residents in the early 2000s.¹⁴¹ As early as 2004, there were reports of a large concentration of people living behind the Mahon Library.¹⁴² Following the passing of the 2010 City of Lubbock curfew ordinance,¹⁴³ many of those living in unsheltered locations in the downtown area were scattered to other areas or relocated to a “tent city,” first at Gateway Plaza at the corner of Broadway and Avenue Q and then on a lot east of I-27 at 13th and Avenue A. Today, the highest concentrations of people in unsheltered locations are found along Avenue Q from Clovis Hwy to 50th Street. While these are the highest concentrations, people living in unsheltered locations can be found across Lubbock.

7.2 Emergency Services: Shelters, Outreach, and Day Services in Lubbock

Emergency Services such as shelters, street outreach, and day services can play a critical role in ending homelessness. Emergency Shelters (ES) are often gateways into the Housing Crisis Response System (HCRS). High functioning Emergency Shelters “offer immediate and low-barrier access to anyone facing a housing crisis.”¹⁴⁴ Low-barrier access places the minimum number of expectations on those seeking shelter and/or services. Common barriers to shelter include sobriety, employment, income, and personal identification requirements. The goal in high functioning shelters is to divert from or resolve the experience of homelessness as quickly as possible. Since the majority of people who experience homelessness nationally have relatively short stays in Emergency Shelters (less than 30 days), 80% never return to homelessness¹⁴⁵ and the majority resolve their homelessness on their own, all emergency services (and Coordinated Entry Points) should practice Diversion (assisting people with service needs while diverting them away from the Housing Crisis Response System to safe, appropriate housing) and deliver housing-focused services (gearing

140 “Analysis on Unemployment Projects 40-45% Increase in Homelessness This Year.”

141 Privett, *Failure Is Not an Option: Delbert McDougal: A Developer's Unconventional Wisdom*, Page 62.

142 Aaron, “Lubbock’s Problem with Homelessness Goes Unnoticed, Official Says.”

143 Blackburn, “Lubbock Council Gives Final Approval to Curfew Ordinance.”

144 “Emergency Shelter Learning Series.”

145 De Jong, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*, 60.

all services toward an exit to permanent housing).

Similar to Emergency Shelters, Transitional Housing (TH) provides temporary accommodations with more intensive services that are often focused on special populations such as youth, families, or victims of sex trafficking. Once a favored intervention, Transitional Housing has been criticized for requiring participants to “climb the ladder” out of homelessness and has largely been replaced nationally by the more effective Housing First approach used in Rapid Re-Housing.^{146, 147} Iain De Jong offered the following critique on Transitional Housing in his book, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*:

“There is really no need for transitional housing for most people. It doesn’t actually work well, though it may be helpful for people who have finished a residential recovery program, have just left incarceration, and perhaps some youth populations. In the instances of those population groups, transitional housing works best when it functions more as a bridge between one previous residential setting and another permanent housing setting rather than as a program with progressive steps to be aggressively followed. But by and large, people are more likely to be successful in permanent housing with supports than to graduate out of transitional housing - though I will say there seems to be better results for scattered site, “transition in place” models than site-based transitional housing that requires people to move when they “graduate” from the program.”¹⁴⁸

The Salvation Army is currently the only provider of Emergency Shelter and Transitional Housing facilities in Lubbock that is open to all populations. Grace Campus (formerly known as Tent City) provides adult-only shelter in “tiny houses” but to date these have not been included in HUD’s Housing Inventory Count (HIC).^{149, 150} Women’s Protective Services and Family Promise also provide emergency shelter dedicated to special populations.^{151, 152} In the 2020 Housing Inventory Count, these shelters reported the following number of beds available for occupancy on the night of the PIT Count.¹⁵³

AVAILABLE SHELTER BEDS

LUBBOCK COMPACT

Provider Name	Family Beds	Adult-Only Beds	Overflow/Voucher Beds	Total
The Salvation Army of Lubbock ES	45	47	0	92
Women’s Protective Services ES	70	21	19	110
Family Promise of Lubbock ES	15	0	0	15
The Salvation Army of Lubbock TH	12	21	0	33
Open Door Survivor Housing TH	15	15	0	30

It is important to note the high contrast between the 116 unsheltered individuals on the night of the PIT

¹⁴⁶ Darrah, “How a HUD Policy Change Is Upending Housing for the Homeless.”

¹⁴⁷ “The Continuum of Care ‘Tier 2’ Awards: What Happened?”

¹⁴⁸ De Jong, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*, 13.

¹⁴⁹ “CoC Housing Inventory Count Reports.”

¹⁵⁰ Moore, “Grace Campus Changes Trajectory of Lives Caught in Homelessness.”

¹⁵¹ “Women’s Protective Services: Our Services.”

¹⁵² “Family Promise of Lubbock: History.”

¹⁵³ “Final 2020 Housing Inventory Count.”

Count and the 47 adult-only shelter beds available for the general population. The adult-only shelter beds at Women’s Protective Services and transitional housing beds at Open Door Survivor Housing should only be included with the acknowledgement that individuals only qualify for these beds if they meet specific criteria. The math is obvious: there are far more unsheltered individuals in Lubbock than there are shelter and transitional housing beds available. Even if all unsheltered individuals on a given night sought shelter, met all of the criteria, and followed every requirement perfectly, available beds would still be lacking and insufficient to meet the need.

Day Services such as Open Door’s Community Center, The Salvation Army’s Empowerment Room, St. Benedict’s Chapel, and a list of soup kitchens and clothing closets provide a variety of services during the day such as shelter from the elements, meals, showers, mail and phone services, personal storage, Diversion services, Coordinated Entry assessments, referrals to housing, and other services. It is important to note that while some people experiencing homelessness access these services, many more housed, low-income individuals and households also access these services. For example, at popular soup kitchens like First United Methodist Church’s Second Helpings, St. Benedict’s Chapel, Impact Lubbock’s Wednesday meal, and Carpenter’s Kitchen’s Sunday lunch, the majority of patrons are housed, not homeless. While some of these services broadly assist people in poverty, emergency services targeting people in homelessness should always be very low-barrier and housing-focused.

The Lubbock Police Department’s Homeless Outreach Team (LPD HOT) is Lubbock’s most active street outreach service. Since 2016, HOT has been one of the only organizations maintaining contact with unsheltered individuals not accessing other service facilities.¹⁵⁴ They have built rapport with both homeless populations and service providers in Lubbock that were not previously fostered through LPD. While some street outreach services tend to focus on measuring the number of contacts made, such as the distribution of supplies, high functioning street outreach teams measure housing outputs (i.e. how many people they assist in connecting to housing interventions). LPD HOT is most effective when they focus their efforts on connecting unsheltered individuals to critical housing interventions rather than responding to the frequent, mostly minor complaints of business owners and concerned citizens for things like loitering.

7.3 Housing Issues

7.3.1 *Rapid Re-Housing in Lubbock*

Rapid Re-housing (RRH) has largely replaced Transitional Housing in the U.S. as a more efficient and effective housing intervention for individuals and households needing time-limited supportive services in permanent housing. After a maximum of 24 months in Transitional Housing, a household is required to transition into permanent housing. Using the Housing First approach, Rapid Re-housing quickly moves individuals or households into permanent housing and provides rental assistance and supportive services for up to 24 months. After this period of time, the household remains in permanent housing while the services are phased out to ensure housing stability.

154 “Homeless Outreach Team (H.O.T.).”

In Lubbock, VetStar¹⁵⁵ is a great example of a successful RRH program. With far more RRH funding available through Supportive Services for Veteran Families (SSVF) than through Lubbock’s Emergency Solutions Grant (ESG) Program,¹⁵⁶ they are able to provide robust supportive services for veterans with medium-term rental assistance. The significant funding limitations of Lubbock’s ESG makes providing adequate supportive services and rental assistance beyond 1-month effectively impossible. This makes prioritizing RRH for the individuals and families who need it most even more difficult since they often require longer-term assistance. Lubbock desperately needs more funding for RRH for general populations. Additional funding is available through the State ESG Program, administered by Texas Department of Housing and Community Affairs (TDHCA) and the Continuum of Care Program grant administered by Texas Homeless Network.¹⁵⁷ Lubbock agencies are eligible to apply through both programs; however, as of 2020 no Lubbock RRH applications have been funded.

In the 2020 Housing Inventory Count, these providers reported the following number of Rapid Re-Housing beds available for occupancy on the night of the PIT Count.¹⁵⁸

AVAILABLE SHELTER BEDS

LUBBOCK COMPACT

Provider Name	Family Beds	Adult-Only Beds	Overflow/Voucher Beds	Total
VetStar (StarCare SSVF RRH)	2	30	0	32
Family Promise of Lubbock ESG-RRH	3	0	0	3
The Salvation Army of Lubbock ESG-RRH	0	0	0	0

7.3.2 Permanent Supportive Housing in Lubbock

“Permanent Supportive Housing (PSH) is an intervention that combines affordable housing assistance with voluntary support services to address the needs of chronically homeless people.”¹⁵⁹ Using *Coordinated Entry*,¹⁶⁰ the chronicity (length of time in homelessness) and acuity (the severity of service needs) of an individual or household are assessed and then used to prioritize them for housing. In PSH, people with the longest experience of homelessness and the most severe service needs are assisted first. Participants in PSH pay 30% of their income toward rent and utilities while the remaining cost is covered through rental assistance. PSH participants are on a standard lease agreement and typically live in market-rate apartments scattered through a community. Effectiveness in PSH is measured by housing retention (the number of housed participants who stay housed), 85% or higher being considered effective.

In the 2020 Housing Inventory Count, these providers reported the following number of Permanent Supportive Housing beds available for occupancy on the night of the PIT Count.¹⁶¹

¹⁵⁵ “TexVet: VetStar.”

¹⁵⁶ As an entitlement community, the City of Lubbock receives an allocation of funding from HUD’s Emergency Solutions Grant (ESG) Program.

¹⁵⁷ “Texas Homeless Network: Texas Balance of State Continuum of Care Program.”

¹⁵⁸ “Final 2020 Housing Inventory Count.”

¹⁵⁹ “Permanent Supportive Housing.”

¹⁶⁰ See Glossary.

¹⁶¹ “Final 2020 Housing Inventory Count.”

AVAILABLE PERMANENT SUPPORTIVE HOUSING BEDS

LUBBOCK COMPACT

Provider Name	Family Beds	Adult-Only Beds	Overflow/Voucher Beds	Total
Housing Authority of Lubbock (HUD-VASH)	19	56	0	75
Open Door PSH	0	37	0	37

HUD-VASH, administered through the Lubbock Housing Authority (LHA) combines HUD vouchers with VA supportive services to provide PSH to veterans who are homeless and their families. In recent years, HUD-VASH and VetStar have significantly reduced Veteran homelessness in Lubbock.

Funded primarily through HUD's Continuum of Care Program grant, Open Door Supportive Housing (Open Door PSH) began in 2017 and is dedicated to adults without children exiting chronic homelessness. Open Door PSH has a housing retention rate of 93%. Open Door was awarded an expansion to their PSH program which will add funding for an additional 40 households exiting chronic homelessness beginning in September 2020.¹⁶² Open Door also served as a partnering homeless service organization in a 2019 Lubbock Housing Authority (LHA) application for 25 new Housing Choice Vouchers through HUD's Mainstream Voucher Program.¹⁶³ Through this partnership, some of these vouchers will be paired with supportive services provided by Open Door to provide permanent supportive housing for additional individuals exiting chronic homelessness. Use of these vouchers is anticipated to begin by the end of 2020.

7.3.3 Other Permanent Housing

The Lubbock Housing Authority (LHA) provides Public Housing and Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV) for low income families, the elderly, and people with disabilities. While the majority of LHA units and vouchers do not serve people who met the definition of homelessness at entry, they have dedicated some of its HCVs for people exiting homelessness, a best practice recommended by the US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD). LHA has enormous potential to help end homelessness in Lubbock by applying for and dedicating more HCVs through HUD's Mainstream Voucher Program.

LHA has long been underfunded with hundreds of people on closed waiting lists which often stay closed for years only to be exhausted within hours of opening. For example, in 1992, LHA had 637 public housing units, of which 15% were vacant and substandard, and 361 Section 8 vouchers.¹⁶⁴ The waiting list for public housing was 2-3 years and 1-2 years for vouchers.¹⁶⁵ In 2019, LHA owned and managed 367 public housing units scattered throughout Lubbock and provided Section 8 Housing Choice Vouchers (HCV) to more than 900 households.¹⁶⁶ Both of these lists remain closed. Taken together, LHA has added less than 300 new units and vouchers, an increase of only 27%, in almost 30 years. In the same time the Lubbock population has grown by nearly 40%.¹⁶⁷ The result is greater housing instability for Lubbock's low income population, increasing the potential of homelessness.

¹⁶² "Roast & Toast - Chad & Jaime Wheeler."

¹⁶³ "AJs List: Classifieds."

¹⁶⁴ "Lubbock, TX Consolidated Plan for 1995 Executive Summary."

¹⁶⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶⁶ "Low Income Public Housing."

¹⁶⁷ "QuickFacts: Lubbock County, Texas."

7.4 Myths and Misconceptions

Accurate data on homelessness and housing is essential to developing appropriate responses. It is also helpful in dispelling myths and misconceptions. While there are many myths surrounding homelessness in Lubbock, among the most prevalent are: some people just want to be homeless, if you build it they will come, ending homelessness is impossible, and preventing homelessness is the most important priority.

7.4.1 Myth: Some People Just Want To Be Homeless

Unfortunately, this view has been perpetuated by the most staunch opponents of homeless services as well as homeless service providers and people experiencing homelessness themselves. As one local homeless service provider stated, “There will always be those who don’t want to better their lives. They just want a place to flop. Sometimes this sentiment is shared as an explanation for those an agency has excluded or been unable to help. Often it expresses contempt for those “behaving badly,” stating that “if they didn’t want to be homeless they would stop drinking, follow the rules, get a job, etc.” For many people in homelessness, these statements are ways of deflecting the shame associated with a situation in which they may feel powerless to resolve.

However, numerous examples show that if people in homelessness are given a choice, people overwhelmingly choose housing.¹⁶⁸ The problem is, people are rarely given the choice of housing without pre-conditions or hoops to jump through. When an agency or the average citizen sees someone on the street rather than in a shelter, they may assume they don’t want help, but do they consider the requirements that may prevent them from being there? Some of these requirements include having an ID, sleeping in a congregate shelter near dozens of other people, forfeiting personal privacy and independence, getting a job, being sober, managing a mental illness, arriving, and leaving at particular times, times that may conflict with employment or transportation, participation in religious activities, and more. On a deeper level, choice itself is complicated. Choice implies having multiple options, being aware of those options, and having the capacity to weigh those options and make the best choice. The instability and trauma of homelessness alone challenges a person’s ability to make sustainable choices. When substance use disorder, mental illness, criminal background, family violence, physical disability, or other conditions are involved, the choices may become exponentially more difficult.

Housing First,¹⁶⁹ discussed in detail in the final section of this report, has proven that the problem is not that people choose homelessness, but that the system addressing homelessness rarely offers the choice of housing. Rather, housing was only offered as a reward for choosing to stay in a shelter, following its rules, schedule, and process—get sober, get a job, and jump through other unnecessary hoops. Housing First has shown that given the choice, people will overwhelmingly choose housing and that in housing a person’s capacity for making other choices exponentially expands and improves.

7.4.2 Myth: If You Build It They Will Come

For decades, Lubbockites have repeated the myth that people in homelessness are hopping trains and coming to Lubbock because of the services, as if it is a hot destination for homelessness. Nevermind the

¹⁶⁸ De Jong, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*, 15.

¹⁶⁹ “Housing First.”

blisteringly hot, windy summers; bitterly cold and windy winters; or the land-locked geography, hundreds of miles from the next major city, this is the place to be... on the streets? What a Lubbock Avalanche Journal opinion piece called, “a valid opposing view,” many Lubbockites believe “accommodating the homeless” creates a “magnet for populations of those who would choose to exist as beneficiaries of a publicly supported system from which they take what they need or desire and to which they contribute little or nothing.”¹⁷⁰ This myth suggests that more homeless services and more housing will simply attract more people in homelessness. The solution? Minimize homeless services and housing to minimize homelessness.

In reality, the Lubbock PIT Count consistently shows that the majority of people experiencing homelessness in Lubbock are from Lubbock. The 2020 PIT Count showed 76% were from Lubbock, another 5% from the surrounding South Plains Association of Governments (SPAG) counties, and another 11% from other Texas counties.¹⁷¹ In other words, 8 out of 10 people experiencing homelessness in Lubbock are from Lubbock and the immediately surrounding counties and more than 9 out of 10 are from Texas.

This myth also assumes that people in homelessness have a high level of mobility--strange for a population largely without vehicles or economic stability. When in crisis, the vast majority of people do not move to entirely unfamiliar places, they stay close to their home environment. Certainly, people do not choose the crisis of homelessness because they’ve heard they can have it so good living in a shelter or a tent, forfeiting personal choice and independence so they can eat whenever and whatever someone else decides to serve them, walking miles between services, and enduring public shame. The vast majority of people in homelessness are experiencing a crisis not far from their former home. They are not welfare tourists.

7.4.3 Myth: Ending Homelessness Is Impossible

Tied to the previous two myths is the belief that ending homelessness is impossible. Of course, if some people just want to be homeless and if the more you try to help, the more people you attract, then efforts to end homelessness are impossible. Believing this myth inevitably causes communities to focus on managing homelessness, and managing homelessness inevitably becomes about further marginalizing people in homelessness and homeless services. Communities believing this myth do not focus on housing, they focus on criminalizing homelessness by using enforcement to push people out of sight and segregating services (using zoning and NIMBY [Not in My Back Yard] pressure to push people into undesirable geographic areas).

While it is impossible to entirely prevent human and public crises from happening,¹⁷² it is entirely possible to end homelessness. Home, Together: the Federal Strategic Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness, defines ending homelessness as “every community [having] a systemic response in place that ensures homelessness is prevented whenever possible, or if it can’t be prevented, it is a rare, brief, and one-time experience.”¹⁷³ Ending homelessness in Lubbock means having a system that prevents people from entering homelessness whenever possible, and when it can’t be prevented, having the resources in place to quickly return people to permanent housing. There is no reason why a person should remain homeless for months or years in Lubbock.

170 “Our View: Homeless Fix Must Balance Needs.”

171 “HUD Point-in-Time Count for Lubbock County.”

172 “Housing Search Assistance Toolkit.”

173 “Home, Together: The Federal Strategic Plan to Prevent and End Homelessness, 7.”

If this sounds like an idealistic dream, consider the 78 communities and 3 states that have ended veteran homelessness or the 4 communities that have ended both Veteran and chronic homelessness.¹⁷⁴ For these communities, ending homelessness means that the community has the capacity to swiftly house the total number of people experiencing homelessness at any given time.¹⁷⁵ With 13 veterans and 40 people in chronic homelessness reported in the 2020 Lubbock PIT Count, ending homelessness for these subpopulations in Lubbock is very achievable.

7.4.4 Myth: Preventing Homelessness Is The Most Important Priority

The 1995 Lubbock Consolidated Plan stated, “Literal homelessness is not as pressing a problem as marginal hopelessness [sic] according to the Census and Consortium data. The group most in need is the marginally homeless whose numbers are continually rising for many reasons.”¹⁷⁶ This thinking continues to pervade the minds of many homeless advocates today. Iain De Jong offers an extensive critique of this view in his book, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*.

“If we’re talking about a whole structural change of social, employment, income assistance, education, health, children’s services and the like, I would be interested. But that is not what most people are talking about when they go down this road... I would posit that people who want to do prevention are actually fixated on helping people with rental arrears or utility arrears. They may even try to tell you about the number of people they helped last year and how many people did not become homeless because of their efforts. They will present data in this way in order to fool you into believing their effectiveness. Does demand for utility and rental arrears prove effectiveness or necessity? Nope.”¹⁷⁷

The problem is that predicting who will become homeless is virtually impossible. In comparing households that meet eligibility criteria for homeless prevention, but do not receive assistance, the overwhelming majority do not become homeless. The majority of people who qualify for rental or utility arrears assistance simply resolve the issue without the need of homeless prevention assistance. “The important lesson?” writes De Jong, “Save your homeless service dollars for helping people who actually become homeless.”¹⁷⁸ Instead of expending enormous resources hoping to prevent an unpredictable experience of homelessness, Lubbock should focus its resources on those already experiencing homelessness primarily through housing-focused Diversion, Rapid Re-Housing, and Permanent Supportive Housing.

7.5 Lubbock’s Attempts to Address Homelessness

While homelessness has existed in Lubbock in some form throughout its history, an increase in homelessness and public awareness of homelessness took place at least by the late 1980s and early 1990s.¹⁷⁹ The Lubbock Consolidated Plan, led by the City of Lubbock Community Development Department and developed from

174 “Communities That Have Ended Homelessness.”

175 To date these efforts have focused on the subpopulations of Veteran homelessness and chronic homelessness.

176 “Lubbock, TX Consolidated Plan for 1995 Executive Summary.”

177 De Jong, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*, 16-17.

178 Ibid.

179 This mirrors the dramatic increase in homelessness and public concern nationwide in the 1980s.

1991 with the start of the Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (CHAS)¹⁸⁰ through 1994, is perhaps the first community-wide effort to assess and make recommendations regarding homelessness in Lubbock. As part of this process, two subcommittees were developed: The Special Needs and Homelessness Subcommittee and The Committee of Housing Professionals. In 1994, these subcommittees became the Homeless Consortium and the Housing Consortium.¹⁸¹ In 1999 the Homeless Consortium incorporated as the Lubbock Homeless Consortium, Inc. and is today known as the South Plains Homeless Consortium.

The City of Lubbock Community Development Department is responsible for submitting a Consolidated Plan to HUD every 3 to 5 years. Lubbock's most recent Consolidated Plan was submitted in 2019 for 2019-2023.¹⁸² Essentially, Consolidated Plans are used by communities to identify housing and community development priorities.

As an entitlement community, the City of Lubbock receives annual HUD grants on a formula basis determined by "community need, including the extent of poverty, population, housing overcrowding, age of housing, and population growth lag in relationship to other metropolitan areas."¹⁸³ While there are a number of ways these grants can be used to impact homelessness, the Emergency Solutions Grants (ESG) Program is the primary funding source used for this purpose through the City of Lubbock. ESG funding can be used for Street Outreach (SO), Emergency Shelter (ES), Homelessness Prevention (HP), Rapid Re-housing (RRH), Homeless Management Information System (HMIS), and Administration.^{184, 185} Lubbock ESG received \$183,385 in 2020,¹⁸⁶ not including ESG-CV allocated through the CARES Act in response to COVID-19. After administrative costs up to 7.5% are deducted by the City of Lubbock, there remains about \$170,000 which has previously been split between three organizations: The Salvation Army, Women's Protective Services, and Family Promise for Emergency Shelter and Rapid Re-Housing.^{187, 188} There is a cap of 60% on the allocation of funding for Emergency Shelter and Street Outreach. If maximized, roughly \$68,000 per year remains available for funding other components including Rapid Re-housing. If these funds are split evenly between three organizations and allocated to the limits, each organization would receive roughly \$34,000 for Emergency Shelter and \$22,500 for Rapid Re-housing each year.

The following table compares the HUD funding Lubbock has received for the last three years. It is worth noting that in response to COVID-19 the CARES Act dramatically increased the ESG and CDBG funding available to Lubbock in 2020.

180 "Lubbock, TX Consolidated Plan for 1995 Executive Summary."

181 Ibid.

182 "2019 - 2023 Consolidated Plan."

183 "CDBG Entitlement Program Eligibility Requirements."

184 In FY2018, Lubbock ESG was used for Emergency Shelter and Rapid Rehousing only, with 120 total persons (67 adults and 53 children) receiving Rapid Rehousing assistance and 1,911 total persons (1,374 adults and 536 children) receiving Emergency Shelter assistance.

185 "Comprehensive Annual Performance Evaluation Report (CAPER)."

186 "HUD Awards and Allocations."

187 "Community Development 2014-2015 Project Guide."

188 "Comprehensive Annual Performance Evaluation Report (CAPER)."

LUBBOCK HUD FUNDING**LUBBOCK COMPACT**

Program Name	2018	2019	2020
ESG	\$169,987	\$172,276	\$183,385
ESG CV1	N/A	N/A	\$632,362
ESG CV2	N/A	N/A	\$1,385,225
CDBG	\$2,030,304	\$2,087,064	\$2,112,746
CDBG CV1	N/A	N/A	\$1,242,859
HOME	\$975,878	\$887,191	\$948,814

ESG is the smallest of the annual HUD entitlement grants received by the City of Lubbock, by far. CDBG funding can also be used to address homelessness, although to date Lubbock does not use CDBG for this purpose. With the Public Service portion of CDBG (15% or \$316,911 in 2020 not including CDBG-CV) funds can be used for the costs of operating a homeless shelter, including the costs related to implementing and operating HMIS, emergency payment of rent and utilities for up to 3 months, and providing supportive services in supportive housing.^{189, 190}

By allocating the Public Service portion of CDBG, the City of Lubbock could nearly triple the amount of Emergency Shelter and Rapid Re-housing funding available annually. Additionally, HOME funds can be used to provide Rapid Re-housing through tenant-based rental assistance (TBRA) which can pay for rent and security deposits.¹⁹¹ By disregarding these opportunities, the City of Lubbock Community Development Department has not adequately diverted its budget to fund housing assistance and other services for homelessness.

The South Plains Homeless Consortium (SPHC) is a collection of agencies and advocates working to identify local issues of homelessness and support the development of community strategies to prevent and end homelessness.¹⁹² Beyond networking facilitated by the consortium, the two major activities of SPHC include overseeing the annual Point-in-Time Count and the Coordinated Entry Planning Entity (CEPE). The Lubbock CEPE oversees Coordinated Entry (CE) in Lubbock in conjunction with the Texas Balance of State Continuum of Care (TX BoS CoC) and its lead agency, Texas Homeless Network (THN). “CE is a powerful piece of a housing crisis response system that ensures people at risk of or experiencing homelessness can readily find and navigate crisis intervention assistance. It is intended to ensure that households are prioritized for and matched with the right intervention as quickly as possible. It aims to standardize the access, assessment, and referral process across all providers in an entire CoC and the regions that make up its geography.”¹⁹³

189 “How to Use CDBG for Public Service Activities.”

190 “Using CDBG Funds in Addressing the Challenges of Homelessness.”

191 “Using Home Investment Partnerships Program Funds to Support Rapid Re-Housing.”

192 “About SPHC.”

193 “Texas Balance of State Continuum of Care Coordinated Entry Written Standards.”

Rather than requiring people in homelessness to travel across a community, hoping to find the right intervention, agencies in various locations serve as Entry Points through which an individual or household can be assessed, referred, and prioritized for the most appropriate intervention in the community as quickly as possible. For example, if an individual completes a CE assessment at The Salvation Army which identifies them as a veteran, VetStar will immediately be notified through CE and begin working to house them. It's a "no wrong door" approach that can dramatically improve the speed and efficiency of the Housing Crisis Response System.¹⁹⁴

Coordinated Entry also helps prioritize people within homelessness for particular housing interventions. Lubbock's CE assessment incorporates the Vulnerability Index - Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool (VI-SPDAT) which helps evaluate an individual or household's chronicity and acuity, scoring them on an index of 0-17, which is then used to determine a recommendation for different housing interventions.¹⁹⁵ A score of 0-3 recommends no housing intervention, 4-7 is recommended for Rapid Re-Housing, and a score of 8+ (for individuals) and 9+ (for families) is recommended for Permanent Supportive Housing.¹⁹⁶ Within a list of people for a particular housing intervention, people are (supposed to be) prioritized based on the highest scores first. For example, a household scoring a 7 on the F-VI-SPDAT (for families) should be prioritized for RRH before a household scoring a 4. Prioritization ensures that the people who have been homeless the longest and who have the greatest vulnerability within a community are housed first, in the same way an Emergency Department prioritizes patients by the severity of their health crisis, not by first-come-first-serve, those perceived most deserving, employment status, race, etc.

Historically, the South Plains Homeless Consortium has been characterized by territorialism, competition for funding, and infighting. For these and other reasons, they have lacked credibility with city leaders and are rarely consulted on local matters related to homelessness. Additionally, SPHC struggles for relevance having little funding and power to affect change on an agency or system level. Part of this is structural—any agency or advocate can be a member with equal voice and vote for an annual fee of \$100.¹⁹⁷ This means large, federally funded projects such as VetStar, with federal requirements directing their activity and involvement, have as much and sometimes less influence on the direction of SPHC as a volunteer at a local church. As a result, most agencies send staff representatives with no decision-making authority to SPHC meetings, further resulting in little more than a networking group with limited influence on the system as a whole.

SPHC can play a major role in leading and convening Lubbock's Housing Crisis Response System. In order to do so, it will need to resolve its internal dysfunction, revise its structure to empower more effective leadership, realign itself around core goals and objectives, and rebuild credibility and influence among local leaders.¹⁹⁸

7.6 Displacement and Criminalization of Homelessness in Lubbock

Unfortunately, some of Lubbock's most prevalent tactics in addressing poverty and homelessness include gentrification, criminalization, and forced migration. The largest privately funded human displacement project

194 Ibid.

195 OrgCode, "Vulnerability Index - Service Prioritization Decision Assistance Tool (VI-SPDAT)."

196 These are the scoring ranges for individuals. Scoring ranges for families are slightly different.

197 "South Plains Homeless Consortium: Membership."

198 "Local Homeless Coalition Toolkit."

in modern U.S. history, which took place in North Overton in the early 2000s,¹⁹⁹ is an example of Lubbock's approach to resolving poverty. Essentially, the approach emerges from the belief that the best way to resolve the problems of a neglected neighborhood is to move the people and clear the area. In the case of North Overton and many subsequent efforts, it is important to note Lubbock's tendency to tear down structures and move people without investing in alternative opportunities and spaces for those displaced. In the case of North Overton, not only was the entire neighborhood razed, there was no new affordable housing developed to assist those displaced. None was required. Instead, an entire neighborhood and community of people was scattered all over Lubbock. Lubbock's efforts to address homelessness have repeatedly followed this pattern of displacement and scattering.

From 1998 to 2004, Open Door, formerly known as Carpenter's Church, was located in North Overton next door to Ramirez Elementary School on the corner of Avenue T and what is now Glenna Goodacre Blvd. At that time, the majority of people served by Carpenter's Church were low-income families with children and a small number of adults in homelessness. While North Overton developers have touted their efforts to assist homeowners and renters in finding new places to live, what isn't mentioned is the large number of people who were living "doubled-up" and homeless in the neighborhood. Many of these families and individuals were further destabilized by the project. The founder of Carpenter's Church, Jim Beck, recalls numerous families and individuals who became further destabilized and homeless as a result of the displacement. He said, "Many of our friends who were finding healing in community in North Overton were harshly affected by the project. The ultimate outcome for many was the loss of community and an increase in homelessness."²⁰⁰ Today, Open Door works with many adults in homelessness who they knew as children in North Overton and at least one of them, who was 12 years old in 2000, became chronically homeless and is now in Open Door's permanent supportive housing program.

Rather than ending poverty, the North Overton project simply moved people to other areas and exacerbated their experience of poverty. Rather than ending illegal drug sales and use, prostitution, burglaries, and other criminal activities, the project simply moved these activities into other neighborhoods.²⁰¹ Rather than ending homelessness, the project further destabilized many of Lubbock's most housing unstable and forced the migration of those already in homelessness, mostly into downtown Lubbock and other neighborhoods along Avenue Q including South Overton, Heart of Lubbock, Bayless-Atkins, and others.

In North Overton, people lived in a connected community. After North Overton, many people had no place to go and no community to belong to. By the mid-2000s the highest concentration of unsheltered homelessness could be found at the Mahon Library located downtown at 9th & Avenue L. At times as many as fifty or more people could be found sleeping under its awnings and in the areas surrounding the library and Lubbock Memorial Civic Center. In unsheltered homelessness, there is safety and a sense of community in numbers. The Mahon Library provided some shelter from the weather and together people felt safer and

199 "Overton Park Land Redevelopment."

200 Interview with Jim Beck.

201 It is important to acknowledge that all of these criminal activities still take place, perhaps at an even higher rate, in North Overton today. Some studies suggest middle-class people consume more alcohol and illegal drugs than those living below the poverty line. See: "The Social Metrics Commission."

more connected.²⁰² In September 2008, the City demolished an adjacent gazebo frequently used by people sleeping around the library. Unsurprisingly, tensions around homelessness at Mahon came to a head just as “downtown redevelopment supporters were set to ink a \$100 million fix to costly utility lines blocking an overhaul to the historic area.”²⁰³

Karen Savage, board chairwoman of the Mahon Library, and others appealed to City leaders saying, “If the city would address the homelessness issue, there would be a place somewhere other than Mahon for them, perhaps.”²⁰⁴ In October 2010, the City proposed a curfew ordinance that would “include a \$500 fine for using sleeping bags or temporary shelters in any park, alley or other public area” between midnight and 5:00 A.M.²⁰⁵ Homeless advocates argued that such an ordinance was not a solution to homelessness, but a way to criminalize homelessness, potentially infringing on the constitutional rights of those affected,²⁰⁶ and only shuffled people from one area to others. Rather than listen to the calls of advocates and library personnel to address the homelessness issue with solutions, on December 16, 2010 the City Council cast their final vote making “lingering at Mahon, Groves or Patterson libraries, the Memorial Civic Center, City Hall, and the Lubbock Business Center between midnight and 5 a.m. a misdemeanor offense punishable by an up to \$500 fine.”²⁰⁷

Mayor Tom Martin, Mayor Pro Tem Floyd Price, Councilmembers Paul R. Beane, Karen Gibson, Jim Gilbreath, and Victor Hernandez voted in favor of the ordinance. Councilman Todd Klein opposed.²⁰⁸

In what seemed a half-hearted attempt to soften this pre-Christmas blow, the City Council appointed a committee, giving them one year to propose long-term solutions to and resources for homelessness in Lubbock.²⁰⁹ From the outset the City made clear to the committee that it had no interest in using tax dollars for building shelter or for anything else. In less than 6-months the committee made their recommendations to City Council: “The City of Lubbock need not do anything more to provide resources for its homeless residents.”²¹⁰

The City knew they could face legal challenges if they prohibited sleeping on all public property since to do so would risk criminalizing homelessness, so the curfew left some public properties off the list. One of those properties was Gateway Plaza, a half-block square section of grass on NE corner of Broadway and Avenue Q. Within days of the curfew ordinance going into effect, those displaced from the area around Mahon Library began sleeping in tents on the small lot. Within a few weeks more than twenty tents were set up on the tiny lot. In response to the new encampment, Councilman Beane was quoted saying, “My concern is for the people staying outside - there’s better places to spend the night. I think anybody living outside always puts them in a clear and present danger... whether it be weather or criminal activity.”²¹¹ The “better places”

202 Paschal, Personal interview with Quinn Paschal.

203 Blackburn, “Homeless Advocates Offer Wary Greeting to Lubbock’s New Interest.”

204 Blackburn, “Homelessness Questions Heat up Ahead of Winter’s Chill.”

205 Blackburn, “Lubbock Council Gives Final Approval to Curfew Ordinance.”

206 *Martin v. Boise*, a 9th Circuit decision, was left standing in 2019 by the U.S. Supreme Court. It ruled that a person cannot be punished for sleeping outside on public property in the absence of adequate alternatives. See: “*Martin v. City of Boise*.”

207 Blackburn, “Lubbock Council Gives Final Approval to Curfew Ordinance.”

208 Ibid.

209 Blackburn, Elliott, “Homeless Committee Braces for Quick Pace, Tough Problem.”

210 Blackburn, Elliott, “Homeless Committee Recommends No Changes for City.”

211 Young, “Current Homeless Camp’s Days Likely Numbered.”

in the minds of most was really just one place, The Salvation Army emergency shelter. In reality, this was not an available option for many at that time. A longstanding “tough love” approach by the shelter limited stays to 3 nights every 90 days, if one had an ID and met all other requirements.²¹² Those needing longer stays were required to enter an ongoing program which required employment or demonstration of seeking employment among other requirements. People in chronic homelessness and people with mental disabilities and substance use disorders were largely unable to meet these requirements.

Previously unmotivated to find solutions for people sleeping around Mahon Library, the City suddenly became very interested in finding a suitable new location for the people sleeping in tents at the gateway to Lubbock’s Downtown Revitalization project. Link Ministries, a local nonprofit, responded by offering to relocate the encampment to a vacant lot on the SE corner of 13th and Avenue A. While a welcomed move for many at the encampment, the new location also appeased city leaders and downtown developers as it moved people conveniently out of sight. The AJ reported that Carl Tepper, The McDougal Land Co. vice president, praised the effort to move the tent city “across the interstate as ideal.”²¹³ Reminiscent of the treatment of other “undesirable” people groups, the ideal location for people in homelessness in the minds of many Lubbockites is often east of I-27, Lubbock’s historic redline, in industrial zones.

7.7 Tent City

In 2011, local advocates supported the formalization of the new tent city. It seemed one of the few viable options, especially compared to the development of new shelter or housing interventions. After only six months at its new location, Tent City requested a zoning change from industrial to shelter use, but was denied by The Lubbock Planning and Zoning Commission. At the hearing, commissioner Ryan Curry abstained saying, “This is a city government issue, and eventually someone’s got to come up with a solution. We are definitely kicking the can down the road.”²¹⁴ Even in an industrial zone, east of I-27, people in homelessness were faced with NIMBYism, the insistence that people and homeless services be “not in my backyard.” At an October 22, 2011 City Council meeting, nearby business owner, Buddy Curry told the Counsel, “My position is why should we suffer this if the city didn’t want to suffer it?” referring to the City’s recent curfew ordinance.²¹⁵ In the end, 2,600 people signed a petition urging the City Council to overrule the zoning board’s decision and the Council voted unanimously to approve the zoning change.

Over the last decade, Link Ministries and now Paul’s Project have worked tirelessly to support the people living at Tent City, now known as Grace Campus, assisting many along their journey back into housing. At the same time, there has been considerable discussion nationally about encampments and the effectiveness of sanctioned tent cities. For some, tent cities and tiny home villages are a fast, inexpensive way to provide shelter in the midst of a national homelessness crisis and affordable housing shortage. For others, they are a distraction, pulling energy and resources away from the goal of permanent housing.

Iain De Jong offers an extensive critique of sanctioned encampments or tent cities.²¹⁶ His advice - “Do

212 Bramlet, “Carpenter’s Church Won’t Host Homeless Vigil This Winter.”

213 Blackburn, “Homeless Panel Asks Impact of Development.”

214 Young, “Tent Village Denied Zoning Change.”

215 Gulick, “Operator of Homeless Compound Faces Difficult Fight to Overturn Zoning Ruling against Shelter.”

216 De Jong, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*, 103-115.

not legalize them or make them a possible solution regardless of what you may think of your local lack of affordable housing or current shelter capacity.” In his view, tent cities are “really expensive bandages” that end up increasing the problems of homelessness in a community while distracting from the need for permanent housing. With the formalization of Lubbock’s tent city in 2011, the public attention on homelessness and the impetus to develop new housing solutions stalled. This is seen clearly in the abrupt conclusion of Lubbock’s homelessness committee. In the minds of many the problem was solved. Herein lies the great difference between what it means to solve the homelessness problem in the minds of many city leaders, business owners, and developers and housing-focused advocates. For housing-focused advocates, the solution is always permanent housing. For others, moving people in homelessness out of sight and out of mind is often the goal.

Regardless of one’s views on sanctioned encampments, people living in them still need permanent housing. As stated on their website, “Each person at Grace Campus is expected to be working towards independent living.”²¹⁷ The Lubbock community should support the same goal. According to Grace Campus’ website, they provided shelter to 366 people in 2019, 97 of whom moved into housing. While 97 transitions to housing should be applauded, Lubbock should not be satisfied with so many people (75-90 at any given time) still living in structures without heating, cooling, electricity, or plumbing on a 3.5 acre lot in an industrial area. The problem has not been solved. There remains an urgent need for housing.

7.8 Downtown Revitalization

In 2015, downtown business owners approached the Lubbock Chamber of Commerce asking them to call on the City Council to push for increased enforcement related to people experiencing homelessness in the downtown area. Thankfully, Chamber leaders instead decided to reach out to local experts in homelessness to discuss these issues first. So the Chamber of Commerce convened local homeless service providers, law enforcement officials, and downtown business owners to discuss these issues and explore possible solutions, some of which were having success in other cities. The Chamber even sponsored a trip to Wichita, Kansas, sending three LPD officers, a South Plains Homeless Consortium representative, and a Chamber representative to meet with the Wichita PD Homeless Outreach Team.

Former Chief Greg Stevens and Sgt. Steven Bergen attended the meetings with an interest in developing a community-oriented policing approach to the issue of homelessness. In February 2016, LPD announced the creation of the Homelessness Outreach Team. A joint press release stated, “With the support of Lubbock Chamber of Commerce and other allied organizations, the objectives of the new team will be to maintain public safety for all Lubbock residents and to seek lasting solutions for the homeless.” The development was applauded by the South Plains Homeless Consortium president, Chad Wheeler, who said, “Cities across the country have recognized the critical role of local law enforcement in the effort to end homelessness. The Homeless Outreach Team brings an important partnership in homeless services to our community.”

A year-long process which began in response to the complaints of downtown businesses and resulted in the development of the Homeless Outreach Team, is a notable exception to Lubbock’s typical pattern of responding to homelessness. First, they involved local experts in homelessness as key stakeholders

217 “About Grace Campus.”

throughout the process, helping to balance the sometimes competing interests and perspectives from other sectors. They researched the issues, finding for example that issuing fines and arresting people in homelessness is a costly expense to taxpayers which has little effect on the problems they seek to solve. They considered what other comparable cities were doing to successfully address the issues. The result was a development which was supported by all parties involved. More than four years later, LPD HOT continues to serve the Lubbock community with excellence, providing critical assistance in the process of moving people from homelessness into permanent housing.

7.9 Another Homelessness Committee

The most recent committee on homelessness was appointed by the Lubbock City Council in 2019, once again in response to the complaints of business owners and developers. In the committee's first public announcement, Councilwoman Latrelle Joy who co-chaired the committee said, "There's a big push by the downtown community to try to clean it up."²¹⁸ This seems to be the driving force in all City of Lubbock responses to homelessness. While Lubbock data showed a 20% decrease in overall homelessness and a 52% decrease in unsheltered homelessness from 2017 to 2019, Joy said, "There's no doubt homelessness is becoming an increasing concern in Lubbock," adding, "Downtown business owners talk about, visitors downtown see it and she sees it."²¹⁹ What increased was not homelessness, but the economic interests of downtown businesses and developers and their complaints to city leaders.

In a purported effort to remain unbiased, the committee intentionally excluded people who work within homeless services. Of course, the biases of business owners on Broadway and downtown developers complaining about homelessness did not exclude them from serving on the committee. While not an official spokesman for the committee, one of its members, Carl Tepper, said about the committee, "The goal of the group is about the safety of the general public, it's not about the homeless. I mean, they made their choices and they have their issues. But if it comes between me using McKenzie Park or them using McKenzie Park, I choose me... so I think we approached it from that angle. Now if we get to help the homeless somewhere along the line while also helping ourselves, great."²²⁰ The committee met for six months and "sought the views of law enforcement, the healthcare industry, mental health agencies, housing providers, the Food Bank, as well as many other non-profit and church groups who provide a variety of services [...]"²²¹

In seemingly contradictory statements, after publicly acknowledging that arresting people out of homelessness is a costly impossibility, the committee made its first short-term recommendation to City Council:

"The City Police Department should practice strict enforcement of the existing ordinances."

The ordinances they had in mind likely included loitering, violating a curfew ordinance, unlawful camping, panhandling, public urination, public intoxication, unlawful habitation, criminal trespassing, and other misdemeanor offenses. At the Committee's presentation to the City Council, Mayor Dan Pope was reported

218 Dotray, "Lubbock Taking Another Look at Needs for Homeless."

219 Ibid.

220 Smyers, "Tepper Talks Media Overload, Trump's Economy, Democratic Party's Past, More."

221 Dotray, "Lubbock Homelessness Committee Makes Recommendations — Are They Enough?"

saying, “He thinks the council should pursue stricter camping, curfew, and panhandling laws.”²²² The committee also recommended the City explore new ordinances and enforcement measures to address homelessness.

While legal enforcement of illegal activity is a necessary responsibility of government, the criminal justice system is assuredly not the solution to social problems such as homelessness. If local law enforcement has any reluctance to ticket or arrest people in homelessness for things like loitering, camping, public urination or intoxication, it is because they know better than anyone else how ineffective those measures are in addressing the problems of homelessness. Tickets issued to people in homelessness are rarely paid. Unpaid tickets often result in warrants. At some point a warrant results in an arrest. Upon arrest the individual may be released from the Lubbock County Detention Center (LCDC) within hours or remain in pretrial detention for months. In 2019, LCDC reported a daily average of 1,250 inmates. The average cost to LCDC for an inmate with misdemeanor charges is more than \$65 per day.

While awaiting trial, indigent individuals are entitled to court-appointed representation. In 2015, LCDC spent an average of \$1,026 per indigent inmate on indigent defense expenditures or a total of \$3,792,096 in all.²²³ In other words, this is one of the most costly revolving doors in our community. Additionally, when asked to move in a case of loitering or camping or discharged from LCDC, people in homelessness are still homeless, just in another area. Police officers may rightly feel like they are wasting their time with enforcement when the same problems keep turning up night after night simply in a different doorway, park, or neighborhood.

The recommendation of “strict enforcement” by a Homeless Committee is tantamount to a call to criminalize homelessness. It also wastes an exorbitant amount of taxpayer money, pulls limited law enforcement personnel away from more serious issues, and exacerbates the crisis of homelessness by making it harder for people to gain employment, housing, and other benefits, all while failing to reduce homelessness and the problems affecting local communities.

The City, Lubbock County, and other stakeholders should investigate the creation of a legal diversion process in coordination with various agencies and social service providers to direct homeless individuals to housing and other needed services in an effort to avoid repeated incarcerations at the Lubbock County Detention Center.

In homeless services, “Diversion” involves redirecting an individual or family without safe, legal housing away from emergency shelters or places not meant for human habitation toward safe, appropriate alternative accommodation.²²⁴ “Diversion” in the criminal justice system involves redirecting a criminal offender away from jail toward a rehabilitation program. The Committee clearly had in mind the latter, with Councilwoman Joy stating, “It’s an alternative to taking someone straight to jail.”²²⁵

Communities may be surprised to find that rather than targeting people in homelessness through enforcement

222 Dotray, “Lubbock Homelessness Committee Makes Recommendations – Are They Enough?”

223 “Adult Criminal Justice Data Sheet.”

224 De Jong, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*, 17.

225 Dotray, “Lubbock Homelessness Committee Makes Recommendations – Are They Enough?”

in order to divert them to housing and other needed services, this can be done entirely without the use of enforcement through Homeless (not criminal) Diversion in street outreach and emergency shelter services, and through Rapid Re-housing and Permanent Supportive Housing. These non-enforcement strategies are also far less expensive and much more humane.

The Homelessness Committee's long-term recommendations to the City Council were, in abbreviated form:

- I. Convene a joint task force to improve coordination and integration of public and private crisis response services and to explore the procurement of additional mental health beds.
- II. Convene a joint task force to address critical gaps recently created in our community's substance abuse treatment resources (referring to the closure of Managed Care, Lubbock's only inpatient addiction recovery provider for the uninsured).
- III. Support the expansion of the Coordinated Entry System as the primary means by which Lubbock's homeless and those at risk of homelessness can be matched with appropriate housing opportunities.

To date, the City has taken no known action on these long-term recommendations. Concerning the first two long-term recommendations, while mental health and substance abuse inpatient beds are a needed resource used in part by some of the people who experience homelessness, neither solve homelessness. After inpatient stays, people in homelessness still need available housing in order to avoid returning to homelessness. Concerning Coordinated Entry, an admonition by the City of Lubbock for local providers to use the system is welcomed.

While not included among its short-term or long-term recommendations, the Homelessness Committee made its two best recommendations in its introductory statements:

- I. In order to adequately address the homelessness problem in Lubbock all governmental units must cooperate to develop and implement a comprehensive plan focused around a 'Housing First' approach.
- II. Addressing homelessness should be a priority, which justifies the expenditure of sufficient resources to ensure our community does not allow the numbers to grow and to prevent the problems now being faced by other cities across Texas and the nation.

These will be included among the concluding recommendations for Lubbock's ongoing efforts to prevent and end homelessness.

7.10 Recommendations

7.10.1 Humanize Talk About People Experiencing Homelessness

"Homelessness is a state of address, not an identity. It is not a character flaw."²²⁶

Unfortunately, common talk about people experiencing homelessness and the areas where they live far too often perpetuate stigmatized stereotypes and intentionally and unintentionally dehumanize the people and communities of which they speak. A quick survey of local news²²⁷ found the following words and phrases used to describe people in homelessness, their communities, and the places where they live:

The Walking Dead, the zombie show, that's what it's like; The homeless are invading the businesses on Broadway, the neighborhood there, and downtown; Someone who wants to be homeless for the rest of their lives; Those who choose to be homeless; Choose the homeless lifestyle; Too visible; Lazy; Want a handout; A hotbed of violent crimes; Decay; Blight; Dismal; Seedy; Crime-ridden; Couch homeless; Drug dealers; Urine-stained; Public nudity; Public safety issues; Employees feel threatened; Rank living conditions; Foul and threatening conditions; Harassing patrons; Dragging down property values; Picking up needles and feces every morning.

Zombies, invading, choosing homelessness, lazy, criminal, dirty, threatening, unsafe - this is how many in the Lubbock community view their neighbors in homelessness. This kind of rhetoric almost always increases at times of heightened tensions around homelessness and has frequently been used as justification for efforts to move, arrest, and oppose people in homelessness as well as homeless service providers.

Perhaps the most fundamental recommendation of this section of the report is a call to humanize the thoughts and words regarding people who experience homelessness. This can start simply by changing our language around homelessness. People-first language is the appropriate way to speak of all people, including people in homelessness. This means using phrases like "people in homelessness" or "people experiencing homelessness" rather than "the homeless" or worse, simply "homeless," as in "There are homeless in the park" or "I work with homeless." People-first language is an easy way to affirm the humanity of the people about which we speak.

There are many other ways to re-humanize thinking and speaking about and engaging with people in homelessness. Yet, until individuals and communities begin to move away from dehumanizing stereotypes and acknowledge-in-practice the inherent value and dignity of their neighbors and fellow citizens who are temporarily without a permanent address, they will be constantly limited in their ability to appropriately address homelessness.

7.10.2 Support and Expand Housing First

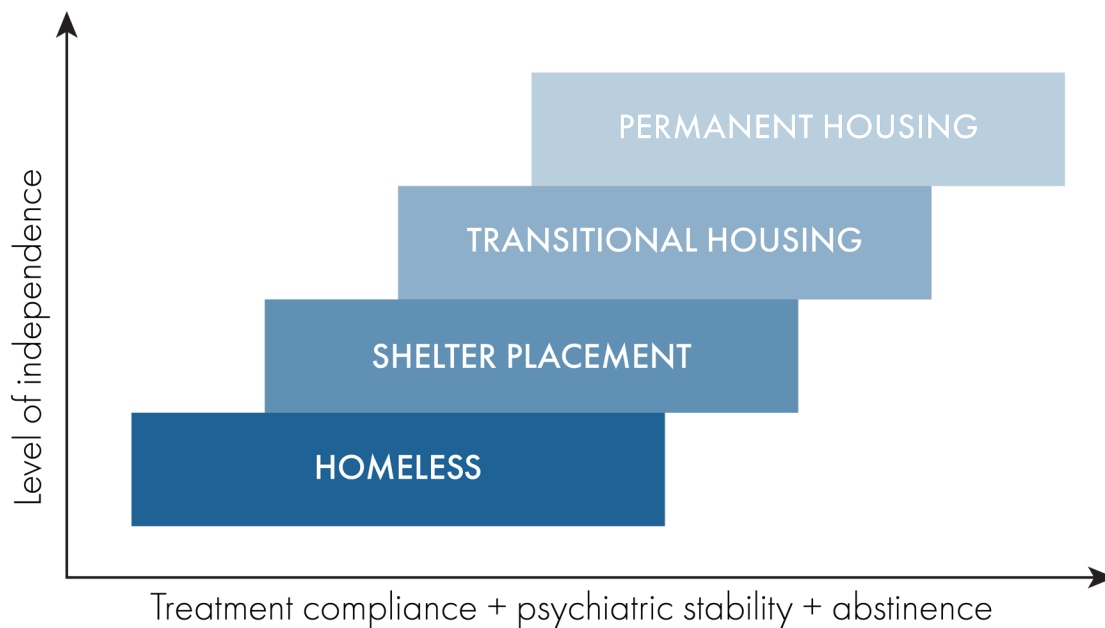
The **only** solution to homelessness is a home. All attempts to address homelessness either lead to permanent housing or are a waste of time and resources. All services and activities that do not lead to permanent housing are, at best, addressing other issues.

Addressing almost all other issues including unemployment, substance use disorder, mental illness, disease, financial literacy, education, life skills, and others are most effective after a person is in permanent housing. Similarly, public concerns about homelessness such as loitering, camping, public urination and defecation, public intoxication, unlawful habitation, and criminal trespassing are all best resolved with housing. The best

227 Johnson, "Singling Out Crime 'Suspects' as Homeless Is a Media Double Standard That Unjustly Penalizes the Poor."

answer to homelessness for business owners, property developers, neighborhood associations, taxpayers, city officials, law enforcement, schools, liberals, conservatives, bleeding-hearts and hardened ones, as well as advocates, service providers, and of course people experiencing homelessness themselves, is housing.

The traditional approach to addressing homelessness has been the “staircase model” which “predicated on consumer behavior change as the key to progress made - step-by-step - to the idealized endpoint of independent living in one’s own dwelling.”²²⁸ In other words, people had to “climb the ladder” from homelessness to shelter to transitional housing, successfully demonstrating compliance and behavior change in order to reach permanent housing, as seen in the following image:



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

HOMELESSNESS TRADITIONAL SYSTEM APPROACH

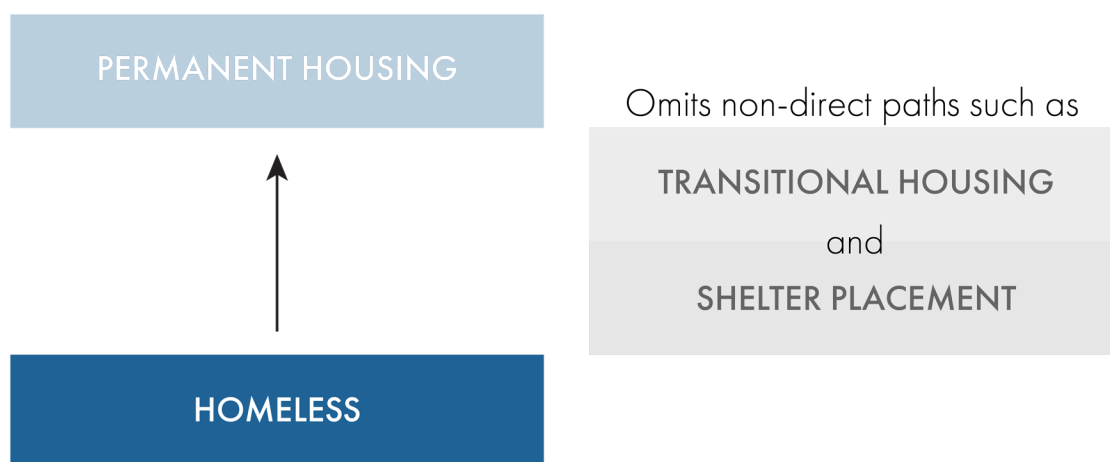
While this “treatment first” process resonates with many Americans, particularly because of its “ethos of personal responsibility and behavior change,”²²⁹ the problems with this approach are many. In addition to being an often slow, costly, and inflexible process, far too many people simply could not climb and fell off the ladder, especially people with serious mental illness and substance use disorders. In fact, the modern phenomenon of chronic homelessness, with thousands of people with disabilities in the U.S. experiencing homelessness not just for years but decades, is primarily a result of the failure of this model to serve people with complex needs.

This has been the dominant model in Lubbock and continues to pervade the majority of the local housing crisis response system. Practically, local shelters and services frequently put barriers in place, characterized as “tough love,” that have effectively screened out people perceived as “non-compliant” and not “housing

228 Padgett, Henwood, and Tsemberis, *Housing First: Ending Homelessness, Transforming Systems, and Changing Lives*, 6.
229 Ibid., 6.

ready.” These barriers are also used by service providers to present an image of program “success,” as only those perceived as most “housing ready” are selected for services with the intended result being a higher rate of housing placements. Often this is driven by a genuine desire to do more with limited resources. Sometimes it is driven by perceptions about deserving and undeserving people.

Developed in the 1990s by Sam Tsemberis and pioneered in the Pathways to Housing program in New York, Housing First has replaced the “staircase model” as an evidence-based, internationally recognized, best practice for ending homelessness. As seen in the image below, Housing First bypasses the staircase, moving people directly from homelessness into permanent housing and then provides ongoing, flexible supportive services as needed.



**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

HOMELESSNESS HOUSING FIRST APPROACH

Rather than prescribing a standardized treatment process, Housing First prioritizes moving people quickly into permanent housing and then offers services designed to support the individual or household as they begin to recover and pursue their goals. The Housing First approach can be implemented across the housing crisis response system in street outreach, diversion, emergency shelter, rapid re-housing, and permanent supportive housing, although it is commonly associated with rapid re-housing and permanent supportive housing.

In Lubbock, Open Door Supportive Housing, a permanent supportive housing program, uses the Housing First approach to move people exiting chronic homelessness, prioritized by highest chronicity and acuity, into scattered-site permanent housing and then provides ongoing supportive services to support housing retention, health, and recovery. The people served in this program are precisely those historically perceived as non-compliant, service-resistant, and hard to house. However, since 2017, Open Door Supportive Housing has successfully placed every person offered services into permanent housing within an average of 17 days from the point of enrollment to housing placement. In other words, no one has said, “No thanks, I would

rather be homeless.” Additionally, the program has a housing retention rate of 93%, meaning that of all the people housed in the program, 93% have remained in permanent housing.

Participants in Open Door Supportive Housing live in scattered-site apartments throughout Lubbock. Scattered-site means housing which is dispersed throughout a community, usually with no more than 30% of units in a complex or neighborhood being used for Supportive Housing. This approach is far more preferable to communities than consolidating groups of people in large shelter complexes or housing projects. Participants in Supportive Housing are on a standard lease agreement and pay 30% of their income in rent and utilities, while Open Door subsidizes the remaining cost. In permanent supportive housing, people live in their own homes, have the same rights as other renters, and can remain in their home for as long as they desire and abide by the lease agreement. While rental assistance and supportive services are not time-limited, a person typically graduates from permanent supportive housing after they have paid 100% of the rent and utilities without receiving assistance for 12 consecutive months.

This is just one example of the success of Housing First. In Lubbock, VetStar is another great example of how the Housing First approach used in Rapid Re-housing is ending Veteran homelessness.

Housing First not only works to end homelessness, it is also the most efficient and cost effective way to address homelessness. As a conservative city, Lubbock leaders and citizens have frequently said they believe homelessness is an issue for the nonprofit sector, not city government or taxpayers. While this is a nice sentiment, in reality taxpayers already bear the high cost of homelessness through uncompensated healthcare costs, the criminal justice system, and other public services. The estimated cost of chronic homelessness per person per year in the United States is more than \$40,000.²³⁰ That’s while they are homeless! In 2016, University Medical Care, Lubbock’s County Hospital, paid more than \$72 million in unfunded care. One of those unfunded patients was John Hawkins, then experiencing chronic homelessness in Lubbock. In 2016 alone, Mr. Hawkins accrued over \$450,000 in unpaid medical bills.²³¹ With the majority of people in homelessness depending on the Emergency Department as their primary source of healthcare, there are many others with high unpaid medical bills every year.

In 2017, John Hawkins moved into Open Door Supportive Housing. Numerous studies have shown that people in housing are less likely to use emergency services, including hospitals, jails, and emergency shelter, resulting in significant cost savings.²³² In 2019, Open Door provided permanent supportive housing for 41 people exiting chronic homelessness, spending a total of \$703,000. Compared to an estimated annual cost of \$1,640,000 if those 41 remained in chronic homelessness, that’s an estimated annual cost savings of more than \$936,000. As counterintuitive as it sounds, putting people in permanent housing costs less than doing nothing. For this reason, the Lubbock Homeless Committee’s recommendation that addressing homelessness “be a priority, which justifies the expenditure of sufficient resources” is a bit misleading. Not addressing homelessness expends far more resources. The City of Lubbock and all stakeholders should seek to work smarter, not harder, by allocating resources to support housing interventions which result in cost savings for

230 “Ending Chronic Homelessness in 2017.”

231 Sanders, “KCBD INVESTIGATES: UMC Expects to Pay More than \$72 Million in Uncompensated Care.”

232 “Housing First.”

other public services.

7.10.3 Listen to Experts and Evidence

In 2018, seven local stakeholders - Lubbock County, the City of Lubbock, StarCare Specialty Health System, University Medical Center, Covenant Health System, Texas Tech University Health Sciences Center, and the Community Foundation of West Texas - engaged the Meadows Mental Health Policy Institute to conduct a comprehensive mental health needs assessment. These core stakeholders included local experts in mental health such as hospital administrators, doctors, psychiatrists, public health professionals, and others with decades of experience in their fields. From December 2018 through July 2019, nearly 200 leaders and other community members were interviewed from key positions in law enforcement, health systems, mental health providers, Lubbock independent school districts, philanthropic organizations, multiple divisions within Texas Tech University (including the medical school), people with lived experience of mental illness, the court system, the juvenile justice system, the child welfare system, and count and city elected officials. Prior research and data were also analyzed for the report. All findings were shared with the core stakeholders and revised based on feedback prior to including them in any public draft. Finally, a full report with detailed findings and recommendations were presented to the public.

While another Lubbock City Council appointed Homelessness Committee may be unnecessary, if the City of Lubbock or other key stakeholders endeavor to assess homelessness and make recommendations to improve the housing crisis response system, any future process must include experts in homelessness and housing interventions as core stakeholders throughout the process, interview people with lived experience in homelessness and a variety of service providers and community members, examine evidence-based research, analyze quantitative data, and be transparent with its process, findings, and recommendations.

Poverty, homelessness, housing services, mental health, and substance use treatment are professional fields of study and practice. As Iain De Jong writes, “We need to stop tolerating people without training serving people with more complex needs than you would find in many emergency rooms on a daily basis.”²³³ Unfortunately, many communities have people with big hearts, but not always the other necessary knowledge and skills, working in poverty, homelessness, and other human services. While experts should be consulted, agencies as well as city leadership should ensure that they are not equating experience with expertise. Too often, homeless service agencies are as guilty as Lubbock Committees of following unqualified leaders offering uninformed recommendations.

7.10.4 Develop Collaboration and Coordination Across All Sectors

“Few social problems draw in as many stakeholders and service systems as homelessness; ameliorating the problem requires action at multiple levels involving multiple agencies.”²³⁴

Local homeless service providers must move beyond competitive infighting and rebuild a functioning coalition to lead the effort to prevent and end homelessness in Lubbock. Effectively addressing homelessness requires a system of complex and varied components coordinated to achieve the collective outcomes of preventing

²³³ De Jong, *The Book on Ending Homelessness*, 27.

²³⁴ Padgett, Henwood, and Tsemberis, *Housing First: Ending Homelessness, Transforming Systems, and Changing Lives*, 2.

and ending homelessness. Lubbock providers can no longer afford to operate as inwardly-focused silos, but must begin thinking and acting like a system.

An effective Housing Crisis Response System in Lubbock will include wide participation in Coordinated Entry, using it to assess and prioritize all people experiencing homelessness for the most appropriate housing interventions, no matter who they are or where they enter the system. Whenever possible, it will practice Diversion to prevent people without housing from entering the homeless services system through efforts to find safe, alternative housing as quickly as possible. The system will provide low-barrier access to emergency shelter and services for all people experiencing homelessness. All services (and funders) in this system will be housing-focused, with the majority of energy and resources being directed to Rapid Re-housing and Permanent Supportive Housing. Providers across this system will firmly believe that every person can be housed and the only solution to homelessness is a home.

Finally, as the Lubbock Homelessness Committee recommended, “In order to adequately address the homelessness problem in Lubbock all governmental units must cooperate to develop and implement a comprehensive plan focused around a Housing First approach.” Historically, City of Lubbock elected officials have not agreed that homelessness is a problem requiring engagement from “all governmental units.” Instead, they have avoided the issue of homelessness, except for issues related to enforcement and property, choosing instead to place the responsibility solely on the nonprofit sector. At the same time, the City’s relationship to the nonprofit sector has been, at best, complicated and distant, and at worst, adversarial. For too long, homeless service providers have been blamed by city leaders and community members for homelessness. Lubbock needs leaders who can receive the complaints of business owners and developers and support providers as they do the work of preventing and ending homelessness, recognizing that providers do not create homelessness but work to resolve it.

While the decision to use City funds from the general budget to support homeless and housing services, like other comparable cities have done,²³⁵ may be unimaginable for some, there are many other important roles the City of Lubbock and its elected officials can play.

One of the commonalities seen in cities with effective collaboration across multiple sectors is the presence of leaders who champion the efforts to prevent and end homelessness. Mayor Ginger Nelson of Amarillo, TX, Mayor Anthony Williams of Abilene, TX, and Mayor Chris Watts of Denton, TX are examples of leaders who have used their position of influence to convene stakeholders, promote housing-focused solutions, and leverage existing resources to improve their local Housing Crisis Response Systems. These cities have formally set goals of ending Veteran and chronic homelessness and are actively working toward those goals, inviting professional consultation and support from national agencies like Community Solutions.²³⁶ Amarillo, for example, after setting a goal to end chronic homelessness, supported their Housing Authority’s application for an astounding 150 Housing Choice Vouchers through HUD’s Mainstream Voucher Program in 2019. They are now using those vouchers in combination with local supportive services to provide permanent supportive housing to people exiting chronic homelessness. Abilene’s Mayor launched the “Mayor’s Challenge to End

²³⁵ “Topic List: Mayor’s Homeless Summit FAQs.”

²³⁶ “Community Solutions.”

Veteran Homelessness” in 2018 and by July 2019, they accomplished their goal.²³⁷

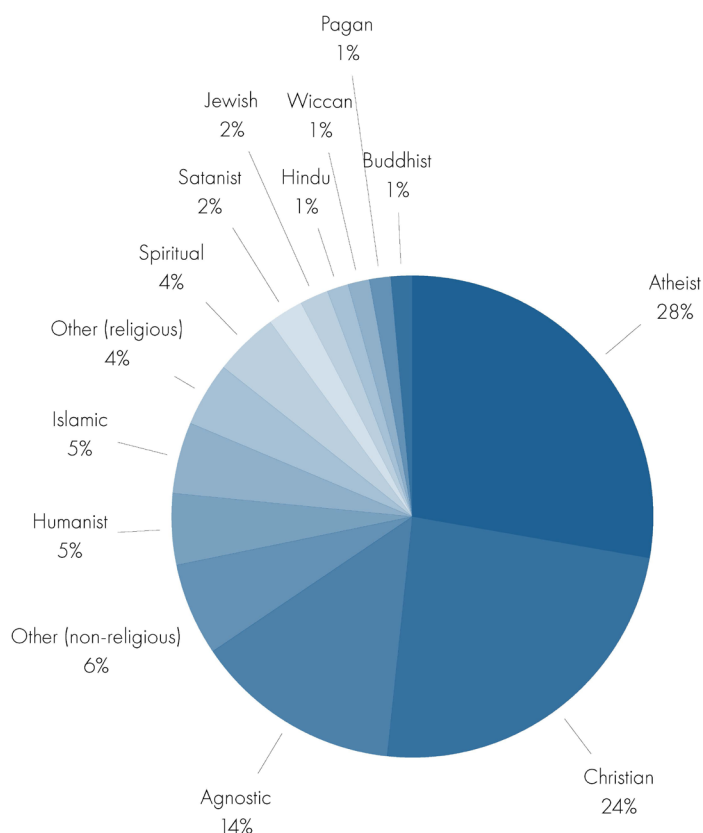
It is time for Lubbock leaders in all sectors to accept responsibility for the work they can do for the good of all Lubbock citizens, especially its most vulnerable ones. It is time to do the work of preventing and ending homelessness in Lubbock.

237 Brown, “City of Abilene’s Mayor’s Challenge to End Veterans’ Homelessness Is Complete.”

8.0 Religion

Religion has a substantial impact on Lubbock's culture and everyday lives of the people who live here, but for people who are non-religious or who belong to a minority religion, Lubbock can be a difficult place to navigate.

This report will seek to give voice to people whose points of view are often overlooked and unheard. In total, this section includes interviews from 20 participants who live in Lubbock county, many of whom have chosen to remain anonymous as well as data from an informal 46 question survey of 200 Lubbock citizens on their experiences with religion, to highlight how religion impacts people's daily lives in Lubbock. This survey specifically sought out people who belong to minority religious beliefs and people with no religion in order to better understand their experiences. The participants in the survey self-identified their religious affiliations and they are listed below. Additionally, data from 1990, 2000 and 2010 religious census that was conducted by the Association of Statisticians of American Religious Bodies (ASARR) was incorporated.



LUBBOCK RELIGIOUS AFFILIATION

LUBBOCK COMPACT

8.1 Lubbock: A Culture Shock

Oftentimes when you grow up in a place, one becomes habituated to its culture. Lubbock is isolated from many other parts of the country, and most large metroplexes are a five hour or more drive from us. Lubbock has an airport, but many people never leave the town they grew up in. Because of this, it can seem that Lubbock's overtly Christian culture is universal. Likewise, it can be difficult for those who migrated to Lubbock

from more diverse regions to adapt to Lubbock's culture. One survey participant described their experience moving to Lubbock and the culture shock they experienced.

"It was a culture-shock when I moved here and saw how in your face religion (specifically, Christianity) is here. I'm used to living in areas where religion is considered a private matter, and seeing so many churches and so many people openly making assumptions and statements following their religious beliefs was very uncomfortable for me. There have been several situations where I had to hide my identity because of fear of being discriminated against or judged unfairly at my work."

In Texas, Lubbock county ranks second in the most evangelical Christian populations in counties with over 250,000 people. Lubbock's culture of outward and overt Evangelical Christianity is not the norm in many parts of the United States or even Texas. Many people who move here for job opportunities or to attend any of our local universities are shocked to find the extent to which evangelical Christianity is publicly pervasive in Lubbock. In most other parts of the U.S., it is not as common to see large walls of businesses to be completely covered in religious iconography, to hear Christian music playing over the speaker at the local grocery store, or for strangers to casually ask "where do you go to church?" or "have you accepted Jesus as your personal lord and savior?" It is simply not as common elsewhere for strangers to comment "have a blessed day" without knowing the other person's religious affiliation. Two different survey participants talked about their experiences with such matters.

"Lubbock is the only place I've lived that I've been called 'Devil,' 'Satan,' and 'demon' in public places simply because of how I dress."

"People just assume you're Christian and attend a church. I've had grocery clerks ask me 'Where are you churching?' It's suffocating."

In many other regions, religion is perceived to be a private matter. It's a personal belief and not many people would think to outwardly display their faith. It would be especially taboo in many places to display personal faith as the owner of a local business. Even when compared to other southern cities and states, Lubbock's overt Christian religious culture can feel shocking for newcomers. One local resident described this feeling and her move to Lubbock this way.

"So I was born in Georgia, and I grew up in Texas, in the Dallas/Ft.Worth area, so I'm pretty familiar with the Bible belt: I was raised a Methodist, loosely speaking. I had experienced a lot of religious inclusivity, even though I had lived in Georgia and Texas, but when I moved to Lubbock it was like I entered into a whole new world. I don't feel like Lubbock is religiously inclusive and I don't even feel they necessarily pride themselves on being so."

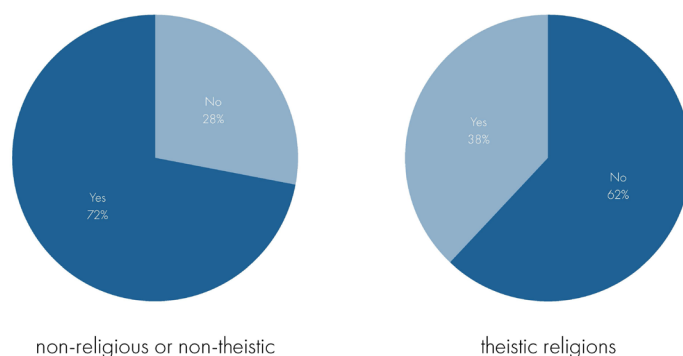
Even though Lubbock arguably has many attractive characteristics, the city also has a difficult time attracting and retaining people. This may be due to the fact that even though Lubbock is known as a friendly city, in practice it can seem to be a very unwelcoming place for anyone who is not overtly Christian. One survey participant described an experience they had after first moving to Lubbock.

“I was raised Lutheran by two ELCA Lutheran pastors, in an area of the country that is mostly mainstream protestant. I questioned faith for many years, due to not knowing much more than my identity as a pastors’ kid. After moving to Lubbock, I naturally began to explore faith again, but kept feeling a huge disconnect. The first experience came with a certified counselor I was seeing through my Employee Assistance Program at work. We spoke about my background a bit, and after mentioning that my parents were pastors, she automatically assumed my religion, though I had not even broached that subject yet. This made me very uncomfortable. She referred to “other patients” who were “atheists” with clear distaste[...].”

Many citizens of Lubbock would correctly argue they have every right to display their religion proudly. Legally there is nothing preventing business owners from displaying Christian iconography, or telling customers “have a blessed day.” However, when the norm in many other places is to keep those things private, making blatant displays of faith in public spaces can seem hostile and disrespectful to observers of different religions.

Though it may seem at times like Cristianity has a strong foothold in Lubbock, in reality according to a religious census in 2010, 42.4% of Lubbock citizens²³⁸ are not adherents to a religious institution. Even though this does not mean that all of those people are non-religious, what it does mean, is many people in Lubbock do not actively participate in religion. And nearly 50% of Lubbock citizens do not attend a Christian church.²³⁹

Lubbock’s demographics are quickly changing, and many people will need to start the process of redefining what inclusivity and diversity looks like. Unfortunately, many people who are non-religious or belong to a minority faith may feel compelled to hide their religious preference or engage in religious practices they do not believe in to keep from being discriminated against.



**HAVE YOU EVER HAD TO CONCEAL YOUR FAITH CHOICE
TO AVOID DISCRIMINATION?**

LUBBOCK COMPACT

It is not uncommon to run across businesses in Lubbock that begin their staff meetings with a Christian prayer. 84% of participants in the Lubbock Religious Experience survey who identified as either non-religious or part of a non-dogmatic faith said they have had to try to “pass” as a different religion to prevent someone else from being uncomfortable and 72% said they have had to actively conceal their religious preference to

²³⁸ “County Membership Report.”

²³⁹ Ibid.

prevent discrimination, compared to the 38% of religious participants who have said they have had to do the same.

While beginning staff meetings with Christian prayers may seem benign, but for observers of different faiths, it isn't. A survey participant describes why they feel like their employment opportunities are limited in Lubbock because of religion.

"It disturbs me that a majority in Lubbock think it's appropriate to assume everyone is Christian and that it's appropriate to use their business or community organization to evangelize. Due to my beliefs, I feel like my employment options are limited."

Many residents feel they are not able to develop meaningful relationships with their peers and coworkers out of fear of being ostracized, going so far as to willingly engage in Lubbock's normalized religious practices instead of going against the grain and having to explain constantly that they observe a different faith. One survey participant described what it's like being a business owner in Lubbock as a non-religious person.

"Coming out to family cost me my marriage, and as a business owner you don't dare tell any client or even hint you're atheist because it would cost you your business. Virtually every person in town has to make them think they're a seriously committed Christian to make their lives easier even though we know almost none actually are."

Many citizens of Lubbock live in fear of their livelihoods being stripped from them because they don't adhere to the strong evangelical Christian culture. Another Lubbock resident described her experience in the workplace.

"I used to never bring up my being an atheist at work. I wouldn't say anything when they prayed at staff meetings, I kept it to myself. I volunteered on my own time for an atheist organization, but I was careful to not mix my personal life and my work life. I was called up one day by someone from HR and told that my involvement in atheism wouldn't reflect well on their organization. She insinuated that I might be fired over it, but that I should still come into the office until she heard back from some other people. When I got into the office on Monday I found out she had taken a vacation and wouldn't be back for several days. I was left twisting in the wind wondering if I was about to lose my job. I ended up sending an e-mail to our CEO and asking what was going on and if I would be fired, and reminding them that they were a secular organization and firing me because of religious reasons would constitute discrimination. Luckily, I didn't lose my job, and they apologized for the incident. But having to continue to work in a place where I know I make people uncomfortable, where I know some people think I'm not a good person just for existing as an atheist, even though I try hard to separate my atheism from my work. That is demoralizing and dehumanizing. I'm always on edge, I like my co-workers, but it's hard to trust anyone when you don't know if they are looking for ways to get rid of you because you don't believe like they do."

Inserting religion into the workplace, where it does not belong, alienates people of different beliefs. There

are ways to modify these practices to be more inclusive. Holding a moment of silence, starting with an inspirational quote, allowing each employee to take turns opening the meeting. Becoming more inclusive doesn't have to mean stripping someone else of their faith, but it does mean becoming more aware of others and showing the same level of respect for all religions.

8.2 Separation of Church and State

School is a place where children spend the majority of their day, and should be a safe and warm place that encourages them to rise to their potential. For many children however this is not the case. Many schools in the South still battle with issues of religious tolerance and the separation of church and state.

There are many misconceptions about the practical applications of separation of church and state. Simply put, the first amendment (as it applies to public schools) means that teachers and administrators can not show favoritism for any particular religion. This concept is put in place to protect the freedoms of teachers and students alike. It makes it so that students and teachers are allowed to pray according to their faith so long as it does not disrupt normal school activities. It also ensures that administrators can not discriminate against teachers for being a member of any particular faith, and it protects students from being subjected to the religious preference of the teacher.

A teacher is allowed to pray over their own lunch, but not allowed to lead a prayer with students. Students are allowed to choose to pray at meal times on their own, and can even engage in conversations with other students about religion during free times, meal times or recess. An administrator is allowed to pray in their own office, but is not allowed to start a staff meeting with a prayer. A non-religious student is allowed to leave out "under god" when they say the pledge, or to forgo saying the pledge all together. The first amendment ensures that no one has the right to force their religion on to another person. As a matter of law, religion is a private and personal choice. Families each decide what is best for themselves and school is not the place to proselytize one's own belief system.

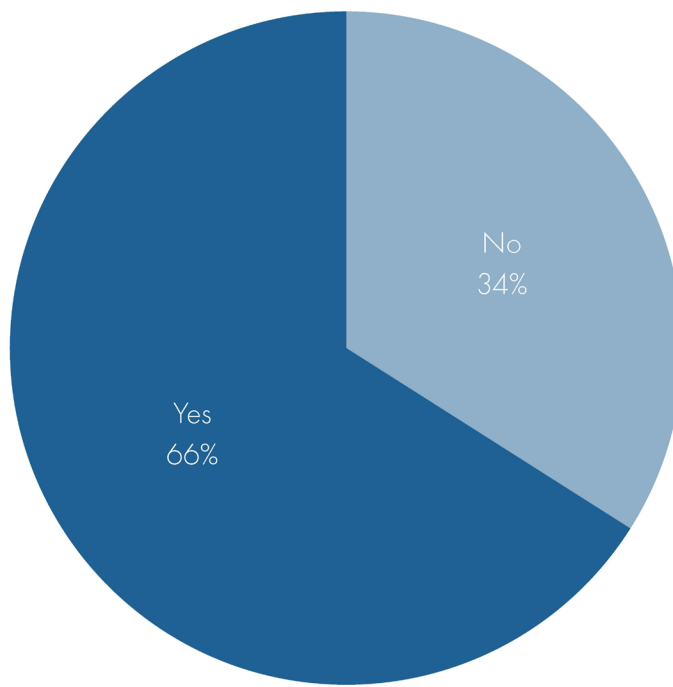
The first amendment does not strip anyone of their right to pray, it only restricts people from using their power or influence to coerce others to pray, or use religious justification to discriminate.

Those who twist the meaning of the first amendment seek to push their own religious ideology on children and teachers who do not agree, and want to diminish the rights of observers of different faiths. Nearly 50% of Lubbock citizens do not attend a Christian church. This means at any given time, if a teacher or administrator chooses to lead a prayer, they may be coercing up to half of students and/or teachers to engage in a religious practice they otherwise would not. If we want to combat this type of discrimination and ensure that all children and adults are treated with equal respect we must allow them and their families to practice or not practice their personal religion as they see fit, as long as it does not infringe on the rights of others.

Protecting individual rights is truly an American concept. Each person should get to decide what is right for themselves. Unfortunately this can still be a very difficult concept to explain to parents, teachers, and administrators, even here in Lubbock. The true meaning of the first amendment can at times become so twisted to fit someone else's agenda, that people become unable to hear the pleas from those who suffer from

discrimination.

In Lubbock, 66% of survey participants said either they or their child had seen a teacher or administrator initiate prayer during school or a school function.



**HAVE YOU OR YOUR CHILD SEEN AN ADMINISTRATOR
INITIATE PRAYER DURING SCHOOL OR A SCHOOL FUNCTION?**

LUBBOCK COMPACT

Many people from all across Lubbock county shared their stories about their interactions with school and religion. One such story was from a woman, whose son has since graduated. When he attended school, his teacher told the students she was going to host a debate about evolution and creationism. The teacher asked who in the class believed in evolution. Only one hand went up. In the days that followed, the boy went home and studied and prepared his points on evolution and when he went to school, he had to defend his position against the rest of the class and the teacher. Though he went home and put on a brave face for his parents and tried his best to not let the situation get to him, the boy ended up having to see the school counselor to help him cope. Other students stepped forward and said they also believed in evolution, but they did not want to say so in front of the class and have to go through what he did.

No student should ever have to feel so isolated as this child did. No teacher should ever have allowed this situation to take place. This was public humiliation and to have happened in a school in Lubbock is unacceptable.

Another Lubbock mother allowed her son to be interviewed. He is 7 years old and attends school in Lubbock. He described deciding not to say the pledge at school.

“I just don’t believe in it. I didn’t know I would get in trouble. I don’t believe in god so why would I say the pledge?”

When asked about getting in trouble at school and how that made him feel, he said,

“I felt sad, and I didn’t really think I fit in anymore. That’s when I started being shy. I felt like my friends didn’t care about me because they told on me. I got detention and I didn’t think it was fair. It doesn’t make me a bad person just because I don’t believe in god.”

He recounted stories about other kids bullying him on the playground and not wanting to play with him. He says other children yell at him for not believing in a god. This is a clear example of an unconstitutional violation of this child’s first amendment rights. He had every right to refrain from saying the pledge because it included the word god. His teacher is not allowed to punish him for it. She can disagree with his choice privately, but she is not allowed to use her position of authority and influence to punish a child for not sharing her world view.

Even still, it’s not only students who suffer the consequences of religion being overtly practiced in schools. Many teachers also face discrimination based on their religious beliefs. One teacher recounts her experience as a Jewish woman teaching in Lubbock

“As a Jewish woman, I have never experienced overt anti-Semitism in Lubbock except for a few incidents when I first started teaching in LISD. One was an ugly remark written on an article I had posted in the teachers’ lounge about the meaning of light in Chanukah and Christmas. The article had been written by a parent at the school who was a professor at Tech. Using a marker, a teacher wrote on the article “ And what do YOU know about Christmas?” Then there was the time when some teachers made attempts to convert me to Christianity. There were other insults as well. This fortunately stopped when this small group of teachers left the school.”

She went on to describe times when she was made uncomfortable by prayer being used in school.

“As a Jew at that school and in the district, I was marginalized and excluded when exclusionary prayers were said at some staff meetings, district convocations, and other school-sponsored events. Of course, these prayers were illegal as well. I love Christmas and have many Christian friends and relatives, and I don’t mind Christmas being celebrated in the schools, but the holidays of other religions are ignored, except in some enlightened teachers’ classrooms. I worry for the children who are left out. If I felt excluded, then how must they feel?”

8.3 Public Assistance

One of the more major issues in Lubbock for those who do not subscribe to the Christianity is trying to find assistance in times of need from an institution that is not affiliated with the Christian faith. There are many organizations that do wonderful and much needed work for this community, and this section is not intended to disparage the work being done, but rather to highlight the damage that can be caused by some of the methods that are employed while doing that very work, and to offer a more inclusive alternative.

Oftentimes a religious non-profits will simply be offering a service without any preconditions, an example of living one's values of charitability while also being respectful of the diverse population that they serve.

However, not every religious non-profit shares those same values. One survey participant described what it's like to work in the non-profit sector in Lubbock

“I work in the nonprofit sector and in my view, Lubbock nonprofits are notorious for forcing their Christian beliefs on recipients of their services.”

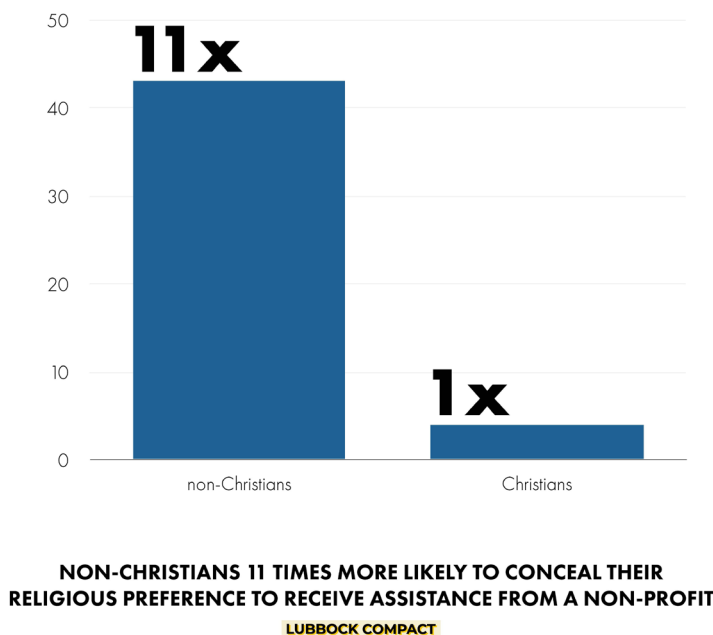
Many religious organizations' main goal is to convert or recruit people to their church. These organizations employ tactics that can be manipulative and withholding with the specific goal being to offer charity with the intent to convert. It is unclear if the people who volunteer or work for these types of organizations fully understand why such tactics are manipulative. Some may believe they are doing “God's work” because they are helping the less fortunate while also trying to give them what they deem the “correct” faith.

It can be difficult to talk about these types of organizations and why the tactics they employ can be so harmful without first taking a step back to try to examine and empathize with their frame of mind. Many Christians believe that the only way to be ‘saved’ is to believe in their god, or messiah.

They feel it is their responsibility to “save” as many people as possible. It is understandable they believe by saving someone's immortal soul, then surely giving them charity in exchange for them listening to a sermon, or agreeing to go to bible classes or joining a church. However, this frame of mind disregards the personal freedom of the individual. To take advantage of a person's desperate situation by withholding support or assistance until they agree to listen to a sermon is manipulative.

The idea that a charitable organization would withhold food from hungry families, or financial assistance from someone struggling to pay bills so they could preach to them is not acceptable. No matter what they personally observe, someone else's desperation should never be held against them to force religious indoctrination.

Non-Christian survey participants in Lubbock were 11 times more likely than Christian participants to have had to conceal their religion or lack of religion in order to receive assistance. They were also more than 8 times as likely to have needed to act as if they belonged to a different religion in order to receive assistance. It is already hard enough for people who are low income or who are experiencing homelessness to be able to reach out for help, there should not be additional barriers to accessing the support they need.



Whether it comes in the form of a mandatory sermon, religious classes, a statement of faith, these are all unnecessary and manipulative barriers that prevent people from accessing the assistance they need and they increase the risk of people not reaching out for help when they need it the most.

Regardless, there are many faith based organizations that do not use these tactics and will choose to help those in need without requiring any kind religious activity. However, it can be difficult to know which organizations will attempt to convert in exchange for services, and which will provide services regardless. One Lubbock mother described her experience with trying to find assistance.

“If they tried to pray with me, I just went along with it, even though I really hated it. But you know, if I needed something for my kids then I was like ‘well, you know, I could sit here and pretend to pray for these people so I can get my kids what they need.’”

When the environment in which assistance isn’t being offered isn’t inclusive, it can make people less likely to reach out for help or community. It can drive people to the fringes and isolate them, as one survey participant describes.

“My family and I often feel that we do and can “pass” as religious and have to avoid conversation and really avoid all/most friendships because we feel that Lubbock is very pro-religion and we have a hard time holding our tongues in protest. We have lived here 7 years and have found no safe refuge where we can truly be ourselves without having to pretend to be something we’re not. Because of this, we have made no new relationships in the time we have lived here which at times can be very lonely.”

8.4 Healthcare

At face value, healthcare, and religion seem to be separate. Realistically, this should be the case.

Unfortunately for many who are non-religious belong to a minority faith, it may be a source of discomfort when seeking healthcare.

One survey participant discussed a visit to a doctor's office at Texas Tech Health Sciences center where they were asked by a doctor to pray over their foot, which the individual felt was highly inappropriate for a professional healthcare setting. It is important to examine this intersection of religion and healthcare because it can lead to discrimination and increase risk for those who avoid seeking healthcare services with the understanding religion may be brought up during the visit. One local resident described some of her experiences attempting to access healthcare.

"My first experience was when I was at South Plains College as a freshman. I was struggling a lot with depression and isolation, and they had a doctor that came to campus every so often, so I went to see them to get a prescription, but after the visit, he said 'can I pray with you?' Before I had a chance to respond, he grabbed my hands, bowed his head and started to pray. He asked god to forgive me for my sins and help me learn to use god to heal me. I went back to my dorm after that and tore up the prescription. I felt so terrible, like he thought I had done something to deserve being depressed. Like I was a sinner. He didn't even know me, and I kept struggling with depression, and it got worse and worse."

The same survey respondent noted that after this incident, her mental health deteriorated to the point of attempting suicide. She recalled being in the hospital being treated by a nurse who, in attempting to provide her assistance, continued to bring up religion and whether or not the survey participant was a Christian.

The survey participant mentioned that while she understands the nurse was well-intentioned, she still felt uncomfortable with the dialogue being pushed on her when she was in a vulnerable state.

Similar to public assistance, healthcare can be used as a way to leverage a person's disadvantage to push religion on to them and try to convert them. When a person is at their most vulnerable, this is often when religion can be used most effectively to indoctrinate a person. By providing solutions to someone's most pressing problems, it is possible to establish a connection or a bond with that person and manipulate them into believing in something they normally would not have considered. One survey participant and mental health professional described their interaction with patients who are non-religious.

"I am a mental health provider, and there have been several times when a non-religious person was concerned about telling me they were not religious because they believed (due to being in Lubbock) I would judge them negatively. Oftentimes it is assumed people here are Christian, which is very problematic in creating a sense of community with other non-Christian people."

It can at times seem like those who are non-religious or who belong to a minority faith are isolated from the rest of Lubbock. This can be a problem when accessing healthcare. A strong feeling of community will allow a person to feel safe enough to reach out for assistance and help when they need it. If a person feels isolated, they may put themselves in more danger by ignoring the issue, or turn to harmful coping mechanisms such as drug or alcohol use.

8.5 Childcare

Childcare in Lubbock can be difficult to find for someone who is non-religious. There are only a handful of facilities that are secular, including Early Learning Centers and Head Start. However, even some of the teachers at these facilities can introduce evangelical Christianity to students as one survey participant describes.

“Childcare is a huge issue. Even the federally funded places like Head Start pray with children before meals, and even though they are the ‘least worst’ option, they can be difficult to secure a spot in. The majority of the options are faith based and there is just no controlling what they indoctrinate your children into.”

Many who are unable to find adequate childcare will ask family members to watch their children and help educate them while they are at work. However, this is not always an option for many reasons. Upon surveying a group of residents of Lubbock, 75.5% of participants indicated they were no longer members of the same religion that they had been raised in. Of those who had left the religion of their upbringing, 64% said they had experienced some kind of loss of community support.

Additionally, 79.4% of participants without a dogmatic belief system reported feeling like there were no childcare options in Lubbock that were representative of their beliefs or lack of beliefs. This data highlights one of the main difficulties of leaving the normalized religious tradition of the area.

Upon leaving the religion of one’s upbringing, it is possible they will be ostracized from their community, Without proper community support many will turn to public services to seek help.

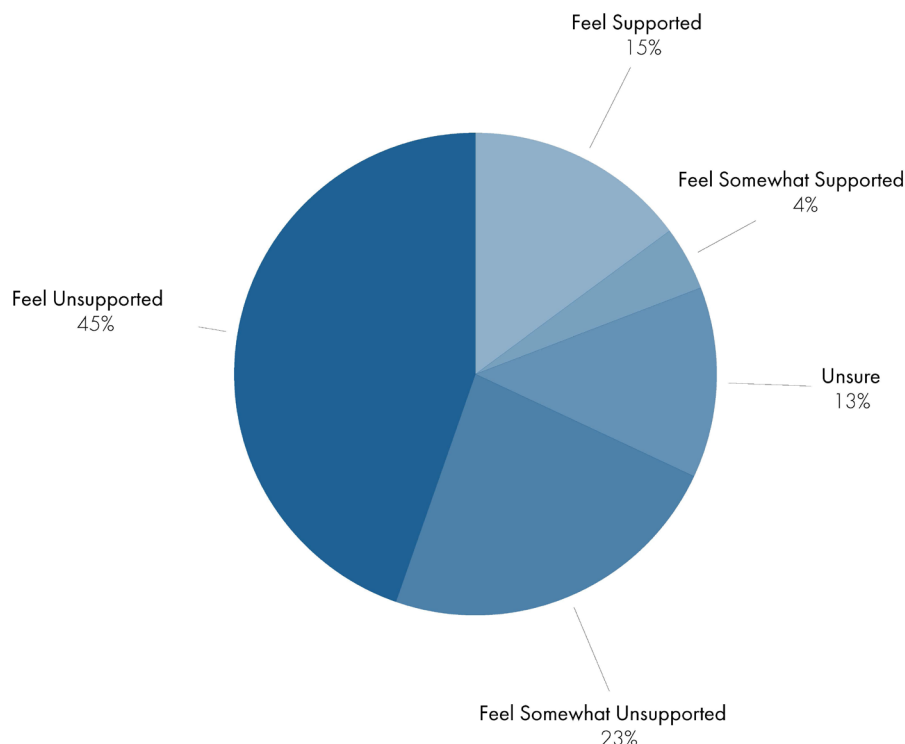
This feeling is only amplified by the fact that according to the YWCA’s “status on women report”, 42.1% of single mothers in Lubbock live below the poverty line.²⁴⁰ This means that without a second person in the home, there is no option to stay home and educate their children themselves, and if they have also lost community and family support from their families not being supportive of their religious choices, then they are left trying to find childcare with very few options.

8.6 LGBTQIA+

In the survey, LGBTQIA+ participants were asked about their experiences with religion. Of those participants, 24% identified as LGBTQIA+, and of those who identified as such 5 were agnostic, 14 were Atheist, 2 were Buddhist, 9 were Christian, 1 was Hindi, 2 were Jewish, 5 were non-religious, 1 was unaffiliated religious, 2 were Pagan, 3 were Satanists, 1 was spiritual, and 2 were Wiccan.

Many people who hold biased or bigoted views of LGBTQIA+ individuals attribute their those ideas to their religious upbringing. Non-affirming congregations and families can do a lot of damage to the mental health, wellbeing, and safety to the members of the queer community. 68.1% of LGBTQIA+ participants said they felt unsupported or somewhat unsupported by the religious community they were raised in.

240 “The Status of Women in Lubbock County, Texas.”



LGBTQIA+ LEVEL OF SUPPORT IN THE RELIGION THEY WERE RAISED

LUBBOCK COMPACT

For many people who are LGBTQIA+, reconciling their religion and their gender or sexual identity can be a difficult task. Many religions and some Christian denominations can claim that such an identity is a sin. The message that this can send to children and young adults is that they must conform to a rigid set of standards or they are not worth salvation.

One survey participant described a rift in their family that had been brought on by the clash of one family member religion and another family member identifying as trans.

“My sister-in-law here in Lubbock gets in regular fights with my husband about religion and politics. She is an Evangelical Christian. Though she portrays herself as very holy, someone who loves God with her whole heart, she has all but disowned her stepchild who came out as trans and who has started expressing suicidal ideation. This has caused a rift in our family, as my husband and I do not agree with this, and believe God loves and accepts all, and accept her stepson for who he is.”

This can lead to feelings of inadequacy and guilt. 54.1% of participants in the survey who identified as LGBTQIA+ said they have struggled with reconciling their faith and their LGBTQIA+ identity. In addition, 52% of participants said they have had an important community leader in their life negatively judge their gender identity based on religious beliefs. A trans man described his relationship with his very religious family during his interview.

“I am the epitome of extreme taboo to my family. I am a transgender, atheist, skeptic. [...] They love me, but they don’t like me. They only have that emotion because it’s a common, natural reaction to a child.”

Some LGBTQIA+ individuals find community on the Texas Tech campus where there is a more accepting and inclusive atmosphere for them than in the general Lubbock population. Many LGBTQIA+ individuals do not feel safe or welcome in many parts of Lubbock. Another participant described her experience in trying to find community in Lubbock.

“I think it’s a really isolating experience. Thankfully I wasn’t ever a victim of violence or anything, but the culture in Lubbock, it is very isolating.

The culture is just so overwhelmingly white, and Christian and straight. It’s everywhere. [...] There is not a lot available outside of Texas Tech for the LGBTQ community. For students there is quite a lot available, right, there is a great deal of support provided that you’re enrolled in the university, but there is kind of an economic barrier there.

If you happen to be a person who doesn’t have the financial opportunities to go to college, you’re kinda high and dry[...] It’s a bit shocking when you get off the campus itself. It is a cool and accepting environment, but once you get out of that bubble it’s not. And if you stay in Lubbock to work (which is what’s good for the economy), if we get people to come here to go to school and they buy houses (that’s what I did) because cost of living is cheap and there is work to be done, but you are so isolated. And it can be quite depressing.”

Survey responses indicated LGBTQIA+ participants were more likely to attribute discrimination they faced as being the result of religious persecution, rather than with their LGBTQIA+ identity. Meaning that when they do face discrimination, it is almost always perceived as being tied to the oppressors religious beliefs. Half of participants who no longer participated in the faith they were raised in also said they had experienced trauma, physical or mental abuse at the hands of religious family members or clergy.

In addition, 65% said they had to emotionally recover from their experience with religious discrimination. If this is the case then providing secular mental health support for everyone, including LGBTQIA+ individuals, is critical. One participant talked about how the lack of secular mental health services in Lubbock actually inspired her career choices.

“So I started looking for mental health services, I just felt like I was struggling with school and I felt like I could use some support, and the amount of faith based services, like in the mental health field, it’s overwhelming. And I even, because I felt like the disparity was so strong, I enrolled in a program to specifically provide something different, like I’m in a family therapy program now to come back and offer secular services.”

The intersection between the LGBTQIA community and religion is very strong. Because religion is often used as the basis for discrimination, facing this issue and addressing religious trauma is imperative. One parent describes how this intersection can be an issue even for Christians.

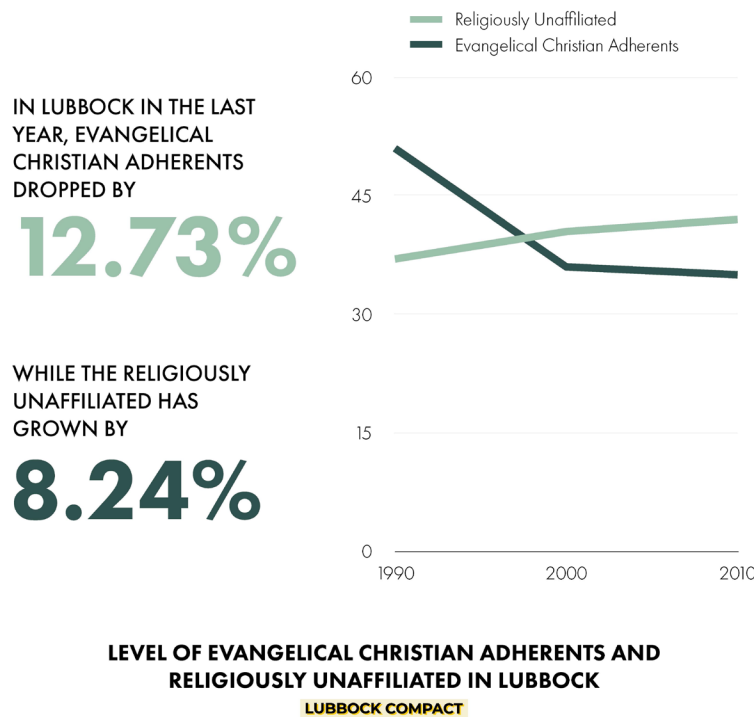
“Our teen son is gay. When he came out we switched Christian churches to one that is affirming. We are still much more liberal than most of the members and staff but we feel comfortable there for now. We have struggled to find affirming mental health resources for our son, who struggles with anxiety and depression.”

A local pastor also described how unwelcoming many Lubbock congregations can be.

“First, I am a pastor: a pro LGBTQIA pastor. There are maybe two to three churches in Lubbock where I can say that LGBTQIA people have sacred worth and not face seriously repercussions.”

8.7 Conclusion

In 1990 the percentage of religiously unaffiliated in Lubbock county was 34.17%.²⁴¹ In contrast are Evangelical Christian adherents, which are by far the largest religious group in Lubbock. This group accounted for 43.78% of the population of Lubbock county, and in 2010 dropped to 31.2%. So in the span of 20 years, the religiously unaffiliated grew by 8.23% while the Evangelical Christian population decreased by 12.58%.²⁴² Evangelical Christianity, while still maintaining a dominant presence in Lubbock, is on the decline. This trend is an echo of what is happening nationally.



These numbers are not meant to frighten those who find themselves in the declining group of evangelical Christians, but rather to highlight the need for Lubbock to become more tolerant and understanding in the face of these changing demographics. Lubbock is in the process of seeing its demographics shifting drastically. The 2020 census will be able to provide more insight into how Lubbock’s religious landscape has changed in the past decade in order to indicate how Lubbock can continue forward as a more tolerant and inclusive city.

²⁴¹ “County Membership Report.”

²⁴² Ibid.

9.0 Substance Use Disorders

Lubbock zip codes that are more populated by minority groups (Hispanic, Black) have higher arrest rates for marijuana possession, narcotics possession, narcotics distribution, drug-related cases, and violent crime cases in which the offender used a substance (Figure 1). These zip codes also have the least access to treatment centers for substance use disorders (Figure 3).

Hispanics account for 58% of Lubbock's uninsured population,²⁴³ but only 36% of Lubbock's total population (Figure 2). Hispanics are also at the highest risk for developing alcohol use disorder (AUD) based on binge drinking rates²⁴⁴ (Figure 5). Hispanics had an estimated binge drinking rate of 22%, compared to 12% for White, non-Hispanics from 2006-2010²⁴⁵ (Figure 5). Local data on binge drinking rates has not been collected since 2010, and there is no data available on binge drinking rates for most minority groups (indicating the need for better surveillance across ethnic backgrounds).²⁴⁶ Approximately 5% of the Lubbock area population has Limited English Proficiency,²⁴⁷ but there are very few treatment modalities that provide services in Spanish.²⁴⁸

Young adults (18-29 years old) had higher rates of binge drinking (27%) and heavy drinking (10%) compared to older adults from 2006-2010²⁴⁹ (Figures 4, 5). Local data was not collected on children and adolescents, but the rates for these groups are not zero. A national Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System survey conducted in 2017 found that 30% of high schoolers drank some amount of alcohol in the past 30 days, 14% of high schoolers engaged in binge drinking, 6% drove after drinking, and 17% rode with a driver who had been drinking.²⁵⁰

There are no treatment centers for adolescents (13-18 years old) in Lubbock.²⁵¹ To our knowledge, Lubbock county has none or few Licensed chemical dependency counselors (LCDCs) for adolescents.²⁵² For boys, the closest treatment center for substance use is in Plainview (45 minute drive), and wait times are 2-4 weeks. For girls, the closest treatment center is in Tyler (6.5 hour drive from Lubbock). Treatment centers in Dallas, Austin, Houston, and other locations generally do not accept patients from Lubbock. Most adolescents referred to Plainview or Tyler do not follow through with referrals, and limited access to these centers may contribute to the low adherence.²⁵³

There are currently no alcohol support groups in Lubbock that are not based on religious beliefs,²⁵⁴ making it difficult for non-religious people in Lubbock to obtain social support.²⁵⁵

243 Buettgens, Blumberg, and Pan, "The Uninsured in Texas."

244 "Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, Texas Department of State Health Services."

245 Ibid.

246 Texas Prevention Resource Center, "Regional Needs Assessment."

247 "City of Lubbock Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing."

248 Interview with James Atkinson, LPC.

249 "Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, Texas Department of State Health Services."

250 Kann, "Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance – United States, 2017."

251 Interview with James Atkinson, LPC.

252 Interview with James Atkinson, LPC.

253 Ibid.

254 Interview with Buddy Gerber, PhD Candidate.

255 "Lubbock TX Area Dist. 4 AA - Home."

9.1 Introduction to Substance Use Disorders

Substance Use Disorders (SUDs) have a major impact on people's lives and can lead to a decrease in emotional and mental health as well as creating family instability.²⁵⁶ Not only do SUDs lead to over hundreds of thousands of children being neglected or abused each year by parents or caretakers²⁵⁷ (Kropenske and Howard, 1994), excessive alcohol consumption alone costs the U.S. an excess of \$250 billion each year.²⁵⁸ Diagnosis with a Substance Use Disorder is based on behavioral criteria pertaining to the use, procurement, and acute craving of substances that leads to significant impairment at work, school, or home.²⁵⁹ The most prevalent SUDs are Alcohol Use Disorder (AUD), Tobacco Use Disorder, Cannabis Use Disorder, Stimulant Use Disorder, Hallucinogen Use Disorder, and Opioid Use Disorder.²⁶⁰

Substance Use Disorders (SUDs) are a major issue for Lubbock and surrounding counties.²⁶¹ In Lubbock County, 18% of adults reported either binge drinking or heavy drinking compared to a Texas rate of 16%.²⁶² The cause of SUDs cannot be attributed to isolated factors; genetics, the action of the drug, social interactions, comorbid disorders (anxiety, depression, PTSD), and environmental stress all modulate risk for developing a SUD.²⁶³ Although there is evidence that treatment and recovery plans can effectively treat people with SUDs,²⁶⁴ many people in Lubbock lack the resources to access these treatments.

9.1.1 Methods

In the following document we provide the most recent data and information available on SUDs, treatment modalities, and barriers to accessing treatment modalities in Lubbock and surrounding areas based on local, state, and national surveys, data from the Lubbock Police Department, Regional Needs Assessments published by the Lubbock Department of Public Health, the City of Lubbock Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing report, local census data broken down by zip codes, and interviews with key SUDs clinicians, researchers, and stakeholders in the Lubbock area.

9.2 Substance Use Disorders and Arrest Rates in Lubbock

Crime rates act as the vital signs of society, especially when it comes to Substance Use Disorders (SUDs). SUDs develop over extended periods of time, and the police generally become involved only when the person struggling with substance use reaches a point of crisis. Points of crisis arise when a person with a SUD fails to seek treatment, when treatment is unavailable to that person, when social support systems fail, or when a person cannot find healthy alternatives to self-medicating for depression, anxiety, PTSD, or other ailments. SUDs increase in severity over time, and as they do, the afflicted person becomes more likely to reach a point of crisis.²⁶⁵

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- 256 Daley, "Family and Social Aspects of Substance Use Disorders and Treatment."
 - 257 Kropenske and Howard, "Protecting Children in Substance-Abusing Families."
 - 258 Sacks et al., "2010 National and State Costs of Excessive Alcohol Consumption."
 - 259 *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual of Mental Disorders, 5th Edition: DSM-5.*
 - 260 "2015 National Survey on Drug Use and Health: Detailed Tables."
 - 261 Texas Prevention Resource Center, "Regional Needs Assessment."
 - 262 Ibid.
 - 263 Edwards et al., "Meta-Analysis of Genetic Influences on Initial Alcohol Sensitivity."
 - 264 "Substance Abuse Prevention Dollars and Cents."
 - 265 Interview with Jon Caspell, Assistant Chief of Police, Lubbock Police Department.

The Lubbock Police Department Crime Analysis Unit graciously provided us with data on substance-related arrests broken down by zip code over the last ten years. Using census data, we ordered these zip codes by percent minority status (Hispanic or non-Hispanic Black). The zip codes with the lowest percent minority status were 79424, 79410, 79413, and 79423. The zip codes with the highest percent minority status were 79415, 79412, 79403, and 79404.²⁶⁶

We plotted the arrest rates for marijuana possession, narcotics possession, narcotics distribution, drug-related cases, and violent crime cases in which the offender used a substance in order of increasing minority status (the lowest percent minority zip code is on the left, the highest percent minority zip code is on the right). **High percent minority zip codes had consistently higher arrest rates for marijuana possession, narcotics possession, narcotics distribution, drug-related cases, and violent crime cases than low minority zip codes (Figure 1).** These zip codes also have the least access to treatment centers for SUDS due to low socioeconomic status,²⁶⁷ low access to public transportation,²⁶⁸ low access to healthcare (high uninsured rates,²⁶⁹ lack of counselors,²⁷⁰ and lack of Spanish-speaking clinicians²⁷¹).

In summary, the people of Lubbock struggling the most with substance use disorders (as measured by substance-related arrest rates) also have the least access to treatment.

²⁶⁶ 79401, the zip code including Texas Tech, was a major outlier in many aspects. 79401 tended to have by far the highest arrest rates across all categories. Arrest rates for drunk driving were consistent across zip codes (no trend based on percent minority status), apart from a much higher arrest rate in 79401.

²⁶⁷ "City of Lubbock Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing."

²⁶⁸ Ibid.

²⁶⁹ Buettgens, Blumberg, and Pan, "The Uninsured in Texas."

²⁷⁰ Interview with James Atkinson, LPC.

²⁷¹ Ibid.

Figure 1: Arrest Rates Related to Substance Use in Lubbock

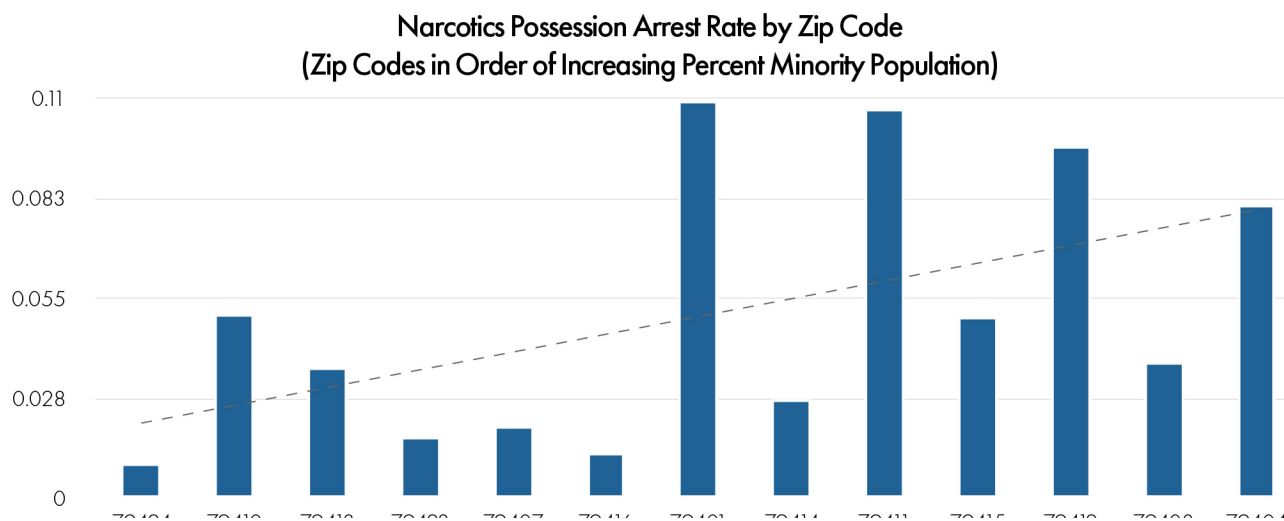
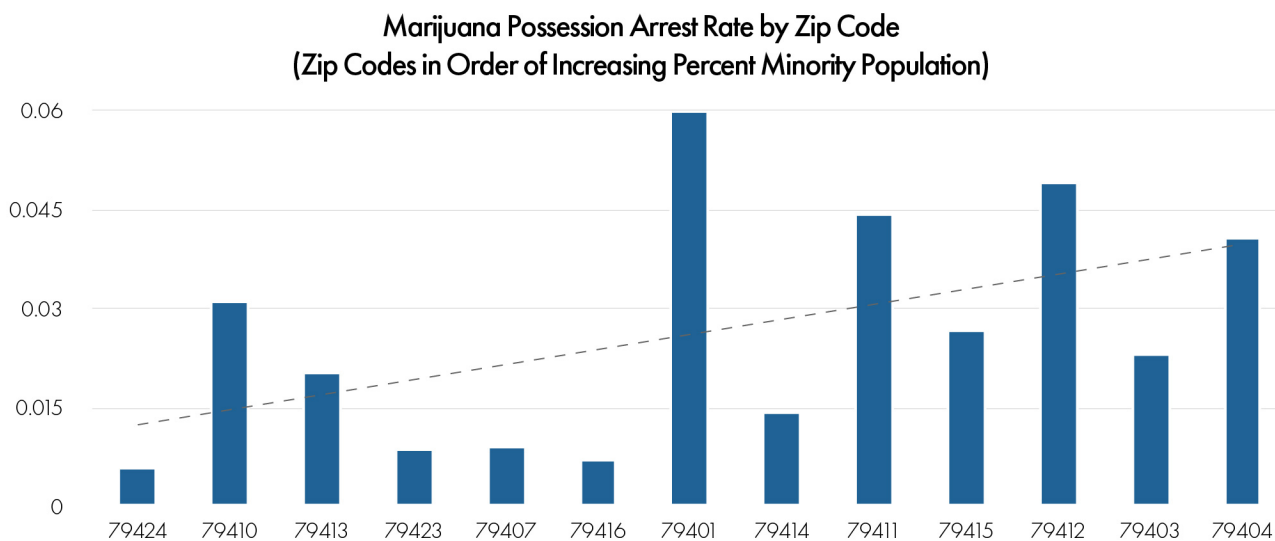
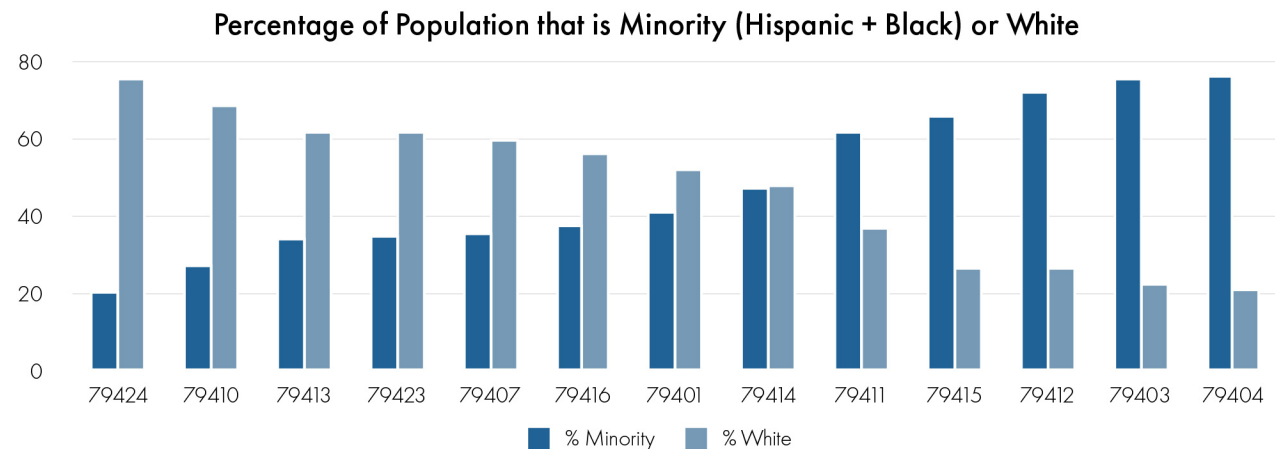
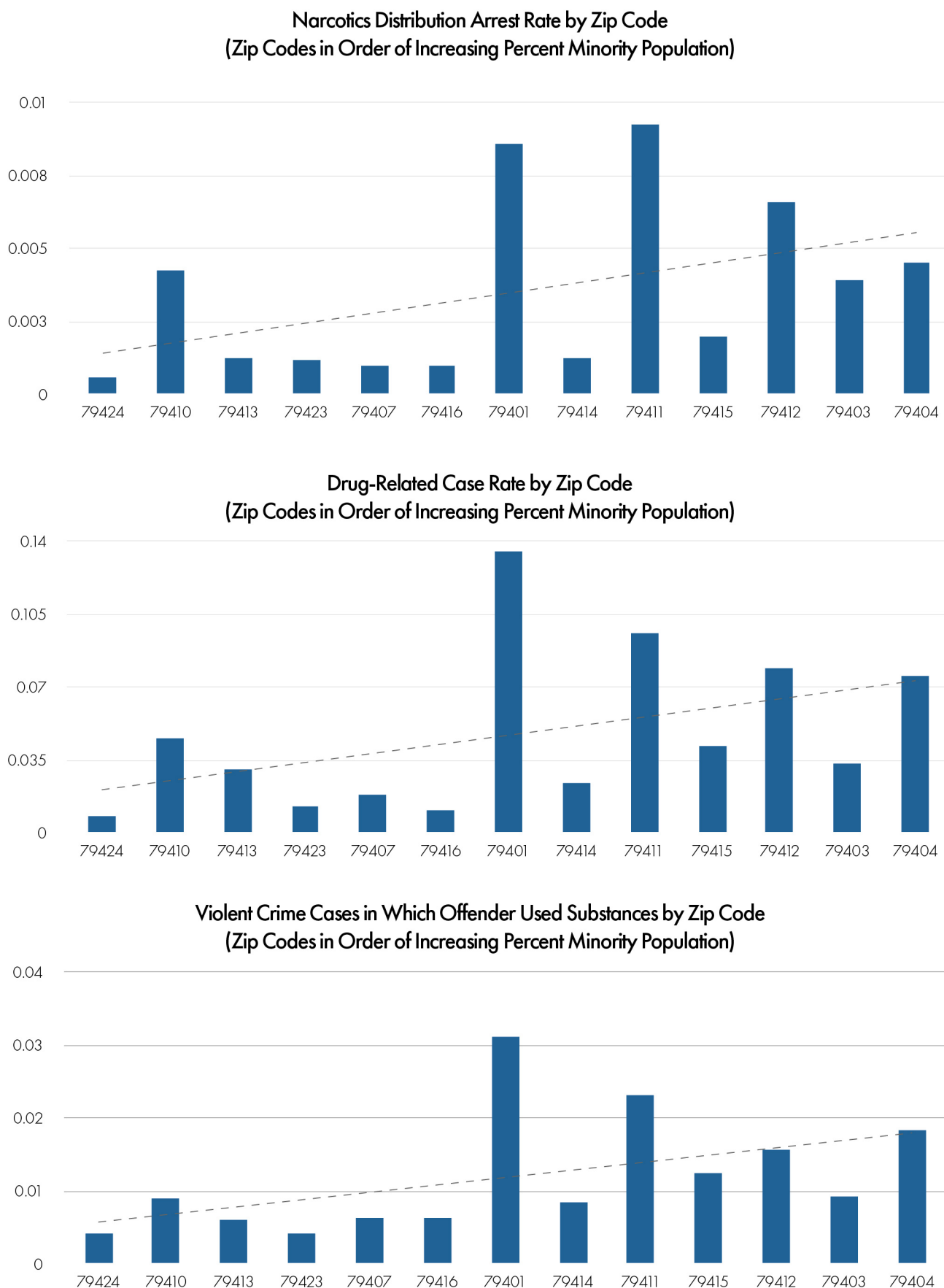


Figure 1 (cont.): Arrest Rates Related to Substance Use in Lubbock



9.3 Treatment Modalities in Lubbock

Treatment availability in Lubbock has fluctuated greatly over the past two years. In July 2019, Managed Care Center for Addictive and Other Disorders (MCC) Inc. closed the only accessible, state-supported, inpatient substance use disorder treatment center in the Lubbock area.²⁷² At the time, MCC provided 53 inpatient beds and 120 outpatient slots.²⁷³ MCC treated both male and female patients, but only provided transitional living for female patients. These treatment resources were an asset to the community as they provided affordable or free treatment to a population that is often without the financial capital to seek treatment. Grace Manor opened in July 2020, with the aim of providing the much-needed services that were originally fulfilled by MCC. Due to previous financial missteps by MCC, the availability of funds for Grace Manor may be highly scrutinized and could become a roadblock to providing care for victims of SUDS. While the closure of MCC created an inpatient service gap, there are other low-income outpatient services available in Lubbock.

Plainview Serenity Center provided 100 outpatient slots in the Lubbock area. Additionally, Clover House provides 200 outpatient slots. Both entities have state financial support and provide low cost treatment options. The only available inpatient treatment beds in the Lubbock area are found at two of the local for-profit treatment centers, Aspire Addiction Recovery Centers and the Ranch at Dove Tree. Dove Tree has 56 available beds and caters to both males and female patients, while Aspire only provides 12 treatment beds which are intended for male patients. The cost associated with these private inpatient treatment facilities is much higher, and the only accepted methods of payment for non-state supported treatment centers are insurance or private pay. The cost of inpatient treatment ranges from \$10,000 - \$30,000 for a 28-day stay. Dove Tree, Aspire, and Stages of Recovery host 275 of the outpatient treatment slots in the Lubbock area. Since these slots are much more expensive than state supported outpatient centers, they are cost prohibitive to the larger portion of the population. In the last quarter of 2019, there were over 200 referrals to treatment by the local Outreach, Screening, Assessment and Referral (OSAR) office for low-cost treatment services.

The availability of aftercare is another area where the city of Lubbock should make improvements. Outpatient treatment is a short-term solution, but aftercare is where the battle of SUDs is won. Twelve-Step organizations provide an outlet for some individuals but are not beneficial to others. A better way to look at the efficacy of aftercare resources is through recovery capital.²⁷⁴ The term offers a framework to better understand the needed resources and emphasizes that community involvement is necessary for optimum recovery.²⁷⁵

9.4 Barriers to Treatment

9.4.1 Healthcare Coverage

Approximately 68,000 of the residents in the Lubbock area do not have health insurance.²⁷⁶ **Of those uninsured, 58% are Hispanic,²⁷⁷ despite accounting for only 36% of the total population²⁷⁸** (Figure 2).

272 Wilbanks, "Lubbock's Managed Care Center under Investigation by Texas Health and Human Services."

273 Interview with Buddy Gerber, PhD Candidate.

274 See Glossary.

275 Interview with Buddy Gerber, PhD Candidate.

276 Buettgens, Blumberg, and Pan, "The Uninsured in Texas."

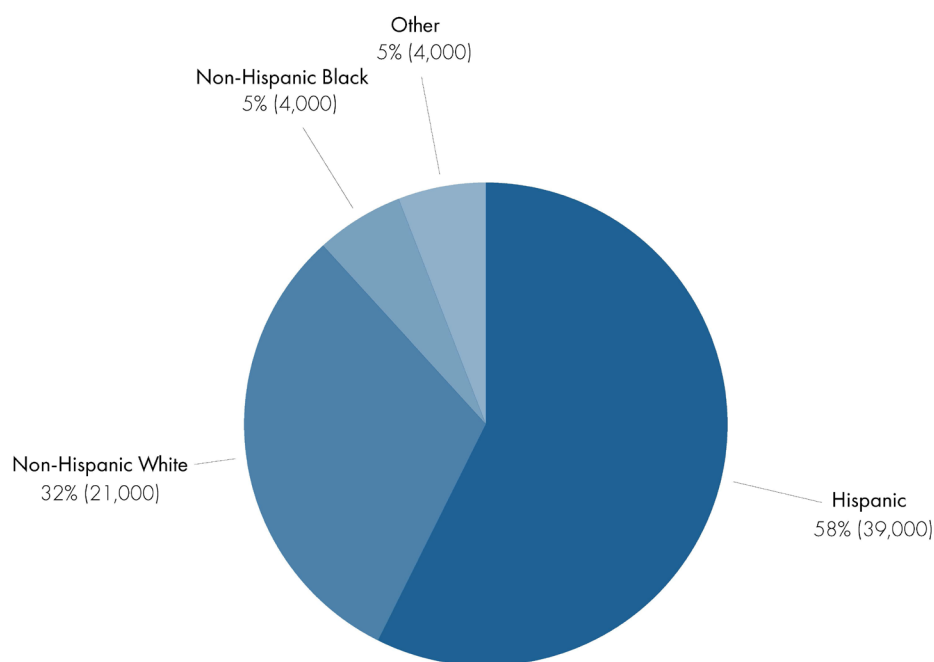
277 Ibid.

278 "QuickFacts: Lubbock County, Texas."

Though there are more Whites than Hispanics in Lubbock and its surrounding counties,²⁷⁹ the number of uninsured Hispanics outnumber the number of uninsured Whites by approximately 18,000 people.²⁸⁰ This is only the beginning of the disparities within healthcare coverage that people of color face in Lubbock.

Prior to July 2019, a limited number of inpatient and outpatient slots were available to patients without insurance at Managed Care Center for Addictive and Other Disorders (MCC). When MCC suddenly closed, these patients lost access to their primary modality for treatment.²⁸¹ **There are currently no inpatient or outpatient treatment facilities for those without insurance in Lubbock.**²⁸² Although the Lubbock Department of Health is in the process of creating new systems to replace the programs that were lost, an interim system has yet to be implemented.

Figure 2: Race/Ethnicity of Lubbock's Uninsured Population



RACE/ETHNICITY OF LUBBOCK'S UNINSURED POPULATION

LUBBOCK COMPACT

9.4.2 Socioeconomic Status

High education level, high income, and high neighborhood socioeconomic status (SES) are associated with reduced risk for developing Alcohol Use Disorder (AUD).²⁸³ Although high SES individuals consume similar (or higher) amounts of alcohol, lower SES individuals suffer a disproportionate amount of negative consequences related to alcohol use.²⁸⁴ Communities that are further marginalized based on race or ethnicity suffer even greater negative consequences.²⁸⁵

²⁷⁹ Ibid.

²⁸⁰ Buettgens, Blumberg, and Pan, "The Uninsured in Texas."

²⁸¹ Interview with Katherine Wells, Director of the Lubbock Health Department.

²⁸² Ibid.

²⁸³ Calling et al., "Socioeconomic Status and Alcohol Use Disorders across the Lifespan."

²⁸⁴ Collins, "Associations Between Socioeconomic Factors and Alcohol Outcomes."

²⁸⁵ Ibid.

Environmental risk factors are characteristics in a person's surroundings that increase their likelihood of becoming addicted to substances. A person may have many environments, or domains of influence such as the community, family, school, and friends, which can affect their risk of addiction. Influential factors in substance abuse disorders include genetic predisposition and prenatal exposure to alcohol when combined with poor self-image, self-control, or social competence. Other risk factors include family strife, loose-knit communities, an intolerant society, being exposed to violence, emotional distress, lack of education, socio-economic status, and involvement with Children's Protective Services, law enforcement, and parental absence.²⁸⁶

In Lubbock about 22.7% or one in five children ages 5-17 years old live in a state of poverty.²⁸⁷ Based on data from the combined 2009 to 2014 National Surveys on Drug Use and Health, about one in eight children (8.7 million) aged 17 or younger lived in households with at least one parent who had a past year substance use disorder (SUD) in the US.²⁸⁸

9.4.3 Youth & Youth/Female

We interviewed James Atkison, LPC, a pediatric counselor at Covenant Hospital as a key expert on the availability of treatment modalities for adolescents (ages 13-18) struggling with substance use. According to Atkinson, **Lubbock county has no (or few) licensed chemical dependency counselors (LDCs) for adolescents. Furthermore, there are currently no substance use treatment centers for adolescents in Lubbock.**

For boys, the closest treatment center is the Reed Adolescent Center in Plainview (a 45 minute drive from Lubbock), which has a 2-4 week waiting period for new patients . According to Atkinson, over 80% of the patients he refers to the Reed Adolescent Center never follow through with the referral due to the long waiting period and geographical distance. **For girls, the closest treatment centers are located in San Angelo and Tyler, TX (3 and 6.5 hour drives from Lubbock).** While other treatment centers do exist for adolescents in Texas, providers generally will not accept children if the receiving facility is too far away. Atkinson has had patients denied for treatment at facilities in Dallas, Houston, and Austin.

To our knowledge, the Texas Department of State Health Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System does not gather data on the rates of substance use in adolescents. However, a national Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System survey estimated that approximately 14% of high schoolers engaged in binge drinking.²⁸⁹ **Lubbock is a prominent healthcare hub for West Texas for most medical needs, but not with regards to substance use treatment for adolescents. There is a pressing need for the establishment of these services in Lubbock.**

286 Texas Prevention Resource Center, "Regional Needs Assessment."

287 "US Census Bureau 2010-2014."

288 "2017 NSDUH Annual National Report | CBHSQ Data."

289 Kann, "Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance – United States, 2017."

9.4.4 Religion

Multiple Alcoholics Anonymous (AA) and Narcotics Anonymous (NA) groups exist in Lubbock (aalubbockarea.org), but a key element of these groups is belief in a higher power.²⁹⁰ To our knowledge, there are currently no secular support organizations for SUDs in Lubbock.²⁹¹

Although the exact religious demographics for Lubbock are uncertain, on the national level about 22.8% or about one in every five people in the U.S. population is religiously unaffiliated.²⁹² In Lubbock, given the many highly active religious communities, these numbers might be less than the national average. However, if the percentage in Lubbock was decreased to as low as one in every ten people who are religiously unaffiliated, it would still be a significant portion of the population (~25,600).

Research suggests that active involvement in support groups significantly improves recovery and adherence to sobriety regardless of the group in which one participates.²⁹³ Respondents whose individual beliefs better matched those of their primary support groups showed greater levels of group participation, resulting in better outcomes as measured by increased number of days clean and sober. Lubbock would benefit from the creation of support groups targeted towards non-religious persons, such as Secular Organizations for Sobriety (SOS).

9.4.5 Transportation

A small disparity in access to transportation exists for Black residents of Lubbock who fall below the federal poverty line (Transit Index = 46.87 for Blacks, 51.66 for Whites, and 50.04 for Hispanics) (Fair Housing, 2018).²⁹⁴ It is more difficult for residents without transportation to access treatment facilities.

290 "Lubbock TX Area Dist. 4 AA - Home."

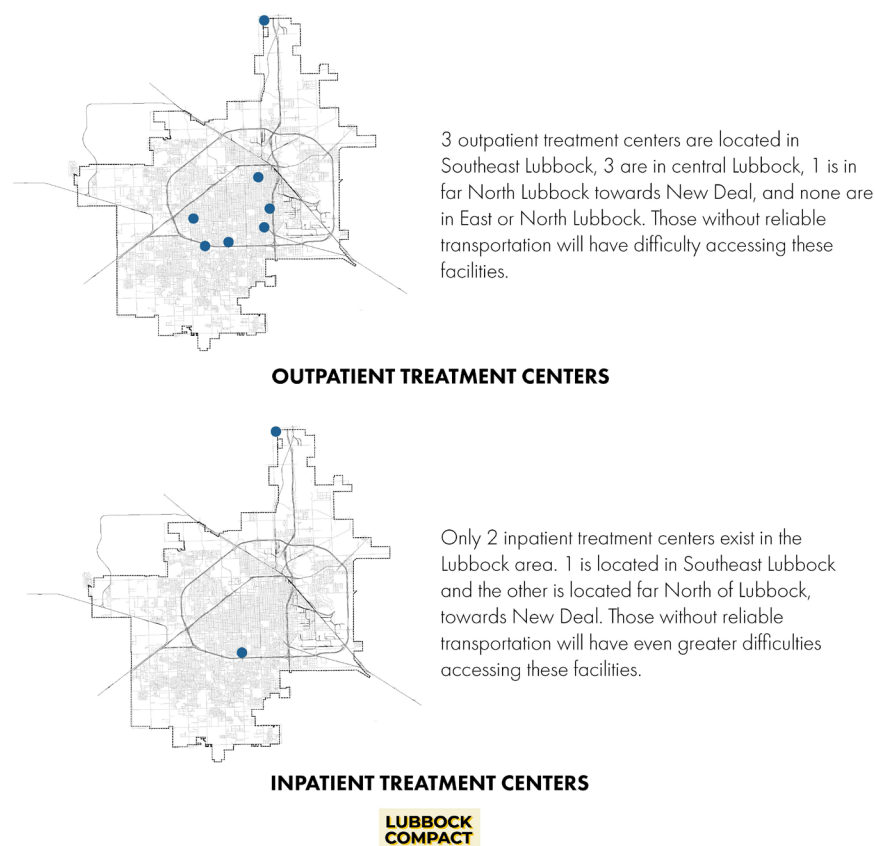
291 Interview with Buddy Gerber, PhD Candidate.

292 NW, Washington, and Inquiries, "America's Changing Religious Landscape."

293 Atkins and Hawdon, "Religiosity and Participation in Mutual-Aid Support Groups for Addiction."

294 "City of Lubbock Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing."

Figure 3: Locations and Numbers of Outpatient (A) and Inpatient (B) Treatment Slots



9.4.6 Ethnic Representation of Healthcare System/Providers

Medicine is often considered a homogenous field that serves a diverse population. The most recent report of physician demographics subdivided by race was realized by the Texas Health Professions Resource Center in 2015.

In 2015, the racial composition of Texas' physician population was approximately 63% White, 8% Hispanic, 5% African-American, and 24% Asian and other groups.²⁹⁵ Texas' population, however, starkly contrasted this with a racial composition of 42% White, 40% Hispanic, 11% African American, and 6% Asian and other groups that same year.²⁹⁶ Racial and ethnic minorities are disproportionately absent from medicine and this has proven to be detrimental to quality of care for many patients.

Numerous reports have documented the significant differences in health status and health care quality amongst racial minorities and these health care disparities translate into tangible health outcomes. When disparities lead to misdiagnoses and poor management of conditions, it thwarts efforts to improve the nation's health and translates into higher costs for the health care system.²⁹⁷

Physician diversity leads to improved access to health for underserved patients. Racial minorities are

²⁹⁵ "Trends, Distribution, and Demographics: Direct Patient Care Physicians."

²⁹⁶ Ibid.

²⁹⁷ Institute of Medicine (US) Committee on Understanding and Eliminating Racial and Ethnic Disparities in Health Care, *Unequal Treatment*.

generally more satisfied with their care and report receiving higher quality of care, when treated by a health professional from their own ethnic and racial background.²⁹⁸ Diversity begins in educational environments. Interacting with individuals from a variety of ethnic and cultural backgrounds during training has proven to prepare health care professionals to better serve diverse populations (Whitla 2003).²⁹⁹

9.4.7 Language

Being home to a diverse population, Lubbock is challenged with ensuring that it provides equitable services to its citizens who have limited English proficiency. In the City of Lubbock's 2018 Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing, census data from 2010 was used to formulate an outline of the city's jurisdictions and identify their most common native language(s).³⁰⁰

The report made clear that Lubbock is home to a significant Spanish-speaking population, with roughly 4.33% of Lubbock's 2010 population speaking only Spanish. The majority of this population is located in the central and south east parts of the city.³⁰¹ This issue is expected to have worsened with the new 2020 Census nearing its completion, as the city is expected to have grown by as much as 12.7% over the last decade (Lubbock Economic Development Alliance, 2020).³⁰² Patients are generally most comfortable and have better health outcomes when they are treated by providers who speak their primary language; "[...] language discrepancies may result in increased psychological stress and medically significant communication errors for already anxious patients, something to which patients in language-congruent encounters are less vulnerable".³⁰³

In order to best serve the needs of all Lubbock residents, it is imperative that services are expanded to adequately accommodate non-English speaking citizens, particularly those that speak only Spanish, as this group represents the majority of the non-English speaking population in Lubbock.³⁰⁴

9.5 Expert Perspectives

9.5.1 Dr. George Comiskey

George Comiskey, Ph.D. in Psychology and head of the Addictive Disorders and Recovery Studies at TTU, has worked in Lubbock for over 30 years in the area of prevention, intervention, and treatment for substance use disorders. In our interview with Comiskey, he states that SUDs start off in many young children, and when untreated, progress all the way into old age.

"Often, the [Lubbock] community feels overwhelmed by the issue of SUDs, and that the coping mechanism for many systems within the community when feeling overwhelmed is denial. We stick our head in the sand and do 'band aid kinds of activities' to make it feel like we are putting in some

298 "Disparities in Patient Experiences, Health Care Processes, and Outcomes: The Role of Patient-Provider Racial, Ethnic, and Language Concordance."

299 Whitla et al., "Educational Benefits of Diversity in Medical School."

300 "City of Lubbock Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing."

301 "City of Lubbock Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing."

302 "Lubbock Economic Development Alliance: Growth Estimates."

303 Meuter et al., "Overcoming Language Barriers in Healthcare."

304 "City of Lubbock Analysis of Impediments to Fair Housing."

effort and make ourselves feel better. However, often this effort is not systematic and fails to tackle the core issue at hand. The more successful cities and communities implement more effective strategies like going to the schools and doing groups with the students rather than ‘warehousing’ a student by putting him in an alternative program. Successful strategies also involve not just helping the student, but helping their family and addressing systematic [sic] problems that afflict the individual and family.

Unfortunately, this does not exist in Lubbock. Lubbock tries the ‘shotgun approach’ where there have been great initiatives in Lubbock because initiatives aren’t engrained enough in the program, so after the person who had the passion to start the initiatives leaves or when funding drops, the initiative falters. For example, there have been numerous councils on SUDs and AUDs in Lubbock in recent years, but they have all faltered due to lack of funding, lack of support, being overwhelmed, unable to manage individual’s needs.

[...] For minorities, many of them end up in the juvenile justice system, a place that does not provide effective rehabilitation. These kids in the juvenile system are not taught the life skills they really need to overcome SUDs. Partly because the criminal justice system is overwhelmed and any efforts by the system to provide real help to these people falters. And thus the community must step in.”

Comiskey reiterated that if more affluent residents find their child needs treatment, they are more likely to have the money and resources to provide it for them, also highlighting that many of the affluent are also White. Essentially, this means minority children end up not getting the help they need in comparison to their White counterparts whose parents are more likely to have the means to provide it for them.

Comiskey believes that these community groups need to come together, look at the data, determine where interventions need to occur and have the same vision in order for this to be effective. There’s a lot of mistrust towards these programs that claim to provide a solution to their abuse problem, especially in communities of color.

One topic Comiskey discussed was recovery high schools, where individuals are placed in schools with peers who are on a similar recovery pathway. This can aid in the recovery process as many times, the normal environment (e.g. Lubbock High School) can be hostile to recovery. Effective curriculums such as Reconnecting Youth can be effective, and are often favored by students as they are student-led instead of being led by preachy adults.

Unfortunately, Lubbock ISD is losing a lot of students to the surrounding school districts. One of the possible solutions is creating a recovery high school for LISD to retain students. Dr. Ramirez, the Chief Innovation Officer for LISD, is exploring how the district can utilize a closing elementary school to achieve this.

Lastly, the ER at Covenant is the main treatment option for detox in Lubbock, costing anywhere between \$5,000 to \$10,000. Beyond initial treatment, 30 days in a treatment center can produce a bill upwards of \$15,000 to \$30,000. Many who do not have the financial means to detox are simply stabilized and released by the ER.

9.5.2 Jon Caspell, Assistant Chief of Police, Lubbock Police Department

In an interview with Lubbock Police Assistant Chief Jon Caspell, Caspell highlighted the ways police serve as a final safety net when people struggling with SUDs reach points of crisis. “It is never our goal to send these individuals to jail, it’s very difficult for them to get help there.”

“Access to help really does take a certain level of resources. Say someone is an AUD [sic], and they have the means, they know they can go get treatment. But when you don’t have those means, you have to rely on gov. [sic] assistance or other people. So the people who need the help the most, have the hardest time.

In law enforcement, we pull someone over for a DWI, or we arrest, and we put them in the jail system. But is jail going to really help you? And what is the follow up? Shutting down Managed Care has really shown in Lubbock—where are those people going to get treatment? And many of them are self-medicating to deal with mental health, they don’t have the resources to go to Star Care or [another treatment facility], so they are going to use that substance, and when it reaches crisis level, they end up with us.”

Assistant Chief Caspell also highlighted LPD’s Crisis Intervention Team.

“We have specially trained officers that respond to people going through mental or behavioral crises (who tend to also be abusers of substances). So we try not to arrest them, we try to connect them with Covenant, or other treatment centers. We try to get them into longer term care, in San Angelo, or Big Springs. Law enforcement must fill in that gap. Before, just sending a patrol officer wouldn’t help, so we are in the process of developing a Co-Response Model over the next 1-2 years: teaming up specially trained officers with clinicians (for example, someone from Star Care) and medics (EMS or fire).

Reactive and proactive response to intervene long before it becomes a crisis point. The clinician will know to check on their conditions, to check on their housing, their AA meetings, their psych appointments, their prescriptions—say they are out of something, the clinician will go get that scrip. for them right then. So law enforcement has to wear many hats that aren’t law enforcement related. You can’t always respond with handcuffs and a gun. Jail is not always the answer. In fact, it is very rarely the answer to get them help. It is much better to get them care.”

Assistant Chief Caspell **recommended the creation of a No Wrong Door facility in Lubbock that will accept anyone, regardless of income, mental status, age, healthcare coverage, homeless status, or any other category they could fall under.**

“This facility needs to be accessible to everyone. There must be no waiting or holding period.” Such a facility would be expensive—but the cost of not treating substance use disorders is far more expensive, ruining lives and sapping the life-long potential of Lubbock residents who struggle with SUDs.

9.5.3 *James Atkison, LPC*

In an interview with James Atkison, a licensed professional pediatric counselor at Covenant Children's Hospital, we asked about the availability of treatment modalities for substance use disorders in children under the age of 18.

"In Lubbock there are no treatment facilities for people under the age of 18 as well as no LCDCs (licensed chemical dependency counselors) in the city of Lubbock. The closest treatment facilities for males 13-18 with drug or alcohol problems is the Lubbock Reed Adolescent Center in Plainview which is a 45-minute drive north of Lubbock.

The Reed Adolescent Center often has a 2 to 4-week wait, depending on their availability. The Reed Adolescent Center provides varying levels of outpatient treatment for adolescents with substance abuse disorders. For girls between the ages of 13 to 18 the closest treatment is in Tyler, Texas which is east of Dallas and a 6.5 hour drive from Lubbock. Most of the time the treatment facilities will refuse to see children if they live too far away (however, there is a treatment center in San Angelo that may accept young patients--although the 3hour drive is still prohibitively far).

At the Covenant Children's Hospital, if an adolescent is hospitalized for a substance use disorder the longest Covenant can hold the child is 24 hours. We hold the children longer for medical issues, but as soon as the medical issue (such as detox) is completed and if the child is not homicidal or suicidal, then we have no other recourse except to release the child unless the parent wants to pay for inpatient stays (approximately \$700/day at most inpatient facilities when treatment is not covered by insurance).

Most counselors in Lubbock do not accept insurance and are private pay with up to \$100 to \$150 per visit and can up to \$200 per visit in the Dallas area. Finally, as of now there are no treatment centers available for people under the age of 13 in Lubbock."

Atkison believes that the state of Texas is largely ignoring that we have a problem with substance abuse in minors. As a result, there are no treatment facilities and no funding available to help children obtain assistance.

9.5.4 *Dr. Thomas McGovern*

Thomas McGovern is a professor and director emeritus at the Center for Ethics, Humanities and Spirituality at the Texas Tech University Health Science Center School of Medicine. McGovern believes that there are many factors, not just race, that can contribute to an individual's ability to receive access to treatment in Lubbock.

McGovern states that the war on drugs has become a war on people. Unfortunately, these people are trapped in conditions of poverty and racial discrimination, which makes it more difficult to seek treatment. Ultimately, an individual's zip code is a more important factor than their genetic code where their health is concerned .

Regarding recovery, McGovern believes there is more to treatment than going to an intensive residential or outpatient setting. Recovery from any Substance Use Disorder (and Alcohol Use Disorder) involves

community buy-in allowing for greater availability of resources that can help to support an individual's physical, mental, emotional, and spiritual well-being.

9.6 Supplemental Data on Alcohol Use Disorder (AUD)

9.6.1 State

The Texas Department of State Health conducts yearly surveys on the rates of binge drinking and heavy drinking in the State of Texas via the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System.³⁰⁵ The rate of binge drinking in Texas (5 or more drinks for men/4 or more drinks for women on a single occasion in the past 30 days) remained constant at 16-19% from 2011-2018. In 2018, the estimated rate of binge drinking was higher for males than for females, lower for households that made less than \$25,000 per year than for households that made more, and higher for young adults than for the middle-aged and elderly. The estimated rate of binge drinking was slightly higher for Hispanics than for White, non-Hispanics, Black or African American, non-Hispanics, and other racial/ethnic groups. The estimated rate of binge drinking remained constant across education levels and disability status.

At least 1 in 20 Texans reported engaging in heavy drinking (adults who reported having > 2 drinks per day for men or >1 drink per day for women for the past 30 days) in 2018. This rate remained constant at 6-7% from 2011-2018, and was more consistent across sex, income, age, race/ethnicity, education, and disability status groups when compared to binge drinking. Notably, the rate of heavy drinking was lower for the elderly (2.6%) than for adults aged 18-64. The rate of heavy drinking was higher for White, non-Hispanics (7.4%) when compared to other racial/ethnic groups (4.2-6.2%).

9.6.2 Local

The Texas Department of State Health conducted four surveys on the rates of binge drinking and heavy drinking in Lubbock and surrounding counties in 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2010 via the Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System (Figure 4, Figure 5).³⁰⁶

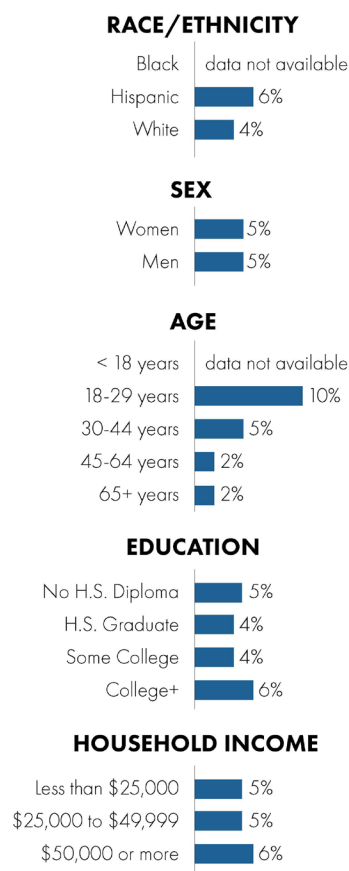
We pooled the results of these surveys to estimate the percent at risk for binge drinking and heavy drinking from 2006-2010. The total rate of binge drinking (5 or more drinks for men/4 or more drinks for women on a single occasion in the past 30 days) in Lubbock and surrounding counties was approximately 15% (Figure 5), which was similar to the rate from the State-wide survey conducted in 2018 (17.4%). The rate of binge drinking was higher for Hispanics (22%) than for White, non-Hispanics (12%).

There were too few Black, non-Hispanic respondents to calculate an estimated rate of binge drinking in Black, non-Hispanics in Lubbock and surrounding counties, highlighting the need for targeted surveys to estimate this rate. Rates were also not available for other minority groups (Asian, Indian, Native American, Native Hawaiian, Pacific Islander, Multiracial, etc.) in Lubbock and surrounding counties.

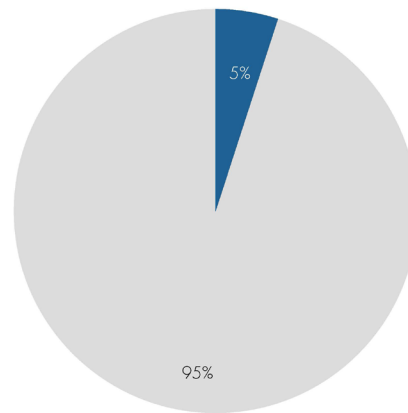
305 "Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, Texas Department of State Health Services."

306 "Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System, Texas Department of State Health Services."

Figure 4: Heavy Drinking Rates in Lubbock and Surrounding Counties



Approximately **5%** of people in Lubbock and surrounding counties reported engaging in heavy drinking*

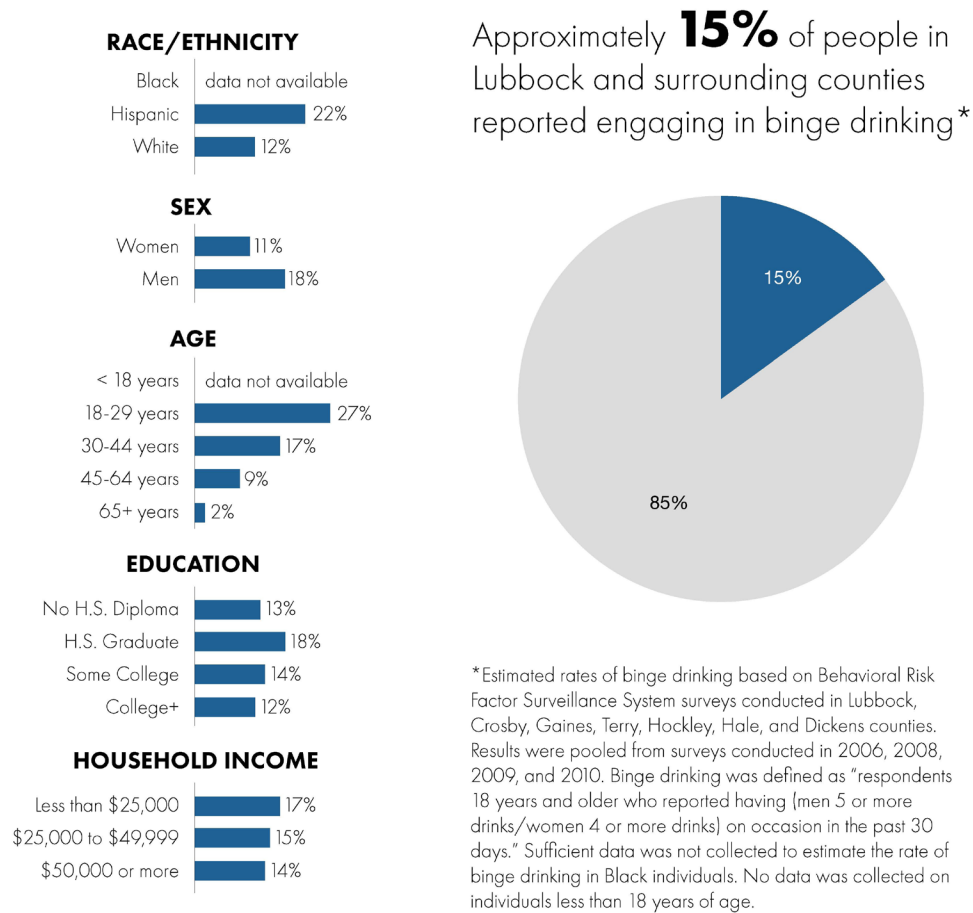


*Estimated rates of heavy drinking based on Behavioral Risk Factor Surveillance System surveys conducted in Lubbock, Crosby, Gaines, Terry, Hockley, Hale, and Dickens counties. Results were pooled from surveys conducted in 2006, 2008, 2009, and 2010. Heavy drinking was defined as "respondents 18 years and older who reported having (> 2 drinks per day for men or > 1 drink per day for women) in the past 30 days." Sufficient data was not collected to estimate the rate of binge drinking in Black individuals. No data was collected on individuals less than 18 years of age.

HEAVY DRINKING RATES IN LUBBOCK AND SURROUNDING COUNTIES

**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

Figure 5: Binge Drinking Rates in Lubbock and Surrounding Counties



BINGE DRINKING RATES IN LUBBOCK AND SURROUNDING COUNTIES

**LUBBOCK
COMPACT**

The rate of binge drinking was higher for men (18%) than for women (11%) (Figure 5). The rates of binge drinking remained mostly constant across income levels (Figure 5). Young adults (18-29) had the highest rate of binge drinking (27%), with progressively lower rates as age increased (Figure 5). No data was available for adolescents (age 13-18) or children (age <13), but the rate is not zero. A national Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance System survey conducted in 2017 found that 30% of high schoolers drank some amount of alcohol in the past 30 days.³⁰⁷ 14% of high schoolers engaged in binge drinking, 6% drove after drinking, and 17% rode with a driver who had been drinking.³⁰⁸

Recent data on the rates of substance use disorders, including alcohol use disorder, is not available for Lubbock and surrounding counties.³⁰⁹ This highlights the pressing need for better surveillance of substance use in Lubbock and surrounding counties, especially in adolescents and minorities.

307 Kann, "Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance — United States, 2017."

308 Kann, "Youth Risk Behavior Surveillance — United States, 2017."

309 Texas Prevention Resource Center, "Regional Needs Assessment."

10.0 Moving Forward: Smart-Growth

There is a way forward for all of Lubbock to thrive equitably, but it will require an immediate and fundamental shift in the city's policies from extraction to a smart-growth orientation.

The premise of smart-growth is simple; cities should comprehensively assess whether new developments will pay for themselves. Not just the costs for when they are built, but in perpetuity. Even the impact fee structure does not allow for incorporating projections beyond 10 years, too early to capture the cost of one cycle of roadway repair.

This means that impact fees alone, even when carefully constructed, cannot change the extraction process. What Lubbock must create is a comprehensive financial model that takes into account the long-term costs of development, and then stick to a policy that all new subdivisions must be budget neutral.

Smart-growth incentivizes building within areas that already have robust infrastructure, which is exactly what Old Lubbock has, and why it has been resilient for so long. The challenges Lubbock is currently facing are not unique and are predictable for cities its size. What is unique is that Old Lubbock was so well built to begin with that true revitalization and growth are possible. There are few communities where this is also true.

The resilience of Old Lubbock has given time to witness these challenges in other communities, and more tragically, the decline and disinvestment process in the city's traditional minority neighborhoods. The city can, and must, learn from their struggles. Currently, Lubbock is squandering this time by choosing not to develop within the simple, but elegant, grid design Old Lubbock was built on.

The impact of Milwaukee Avenue on Old Lubbock is now clear. It socially stratified the traditionally mixed-income neighborhoods and shifted the economic center of gravity away from Lubbock inside the loop, destroying the benefits of the city's robust grid infrastructure.

Milwaukee enabled the migration of Lubbock's affluent to a different school district while maintaining connectivity to the only parts of Lubbock that have relevance to high income earners, the medical district (nurses and physicians), Texas Tech University (professors and administrators), and downtown (bankers and lawyers).

The city cannot feign ignorance to the issues caused by extractive expansion any longer. Many long-term citizens of Lubbock have known what has been going on intuitively, but it's very challenging to find quantifiable evidence of the disparities being created. That is intentional.

Unless the construction of Loop 88 can be halted, Old Lubbock's future is lost.

Milwaukee showed what happens when Lubbock invests in new infrastructure outside Loop 289. It distorted the basic design of Lubbock almost to the point of breaking. What Milwaukee began, Loop 88 will finish. Lubbock will have squandered what made it unique as a big town with such excellent connectivity

that allowed the city to maintain the benefits of smallness. That is what the grid accomplished. While neighborhoods in Lubbock have been segregated by race, it was the fact that individuals and families across the economic spectrum lived within the same neighborhoods that gave them resilience.

It is that same resilience that has allowed Old Lubbock to sustain itself even while its resources have been drained away to build a new kind of city, one that resembles the poorly connected suburbs of Dallas and the disparities that come with it.

No one in Lubbock voted for this future. The city's policies, captured by special interests, siphoned the money needed through policy sleights-of-hand and intentionally misled citizens by describing what was happening as a "franchise fee" on utility companies, instead of what it actually is in practice—a covert way to do an unaccountable bond raise backed by revenues generated from a regressive tax.³¹⁰

Loop 88 can easily be built through the same means. The reason for this is despite the overall project costing over \$1 billion, Lubbock will only pay a very small fraction of the cost.³¹¹ This is a common repeated justification as to why Lubbock should do it, but just because you only have to spend, "pennies on the dollar" for something doesn't mean it's actually what is needed.

The trajectory of Lubbock is still changeable, but it requires a fundamental realignment of Lubbock's political axis from special interests to the interests of all Lubbock citizens and this needs to happen now.

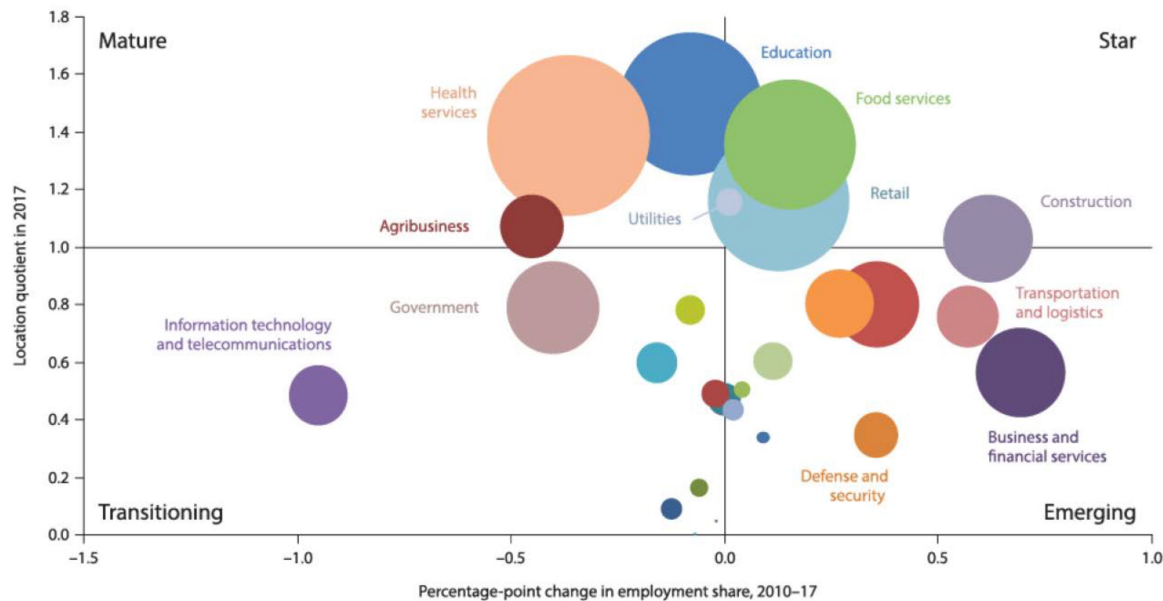
Impact fees alone will not be enough and Lubbock citizens have to demand accountability to cut through the obfuscations, proclamations that extractive growth is inevitable, and that the city has no policy tools to prevent this growth.

Right now is the perfect moment to transition because by the homebuilders association's own admission, when they demanded Lubbock provide them a two year "grace period" from impact fees, current construction and development is stalled because of the economic downturn. Transitioning now would blunt the biggest threat the real estate developer community will use against this change—that doing it will depress Lubbock's economy and drive it into a recession.

The idea that a substantial recession would occur here in the short term as a result of this policy shift is highly unlikely, even before COVID-19, which can be seen by examining Lubbock's economy through a cluster analysis like the one the Dallas Federal Reserve conduct for Lubbock:

310 Blackburn, "Lubbock Residents Paying Higher Utility Fees Also Feeding City Budget."

311 "Lubbock MPO Amasses \$43.5M for Portion of Loop 88 Construction."



The radius of each circle gives an indication of the relative size of that industry in Lubbock's economy. The agribusiness circle is artificially small as much of the activity related to the multibillion-dollar agricultural industry happens outside of Lubbock's city limits.³¹²

The pillars of Lubbock's economy are agribusinesses, health services, and education. The size of food services and retail are abnormally large for a city of Lubbock's size, a product of 38,000+ Texas Tech students.³¹³

The pillars of Lubbock's economy in economic terms are considered non-cyclical, which means they are inherently resistant to recessions. This effect was most easily seen during the housing crisis-induced Great Recession, and the fact that the impact of it here was relatively small.

Lubbock's economy is not dependent upon the construction of new budget-killing subdivisions for growth.

While it is possible a short term decrease in the rate of construction will have a negative impact on the economy, that will be far outweighed by the long term benefits of greatly improved quality of life and increases in the value of homes and properties already built in neighborhoods throughout Old Lubbock.

Like every other city that has pursued smart-growth, Lubbock's real estate and developer community will adapt. They are profit motivated and want to continue to generate income through the skills and knowledge they have. The developers will have to incorporate modern styles of design into their practices, something they would never do if the option of simple copy-and-paste subdivision development is still on the table.

The revitalization of Old Lubbock begins with Lubbock City Council declaring that they will use every means available to them to ensure new development outside Loop 289 must prove it is budget neutral in perpetuity, not just a 10-year projection.

312 Abraham, "At the Heart of Texas: Cities' Industry Clusters Drive Growth."

313 Young, "Texas Tech University's Fall Enrollment Numbers Set New Records."

There are many policy tools Lubbock can employ to make this happen, whether through a moratorium on business permits, blanket denial policies on zoning variances, setting all impact fees to their maximum amount allowed by law for regions outside Loop 289 (and setting the rate to zero for developments inside the loop), etc...

The impact of this aggressive stance will likely be enough of a deterrent that real estate developers will begin to change their profit strategies without the need for doing more than maximum impact fees. Real estate is a risk averse industry with regards to policy threats because their investments are illiquid for a significant period and there are many policies that can alter their profitability.

Lubbock needs to accelerate the adopted proposals in the 2040 Plan to create an accurate financial impact model of new developments and to determine how much Old Lubbock neighborhoods have contributed to the city's budget in comparison to the amount of services they received.

The cost of a smart-growth strategy is well within the city's means, so long as it stops using the "gateway" fund dollars to build unaffordable and inaccessible neighborhoods.

Lubbock's grid infrastructure is an incredible boon. It cannot be overemphasized how lucky Lubbock is to have such a simple template to begin redevelopment. The city council needs to commit to changing the "gateway" fund to a revitalization fund. No more dollars from this fund should go to the creation of new infrastructure. \$124 million is enough.

Instead, this financing should be used to catalyze transformational projects that shift Lubbock's economic center of gravity back inside Loop 289.

If the council decides to pursue a bond election in November as they have previously stated they will, the only projects included should be inside Loop 289.

This is obvious; a significant investment is necessary to repair Old Lubbock's roads and finally pave the dirt streets whose concentrations in minority neighborhoods show obvious racial disparity.

Lubbock's neighborhoods need to be empowered to make changes that correct the fatal flaw in their design, causing them to become adult dormitories, residential-only zoning.

Although almost every neighborhood Old Lubbock suffers the same flaw, the manners in which they revitalize must be unique to each neighborhood. They have to take on distinctive identities that are driven by community input on what's best for them. It's telling that when Lubbock citizens are asked where they live they rarely refer to the name of a subdivision, and instead give the closest recognizable intersection instead.

Neighborhoods should be allowed to opt into mixed-use zoning that would allow for self-determined business activity inside of the community. Imagine a home converted into a restaurant, a vacant residential parcel as a food park, or getting a haircut in a garage renovated as a barber shop. East Lubbock once had a

thriving bootlegger economy in their neighborhoods. Allowing for the development of neighborhood cottage industries could even help in the immediacy with COVID-19 by encouraging communities to spend more time and having more of their interactions inside the neighborhood, decreasing chances of infection from the outside world.

Lubbock can offset any short-term construction downturn by removing barriers to and incentivizing the construction of accessory dwelling units in any Lubbock neighborhood.

Homeowners should be allowed to reinvest in their properties and get more value out of their plot. Increasing the density of Old Lubbock neighborhoods can offset some of the challenges single-family home zoning has created for generating sustained community activity. It also increases the number of tax-paying citizens without increasing liabilities from new acreage. This is something many Lubbock citizens desire as the demographics of West Texas are aging and families want their elderly to move to Lubbock for access to healthcare. Accessory dwelling units are often referred to as “in-law suites” or “granny flats.”

They are also a COVID-19 friendly way for homeowners who want someone to be able to live near them, like a parent, but without having to be in close contact.

The pent-up demand for these could meaningfully offset the short term construction downturn that a shift away from extractive growth could initially cause.

Provide neighborhoods with the tools for self-determination, accelerate the Neighborhood Action Plans process, and keep the promise to East and North Lubbock neighborhoods that they will be prioritized.

There are standard best practice processes a neighborhood can use to determine what’s right for them. Neighborhood Action Planning is a process whereby a professional organizer provides the appropriate frameworks and knowledge of design necessary for citizens to be well equipped to self-determine how their community will thrive.

This was what Lubbock hired its former city planner to do, an individual who had previously received an award in recognition for their prowess at neighborhood planning. It is unfortunate they were forced to resign for contesting Lubbock’s property developer community while advocating for Lubbock citizens too many times. On more than one occasion, developers questioned their competency and credibility because the city planner was a woman.

In order for minority neighborhoods to trust that Lubbock’s redevelopment goals are inclusive, there has to be a reckoning with what happened in North Overton.

Currently, there is no trust in Lubbock’s minority neighborhoods that the city could create development policies in their best interest. For Hispanic residents in the Arnett Benson neighborhood above Texas Tech that are frequently solicited to sell their homes, it is never far from mind. The ghettoization of the

North Overton community's lived experience needs to end. Stop putting it in headlines. Stop the historical revisionism. Stop dehumanizing. Stop victim blaming renters for the disinvestment cycle the City of Lubbock is complicit in by its unwillingness to hold slumlords accountable.

The city financing a similar story map process to the one Texas Housers' did for East Lubbock neighborhoods who were impacted by the original urban renewal process would be a good first step. All Lubbock residents would also benefit from understanding why North Overton collapsed, and why their neighborhoods are also at risk from the same decline due to city policies.

As part of the promise to never do neighborhood destruction as “redevelopment” again, the city should enact a landlord registry program.

If it can be done to Airbnb owners, it can be done to landlords. Prove to minority neighborhoods that the city is willing to level the playing field when it comes to slumlords interest in neighborhood degradation versus the community's desire to thrive.

Texas Tech can keep the community engagement momentum from its heroic COVID-19 efforts by reviewing its role in the razing of North Overton and adopting best practices for its future property development ambitions.

It is no secret Texas Tech had a role in this. The university should undergo a thorough review of what it did to contribute to the displacement of 4,725 predominately Black and Hispanic North Overton residents.³¹⁴ When the virtual tour mapping of affluent North Tech Terrace is completed, engaging in a similar effort to reclaim the history of North Overton would also be a welcome gesture.

More importantly, the university needs to show the Arnett Benson neighborhood that Texas Tech's master development plan will not lead to their displacement by hiring an entity like the National Association of Latino Community Asset Builders who conducted a housing disparity impact analysis for UT San Antonio.³¹⁵

³¹⁶ Texas Tech could go even further by incorporating an affordable housing component to their property development strategy.

Empowering Old Lubbock neighborhoods to create their own identity needs to be coupled with shifting the city's economic center of gravity back inside Loop 289. This can be achieved with two transformative initiatives that would cost well below the \$124 million³¹⁷ used to disrupt the city's social fabric—the right sizing of 34th St. and catalyzing the development of an inclusive neighborhood in east Lubbock.

Lubbock's sole focus for Old Lubbock revitalization is downtown. While downtown revitalization would

314 Privett, *Failure Is Not an Option: Delbert McDougal: A Developer's Unconventional Wisdom*, Page 62.

315 “Policy Studies Host 3-Day Seminar with National Association of Latino Community Asset Builders.”

316 Fish, “UTSA Engages Latino Research and Planning Organization to Deepen Dialogue with West Side Community on Downtown Campus Expansion Plan.”

317 Dotray, “Leaders Say Lubbock's Milwaukee Avenue Took Creative Funding, Project of Similar Scope Not Foreseen.”

undoubtedly have a meaningful impact in bringing economic activity back, the financial cost and timeline necessary for doing this preclude it from being something policy action can readily change. When Overland Partners, the consulting firm hired by Lubbock to create the new downtown redevelopment plan conducted their parcel analysis of downtown properties they found something strange.

Many of Lubbock's downtown properties have been owned by the same individual or holding company for very long periods of time, but few of them have ever invested dollars into their properties. Significant parts of downtown Lubbock have been speculatively held for long periods of time. The property owners are waiting for someone else to cause downtown redevelopment so they can generate a profit off the appreciation of property values. Too many of the properties are currently being held by entities disinterested in participating in redevelopment.

Instead of focusing on downtown, it is possible to achieve a similar transformational economic impact through implementing a strategy like what is proposed for Ave. Q in the downtown redevelopment plan. Ave. Q, like 34th St., was once a very important arterial through Lubbock, but it lost its importance with the creation of I-27. Lubbock is currently working with the state to right size Ave. Q to make it more pedestrian friendly by removing some of its lanes, improving the streetscape, and incorporating bicycle and pedestrian-friendly aspects.

The same strategy can be employed on 34th St., and if coupled with new urbanism concepts like the ones seen in the original North Overton development plan, would result in transformational revitalization.

The city can cost effectively revitalize 34th St. by collapsing the roadway, modifying land use policies, and transitioning its approach to parking.

Right sizing 34th St., no longer a major commercial arterial like Ave. Q, is the fastest and most inexpensive way to dramatically change Old Lubbock's trajectory. Pedestrianized roadways are rare in Lubbock. The closest example is the Vintage Township which creates significant amounts of neighborhood intimacy with its two lane streets and reduced speed limit. These are considered best practices in urban design for creating walkable spaces. A community does not have to be affluent for their neighborhood to have good design.

Reducing the speed limit on 34th St. to 15 miles an hour and collapsing it to two lanes would have a similar effect. Bicycle lanes and a pedestrian walkway would replace some of the space freed from the lane reduction, but the rest should be given to adjacent commercial property owners to incentivize them to build right next to the walkway.

There is ample space for building modern mixed-used use, meaning retail ground floor and several floors of residential units, adjacent to this new "34th Street Greenway" if Lubbock lifts parking minimum restrictions and allows property owners to build in their parking lots. The impact of this achieves the similar goal the original North Overton redevelopment plan had proposed, increasing density and activity along connector streets and buffering single family homes in the interior.

It is not possible to retrofit 34th St. with the nodal design structure the 2040 Plan recommends for new Lubbock subdivisions. That strategy was recommended to avoid the impossible nature of maintaining vibrant commercial activity with purely destination traffic that Lubbock's .77 commercial acreage³¹⁸ per 100 persons ratio compels—the problem that prevented the previous 34th St. improvement project from having a significant impact.

As a tool to incentivize property owners to move quickly, the city can reform its parking strategy from individual properties to a regional quota system. What this means is that if there is enough parking within a radius of a property at the time of replacing their parking lots with mixed-use developments, then the project can move forward.

This kind of quota system creates an incentive for property owners to be the first mover in redevelopment as some amount of parking will always be necessary in the area for ADA compliance, but more importantly, an essential aspect of inclusive design is to make sure properties are accessible to all. A fee structure will be determined so that properties that use their parking lots for redevelopment will pay into a fund that compensates property owners who choose not to in exchange for utilizing their parking spaces.

For some of the more run down and vacant properties, this would incentivize the owner to demolish the original structure on their land as it would be more profitable to generate income through this means. This would also have the beneficial effect of reducing the glut of commercial storefronts that contributes to the .77 ratio.

Much of this 34th St. revitalization strategy is through the utilization of unlocking private- sector activity through deregulation and the creation of a market-oriented parking quota system with minimal impact to the city's budget.

The largest city expense will be reducing 34th St. and streetscape improvements necessary for pedestrianization. These activities could easily be financed through the gateway fund if those dollars were not being used for extractive growth.

An equally important component of the Old Lubbock revitalization strategy is the restoration of East Lubbock, which must begin with addressing accessibility.

There is one area of Old Lubbock where the city's high connectivity grid system was not fully integrated in the neighborhood design: East Lubbock. Previous maps in this report show the racial discrepancies in infrastructure and the preponderance of dirt streets located in minority neighborhoods. This long-standing trend was made clearer when Lubbock took resources from those neighborhoods to build Milwaukee and refused to provide public transit to the new economic activity happening outside Loop 289.

This is also seen in the racially motivated placement of industrial zones in Lubbock, and the fact those sites continued to expand lock step with minority neighborhood growth to isolate them from the rest of Lubbock.

318 Sefko et al., "Lubbock 2040 Comprehensive Plan, Page 65."

Lubbock's historical land use policies successfully contained minority neighborhoods and intentionally created "one road in, one road out" developments to curtail mobility. East Lubbock neighborhoods were designed to fail from the beginning. Starting on an immediate redevelopment program within them would be incredibly costly and almost certainly destined to fail unless certain preconditions are first met. The pathway for East Lubbock neighborhoods to obtain restorative justice will need to happen sequentially.

First, the city council needs to get rid of its talking point that public transportation must be "managed like a business" and understand the positive externalities of public goods far outweigh costs.

There is no city in America that has successfully executed a revitalization strategy where public transit was not a core element. The millennial and Gen Z generations place a premium on these services. Less than a quarter of 16-year olds in America have a driver's license, a 50% drop from when the previous generation was the same age.³¹⁹

Public transit is inclusive because many low-income households cannot afford the costs of car ownership.

When the city refers to running Citibus, "like a business," it is not from the perspective that Citibus needs to achieve operational excellence like a private sector entity, but rather that its cost recovery ratio is only 50%.³²⁰ The idea that public transit needs to pay itself directly through service provisioning is absurd. Providing transit service is a public good, meant to alleviate the disparities in the geographic location of economic activity, something this report has already established exists in Lubbock through multiple lines of inquiry.

The expectation that Lubbock's most disadvantaged need to pay enough for Citibus to reach profitability is simply another way in which Lubbock's policies reinforce disparity, especially in the context of the racially motivated design of East Lubbock neighborhoods with poor connectivity. When LSC Transportation Consultants, the firm hired by Lubbock to conduct the currently ongoing transit analysis, sent out a survey for public feedback, they discovered something that surprised them.

This firm has conducted analysis in cities large and small. The map of where their projects have been done across the US since 1975³²¹ is impressive in scope, but what they said about the Lubbock survey was that the percentage of individuals responding that listed Lubbock's public transit as their sole means of transportation was the highest that they had ever seen.

Instead of generating economic disparity and disproportionately harming communities of color by wanting a public good to generate income, Lubbock should commit to maintaining a cost recovery ratio benchmarked to the ratios of top ranked cities for public transit.

Doing so is not cost prohibitive. Lubbock currently spends practically nothing on public transit. The city provided \$3.2 million in this year's budget for transit. Even if the city were to target a more appropriate .25

319 Sivak and Schoettle, "Recent Decreases in the Proportion of Persons with a Driver's License Across All Age Groups.

320 "Citibus COA: Working Paper #1."

321 "Nationwide Transit Projects."

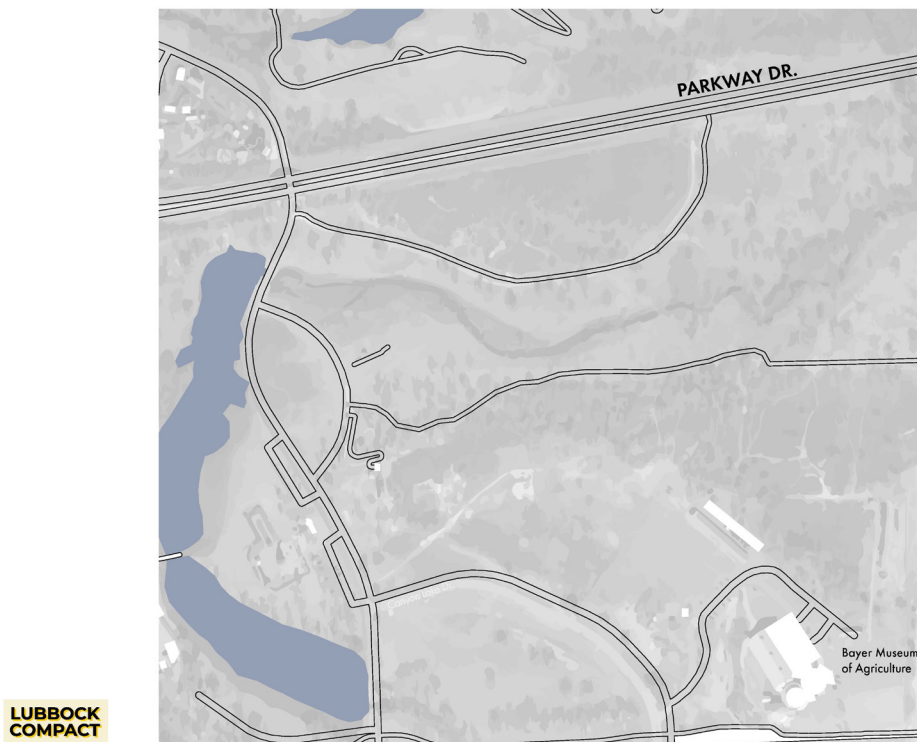
recovery ratio, putting Lubbock more in line with cities that have excellent public transit, the total expenditure would be 0.78% of the city's total expenditures for FY 2019-2020. Public transit has positive externalities for the areas connected by it, especially at the location of stops. With a well-developed public transit plan, one that LSC Transportation Consultants is capable of making if it were not constrained by budget neutral, it is likely the city would generate a return on this investment through preserving and increasing property values adjacent to desirable transit stops.

The East Lubbock community needs to be able to start the Neighborhood Action Planning process now, and while that is happening, the City of Lubbock can spearhead the creation of a modern inclusive neighborhood.

At this moment, it is clear Lubbock does not know how to work with a community to redevelop its neighborhood. Any immediate direct engagement in redevelopment would be met with hostility unless the redevelopment plan comes from the neighborhood itself. While this process is going on, Lubbock itself can spearhead redevelopment in the area by leveraging its East Lubbock property.

CITY OF LUBBOCK DUMP SITE

MACKENZIE PARK, NEAR BAYER MUSEUM OF AGRICULTURE



Lubbock owns the entirety of this scenic parcel of land. It currently uses it, like many Lubbock citizens do use East Lubbock for, as a dumping ground for large objects it doesn't want to store elsewhere, such as utility poles.

Appropriate models of inclusive neighborhood development are not new, and in fact these “micro-city” and “urban village” concepts are starting to develop around the DFW metroplex as a superior style of design. The beginning of this process would be commissioning an experienced design firm to create a master development plan based on best practices in new urbanism and inclusive design.

The most important aspect of making this effort work is ensuring sufficient housing price points exist within the neighborhood so that moving there is an option for East Lubbock residents. The means to achieve this is by leveraging a lucrative tax program that provides most of the financing for blending affordable housing into new developments.

Every year, a Lubbock-based development is eligible for large sums of money in tax credits allocated to West Texas in exchange for incorporating affordable housing into their strategy,³²² Lubbock has the ability to shape what projects win this award by creating a special document called a Concerted Revitalization Plan.

These tax credits are awarded to a private developer who commits to making sure a certain number of the housing units are available at affordable prices. Lubbock is allowed to shape the nature of projects that win this award if it were to adopt a Concerted Revitalization Plan document, which would give projects consistent with the plan preference for winning the award.

Lubbock to date has chosen not to create such a document, although Overland Partners recommended the city do so in the recommendations for downtown.

Currently these tax credits are not being utilized in a concerted fashion, despite them being a lucrative and precious resource for spurring needed affordable housing development. Two projects Lubbock citizens may be familiar with that used these are the renovation of the Metro Tower downtown, which received over \$10 million in these credits,³²³ and the Guadalupe Villas project, something the Guadalupe neighborhood opposed putting in their neighborhood.

The Guadalupe neighborhood is one of the oldest Hispanic communities in Lubbock, which began as the segregated area Hispanic migrant workers were allowed to live. Lubbock’s White population referred to it as “Mexican Town.” The Guadalupe neighborhood is proud of their history and remains a tight-knit community to this day. It is the only neighborhood in Lubbock that created its own economic development corporation.

The citizens of Guadalupe are the most well-organized Hispanic community in Lubbock, and they showed up in force at the city council meeting where a necessary zoning change was needed for the Guadalupe Villas project to move forward. They spoke passionately about their neighborhood and expressed their frustration and resentment that such a project could happen without their ability to provide input. Ultimately, they lost the zoning case in a 5-2 vote with Councilwoman Patterson-Harris joining Councilman Chadis on the losing

322 “What Is the Low-Income Housing Tax Credit and How Does It Work?”

323 “Competitive (9%) Housing Tax Credits.”

side.^{324, 325}

It is a common story in Lubbock, when a minority neighborhood attempts to advocate for what it believes is in their best interest. A more recent example being a coalition of East Lubbock neighborhoods coming together to request the city help promote the revitalization of their area by having the recently voted on County Expo Center be the centerpiece to a redevelopment initiative of the aging South Plains Fairgrounds. They lost that vote 4-3, with Councilwoman Joy siding with the two minority council members on the losing side.³²⁶

It is important to note the historical lack of minority input in decision making, which emphasizes the need for vigilant and transparent processes going forward. In other communities throughout the state, Concerted Revitalization Plans have been co-opted by real estate developers to exacerbate inequality in housing while enriching developer's bank accounts with lucrative tax credits. Concerted Revitalization Plans, much like impact fees, can be a powerful tool for restorative justice and a means for the oppressed to shape development they desire. They can also be used to further extraction.

A meaningful act by the council to begin repairing minority relationships would be creating a Concerted Revitalization Plan that specifically incentivizes inclusive styles of new development. This means neighborhoods that blend sustainable commercial activity with a range of housing price points so that its residents come from a broad swath of socioeconomic statuses. By doing so the city could unlock a substantial amount of capital in the form of tax credits to drive forward the redevelopment of East Lubbock.

The new interest and economic activity created by developing an inclusive urban village neighborhood in East Lubbock would create the political momentum for the final needed step to revitalize—the removal of the toxic release sites and industrial activity that chokes their neighborhoods.

There is a strong resistance in city hall to currently use the policy tools available to them to displace the industrial sites in East Lubbock. It would involve some complex negotiations around payments and compensation for businesses to move their industrial activities elsewhere. Organizations like Texas Housers have worked with North and East Lubbock neighborhoods in demanding that these actions be taken, but the potential costs of such actions have made the city unwilling to consider them.³²⁷

By creating interest and new economic activity into the area with a modern mixed-use, mixed-income neighborhood, more of Lubbock would begin to appreciate the natural beauty and high quality of life possible by living near the Canyon Lakes. Unlike Lubbock's playa lake system that serves as a stormwater drainage mechanism, the Canyon Lakes are supplied with water that has been treated and cleaned—the Lubbock Triathlon uses one of the canyon lakes for its swimming portion.³²⁸

Currently it is not possible to tap into the economic potential of the Canyon Lakes system because of the

324 "Council Approves Zoning for Guadalupe Villas on First Reading, Neighborhood Packs Chamber."

325 "Council Approves Coliseum Vote, Guadalupe Zoning, ERCOT Terms, Bullet-Proof Vests in Thursday Session."

326 Dotray, "Lubbock City Council Gives First Approval on Expo Center Location."

327 "Fair Housing Complaint: HUD Form 903."

328 "Ironman Race."

very close proximity of industrial sites, which are predominately used for low intensity economic activity like cement pulverizing and batch plants. Some of these sites were put there as a tool for racial segregation, others because of the lack of political clout minority communities have in Lubbock.

An illustrative example, some of the industrial sites in North Lubbock were never zoned as such originally but were illegally used for this purpose and then subsequently granted variances to continue operations.

It is not too late to change the future of Old Lubbock. The solutions are well within the city's means if it stops spending money on new developments and infrastructure outside of Loop 289.

The reorientation of Lubbock's policies from extractive growth to smart-growth must happen now. Just as it was city policies designed to enrich special interests by extracting resources and allowing disinvestment cycles to degrade the city's neighborhoods, it is predominately through policy that Old Lubbock's future can be saved. Now is the time for hard truths and conversations in Lubbock to ensure that this city's future honors the history and dignity of all its citizens.

This report lays out a way forward, but it can only be achieved through vocal citizen support and a city council willing to acknowledge that the days of extractive growth are over. This city council can take these steps, and Mayor Pope has the potential to be the transformational leader Lubbock so desperately needs.

10.1 Executive Summary of the Lubbock Smart-Growth Policies

- I. Pay Lubbock's elected officials a living-wage to loosen their dependency on special interests and political patronage
- II. The creation of a comprehensive financial impact analysis tool that incorporates the long-term costs of development and quantifies the ongoing resource extraction
- III. A moratorium on new developments outside Loop 289 unless it can be proven to be budget neutral in perpetuity, not just for ten years
- IV. A commitment to reform the "gateway" fund to a revitalization fund that only invests in projects inside Loop 289
- V. Setting impact fees to the maximum allowable amount in all available categories, not just roads, for all property development outside of Loop 289, and setting the fees inside Loop 289 to zero
- VI. Don't build Loop 88. Just because something is "pennies on the dollar" doesn't mean it is beneficial or that it positively impact Old Lubbock's future
- VII. Immediately begin the process of Neighborhood Action Plans to allow for neighborhoods to develop their distinct identities, keeping the promise of prioritizing North and East Lubbock
- VIII. Allow for greater self-determination of activities within Lubbock's neighborhoods to stop them from being adult dormitories, such as operating a business in a home or food trucks on residential streets

- IX. Offset the short-term decline in construction activity outside the Loop by allowing for the construction of accessory dwelling units
- X. Right-size 34th St. along with Avenue Q, and implement a cost-effective market-oriented approach for its redevelopment through better utilization of land and parking
- XI. Benchmark Lubbock's public transit cost recovery ratio to best-in-the-nation public transit services instead of trying to make a profit on a public good
- XII. Spearhead the revitalization of East Lubbock through a public-private partnership leveraging city lands and affordable housing tax credits
- XIII. Acknowledge that the city will begin the process and negotiations for removing industrial sights choking minority neighborhoods and preventing land surrounding the Canyon Lakes from achieving its economic potential
- XIV. Create a Concerted Revitalization Plan through a transparent process with input from communities that incentivizes the creation of modern inclusive neighborhoods and integrates affordable housing rather than separates

11.0 Afterword

The conception of the second version of this document began only 3 months ago, on a phone call between myself and Nicholas Bergfeld. Its original intention was to simply spruce up the first version of the Disparity Report that Nicholas wrote by cleaning up some of the graphics and making it into a formal, robust piece of work. I don't believe that either of us anticipated the sheer volume of support that the first version received shortly after that week. Like many citizens across the United States, Lubbockites woke up to the real injustices that plague our city. Authentic, passionate action in Lubbock is generally contained to specific niches of the population or intentioned activists with unfortunately little support. That has changed in the past few months with purposeful Black Lives Matter protests, organized primarily by citizens of East and North Lubbock; citizen involvement in city committees, particularly the Capital Improvements Advisory Committee; and the exposure of Lubbock's discriminatory past and present, aided in part by version 1 of the Disparity Report. We are undoubtedly in a point of inflection both as a nation and as a city.

With the growing passion in Lubbock for change and interest in the Disparity Report, we founded the Lubbock Compact to enact further change within the city. As our Facebook group grew to over 2000 members, many people stepped forward to recount their stories of discrimination and hardship in Lubbock. Since many issues were not faced within the first version, people asked to write about their experiences and the available data (or lack of data) to support their claims. I went from adding some pages and reorganizing a 47 page document to running a large-scale project with extremely passionate people. I can not be more happy with the level of production in this document, especially from a group of volunteers who were complete strangers to me before this. There are still many gaps in this report; it does not recognize many important disparities that Lubbock faces. However, this is the first cohesive document of its kind in Lubbock, and it will take more than 3 months to compile the very long history of subversion that the city continues to engage in. Still today, many of our researchers are being stonewalled by the city and other governmental bodies, unable to reach the necessary data to conduct a holistic report. A meta disparity, if you will. Longer and more comprehensive research is needed on specific disparities. These disparities are not included in this report because even Lubbock Compact does not yet have the full picture. Our intentions are to continue doing the dirty work so that the citizens of Lubbock can be aware of the harm being inflicted upon them. Our hope is to tackle issues of accessibility (disability services and infrastructural), gender, sexuality, climate and the environment, school closures, parks and green space, etc. in the next version of this report. We are not done uncovering Lubbock's past and present.

The lack and inaccessibility of information has slowed our research, which only demonstrates the inability of the city to tackle these issues. We must not be blinded by the absence of empirical data that the city does not track. The more conversations and action we take as a body of citizens, the more light we will shine on these issues. Our current path is entirely unsustainable and we must recognize each of the disparities we face, and we must do it collectively. I hope that this document will be a catalyst for these conversations and eventually facilitate greater change within our city.

Thank you,
Caleb Randall
Project Coordinator

12.0 Glossary

- adult dormitories.** a colloquial term used to describe neighborhoods which lack spaces for community activities, and act solely as a place of rest, much like a dormitory.
- annexation.** a process in which property is incorporated into a city and no longer unincorporated land.
- de-annexation.** a process in which city land (incorporated) is returned to unincorporated land, no longer subject to a city's laws, taxes, etc.; opposite of annexation.
- desegregation.** the ending of a policy of racial segregation.
- disadvantaged socio-economic status conditions:** contributing factors may include fewer years of formal education, low income, and low occupational status.
- disinvestment.** sale or liquidation of assets in an attempt to reallocate resources away from the affected area (generally large-scale withdrawal of capital from a certain neighborhood or community area).
- displace(ment).** forced movement of people due to a variety of different factors, generally a symptom of gentrification and increased cost of living.
- doubled-up situation.** a shorthand for people “who are sharing the housing of other people due to loss of housing, economic hardship, or a similar reason (often referred to as living in ‘doubled-up’ arrangements or ‘couch-surfing’).”³²⁹ The Department of Education includes this language in defining homeless children and youth, “children and youths who are sharing the housing of other persons due to loss of housing, economic hardship, or a similar reason.”³³⁰
- downtown master developer.**³³¹ experienced city developers who have city planning experience and can undertake the development of entire cities, creating anchor points that will set the future of what that city will become.
- coordinated entry.** processes that “help communities prioritize assistance based on vulnerability and severity of service needs to ensure that people who need assistance the most can receive it in a timely manner. Coordinated entry processes also provide information about service needs and gaps to help communities plan their assistance and identify needed resources.”³³²
- extractive growth.** non-renewable removal of resources (e.g. taxes, public services) from one part of the city to fund new growth in another part of the city.
- fiscal impact analysis.** comparison for a given project or policy change evaluating changes in governmental costs against changes in governmental revenues.
- gentrify(ication).** process of changing the character of a neighborhood through the influx of more affluent residents and businesses. This is typically seen when economically privileged purchase historic and affordable housing inhabited by minority communities. Instead of investing in the communities for the people who already live there, gentrification is associated with replacing affordable housing with expensive housing that is unaffordable for the previous inhabitants.
- historical revisionism.** identifies the re-interpretation of an historical account, typically used to facilitate the oppression of certain groups.
- infill.** rededication of land in an urban environment, usually open-space, to new construction.

329 Doherty, “Understanding the Criteria and Benchmarks for Ending Youth Homelessness: Frequently Asked Questions, Part 1.”

330 Title 42- The Public Health and Welfare; Chapter 119- Homeless Assistance; Subchapter VI- Education and Training; Part B- Education for Homeless Children and Youths; §11434a. Definitions.

331 Dotray, “City Hires McDougal Land Company as Lubbock’s Downtown Master Developer.”

332 “Coordinated Entry Policy Brief.”

- infrastructure.** the basic physical and organizational structures and facilities (e.g. buildings, roads, power supplies) needed for the operation of a society or enterprise.
- Jim Crow segregation.** legally enforced racial segregation by southern states beginning after the Civil War's Reconstruction period in 1877.
- minority community.** communities in which the majority of inhabitants belong to minority groups.
- mixed-use development.** a type of urban development that blends residential, commercial, cultural, institutional, or entertainment uses into one space, where those functions are to some degree physically and functionally integrated, and that provides pedestrian connections. Mixed-use development may be applied in new real estate development projects in a city or suburb, or may apply to a single building, existing or new neighborhood, or in zoning policy across an entire city or other political unit.
- neighborhood inequality (inequity).** differences in quality of living, especially referring to the disparity in city resources being funneled into various neighborhoods. Typically manifests as a form of systemic racism in which minority communities and neighborhoods (i.e. North, Central and East Lubbock) receive less resources than newly developed neighborhoods (i.e. South and West Lubbock).
- New Urbanism.** study of how inhabitants of urban areas, such as towns and cities, interact with the built environment.
- redevelop(ment).** any new construction on a site that has pre-existing uses. It represents a process of land development used to revitalize the physical, economic and social fabric of urban space.
- recovery capital.** the sum total of one's resources that can be brought to bear on the initiation and maintenance of substance misuse cessation.
- regressive tax.** a tax applied uniformly, taking a larger percentage of income from low-income earners than from high-income earners.
- revitalize(action).** the action of imbuing something with new life and vitality.
- right-size.** growing or shrinking city infrastructure (usually correlated to a specific zone within a city) to accommodate the actual needs and size of a city.
- slumlord.** slang term for a landlord, generally an absentee landlord with more than one property, who attempts to maximize profit by minimizing spending on property maintenance, often in deteriorating neighborhoods, and to tenants that they feel they can intimidate.
- smart-growth.** planned economic and community development that attempts to curb urban sprawl and prevent worsening environmental conditions.
- systemic racism.** a form of racism originating from the operation of the established forces of society.
- TRI (Toxic Release Inventory) site.** publicly available database containing information on toxic chemical releases and other waste management activities in the United States.
- underinvestment.** a situation in which less money is spent on something over a long period of time than is needed.
- Urban Renewal.** program of land redevelopment often used to address urban decay in cities.
- urban sprawl.** rapid expansion of the geographic extent of cities and towns, often characterized by low-density residential housing, single-use zoning, and increased reliance on the private automobile for transportation.
- white flight.** the phenomenon of White people moving out of urban areas, particularly those with significant minority populations, and into suburban areas.
- zoning.** the process of dividing land in a municipality into zones in which certain land uses are defined.

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