PROVISION FOR THE SINGLE HOMELESS
IN GLASGOW

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GLOSSARY AND ABBREVIATIONS

Glossary

Hostel — Defined by Glasgow District as provision with canteen staff.

Homemaker — Staff of the Social Work Services teaching men to cope with housework.

Jake-drinker — crude spirit drinker.

Lodging House — Defined by Glasgow District as provision without canteen staff.

Rehabilitation — indeterminate term used to describe the aim of certain organisations in this field.

Resettlement Unit — Central Government hostel provision.

Single Homeless — term, first used by 1965-6 NAB Report, to describe users of lodging houses, hostels, resettlement units (then called reception centres), and those sleeping rough.

Skid Row — generic American term used to describe the area in which single homeless institutions are concentrated.

Skipper — sleeping rough/place in which it is done.

Vagrant, dosser etc. — earlier but still used versions of 'single homeless'.

Abbreviations

CHAR — Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless

CRASH — Consortium for the Relief of the Adult Single Homeless

DHSS — Department of Health and Social Security

DOE	–	Department of the Environment
GCSH	–	Glasgow Council for Single Homeless
NAB	–	National Assistance Board
SBC	–	Supplementary Benefits Commission
SCSH	–	Scottish Council for Single Homeless

SUMMARY

The single homeless have been and still are one of
the most caricatured and neglected groups in our society.
Traditionally they have been viewed as 'deviants' who
suffer from some particular pathological problem. From
such a basis this thesis examines the single homeless issue
from three main perspectives - service, client, and societal.

The primary perspective adopted in this thesis is a
service one whereby eleven statutory and voluntary organis-
ations involved in the single homeless field in Glasgow are
examined in detail in chapters five and six. Of these organis-
ations seven are actively involved in trying to rehabilitate
the single homeless (i.e. 'return' them to some form of
independence). On the statutory side the housing, social
work, and social security departments primarily adopt a
combined socio-medical approach whereby selected lodging
house, hostel, and resettlement unit residents are trained
in basic housework skills to enable them to take advantage
of the current Glasgow District policy in this field. The
aforementioned policy has made the single homeless a priority
category which means that they will be found suitable ordinary
housing as soon as is practicable without having to go on
a waiting list. The success of this policy has been in stark
contrast with previous rehabilitation programmes embodied
in the voluntary approaches outlined in chapter six. The
reason for this success is that such a policy views the
problem as primarily a housing one whereas previous
approaches have identified the single homeless as the
problem and hence have treated particular problems ex-
perienced by the single homeless, such as mental illness
and alcoholism.

This finding is confirmed when the views of the single
homeless themselves are examined. Chapter seven highlights
the essence of the single homeless problem in Glasgow as

being their dependence on the large hostel-type of
accommodation provision even though the vast majority
of the single homeless do not want to live in such
accommodation. In addition, life in such large lodging
houses and hostels has tended to intensify those problems,
other than homelessness, experienced by the single homeless.
Thus, on the one hand, the traditional service response
has tended to treat the results of single homelessness,
and, on the other, the building of large hostels has become
part of the problem.

Finally the attempt is made to place the single homeless
issue within a wider social and political perspective. In
the main what is emphasised is that there has been very
little pressure for policy change in this area and this can
be attributed to three factors - the inability of the single
homeless to organise themselves; the reluctance, until
recently, of the voluntary services to campaign on behalf of
the single homeless; and the general public hostility felt
towards the single homeless. In addition the hostel issue
is linked with general housing policies and the shortage of
suitable single person accommodation is cited as being likely
to restrict the speed at which existing large lodging houses
and hostels can be closed in spite of the evidence indicating
their unsuitability.

Approximately 500 words .

<u>PREFACE</u>

My first experience of the single homeless (although
I didn't realise this at the time) was around fifteen
years ago when my father met a man in Queen Street whom
he had previously worked beside. It was obvious that he
had fallen on hard times and after talking about old times,
without being asked, my father gave the man some money.
At first this was refused but with some persuasion he
accepted the money thanked my father and departed. Recently
at Glasgow University another of the single homeless was
walking along University Avenue muttering to himself:

"I don't know why everyone looks so worried –
they'll make it."

Most amusing was an incident at the Talbot Centre for
single homeless men in Paisley Road West. On arriving there
I asked a man, sitting on the steps and clearly under the
'affluence of incohol', where the entrance was to which
he replied:

"Just try that door, son."

After standing for about two minutes ringing the bell
I asked him if there was a side entrance:

"Don't go round there, son, it's full of
drunks" was the reply.

Most inhabitants of major British cities have had
some experience of that category of people currently
labelled 'single homeless'. Typically this takes the form
of being asked for money. The usual reaction of the giver,
I suspect, is one of embarrassment. It is embarrassing to
be in contact with them. Why this is so is not exactly
clear, but perhaps has something to do with them being
viewed as outcasts and deviants. Yet the single homeless
are not fundamentally different from the rest of us.

They are a part of our society and have much the same
needs, abilities, and rights as the rest of us. They
are not a threat to society but the factors that lead
to people being in their position need to be better
understood in order to make our present society better.
It is my hope that this thesis makes some small contribution
to that understanding.

INTRODUCTION

(a) The Perspective Adopted

When I started this research my intention was to
make a study of poverty generally in Glasgow. The
width of such an interest, however, eventually necessitated
some sort of focus. Hence a study of a very poor section
of the Glasgow population, the single homeless, resulted.
Of course the single homeless are not just poor, they
are also without their own home. Indeed it is argued
that the first step towards a 'solution' of the single
homeless problem is the provision of independent housing
for the single homeless. Such an argument is based on
the evidence presented in this thesis about the voluntary
and statutory organisations providing for the single
homeless, as well as the needs expressed by the single
homeless themselves. It should be added, however, that
although reference is made to the single homeless
continually throughout the text, the focus of this
thesis is principally on the organisations providing for
the single homeless. Hence this thesis is mainly based
on an organisational perspective of the single homeless
problem,[1] rather than one in which the writer goes
'underground' in order to experience what it feels like
to be 'single homeless'.[2]

(b) The Central Questions

From such a perspective four central questions
are discussed, roughly in descending order of priority:

1. How do the statutory and voluntary organisations
    involved try to rehabilitate the single homeless?

2. Within this how has the voluntary role developed?

3. What do the single homeless identify as their own
    main needs?

4. How have attitudes towards the poor developed
    and influenced policies for the single homeless?

The evidence necessary to answer each question is
provided at various stages throughout the thesis culminating
with chapters nine and ten which look at the critical issues
that have emerged and the conclusions and policy implications
flowing from these issues. Each chapter is more particularly
introduced at the appropriate section of the thesis.

(c) Points of Definition

Five points of definition need to be clarified at this
stage regarding the terms, 'single homeless', 'rehabilitation',
'voluntary', 'middle-class', and 'social policy'.

As can be seen in the glossary the term 'single homeless'
only originated in the mid-1960s with the 1965 National
Assistance Board survey. This official definition took the
single homeless to be those people who use lodging houses
and hostels (statutory and voluntary), Reception Centres,
and those who sleep rough.[3] The benefit of such a label
is that it identifies the basic problem as being one of
homelessness and to a lesser extent loneliness. Hence
while other associated problems may not be indicated
(see chapter four) the problem is primarily seen as being
a housing one. Leading on from this, one other general
problem is that while the term 'single homeless' has been
mainly accepted in academic and official circles, the
general public and to some extent the media still tend to
use the labels 'dosser', 'vagrant', and 'down and out'.
This problem is discussed in chapter eight.

Turning to the term 'rehabilitation' the dictionary
definition gives us two usable concepts – the restoration
to a previous condition, and the restoration to some form
of independence. Most of the statutory and voluntary
organisations discussed would, similarly, view 're-
habilitation' as meaning the return to a conventional

independent life-style. However as will become apparent
from the evidence presented there are different levels of
'rehabilitation' and for some of the single homeless there
is very little chance of them being able to cope independ-
ently. This issue is more extensively discussed in chapter
nine.

Even the briefest glance through the Wolfenden Report
would indicate to the general reader the tremendous
diversity of types of organisations that comprise the
voluntary services. Moreover:

> '..the voluntary sector, however one chooses to
> define it, lacks clear-cut boundaries. The
> array of organisations that needs to be
> considered is likely to change..according to
> the issues and problems with which one is
> concerned.'(4)

Consequently the approach adopted in this thesis is to
identify those organisations that are the most important
in the single homeless field in Glasgow and which are not
part of the statutory services. Although some voluntary
organisations are set up by the state (such as the Glasgow
Council for Voluntary Service) and/or derive their powers
from statutes (for example the National Trust), such an
approach is adequate for the purposes of this thesis.
From such a basis seven voluntary organisations are
identified in chapter six. In addition it should be stated
that some of the staff in these organisations are not
volunteers in the sense of being unpaid.

Leading on from this last point the staff of these
voluntary organisations have also been investigated to
some extent. More particularly, in chapter six certain
statements are made about the class composition of the
various staffs. In the main such classifications are

based on the personal perceptions of some of the staff
involved. While this is not the most desirable way of
investigating such matters the fact that my primary
interest was elsewhere and that very little research
has been done in this area, even by the voluntary
organisations themselves, inhibited the amount of time
that could be reasonably devoted to this admittedly
interesting area. In other words, such statements should
be treated with caution. The aim was simply to investigate
whether a middle-class philanthropic element was still
evident, as well as to more generally try and understand
what motivated people to work in this field.

Finally, 'social policy' conventionally refers to
particular state actions in the 'social' sphere. The
'social' sphere can be said to primarily cover the
areas of health care, social security, welfare, housing,
and community services. Overall, welfare, in its widest
sense, is the objective of social policy with the means
employed the social services.[5]

Outwith these points of definition two other minor
points should be briefly mentioned by way of concluding
this section. Firstly, Glasgow is now generally regarded
as being at the forefront in the treatment of the single
homeless. Hence the picture presented is not typical
but it is to be hoped that other cities will follow
Glasgow's example. Secondly, the sources of finance of
the voluntary organisations discussed in chapter six
mainly refer to current sources so that in other years
the sources may be entirely different.

NOTES TO THE INTRODUCTION

1. J. Stewart, 'Of No Fixed Abode,' (1975), adopted a
      similar perspective.

2. See J. Sandford, 'Down and Out in Britain', (1971),
      and T. Wilkinson, 'Down and Out', (1981)
      as prime recent examples of this approach.

3. National Assistance Board, 'Homeless Single People',
      (1965), p.3.

4. Report of the Wolfenden Committee, 'The Future of
      Voluntary Organisations,' (1978), p.31.

5. T.H. Marshall, 'Social Policy', (1975), Introduction.

PART ONE - THE HISTORICAL SETTING

INTRODUCTION TO PART ONE

From the 1820s onwards has been a time of much
social legislation in areas such as housing, education,
and health. Yet during this period there has been
relatively little change in the legislation relating
to the single homeless. The 1824 Vagrancy Act, for
example, is only now to be repealed in the current
parliamentary session. An explanation of the reasons
for this are sought in chapter one in three areas -
the pressures that do influence the state to act in the
social welfare field; the voluntary welfare role and
why the voluntary services have only in the last twenty
years really begun to become more politicised in the
sense of putting pressure on the state on behalf of certain
'marginal' groups such as the single homeless; and the
development of thinking towards the general poor,
embodied in the concept of poverty and the administration
of poor relief. Chapter two analyses the problem in terms
of three models of treatment - penal, moral, and socio-
medical. Such models, it is argued, put the emphasis on
'strengthening' the single homeless so they will be
better able to cope with the pressures of ordinary life.
Chapter three examines the roots of the single homeless
problem in Glasgow. Two traditions, those of a high
population mobility and a desire for cheap accommodation,
are noted as being particularly important.

CHAPTER ONE

THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1 - THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOCIAL POLICY

Two reasonable contentions form the basis of the
discussion in this section. One is that the development
of a British state welfare role is seen as:

> 'an erratic and pragmatic response of
> government and people to the practical
> individual and community problems of an
> industrialised society.'[1]

The other is that changes in social welfare legislation
cannot be viewed outwith the particular political, social
and economic situation of a given period.

From such a basis six broad areas of influence can
be discerned in an analysis of the development of the
state's role in welfare - namely, economic forces, the
rise of the working class, the role of employers, the
role of experts and civil servants, national security,
and the role of Parliament. It should be emphasised that
while none of these areas can be seen in isolation from
the rest some may have assumed a greater importance at
different times.

The most significant economic change was, of course,
the 'Industrial Revolution' in late eighteen century
Britain that transformed society from being primarily
agricultural to primarily industrial . Technological
innovations alongside the availability of capital led
to a tremendous increase in the production of manufactures
and foodstuffs. The demand for manufactures led to the
congregating of people around factories in search of
employment. Increased foodstuff production in the main
occasioned by land enclosures and new farming techniques
enabled this urbanised population to be supported.

The resultant population growth of over ten per cent
per decade from 1780 onwards[2] and its concentration
in towns led to the magnification of certain social
problems such as public health. Hence a state response
was necessitated.

Since such a capitalist system came into existence
increased state involvement has often coincided with
economic crises. For example, the late nineteenth
century was known as the 'Great Depression' because it
seemed that Britain was in a period of economic decline.
The impact of this was a diminution in the belief that
an economic system guided by the principles of 'laissez-
faire'[3] would be automatically prosperous, particularly
when countries like Japan and Germany, who were more
inclined to state intervention, seemed to be economically
more successful. Similarly, one practical repercussion
of the 1930s Depression was that the state took over
control of poor relief in the shape of the Unemployment
Assistance Board because the mass unemployment of the
period had put local systems of relief under great strain.

The increasing political and economic influence of
the working class is often held to be the single most
important change that forced the state to act in the
area of social welfare. Since the late nineteenth century
and the writings of Sydney Webb:

> '..many have followed him in believing that
> the extension of state welfare was an in-
> evitable product of such changes as the
> spread of the franchise, the rise of trade
> unions and the Labour Party, with the
> threat of more violent changes lurking in
> the background to spur on any reluctant
> politicians to greater welfare concessions
> to labour.'[4]

There is a great deal of evidence to support this view. For example, in the late nineteenth century in order to offset the challenge of the newly emerging socialist parties, Liberal and Conservative politicians were forced to adopt a more interventionist stance such as that envisaged by Joseph Chamberlain in his Radical Programme of 1885:

> 'Our object is the elevation of the poor, of the masses of the people - a levelling up which shall do something to remove the excessive inequalities in the social condition of the people.'[5]

Yet as is readily apparent there are inherent tensions within the Labour Party and the trade unions not only towards the possibility of socialism through parliamentary democracy but also as to the role of welfare in that 'historical' process. At a broad level within the Labour movement some have viewed the legislation of the 1945 Labour Government as revolutionary,[6] while others have seen it as essentially based on capitalist principles.[7] In other words, while some saw the 'Welfare State' as an early form of socialist society, others viewed it as a capitalist delaying measure. At a more particular level, certain issues such as working hours per week and industrial relations have often divided the trade union movement.[8] Overall, therefore, while the working class influence has been of critical importance its direct impact on social reform has been complex and sometimes ambivalent.

In order to fully understand this last point it is necessary to turn to the role of private employers in the development of social policy. In response to working class pressure employers have mainly seen welfare as an integral part of an efficient manpower policy in

order to de-fuse such pressure. The sponsorship of
company occupational pension schemes mainly since
1945 has been one aspect of this, in the sense of
making the worker feel a part of the company 'family'.
That employers have viewed welfare from an efficiency
and control perspective rather than from a genuine
commitment to it in itself, is suggested by the fact
that during the 1930s, when labour power had been
weakened by the impact of the Depression as well as the
failure of the General Strike, employers tended to
oppose the extension of state welfare because of the
costs involved. For example, the Unemployment Insurance
Statutory Committee set up in 1934 through strong
pressure from employers was particularly concerned about
ways of controlling expenditure on the unemployed.[9]

The role of experts and civil servants in influencing
social policy decisions has been traditionally perceived
in terms of MacDonagh's 'administrative momentum'
viewpoint.[10] Starting from the discovery of some
awful social problem such as the use of children in
mines:

> 'Bureaucratic logic and efficiency, equity and
> the need successfully to master practical
> problems dictated further collectivism.'[11]

As other related problems arise that have to be tackled
so civil servants and experts, that may have a particular
interest in a given field, tend to monopolise the
statistical knowledge that is often necessary for changes
in social legislation. For example Rowntree's study of
the poor in York became influential in Liberal Party
circles, because of his acknowledged expertise in this
area. More obviously, such experts have sometimes been
brought into the civil service on a temporary basis,
perhaps to head a Royal Commission or the like. Beveridge,

for example, was brought into the Board of Trade by
Churchill in 1908. Implicit in all this is the belief
that given the nature and size of bureaucracies civil
servants are able to influence particular Ministers along
a certain route because of their greater knowledge.(12)

National security has played a major part in the
extension of the role of the state. In the early years
of the twentieth century there was an outcry in Britain
over the poor physical condition of Boer War recruits.
The resultant 'national efficiency' debate undoubtedly
had a positive influence on the Liberal Government reforms
that followed shortly after by establishing an atmosphere
in which social reform was more likely.(13) More especially,
the two world wars of this century had a tremendous impact
on the role of the state because both put unprecedented
demands on resources and hence forced the state to
exercise its powers more widely. For example, the 1914
Defence of the Realm Act enabled the Government to
requisition vast quantities of materials and men. In
addition the period after a war is a time of great flux
and in these sort of conditions the opportunity for
change can be more far-reaching. Irrespective of whether
the Labour Government reforms of the 1940s were
'revolutionary' or not it is difficult to imagine such
changes occurring so quickly had there been no war.

In the last resort social welfare legislation has
to be passed by Parliament. Although to some extent
this is the least important stage in the process of
social reform in that Parliament tends to legitimise
earlier 'deliberations'(14) one aspect of the role of·
Parliament merits discussion — namely, that Parliament
is the political centre of Britain. The effect of this
is that Parliament can be a stage upon which various issues
can be debated and highlighted. More particularly:

'..the programmes or manifestos of parties
and the initiatives of individual politicians
were of considerable importance in the process
of reform.'[15]

The requirements of parliamentary democracy mean that
political parties try and win elections. Hence the
policy manifestos they offer are at one and the same time
an attempt to lead and follow public opinion. For example,
the Labour Party manifesto for the February election of
1974 put the emphasis on uniting Britain embodied in
its title, 'Let Us Work Together - Labour's Way out of
the Crisis'.[16] Hence it was designed to offer a
different 'solution' to the supposed confrontation
politics of the Heath Government. Economic success and
social reform were to be accomplished by agreement. The
forum element of Parliament can also mean that particular
politicians of high esteem may exert an influence on
reform such as Lloyd George during the 1900s.[17]

Clearly the structure adopted for this analysis of
the development of social policy is artificial in the
sense that as was stated at the beginning none of these
six divisions can be seen in isolation. Hence it would
perhaps be helpful to conclude this section by looking
at a particular example of social reform in order to see
how some of the pressures already outlined coalesce to
produce change. In this case the example is the introduction
of family allowances in 1945.[18] The story is basically
as follows.

In the 'national efficiency' climate of the early
years of the twentieth century concern about the physical
condition of mothers and children was inevitable.
However those child maintenance schemes that were established
were restricted to such things as school meals provisions,
tax allowances, and separation allowances for wives with

husbands in the Armed Forces. It was from the success
of the latter scheme that the campaign for a national
scheme of cash family allowances started. The Family
Endowment Society was formed in 1918 to push for family
allowances primarily as a means of reducing poverty among
children in large families. During the 1920s, however,
general support for the principle was slow in coming.
Trade unions, for example, were more concerned about
their own relatively weak bargaining position and in
any case regarded family allowances as contributing to
that weakness by dividing the interests of single and
married men.

By the late 1930s the position had changed somewhat
and the principle of family allowances gained increasing
support. Three critical background factors to this
were that the impact of the Depression had lessened,
the birth-rate was declining, and Rowntree's second
study of poverty in York indicated that many working-
class families were under-nourished. The effect of the
former was that trade unions had begun to recover their
bargaining strength and saw family allowances as an
addition to wages, while employers, on the other hand,
saw family allowances as a means of keeping wages down.
As for the declining birth-rate this confirmed the fears
of some Conservative politicians about Britain's world
standing. Hence family allowances offered a means of
stimulating the birth-rate. Finally, Rowntree's findings
led various interested bodies such as the Milk Board
and the Ministry of Health to press for their introduction.
However:

> 'It was only when the war created new economic
> and social needs and highlighted existing
> problems that a universal scheme of family
> allowances gained sufficient additional support

to be accepted and implemented. Most
important of all, family allowances were
seen to be relevant to the government's
economic policy.'[19]

The latter point referred to the government argument put
forward by Keynes that family allowances could be used to
control inflation because it would cause less of an
increase in purchasing power than a general increase in
wages, yet at the same time would tackle family income
problems.

What is most interesting about this example is it
shows that support for social policy change can come from
a variety of sources for entirely different reasons. This
finding would also seem to confirm that the 'consensus'
for change only lasts until that change has been achieved.
After this, further change may well have to come about
through a different 'consensus'.

In reviewing this section two very tentative con-
clusions can be drawn. Firstly, the evidence in this
section has confirmed the pragmatic nature of social
change. Secondly, while there are few general ground rules
as to how to go about achieving social reform it does
appear that the state is more likely to respond positively
to pressure if such pressures are organised and are
politically and economically important. In addition,
the existence of a crisis situation such as a war may
increase the possibility of change.

1.2 - THE VOLUNTARY WELFARE ROLE

In the previous section social policy decisions
were discussed at a very broad level. The object of
this section is to particularise the reasons why single
homelessness has been neglected as a social policy issue.

This can be answered in two ways. Firstly, the single
homeless themselves are not politically aware or
organised. Secondly, the voluntary services have not
viewed themselves in a pressure group role until very
recently. The reasons for the former are discussed in
chapter eight, while the latter is discussed in this
section by reviewing the development of the welfare
role of the voluntary services.

The welfare role of the voluntary services is to
a great extent conditioned by the view the state takes
of its own role. Hence the story of the voluntary services
is how they have responded to the changing role of the
state.

With the magnification of social problems produced
by industrialisation and urbanisation it was not only
the state that made a response. The nineteenth century
witnessed the growth of a great deal of voluntary
activity. This activity was based on two principles -
mutual aid (or self help) and philanthropy. Mutual
aid was the Victorian ideal and voluntary associations
that flourished, based on this principle and state
encouragement, included friendly societies, building
societies, savings banks, and the co-operative movement.
Friendly societies offered a range of benefits in return.
for regular contributions and by the later nineteenth
century, with a registered membership of over three
million,[20] were far more popular than trade unions
(many of them had started as friendly societies). However,
all forms of mutual aid depended on an adequate and
regular income from which provision could be made.
Consequently, mutual aid organisations were more
appropriate for skilled workers and regular earners
than casual and poorly paid workers. For the latter
there was the Poor Law and voluntary organisations inspired

by the principle of Victorian philanthropy.

This voluntary promotion of human well-being covered a diversity of activities including stray dogs and fallen women, as well as the more obvious temperance movements and evangelical bodies. Four types of motivation seem to have prompted this outburst:

> '..a fear of social revolution, a humanitarian concern for suffering, a satisfaction of some psychological or social need, and a desire to improve the moral tone of the recipients.'[21]

The mid-nineteenth century was a time of social unrest with the rise of trade unions and the temporary popularity of Chartism, while the volatile situation on the Continent made many Victorians uneasy. Consequently, philanthropic benevolence was looked upon as a way of defusing a potentially dangerous situation. Humanitarian concern was also evident and the orientation of much religious activity in the social field was an aspect of this, as typified by the Salvation Army. Linked to this concern was an uneasiness in some people about the amount of wealth they possessed. Hence the donor often got something out of philanthropy - peace of mind. Finally, and by way of rationalising the existence of two seemingly opposite principles at the same time, philanthropy was sometimes used to persuade the poor about the virtues of mutual aid. Implicit in this was the tenet of 'learning from one's betters.'

The trouble with philanthropy was that much of the work became duplicated resulting in a very haphazard coverage of social ills. This problem was highlighted by the poverty surveys of Booth and Rowntree which indicated that existing relief was inadequate. With these surveys occurring in conjunction with the growth of British

socialism the voluntary services were coming under
increasing pressure to:

> 'stand down in favour of something more all
>   embracing.'[22]

This pressure increased during the period of the Liberal
reforms when the state took over more responsibility for
social provision.

By this time the 'official' view of the role of
the voluntary services, as embodied in the 1909 Poor Law
Majority Report, was that:

> '..voluntary effort when attacking a common
>   and ubiquitous evil must be disciplined and
>   led ...To this end it is organisation we
>   need..'[23]

So the state, whilst acknowledging the worthwhile con-
tribution that the voluntary services had made, was
beginning to feel that the natural enthusiasm of the
voluntary services should be curbed in the interests
of an overall perspective of relief provision. The
result was that on the one hand, the relief provision
role of the voluntary services declined slightly, and
on the other, voluntary bodies made greater efforts to
eliminate inefficiency by trying to co-ordinate. This
latter desire was first exemplified at a local level
with Councils of Voluntary Service, and later found
national favour with the setting up of the National
Council of Social Service in 1919 as a national
co-ordinating body.

During the inter-war period this view of seeing
the voluntary services as needing statutory leadership
developed more fully into a view of the voluntary
services as a supplement to the statutory services
rather than an unsatisfactory alternative.[24]
Consequently by the end of the 1930s:

'Voluntary organisations were increasingly
finding themselves in the role the Webbs
had proposed for them as an 'extension ladder'
to the statutory services rather than the
parallel but separate system which the Charity
Organisation Society and its supporters had
advocated.'[25]

In the period immediately following the Second
World War the enlargement of the state role in social
welfare provision led to much discussion about the
voluntary services. One view was that the 'Welfare
State', with its plans to care for the individual from
'the cradle to the grave', would make the work of most
voluntary organisations superfluous:

'There is always a danger of a social
institution going on when the purpose
for which it originally came into being
is being served by some other means.'[26]

Although most radicals and reformers saw a declining role
for the voluntary services it was recognised by some that
while voluntary action might change its character it
would continue to be of vital importance. Lord Beveridge
detailed this in his 1948 report 'Voluntary Action':

'..they will be needed even more than in the
past, for exploring as specialists the new
avenues of social service which will open when
want is abolished.'[27]

Roger Wilson, a contemporary of Beveridge, saw the
main role of the voluntary services as one of being a
bridge between the state and the community.[28] Within
the voluntary services one of its more important bodies,
the National Council of Social Service, stressed the
need to promote harmony between public and voluntary

bodies.[29] Nevertheless, with the apparent affluence of the 1950s and the supposed adequacy of state provision, it seemed doubtful if a major role for the voluntary services would be necessary.

However, by the 1960s, with the 're-discovery' of poverty and the growing awareness of the extent of Britain's economic problems, the voluntary services gained a new impetus. This occurred in four main areas - the growth of pressure groups; community-based initiatives of mutual aid; co-ordinating bodies; and information and research services. The beliefs underlying these changes were the need for independent action and the need to protect the individual from the state.

Of these the most politically significant was the growth of pressure groups. This new emphasis can be seen as a response to the growing disillusionment with the inadequacies of the 'Welfare State' particularly when viewed in comparison with the optimism of the late 1940s. Pressure groups, such as the Child Poverty Action Group and Shelter, were formed in order to obtain better services from the state on behalf of specific groups. Community-based initiatives were also politically significant particularly in the field of housing embodied in the development of tenants associations. These initiatives can be viewed in terms of a response to the increasing public expenditure pressures being imposed on central and local government. Hence such initiatives were a form of protection for the individuals involved. Co-ordinating bodies grew as part of a general state commitment towards the voluntary services and from a feeling within the voluntary services that they needed greater solidarity. The Glasgow Council for Voluntary Service, for example, is supported by Strathclyde Regional Council[30] and acts as a forum and co-ordinator

between the statutory and voluntary services. Information
services, such as Welfare Rights' Centres, grew as a
response to more general demands about the rights
of the individual that occurred during the 1960s. The
basic idea here was that the individual has no rights
unless he knows about them. In addition, research services
designed to fund research into certain problems also
developed, such as Action Research for the Crippled
Child.

Generally therefore as central government tried
to cut public expenditure in the late 1960s, so the
voluntary services came to act in some respects as a
bulwark for the community against the state.

This trend softened in the 1970s when central
government became more explicit in the role it visualised
for the voluntary services:

> 'The Government recognise that there are very
> real limits to what (it) can do through
> expenditure on social services. On many
> problems - certainly loneliness in old age -
> there is a limit to what Government can do
> directly to tackle the root problem...This is
> not just a ritual acknowledgment of the work
> of voluntary organisations..It is a recognition
> of the distinct, indispensable and socially
> invaluable role that the voluntary organis-
> ations now play in tackling social problems
> and creating a better society. Nor is the role
> of voluntary organisations simply at the local
> community level. There is also a central role
> in the formulation of social policy at national
> level.'[31]

So the more personal approach of the voluntary services
was seen as being more effective in meeting need as well

as being less expensive. More significantly, perhaps, a political role for the voluntary services had now been accepted by central government.

The overall trend towards seeing social service provision as a collective unity rather than individual components of statutory and voluntary services was further emphasised by the findings of the Wolfenden Committee on 'The Future of Voluntary Organisations'. In some ways the Report merely re-stated what Beveridge had said thirty years previously that mutual aid and philanthropy were the two springs of voluntary action in the field of welfare. More especially the Report concluded:

> '..there is a need for a synoptic view, so
> that each system may make its full and
> appropriate contribution. If this initiative
> is not taken soon, there will be over the
> next twenty-five years..an inadequate pro-
> vision of help to our fellow citizens who
> need it.'[32]

In summary the underlying theme throughout this section has been that the role of the voluntary services is largely determined by the role of the state. During the nineteenth century, the state only reluctantly involved itself in social welfare. Consequently the voluntary services flourished based on the two principles of mutual aid and philanthropy. By the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries the state had perceived itself in a more positive role. National insurance diluted the need for mutual aid, while philanthropic organisations were deemed to be in need of co-ordination so that their relief role would be more effective. By the 1930s the voluntary services were more firmly seen as being supplementary to the statutory services. After

the Second World War and the 'Welfare State' it
seemed for a time that there would be a minimal role
for the voluntary services. However by the 1960s the
enthusiasm that had greeted the 'Welfare State' had
waned and more immediate economic problems led to a
revival of the voluntary role. What was most significant
was that the voluntary services had become more politicised
and by the 1970s this trend had been recognised by central
government.

1.3 - THE DEVELOPMENT OF THINKING ABOUT POVERTY

Although there was an awareness of poverty, as
evidenced by the writings of the classical economists,[33]
the general view taken in the late eighteenth century
was that poverty was caused by individual laziness.
Hence poverty was an individual not a social problem.
The condition of being poor was seen in terms of a lack
of the basic necessities of life. Nonetheless, a rough
'poverty line' was already being discussed by Adam Smith
who recognised that the things thought to be necessary
for a minimum standard of civilised life varied over
societies and time:

> '..by necessities I understand not only the
> commodities which are indispensably necessary for
> the support of life, but whatever the custom
> of the country renders it indecent for
> creditable people, even of the lowest order,
> to be without..'[34]

As attitudes about poverty developed during the late .
eighteenth century so it came to be regarded as a
necessary inducement to work. The poor were held up as
an example of what befell those who did not work.[35]

During the late eighteenth and early nineteenth
centuries such attitudes were reflected in the

administration of poor relief. The Poor Law was locally administered at this time with each parish being responsible for the maintenance of its own poor through local rates. Such relief was in two forms - outdoor relief whereby paupers received money, food, or clothing, and indoor relief whereby paupers were brought into the alms house of the parish. To offset the cost of poor relief and because they were viewed with suspicion, those who were able-bodied were expected to do some kind of work in return for their relief. To discourage the assumed scrounging of the able-bodied poor, Houses of Correction were often established.

During the nineteenth century attitudes about poverty were conditioned by two concerns - one was a concern for social stability, and the other was a concern about the amount of money being spent on poor relief. By the end of the century the increased research occasioned by the former had led many to the opinion that the Poor Law was in need of reform.

With industrialisation and the resultant problem of low wages and unemployment in the rural sector of the economy, poor law expenditure rose sharply from £2 million in 1784 to just under £8 million by 1817. Various expedients such as the Speenhamland System[36] only served to accelerate this increase it was claimed. Under such pressure, the viability of the local Poor Law system was called into question. The result was the setting up of a Poor Law Commission of Enquiry in 1832. The evidence accumulated by this body seemed to suggest that the system encouraged procreation and idleness, and this was why expenditure was increasing. As a consequence the Poor Law Amendment Act was passed in 1834 (1845 in Scotland).

The new Act introduced a more centrally controlled deterrent system of relief in the shape of Poor Law Commissioners. Outdoor relief was now supposed to be

restricted to the sick and infirm. The able-bodied could only obtain relief by entering workhouses. Moreover, under the principle of 'less-eligibility',[37] conditions in the workhouses were made deliberately harsh in order to deter applications from all but the truly destitute. This was the so-called 'workhouse test'. At the time such deterrence seemed to have worked because there was a gradual, albeit fluctuating, reduction in the number of paupers. In 1834, 8.8 per cent of the population were in receipt of relief. By 1900 only 2.5 per cent of the population were designated paupers.[38] Thus, by the end of the nineteenth century the problem of pauperism seemed to be declining.

In passing, the role of private relief should also not be overlooked in this area, since the network of private charities throughout the country were by far the senior partner. Whereas the total public poor relief expenditure for England and Wales in 1861 was £5.8 million,[39] this figure was matched and possibly exceeded by those charities operating only in London.[40]

Meanwhile, problems arising from the operation of the new Poor Law were becoming apparent which indicated that the reason why pauperism was going down was because people were looking to other means such as the previously mentioned private relief. More particularly, the new system was ill-equipped to deal with short-term unemployment because it tried to deter the able-bodied. Consequently, in many industrial areas the system was evaded and outdoor relief continued to be offered. For example, during the Lancashire cotton famine of the 1860s a Public Works Act was pioneered designed to avoid the Poor Law temporarily:

'by financing a wide range of relief schemes to find work for the unemployed.'[41]

Linked with the investigations of Booth and Rowntree
it was becoming increasingly apparent that while pauperism
was going down the problem of poverty was actually in-
creasing. Officially, however, the view was taken that
pauperism indicated the numbers in poverty whereas of
course it merely indicated the numbers in receipt of
poor relief which for reasons already outlined were only
a minority of those in poverty. Moreover, there is strong
evidence to suggest that despite the policy of deterrence
pauperism was linked to economic fluctuations and rose
during periods of economic distress,[42] thereby con-
firming the extent of the problem.

One result of the growing concern about social
stability was an increasing emphasis upon the investigation
of poverty. One of the earliest was that carried out in
London in 1849 by Henry Mayhew. He attacked the individual
pathology view and most importantly he noted the bad
effects of irregular employment and insufficient wages
on the poor:

>'It is a moral impossibility that the class of
>labourers who are only occasionally employed
>should be either generally industrious or
>temperate - both industry and temperance being
>habits produced by constancy of employment and
>uniformity of income.'[43]

Many of the reformers of the Victorian period were
members of statistical societies, such as the National
Association for the Promotion of Social Science, which
provided a focus for an analysis of various social
problems. The role of Poor Law officials, such as
J.P. Kay, should also not be forgotten in this respect.[44]
These developments culminated in the formation of the
Charity Organisation Society in 1869. Though strongly

moral in its tone it did mark an important advance in
the area of accurate casework and investigation. Indeed,
it was the investigations of one of its disciples,
Charles Booth, that marked the next important step.

Booth was intent on a scientific analysis of the
London poor. Hence his importance lay as much in his
methods as in his revelations. He formulated the actual
concept of the 'poverty line' although the idea had
been in existence long before. The basic idea was the
taking of some minimum income level below which it was
impossible to provide for a healthy physical existance.
Though not entirely objective as a measure of poverty,
this concept of a 'poverty line' drawn across the whole
of society did mean that poverty rather than pauperism was
being measured.

Of those who followed Booth's pioneering work,
Seebohm Rowntree was the most important. He developed
and improved on Booth's 'poverty line' and this enabled
him to make a distinction between primary and secondary
poverty. For Rowntree, primary poverty resulted from an
income insufficient to provide even the bare physical
necessities, while secondary poverty was in part the
result of an unwise expenditure of income. More significant
than this was Rowntree's idea of a poverty cycle. By
means of this device Rowntree was able to show that an
individual might rise above the 'poverty line' only to
fall below it again at a later stage. Thus poverty was
a dynamic condition and implicit in this was the later
relativity of the concept of deprivation.

Gradually the official view of poverty lost ground,
therefore, exemplified by the findings of various Royal
Commissions such as that looking into 'the Aged Poor',
carried out in 1895. Hence by the beginning of the
twentieth century the problem of poverty was becoming
an increasingly important issue, particularly in a

climate of 'national efficiency'. Consequently a Royal
Commission was called upon to investigate the Poor Law.

Turning now to the twentieth century two major
themes can be discerned - one has been the gradual
change from measuring poverty by a subsistence approach
to a more egalitarian relative approach, and the other
the attempts to remove the stigma attached to poor relief.

During the inter-war period Rowntree updated his
1899 study of York by carrying out another in 1936.
Although poverty was viewed as a condition affecting
certain people, Rowntree was aware that his subsistence
standard must continually be revised to keep pace with
economic changes and societal norms. This subsistence
approach coupled with his dynamic poverty cycle idea
formed the basis for William Beveridge's approach to
the problem. From the 1942 Beveridge Report until the
1960s, the idea of a national subsistence minimum below
which people were not to be allowed to fall was the main
way of measuring poverty.

Since the 1960s, however, there has been an increased
awareness and discussion about the problems associated with
poverty. In part this was a reflection of earlier inter-
national trends. With the formation of the United Nations
after the Second World War and the resultant creation of
other international agencies such as WHO (World Health
Organisation), so the collection of cross-national
data on various areas was fostered. One major international
issue has been the 'development' of the Third World in
order to combat 'world poverty'. It was from such attempts
to explain the disparities in wealth in different countries
that a broader, sociological concept of poverty developed.

In Britain this broader concept was pioneered by
Peter Townsend with an early paper in 1954 that argued
that poverty must be viewed as a problem of inequality in
the distribution of resources.[45] Not only did Townsend

attack the subsistence approach which based studies only
upon cash income, he also attacked the levels at which
these standards were set. Or as he put it himself:

> 'Does the actual expenditure of the poorest
> families represent what they NEED to spend
> on certain items?'[46]

Such views gained greater public recognition during
the 1960s when the United Nations expressed concern over
the continuance of social deprivation in Western Europe.
The result of this was that in 1967 the UN Division of
Social Affairs set up a Working Group on socially deprived
families.[47] Meanwhile, alongside the launching of an
American war on poverty, it was discovered in Britain that
existing social security payments, although often revised,
had not kept pace with inflation. In 1965 an analysis by
Abel-Smith and Townsend[48] of the Ministry of Labour's
family expenditure surveys resulted in poverty being
're-discovered'. In fact it was a re-definition based
not only on cash benefits but also access to services.
One practical repercussion flowing from this was the
creation of the Department of Health and Social Security
in 1968 which was an attempt to co-ordinate benefits in
cash with benefits in kind since:

> '..the services needed to deal with social
> insecurity are not cash benefits only, but
> health and welfare services as well.'[49]

It was from such origins that the concept of de-
privation moved to the centre of intellectual thinking
on poverty. Poverty was to be viewed as 'relative
deprivation'.[50] This new more ambitious concept has
been used to bring together the issues raised by certain
'problem' areas under a more general approach. In policy
terms it has been described as follows:

'The concentration of deprivation in particular
areas is seen merely as the spatial manifestation
of the effects of more generalised processes
characteristic of the operations of an advanced
capitalistic economy.'[51]

People living in deprived areas therefore face the
problem of access to all types of resources. Deprivation
is a process the end result of which is poor people. Hence
inequality, in its widest sense, is deemed to be the cause
of poverty.

One of the major problems in the sphere of poor relief
has been the stigma attached to it. While this is no longer
a conscious policy as it was in the nineteenth century, the
stigma still remains exemplified in part by the problem of
take-up of relief. This aspect is clearly linked with the
fact that benefits are means-tested.[52] Nonetheless there
has been an attempt to remove this stigma. During the 1930s
they were called 'transitional payments', in 1948 'national
assistance', and most significantly in 1966 'supplementary
benefits'. Yet some people still seem to be ashamed about
having to collect such payments.

Finally, one additional theme has been the increasing
involvement of central government in this area. Although
the Poor Law Commission set up in 1905 recommended sub-
stantial changes in the Poor Law, the 1911 National Insurance
Act had a much bigger impact on the Poor Law leading to
substantial reductions in the numbers seeking relief from
the Poor Law authorities. By the late 1920s, however, the
Depression led to an increased pressure on these authorities
for assistance from those inadequately covered by the
Insurance system. Such was the extent of this pressure that
some Authorities were unable to cope, and as a result in
1929 the Boards of Guardians were abolished and their
functions transferred to Public Assistance Committees in
order to apply uniform scales of relief. Since then the
state has maintained this control under different bodies.

In summary, the evolution of ideas about poverty
has been from concepts of destitution and hardship to
concepts of a national subsistence minimum, and finally to
the beginnings of a consciously relative, more egalitarian
concept. In poor relief the change has been from a locally -
administered system to a centrally-administered uniform
system. While deterrence is no longer a deliberate policy
it still lingers in such things as the 'wage stop', whereby
welfare benefits are kept below the level of previous
earnings, and means-testing.

1.4 - CONCLUSIONS

Three issues have emerged from this chapter. Firstly,
social policy change is more likely when such a change is
viewed by the state as being relevant to its own political
position. Secondly, until recently the voluntary services
have been reluctant to adopt a political stance. Finally,
state attitudes to the poor still implicitly and sometimes
explicitly put an emphasis on some sort of guilt being
attached to the condition.

NOTES TO CHAPTER ONE

1. D. Fraser, 'The Evolution of the British Welfare State', (1973), p.1.

2. P. Mathias, 'The First Industrial Nation', (1969), p.186.

3. As an economic concept 'laissez-faire', in practical terms, stated that government intervention should be restricted to eliminating any hindrances to the efficient operation of the free market system.

4. J.R. Hay, 'The Development of the British Welfare State 1880-1975,' (1978), p.2.

5. Quoted in E.J. Evans (Ed.), 'Social Policy 1830-1914', (1978), p.130.

6. J. Saville, 'The Welfare State : An Historical Approach', (referring to Anthony Crosland) in E. Butterworth and R. Holman (Eds.), 'Social Welfare in Modern Britain,' (1975), p.66.

7. Ibid., p.65 (Saville's own view).

8. Hay, op.cit., in particular extracts 2,3,5 and 11.

9. Ibid., extract 71, p.96.

10. O. MacDonagh, 'The Passenger Acts : A Pattern of Governmental Growth', (1961).

11. Fraser, op.cit., p.226.

12. The television programme 'Yes Minister' is a prime example of this view.

13. J.R. Hay, 'The Origins of the Liberal Welfare Reforms 1906-14,' (1975), pp.31-2.

14. G. Drewry, 'Legislation', in S.A. Walkland and M. Ryle (Eds.), 'The Commons in the 70s', (1977), p.74.

15. Hay, (1978), op.cit., pp.9-10.

16. Ibid., extract 62, pp.83-4.

17. Ibid., extract 53, pp.72-3.

18. P. Hall, H. Land, R. Parker, A. Webb, 'Change, Choice
    and Conflict in Social Policy', (1975),
    pp.157-230.

19. Ibid., p.178.

20. P.H.J.H. Gosden, 'Self-Help : Voluntary Associations in
    Nineteenth-century Britain', (1973), p.91.

21. Fraser, op.cit., p.117.

22. N . Milnes in H.A. Mess (Ed.), 'Voluntary Social Services
    since 1918', (1948), p.10.

23. Poor Law Majority Report, Parliamentary Papers, (1909),
    vol.37, p.643-4.

24. T.S. Simey, 'Principles of Social Administration', (1937).

25. Wolfenden Report, 'The Future of Voluntary Organisations',
    (1978), p.19.

26. G. Williams, Introduction to Mess, op.cit.

27. W. Beveridge, 'Voluntary Action', (1948), p.308.

28. R. Wilson in W. Beverdige and A.F. Wells (Eds.), 'The
    Evidence for Voluntary Action,' (1949).

29. M. Brasnett, 'Voluntary Social Action', (1969), p.134.

30. With funds provided under the Urban Programme and by
    the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.

31. Harold Wilson speaking at the National Council for Social
    Service AGM on December 10, 1975.

32. Wolfenden, op.cit., p.193.

33. Term used to describe a group of economists writing
    at the end of the eighteenth century. The
    principal members were Adam Smith, Malthus,
    and Ricardo. In general they supported the
    idea of 'laissez faire'.

34. A. Smith, 'The Wealth of Nations' (1776), book five,
        chapter two, part two.

35. V. George, 'Social Security and Society,' (1973), p.6.

36. This system operated in the south during the food crises
        of 1793 to 1815 and was a cash allowance to
        supplement inadequate wages.

37. The condition of workhouse inmates was to be 'less
        eligible' than that of the lowest paid
        labourer outside.

38. Rose, op.cit., p.15.

39. Report of the Royal Commission on the Aged Poor, (1895),
        p.x

40. Hawksley, 'Charities of London', p.6 quoted in D. Owen,
        'English Philanthropy', (1965), p.218.

41. E.J. Evans (Ed.), 'Social Policy 1830-1914,' (1978), p.59.

42. M.A. Crowther, 'The Workhouse System 1834-1929,' (1981),
        p.252.

43. H. Mayhew, 'Morning Chronicle', (1849), quoted from
        E.P. Thomson and E. Yeo, 'The Unknown
        Mayhew,', (1973), p.94.

44. M.E. Rose, 'The Relief of Poverty 1834-1914,'(1972),
        chapter four.

45. P. Townsend, 'The Concept of Poverty', British Journal of
        Sociology, (1954), no.5, pp.130-7.

46. P. Townsend in D. Wedderburn (Ed.), 'Poverty, inequality
        and class structure' (1974), p.17.

47. R. Holman (Ed.), 'Socially Deprived Families in Britain',
        (1970), p.1.

48. B. Abel-Smith and P. Townsend, 'The Poor and the Poorest',
        Occasional Papers on Social Administration,
        no.17, (1965).

49. V. George, 'Social Security : Beveridge and After',
            (1968), p.77.

50. Townsend in Wedderburn, op.cit., p.24.

51. G. Norris in C. Jones (Ed.), 'Urban Deprivation and the
            Inner City', (1979), p.28.

52. P. Townsend, 'Poverty in the United Kingdom', (1979)
            Ch.24.

CHAPTER TWO.

THE RESPONSE TO SINGLE HOMELESSNESS

2.1 - A FRAMEWORK OF CHANGE

Broadly there have been three basic responses to single homelessness. One has been penal, another moral, and a third socio-medical. The penal response was taken by the state during the nineteenth century and for much of the twentieth century. The moral response was primarily taken by the voluntary services during a similar period. Therefore the view of single homelessness as a socio-medical problem has only gradually come to the fore since the late 1950s and early 1960s.

The purpose of this chapter is twofold - to show how these different views of single homelessness have manifested themselves; and to explain why the change to the socio-medical viewpoint occurred. Finally, it should be remembered that although there is now some sort of statutory and voluntary 'consensus' viewpoint about single homelessness, the penal and moral viewpoints are still very evident although to a much lesser degree.

2.2 - THE PENAL AND MORAL RESPONSE

(a)   The Penal Response

The state view of the single homeless problem has been to see it in two forms - as a threat to social order, and as a 'nuisance'.

The perceived threat to social order occasioned by the movement of large numbers of rootless single people has long been of concern to the state. During Tudor times it was perhaps the major concern:

> 'The most immediate and pressing concern of
> government...for something more than a century
> (1520-1640) was with the problem of vagrancy.
> There is no doubt whatever that vagabondage was
> widespread, that it was organised, and that it

imposed on rural and village communities
burdens and dangers with which they could
not cope.'[1]

More particularly, vagrancy legislation was often
enacted during periods of more general social upheaval
such as that following a war. The Vagrancy Act of 1824,
for example, was enacted after the end of the Napoleonic
Wars and was designed to deal with ex-servicemen wandering
in search of employment. Section four of the Act is
interesting because it:

> 'declares a rogue and vagabond to be any
> person wandering abroad and lodging in
> any barn or outhouse or in any deserted
> or unoccupied building, or in the open air,
> or in any tent or waggon and not giving a
> good account of himself or herself.'[2]

It was not usual practice, however, for the police to
apply section four unless it was thought that either
the person was of bad character or a potential threat
to public health since the single homeless were often
thought to spread disease.

Despite this lack of police enforcement, the 1824
Act was updated to ensure clarification of such matters,
most notably in the 1865 Trespass (Scotland) Act and the
1935 Vagrancy Act (for England and Wales). The combination
of such legislation has left the current situation:

> 'According to these Acts a person wandering
> abroad or sleeping rough in a derelict house
> who cannot give a good account of himself is
> committing an offence only if it can be proved
> either:-
> (a) that he has been directed to a
> 'reasonably accessible place of free
> shelter', in other words a Reception
> Centre or overnight shelter, and has
> failed to go there, or

(b) that he persistently wanders abroad
    or sleeps rough although a place of
    free shelter is reasonably accessible, or

(c) that in the course of sleeping rough he
    causes damage to property, infection
    with vermin or other offensive consequences
    or appears likely to do so.'[3]

As before, the number of arrests under these Acts are
not large. According to Home Office figures for the years
1970-2 there were a combined total of just over 1,100
such arrests in England and Wales.[4] Moreover, even
when an arrest does take place the intention of the police
may be to direct the person to a Government Reception
Centre or Resettlement Unit (as from 1981). Nonetheless,
CHAR (the Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless), a
voluntary pressure group organisation, has been campaigning
forcibly for both Acts to be repealed. This has not yet
happened although the Home Office has recently reviewed
the situation[5] and the 1824 Act should be repealed
shortly.

In terms of the number of arrests the 'nuisance'
element of single homelessness has been much more
significant, particularly in the sphere of public
drunkenness. Although legislation had existed in this
area before the nineteenth century, it was not until
the latter half of the nineteenth century that a stream
of legislation was enacted. The 1872 Licensing Act
marked a turning point, in that responsibility was
transferred away from moral suasion to the legal remit
of the state. The 1872 Act did not aim to reform the
public drunkard but punish him through fines or 30 days
imprisonment . However:

    'Punishment for drunkenness probably did
     little to reduce drunkenness: the police

at this time aimed at rather preventing
the drunkard from harming himself or
the public – not at reforming him'.[6]

Consequently, following pressure from the prevailing
temperance movement, the 1879 Habitual Drunkards Act
was passed. With this and subsequent legislation in
1898 greater emphasis was put on treatment through the
introduction of compulsory detention in reformatories.
However such reformatories tended to be run by philan-
thropic religious societies so that the treatment con-
stituted, once again, moral suasion. By 1921 the
authorities began to believe that the reformatories
were proving ineffective since few of the offenders
were actually using them. With their closure the
criminal emphasis of the 1872 Act was left as the
dominant means of control, and it was not until the
1970s that the emphasis on treatment once again came to
the fore. Nonetheless, the penal response even now
remains strong in the habitual public drunkenness field.
In 1977 over 100,000 people in England and Wales were
convicted.[7] In Scotland the relevant legislation until
1980 was the 1903 Licensing (Scotland) Act.

(b) The Moral Response

    Although the Church has long been involved in
helping the destitute, it was not until the nineteenth
century and Victorian philanthropy that moral reform
rose to prominence as a means of helping such 'unfortunates".
In keeping with the prevailing beliefs in laissez-faire
and individualism, problems such as single homelessness
were thought to lie with the individual. In particular,
habitual drunkards were looked upon by temperance groups
and charity organisations as a prime example of such
moral and spiritual weakness.

General Booth, founder of the Salvation Army,
put forward a fairly representative late nineteenth
century viewpoint:

> 'Darkest England may be described as
> consisting of three circles, one within
> the other. The outer and widest circle is
> inhabited by the starving and homeless,
> but honest poor. The second by those who
> live by vice; and the third and innermost
> region at the centre is peopled by those
> who exist by crime. The whole of these
> three circles is sodden by drink.'[8]

So the Salvation Army was founded as a means of spiritual
salvation. This moral viewpoint has continued strongly
into the present century. As this view has come into
contact with the socio-medical viewpoint so the result
has been a confusing of the charitable aims of voluntary
religious organisations such as the Salvation Army
and the Church of Scotland:

> 'Both the emergence of modern social work
> methods to tackle problems previously dealt
> with by traditional philanthropy and the
> introduction of medicine as a solution to
> problems of alcohol abuse have served to
> influence the current MODUS OPERANDI of
> organisations based on a moral view of
> drunkenness...The human sciences are invoked
> to fortify their moral standpoint..'[9]

2.3 - THE SOCIO-MEDICAL RESPONSE

(a) The 'rediscovery' of single homelessness

As with poverty, single homelessness was 'rediscovered'
in the early 1960s. Three factors inter-acted to produce

this - the impact of the 1959 Mental Health Act (1960
in Scotland), the decreasing availability of traditional
accommodation, and a new voluntary initiative.

Aside from the fact that some of the single homeless
have mental health problems[10], attitudes towards the
mentally-ill have often paralleled attitudes towards the
single homeless. Penal and moral responses to the mentally-
ill were evident prior to the Second World War.[11]
However after 1945:

> 'The influx of a new generation of
> psychiatrists...influenced by the
> ideas of social reform then in the
> air, and the establishment of a
> National Health Service integrating
> the mental hospitals and ex-workhouse
> infirmaries into a single system with
> the voluntary hospitals... were
> successful..in replacing custodial
> attitudes by therapeutic ones.'[12]

As a result mental patients were now more likely to be
discharged into the community in order to avoid the
institutionalising effects of long-term hospitalisation.
Community care was to largely replace in-patient treatment.
This emphasis upon completing the rehabilitation of
patients in the community was embodied in the 1959 Mental
Health Act. It was the relationship between this emphasis
and another section of the Act that provided the key.
Parts four and five of the Act gave powers to the police
to refer petty offenders to mental hospitals for treatment
instead of the former observation wards. The consequence
of this relationship was a rise in the turnover of single
homeless people being admitted and then discharged from
hospitals. The result, in turn, of this was a rise in the
number of people sleeping rough because they were being

discharged from mental hospitals without a fixed
address to return to.

The amount of accommodation available to the single
homeless declined rapidly during the 1950s. Not only
were central government reception centres being closed
down but also common lodging houses, as well as a shrinkage
in the private rented sector. It has been argued that the
domino theory operates whereby a shrinkage in the slightly
more expensive private rented sector eventually leads to
more pressure on the cheap accommodation market (i.e.
lodging houses). The result is that the worst off end
up out on the streets.[13] More particularly:

> 'The immediate reason for the decline was
> the redevelopment of central city areas and
> a recognition that the sites of cheap commercial
> hostels were of considerable value and could be
> put to more profitable use.'[14]

Part of this decline is charted by comparing the figures
of the National Assistance Board in 1965[15] and those
of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys from
1972.[16] Overall, a decrease of around 6,500 beds was
indicated in hostel and lodging house accommodation.

Finally, a political catalyst was provided by those
voluntary agencies now working in this field. They exerted
pressure on central government to take notice of the
'fact' that more homeless single people were sleeping
rough, particularly in London. The roots of such an
initiative were twofold. One, as was mentioned in the
previous chapter, was the prevailing economic conditions
that encouraged the state to look at the voluntary services
as a cheaper alternative. The other was the example provided
by the treatment of mental illness in terms of the concept
of community-based therapy and rehabilitation. As a
result voluntary bodies such as the Simon Community were
created offering a different type of 'solution' to the
problem of single homelessness in terms of small-scale

facilities and the encouragement of 'client' involvement.

(b) The Response

This has come at two levels - increased research (of which this thesis is a further contribution.), and changes in policy. The amount of the former has been considerable, of the latter minimal.

There is now a great deal of information about the characteristics of the single homeless. At a national level there have been three major surveys of hostels and lodging houses. Two were on a United Kingdom basis (1965 and 1972) and have already been noted, while the other was on a Scottish basis (1979).[17] It is beyond the scope of this work to discuss the findings in any detail so the following is a mere indication of the trends. All three surveys indicated that hostel residents suffer disproportionately from the following problems - poor health, unemployment, loneliness in the shape of a lower proportion of married men, mental instability, and a higher proportion of ex-prisoners among the hostel population. In addition, there is a disproportionate number of elderly people in the hostel population. Although the Scottish survey indicated that the trend of declining accommodation has been reversed this fact was countered to some extent by the continuing emphasis on the institutionalising effects of the lodging house and hostel style of accommodation (i.e.that once in such places people may find it difficult to move out of them).

Research has also been undertaken by voluntary bodies involved in this field such as CHAR and the Scottish Council for Single Homeless. Their concern is more with policy issues since they are both pressure groups. Housing policy is one main area of debate, such as the extent of single person accommodation. Hence CHAR and SCSH have carried out research indicating the degree of discrimination

experienced by single people in the housing market.
One major area of overlap between these two spheres of
research is that the vast majority of those using large
lodging houses and hostels do not like living in them.[18]
This makes it even more desirable that housing policy
should be based on need.

Despite the extent of the research that has been
carried out the amount of legislative change has been
limited. Nonetheless, one trend has been apparent -
the increasing use of socio-medical methods in helping
the single homeless. Following pressure from certain
voluntary agencies, such as the Simon Community, greater
emphasis was put on socio-medical types of treatment,
particularly for those with a drink problem. This move
away from a penal response was embodied in the 1967
Criminal Justice Act which gave powers to the police to
refer men for treatment in rehabilitation hostels and
detoxification centres where they existed. The latter
section was the key, however, because even by 1972 there
were no such establishments.[19] Meanwhile in 1971 there
was a Home Office Report on 'Habitual Drunken Offenders'[20]
followed by another Criminal Justice Act in 1972 which
made more explicit provision for the establishment of
detoxification centres providing medical treatment.
At present there are two such official centres, one in
Leeds and the other in Manchester.

More generally, during the early 1970s the DHSS
were becoming increasingly interested in this area and
produced two circulars[21] which put forward certain
proposals:

'Firstly, their recommendations take into
account the theoretical arguments advanced
by medicine and social work. The solution
offered by local authorities to problems of

homelessness and vagrancy no longer lie in
the housing of the destitute poor in large
common lodging houses, but in the application
of treatment and rehabilitation techniques
within small therapeutic communities or half-
way houses. Secondly, the circulars acknowledge
the innovatory role played by voluntary agencies
in promoting a social rehabilitation strategy;
local authorities are urged to support or work
in close co-operation with voluntary agencies
providing specialist facilities for skid row
men.'[22]

It was from such circulars and reports that the increased
statutory and voluntary inter-action, more apparent by
the end of the 1970s, originated.

In Scotland although a formal detoxification scheme
had operated in Edinburgh from 1972 to 1975, it was not
until 1980 that similar legislation was applied to
Scotland. Section five of the 1980 Criminal Justice
(Scotland) Act allowed for the provision of 'designated
places for drunken persons' although there was no separate
funding provision in the legislation.

2.4 - CENTRAL GOVERNMENT PROVISION

The responses already outlined have been reflected
in the types of provision offered to the single homeless
by central government.

During the nineteenth century the single homeless
were placed in casual wards in the Poor Law workhouses.
As there was a general distinction between the 'deserving'
and 'undeserving' poor so there was a further distinction
in the 'undeserving' category. The single homeless casual
poor were assumed to be even worse than the able-bodied

settled poor. When the new Poor Law was enacted in
1834 and casuals were not mentioned in the legislation,
such was the low opinion of them that some Poor Law
Guardians used this as an excuse not to relieve them at
all. However after a few casuals had died the Poor Law
Commissioners ordered relief of all who applied and so
the casual wards were established. As with the more general
poor the principle of 'less eligibility' operated, only
more so for the single homeless. In other words, conditions
in the casual wards were appalling:

> 'In many workhouses they had no beds -
> sometimes not even straw to lie on -
> and in some the men and women were
> promiscuously lodged together. Guardians
> gave them bread and water for supper,
> but often gave no meal in the mornings:
> their whole aim was to be rid of casuals
> as quickly as possible.'[23]

Any slight improvements that did occur in the conditions
in the casual wards during the nineteenth century were
more a response to the fear that casuals carried disease
than to any belief that they 'deserved' better.

Central policy towards the single homeless was more
clearly stated in 1848 when:

> 'The first president of the Poor Law Board
> indicated..two approaches as appropriate for
> vagrants: help to those genuinely seeking
> work; refusal of relief to mendicant tramps
> unless they were starving.'[24]

However this 'Buller minute' proved difficult to operate
at a local level and the practice developed whereby
Guardians left vagrants to the police because they believed
this would make the workhouses easier to operate (i.e.

emphasising the prevailing belief that vagrants had
criminal tendencies)as well as save the ratepayers
money. From this the practice of using police constables
as deputy relieving officers developed. So that by the
1850s two forms of indoor relief were 'offered' to the
single homeless - casual wards and police cells. Despite
such a deterrent policy the average number of casuals
accommodated in casual wards continued to increase.[25]

The dichotomy between central intention and local
application in the administration of casual wards was
always evident throughout the nineteenth century. Central
government wanted to control the movement of casuals
while local government wanted to have nothing to do with
casuals if possible. The police were often left in the
middle between the two. As the nineteenth century progressed
so central government very gradually began to take the
ascendancy. This was reflected in two pieces of legislation.
The first was the 1871 Pauper Inmates Discharge and
Regulation Act which stated that Guardians were to detain
a casual pauper until he had performed a morning's work,
as opposed to the previous situation in which casuals
were entitled to a night's lodgings only. In addition,
the Act stated that the in-relief offered was to be con-
trolled by orders issued centrally. The second piece of
legislation was the Casual Poor Act of 1882. This stated
that all casuals were to be kept in the workhouse for two
nights to perform a task and then be released early on
the third day in order to look for work. For those con-
tinually applying, longer periods of detention were
recommended. Implicit in this piece of legislation was
the assumption that casuals were not genuinely seeking
work, hence one had to in a sense 'train' them to it.

During the early part of the twentieth century,
despite fluctuations, the number using casual wards was
still on an upward slant. By this time, because of

general improvements in social provision for groups
such as the unemployed and the elderly, casual wards
had become refuges for social 'misfits'. During the
First World War the conscription of many casuals led
to a slight modification in attitudes:

> 'Many people believed that since so many
> vagrants had been absorbed into the war
> effort, they must necessarily be classed as
> deserving. As unemployment and vagrancy
> increased in the early 1920s, Labour MPs
> began to ask Parliamentary questions about
> casual wards. They assumed that among the
> swelling numbers of vagrants there must
> be many ex-servicemen who were not being
> lodged as befitted war heroes.'[26]

As criticism about the casual wards grew so some sort of
response was necessitated. In 1929 the Labour government
set up a departmental committee to investigate the treat-
ment of the casual poor in casual wards. As a result
conditions were improved in the wards although the deterrent
principle was still very evident. Nonetheless any improve-
ment was welcome given the numbers using the wards.[27]

During the 1930s the new Public Assistance Committees,
established under the 1929 Local Government Act, began
to make some changes. In particular, they began to pay
for casuals who were sick, aged or infirm to be kept
separately from the able-bodied casuals within the wards.
This obligation had been open to the previous Poor Law
authorities but had not been taken up for fear of attracting
such casuals. The Committees were replaced in 1934 by a
centrally-administered Unemployment Assistance Board
which encouraged schemes of resettlement, and supported,
financially, organisations such as the Wayfarers' Benevolent
Society that had been active in this field for twenty years.

With the outbreak of the Second World War and the
conscription of many casuals once again (as well as
more civilian employment opportunities), many casual
wards were closed down. During the war a certain amount
of 'casework' activity was carried out with some casuals
but it was not until after the war that the next major
step was taken. This started with the 1946 Ministry of
Health Circular 136/46[28] which laid down a new policy
towards casual wards. The circular started from the
premise that casuals were not a homogeneous group. Con-
sequently, services should be specialised towards different
types of need. Hence the casual ward system, it was judged,
needed to be abolished because of the lack of specialisation.

The principled of Circular 136/46 were put into effect
with the National Assistance Act of 1948 alongside the
creation of a centrally-administered National Assistance
Board. Casual wards were to be replaced by 'reception
centres':

> 'The Board..had a duty to provide temporary
> board and lodging in 'reception centres' for
> 'people without a settled way of living'. The
> function of the centres was, with the aid of
> casework, to effect the resettlement of
> clients.'[29]

Therefore casuals would be directed to such centres and
during their stay would be submitted to casework. Through
such remedial work the problem, it was anticipated, would
diminish. In the earlier Circular it was envisaged that
the reception centres should be about thirty miles apart.
As a result in 1948 the Board closed 156 of them leaving
134. This policy of closure was accelerated by the fact
that the Board had no new premises so that the vast
majority of reception centres remained next to hospitals
and local authority accommodation on the same sites as
the previous casual wards. The resultant complaints

about the presence of casuals that had previously been
ignored were now used by the Board as a convenient
justification for the policy of closures.

Various problems were encountered by the NAB in the
early stages. One was that the 1948 Act did not specify
the role of the reception centre with regard to the
handicapped. As a result there was an accumulation of
people with mental health or disability problems in the
centres, which was implicitly not their intention. In
other words, the emphasis that the earlier Circular had
put on the specialisation of services was not being
enforced. Such a problem was still evident and being
referred to as late as 1976 in the Annual Report of the
Supplementary Benefits Commission.[30]

Less specifically there were three main reasons why
the policy of remedial work was not working and these were
largely outwith the control of the NAB:

> 'One was that some unemployment had persisted,
> so that the 'pool' of men who needed to make
> occasional use of services for the destitute had
> not greatly diminished. The second was that the
> supply of cheap accommodation for single men
> with low incomes was declining. The third was
> that community services for handicapped people
> were not being set up on an adequate scale, while
> a new trend towards emptying mental hospitals
> resulted in much larger numbers in need of
> such services.'[31]

Dissatisfaction with the results of the work of the
NAB continued into the 1960s when the problem of single
homelessness was 'rediscovered'. Changes in the administration
of reception centres came not long after but changes in
central government policy were longer in coming. Under
schedule 4(2) of the 1966 Ministry of Social Security
Act the Supplementary Benefits Commission took over re-
sponsibility for reception centres from the NAB. The

terms of reference remained virtually unchanged but
learning from the problems faced by the NAB and in
response to voluntary work and research being carried
out at the time the SBC pursued a more specialised
form of policy in order to more fully cater for the
able-bodied casual. Gradually alterations took place
culminating in the 1980 Social Security Act which re-
named the 'reception centres', 'resettlement units',
in order to more fully indicate their function. There
are currently 23 such units in Great Britain.

To summarise this section two main conclusions can
be drawn. One is that the casual poor have generally
been treated far worse and with greater suspicion than
the settled poor. The other is that central government
has been very slow to actively try and resettle people
using the facilities and instead has for much of the time
put forward a policy of deterrence.

2.5 - CONCLUSIONS

Although there have been three different responses
to the problem of single homelessness, each response has
been similar in that a solution has been offered in
terms of changing the individual single homeless person.
The penal response sees him as an offender who needs to
be punished in order to correct him. The moral response
sees him as being spiritually deprived and hence sees
spiritual salvation as being the solution. The socio-
medical response sees him as being either emotionally
flawed or medically diseased. Hence the solution offered
is in terms of either making him mentally and emotionally
stronger or drying him out and keeping him sober. The
provision offered by central government has similarly
taken such an individual perspective by adopting a policy
of deterrence in the form of poor conditions in order
to force the casual to exist by his own means.

Finally, it should be emphasised that underlying the immediate reasons outlined for the change towards a socio-medical response was the belief that because of the 'Welfare State' the single homeless problem was becoming smaller and less related to economic factors. Hence greater emphasis could be put on more specialised responses embodied in the therapeutic socio-medical response.

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3. G. Matthews, 'Knowhere to Go', (1974), p.38.

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    Question in England, 1815-72' (1971), p.327.

7. Commissioner of Police Report, quoted in Leigh, op.cit.,
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8. General W. Booth, 'In Darkest England and the Way Out',
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21. DHSS, 'Homeless Single Persons in Need of Care and Support', Circular 37/72, September (1972). DHSS, 'Community Services for Alcoholics', Circular 21/73, May (1973).

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25. T. Berwick and L. Baker, 'On Vagrants and Tramps', Manchester Statistical Society, (1868-9), p.62.

26. Crowther, op.cit., pp.259-61.

27. 16,911 in England and Wales on May 27, 1932 - quoted in Stewart, op.cit., p.146.

28. Ministry of Health (1946), Public Assistance Circular 136/46.

29. Leach and Wing, op.cit., p.7.

30. Supplementary Benefits Commission (1977), 1976 Annual Report, Ch.5.

31. Leach and Wing, op.cit., p.11.

GLASGOW : THE RELEVANT FEATURES

3.1 - THE ECONOMY

Although Glasgow's initial rise to prominence during
the eighteenth century rested on her western seaboard
position which allowed her to trade with the American
colonies,[1] the most important feature of the Glasgow
economy has been her dependence on certain key heavy
industries. During the nineteenth century the heavy
industries of coal, iron, and shipbuilding became the
backbone of the city's industrial structure. Each was
inter-connected and dependent, to a certain extent, on
the other. In response to the demands of these three
giants, other industries such as steel grew and in turn
became dependent on the others. While these four industries
were doing well Glasgow was one of the leading industrial
centres in the world and during the late nineteenth and
early twentieth centuries she was known as the 'Second
City of the Empire'. To give some idea of the magnitude
of Glasgow's position, her shipbuilding output in 1913:

> '..represented not only one-third of British
> tonnage, but almost 18 per cent of world
> output, and was more than the production of
> the entire shipbuilding industry of either
> Germany or America'.[2]

From the 1920s onwards, however, it was mainly all
downhill in these key industries. The general contraction
in world markets during the inter-war period and the
increased foreign competition for these diminishing markets
combined to put increasing pressure on the Glasgow economy.
Attempts to diversify into other areas, such as automobile
and aircraft making, and to rationalise out of date plant
and machinery only delayed the inevitable because:

'Just as in the great age of growth the
elements acted in a mutually reinforcing
way to produce a kind of culmination of
confidence and achievement, so in the phase
of decline a pattern of mutually sustaining
circumstances generated a cumulative and
interlocking problem.'[3]

In 1958 Glasgow was supplying only 4.5 per cent of world
shipbuilding output.[4] By the 1970s doubt and cynicism
had replaced the abrasive self-confidence of the early
1900s.

3.2 - THE POPULATION

The development of commerce and industry during the
eighteenth century was reflected in a growth of the city's
population. Whereas the population was estimated to be
only 12,000 in 1708, by the time of the first Census in
1801 it had risen to 77,000.[5] Hence Glasgow was already
a major city by the time of the 'Industrial Revolution'
in the late eighteenth century. However it was during the
nineteenth century that Glasgow's population grew at an
unprecedented rate.

The manpower requirements of Glasgow's new heavy
industries were very great. Consequently Glasgow,
throughout the nineteenth century, was an attractive city
for those in search of employment. The effect on the
population size was staggering. By 1901 Glasgow's popul-
ation was 762,000 and hence had experienced a ten-fold
increase during the century. Of this by far the greatest
increase occurred after mid-century when there was an
average increase of 80,000 per decade. There were three
elements in this population increase - the extension of
the city's boundaries, an excess of births over deaths,
and immigration from other areas. During the nineteenth

POPULATION
(Thousands)
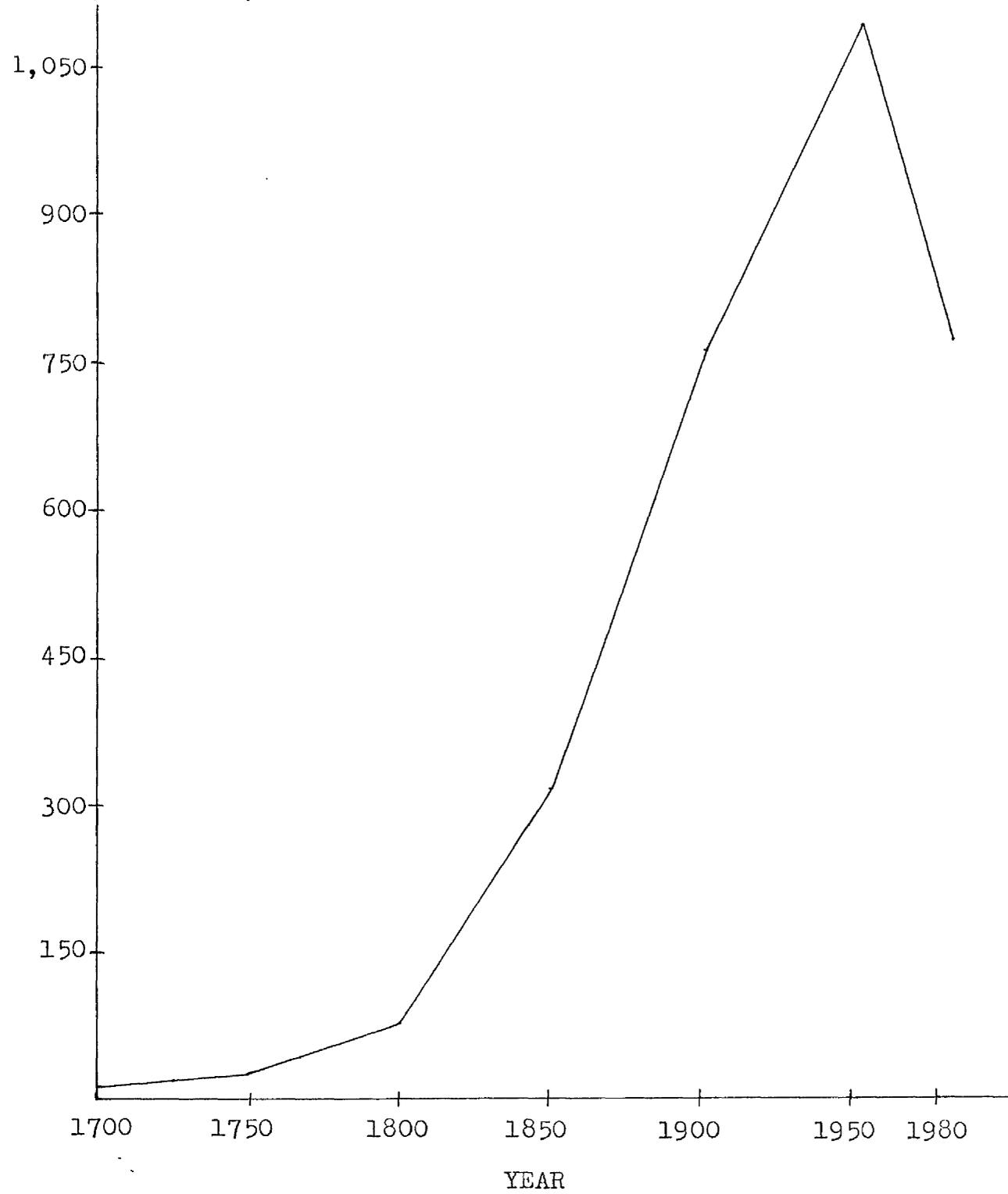
GLASGOW'S POPULATION – 1700 TO 1980.

century the area of the city grew from 1,768 acres to 12,688 acres, the major part of which occurred south of the River Clyde.[6] Although birth and death rates were both very high the birth rate was consistently higher.[7] Two areas provided the bulk of the immigrants into Glasgow - the Highlands of Scotland, and Ireland. The clearances of the eighteenth century had already emptied much of the Highland region, so that it was Irish immigration that provided the main influx of population during the nineteenth century occasioned by political troubles and famine. Such was the size of this immigration that:

'Between 1801 and 1861 up to half the increase in population in Glasgow and Lanarkshire seems to have been due to additions by immigration.'[8]

The Census of 1851 indicated that 30 per cent of the total population of the west of Scotland were immigrants.[9]

As was stated, by the beginning of the twentieth century Glasgow's population was just over 760,000. A similar figure is expected in 1981.[10] Within this apparent stability there have been very rapid growths and contractions. In the first twenty years there was an increase approaching 300,000, in the next thirty a rise of only 50,000,[11] and in the last thirty a fall of over 300,000 [12] (see graph).

The basic point to be made about these figures is that whereas Glasgow gained from migration during the nineteenth century, she has lost people through migration in every decade this century.[13] Consequently for the first half of this century the net migration loss was compensated for by a very rapid natural increase.[14] As this increase has slowed so the migration loss has become more apparent in recent years. One other dual trend should be noted in closing this section. Within

the Glasgow-born population the dual trend of falling
proportions of working age groups and rising proportions
of dependent age groups has been apparent.[15]

3.3 - THE MUNICIPAL RESPONSE

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries with
the rapid influx of mainly poor working class people into
Glasgow two solutions were attempted to tackle the
accommodation problem. One was the building of tenements,
the other was the building of lodging houses. The latter
is covered in the next section. The former commenced during
the eighteenth century in an attempt to replace the exist-
ing cottage-style of housing. From about 1780 tenements
of mainly four storeys started to be built. Such was the
design, as well as the height, of the tenement, with its
close and common stairway, that high density accommodation
was possible. The potential problems of high density
living were exacerbated by the fact that all building
was carried out by private firms not subject to regulatory
control.

While this process was commencing so another was in
progress - the movement out of the city centre by the
middle-classes. As these more prosperous people demanded
more spacious houses so this further reduced the amount
of resources allocated to tenements for the working-classes.
During the early part of the nineteenth century many
unsatisfactory tenements were built in the central districts
of Glasgow such as Calton and Anderston. The effect of
this was massive overcrowding. By 1871 nearly 80 per cent
of the population lived in one and two-roomed houses.[16]
Such overcrowding was further exacerbated by the poverty
being experienced which prompted two responses - the
crowding of people into the older parts of the city where
rents were cheapest, and the practice of taking in lodgers.

Such close living, combined with poverty and lack of
municipal control, produced waves of typhus and cholera
epidemics:

> 'Major typhus epidemics attacked the city on
> eight occasions between 1818 and 1871, and
> the disease was generally endemic in other
> years.'[17]

The severity of this, as well as the fact that disease
knew no class boundaries, prompted a municipal response.

The response came in four main areas - the removal
of dunghills from the streets, the pulling down of the
worst housing, control over accommodation numbers, and
the improvement of the water supply. Various enactments
such as the Police Act of 1843, which led to the appoint-
ment of an Inspector of Cleansing, and the 1866 City
Improvements Act, which allowed for the clearance and
purchase of certain areas for rebuilding, started the
process. By the 1870s a Medical Officer of Health had
been appointed, houses were 'ticketed'[18] thereby limiting
the number of occupants, many slums had been demolished,
and fresh water was being piped from Loch Katrine. Along-
side this the municipally-controlled Parliamentary Road
Hospital had been opened in 1865. Such a response was
consolidated during the 1890s when the city boundaries
were extended thereby enabling greater uniformity of
administration.

During the twentieth century while economic concerns
became the primary remit of central government, so the
physical shape of the city became the primary concern
of local government. As the worst features of public
ill health began to lessen, so planning concerns came
to the forefront. During the inter-war period Glasgow
Corporation engaged in a massive phase of new house building

in order to further reduce the problems of overcrowding
and poor physical health. Nonetheless it was not until
after the Second World War that far-reaching changes were
made to the Glasgow landscape.

Instrumental in these changes was the 1940 report
of the Royal Commission on the Distribution of the
Industrial Population, the Barlow Report. This attacked
city squalor and advocated as a solution the decentralis-
ation of people and industry, as well as supporting the
concept of urban planning. The impact of this on Glasgow
was the establishment of a Clyde Valley Planning Advisory
Committee and in 1946 the Clyde Valley Plan was published.
Among its recommendations were proposals for a green belt
around Glasgow and redevelopment of existing housing
schemes at lower densities than currently existed. Such
proposals meant that Glasgow could not resettle all of its
population within its own boundaries. Meanwhile Glasgow
had produced its own redevelopment plans advocating higher
densities of occupancy. The resultant dispute was not
settled for around ten years and in the interim the new
town of East Kilbride was established as well as the
building of peripheral estates on the perimeter of the
city. By the mid-1950s the conclusion had been reached
that between a quarter and half a million Glaswegians
would have to be housed beyond the city boundaries.
The resultant solution was three-pronged - redevelopment
within the city, the building of more new towns, and the
overspill of the population into existing towns. Re-
development took two forms - the demolition of much of
the inner city and the building of high-rise flats. One
important consequence of this redevelopment was a
dramatic decline in the amount of private rented accommod-
ation in the city. By 1975 the private rented sector was
estimated to be only 15 per cent of the total housing

stock[19] indicating a fall of around 70 per cent in as many years. The impact of the overspill and new towns policy was to accelerate an already operating process - the outward migration of a disproportionate number of the most 'able' of the population:[20]

> 'The new towns drained skills from Glasgow,
> leaving a residue of unskilled and semi-
> skilled: whereas Glasgow in 1966 had 2·9
> skilled men to each unskilled, the figure
> for East Kilbride was 14·6.'[21]

Finally, as a consequence of the open spaces created by redevelopment another element entered the picture - a new road system. In turn, this new road system came to cater for the increased number of commuters from the now more populous outlying areas as the extent of industrial outward migration failed to match that of the population.[22]

By the late 1970s an ex-inhabitant returning to the city after a space of twenty years could be forgiven for wondering if he was in the right place - such was the degree of change.

3.4 - LODGING HOUSE ACCOMMODATION

Despite the density of tenement life there were still many who could not find accommodation at a price they could afford. It was in response to this demand that a system of lodging houses was established. The accommodation was basic but cheap - between 2d. and 4d. per night. Before there was municipal involvement in this area the major problem was profiteering landlords. Such a combination of high demand and lack of municipal supervision meant there was no pressure on landlords to improve their facilities, and hence profits could be had quickly. Consequently there was a tremendous growth of

private lodging houses during the 1840s and one estimate
in 1846 was that although there were 489 registered lodging
houses, there were about 200 more non-registered. By the
same estimate, up to 10,000 people were using the lodging
houses.[23] This meant that on average one lodging house
sheltered around fifteen people. Many of these lodging
houses were situated in the Bridgegate and Saltmarket
areas where demand was greatest for cheap accommodation.

As the link between bad housing and bad health
became more clearly identified so the need for closer
supervision of lodging houses became more apparent. As
with housing in general, actions of 'ticketing' and
inspection were invoked on the lodging houses. At the
same time voluntary bodies become more involved in the
lodging house scene resulting in the formation of the
Model Lodging House Association in 1847. With the aim
of providing good accommodation the Association opened
their first lodging house in 1849 in Greendyke Street.[24]
By a combination of this competition and closer municipal
control many of the worst lodging houses closed. This
process was carried further by the 1866 City Improvements
Act which created the City Improvements Trust which
cleared many of the worst areas and built their own lodging
houses. The first, at Drygate, was built in 1870 and provided
the standard for all others to follow. By the end of the
1870s there were seven municipal lodging houses and their
improved facilities contributed to the reduction in the
incidence of infectious disease.[25]

By the end of the nineteenth century many of the small
common lodging houses had been replaced by larger model
lodging houses each of which contained modern amenities.
In the space of about forty years there had been a dramatic
reduction in the number of lodging houses. In 1902 there
were 67 lodging houses registered in Glasgow with a total
number of residents of 7,000.[26] Thus compared with the

1846 estimate there had been a fall of around 600
lodging houses and 3,000 residents. Each lodging
house on average now sheltered just over 100 people.
Three trends continued this reduction in the number of
lodging houses. One was the extension and improvement
of social provision for the poor thereby in theory
reducing the need for lodging houses; another was the
affluence of the motorised age so that the 'tramp'
travelling by foot slowly disappeared; and a third was
the redevelopment of Glasgow which led many to take
shelter in derelict houses awaiting demolition. The effect
of all three trends was to make the problem of single
homelessness less visible. By 1954 there were only 18
lodging houses in Glasgow sheltering just over 3,000
residents.[27]

This decline in numbers appeared to be continuing
into the 1960s but as interest in poverty and single
homelessness grew and the Housing Management Department
of the Corporation started to publish a yearly report in
1967, so it appeared that the problem rather than declin-
ing was actually increasing. The findings of the 1967
Annual Report indicated an increase in the numbers using
the four remaining lodging houses. Evidence from voluntary
organisations such as the Wayside Club also indicated
that many people were sleeping rough, as well as making
greater use of the voluntary facilities.

As a result new large hostels were built such as
Robertson House in 1971 with accommodation for around
250 people. At the same time some of the older lodging
houses were closed down gradually but not as quickly as
was desirable because of the shortage of accommodation
in Glasgow generally. This shortage was compounded by
the decline of private hotel accommodation. Consequently,
to provide 'emergency accommodation' two temporary
prefabricated hostels were built at Norman Street in 1975
and Mart Street in 1976. Both of these are still in

operation. By 1977, with the building of two new hostels, the first stage of the programme was complete:

> 'The opening of these two hostels completes a programme of eight new hostels..within the last six years, and raises the bed capacity from 742 in May, 1971 to 1,748.
>   The next phase in the programme will be replacements for the older type lodging-houses...'[28]

3.5 - CONCLUSIONS

One of the most immediate features of the Glasgow situation is the speed with which change has occurred. The rise and fall of Glasgow has been equally dramatic. This volatility stems from her dependence on heavy industry. Moreover this has had implications for the labour force. The fluctuations in the population figures indicates a mobile population, and this clearly must be linked to the dependence of industries like shipbuilding on fluctuating foreign markets. More particularly, during the nineteenth century many thousands of poor working-class people came to Glasgow looking for jobs. It would be reasonable to assume that a sizeable proportion of them were single and had no stable home. It was in such conditions that the demand for cheap accommodation flourished. During the nineteenth and for much of the twentieth centuries this demand was met by the private sector. This tradition of cheap housing for its least skilled people has persisted into the present day despite the massive decline of the private rented sector occasioned in part by the extensive redevelopment that has occurred in the inner city. Large hostels were built by way of a municipal replacement. While it would be virtually impossible to prove, it is possible that the roots of the single homeless problem

in Glasgow stem from these two traditions of high
population mobility and cheap accommodation. These
factors could explain why Glasgow has the highest
ratio of lodging house beds per head of population of any
city in Britain.[29]

NOTES TO CHAPTER THREE

1. This had in turn stemmed from the 1707 Treaty of Union with England because under the Navigation Laws of the seventeenth century all trade carried out by the colonies was to be confined to English and colonial shipping.

2. A. Slaven, 'The Development of the West of Scotland 1750-1960', (1975), p.178-9.

3. S.G. Checkland, 'The Upas Tree : Glasgow 1875-1975', (1976), p.62.

4. Slaven, op.cit., p.218.

5. J. Cunnison and J.B.S. Gilfillan, 'The City of Glasgow: The Third Statistical Account of Scotland', (1958), p.58.

6. Ibid., p.43.

7. Ibid., p.74.

8. Slaven, op.cit., p.141.

9. Quoted in Slaven, ibid., p.143.

10. Office of Population Censuses and Surveys, 'Population Projections 1976-2016', Series PP2, No.8., HMSO, (1978).

11. Cunnison and Gilfillan, op.cit., p.58.

12. 'Population Projections', op.cit.

13. Cunnison and Gilfillan, op.cit., p.64-5.

14. Ibid.

15. I.M.L. Robertson, 'Population and Health Patterns,' in J. English and F.M. Martin (Eds), 'Social Services in Scotland', (1979), pp.20-1.

16. Cunnison and Gilfillan, op.cit., p.864.

17. Slaven, op.cit., p.150.

18. The 'ticket' was a plate which inspectors set at
    entrances specifying the maximum number
    of occupants. It was gauged on the cubic
    capacity of the house.

19. Glasgow District Council Housing Plan, No.1, (1977).

20. C. Jones, 'Population Decline in Cities' in C. Jones
    (Ed.)'Urban Deprivation and the Inner City'
    (1979), p.198.

21. Checkland, op.cit., p.72.

22. R.A. Henderson, 'Industrial Overspill from Glasgow',
    Urban Studies (1974).

23. J. Smith, 'The Grievances of Working Classes and the
    pauper and Crime of Glasgow with their
    Causes, Extent and Remedies', (1846).

24. S. Laidlaw, 'Glasgow Common Lodging-Houses and the
    People Living in Them', (1956), p.66.

25. Cunnison and Gilfillan, op.cit., pp.484-6.

26. Laidlaw, op.cit., p.233.

27. Ibid., p.237.

28. Glasgow District Council, Housing Management Department,
    1977 Report, p.48.

29. P.W. Digby, 'Hostels and Lodgings for Single People',
    (1976).

INTRODUCTION TO PART TWO

This part of the thesis forms the main bulk of
the originality of this work. Over a period stretching
from April, 1980, to September, 1981, information was
obtained from a variety of statutory and voluntary
sources by a combination of personal interviews and
letters. Of the four chapters in this part, chapters
five and six are the most original. In chapter five
four main areas of statutory provision for the single
homeless are examined - social work, housing, social
security, and health. In chapter six a similar examin-
ation is made of seven voluntary organisations - the
Simon Community, the Wayside Club, the Salvation Army,
the Talbot Association, the Church of Scotland, the
Scottish Council for Single Homeless, and the Glasgow
Council for Single Homeless. Broadly, three main areas
are investigated - the financing, philosophy/function,
and structure of these bodies. While these eleven bodies
by no means constitute all of the work done in this field,
and this is acknowledged in chapter four, it is generally
recognised that they are the most important. In addition,
chapter seven looks at the District lodging house/hostel
provision as well as reviewing the evidence regarding the
residents of these various establishments. Finally,
chapter four takes a broad perspective of provision for
the single homeless in order to pose some of the main
issues.

CHAPTER FOUR

OVERVIEW

4.1 - THE LEGISLATION

There are two main reasons why the amount of legislation specifically relating to the single homeless is very limited. The first, as was argued in chapter one, is that there is a lack of political will. The second is more technical in that the single homeless themselves are such a diverse group of people with differing needs. The result of the latter is that legislation about other social issues may affect a particular aspect of the single homeless situation. The 1959 Mental Health Act (1960 in Scotland) was one example of this. More especially, Vagrancy, Criminal Justice, and Social Security Acts tend to be the areas of legislation that most directly affect the single homeless.

The impact of this legislative haze upon provision for the single homeless is that the single homeless have tended to fall between many organisations so that none accept any kind of main responsibility. For example, the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act does not include the single homeless as a priority group for which accommodation is to be secured by the housing authorities, unless in addition they suffer from some particular disability, or the like, that would make them highly vulnerable. Consequently, there have been wide variations in the application of the Act with Glasgow including the able-bodied single homeless as a priority category but others, such as Edinburgh, disregarding them in this area. This is one of the reasons why the Scottish Council for Single Homeless was set up, in order to press for clarification and change in the law regarding the single homeless.

4.2 - THE STRUCTURE OF PROVISION

(a) Background

Although London is the political centre of Britain, for practical purposes much of the political focus in Scotland is centred on the Scottish Office in Edinburgh. This focus is derived from the 1707 Act of Union because Scotland, despite this union with England, retained her own separate legal, religious, and educational systems. The continued feelings of Scottishness embodied in these separate systems were eventually reflected in some form of political concession, resulting in the setting up of the Scottish Office in 1885. From small beginnings its functions have grown so that:

> 'By 1978 the Scottish Office had grown to a
> huge government department of 11,000 civil
> servants with a budget of £3,000 million
> per annum.'[1]

Nearly all the functions of the Scottish Office are divided between five main departments and one Central Services department. Most critically, the Scottish Office through the Scottish Development Department has responsibility for local government.

Local government in Scotland, as established under the 1973 Local Government (Scotland) Act, is a two-tier system of Regions and Districts. The top tier authorities are the Regions. There are nine of them and they are responsible for overall planning strategy and highly technical or expensive services such as transport, and education. There are 53 District authorities constituting the lower tier of local government. Most of their functions are fairly localised, such as parks and museums, although arguably their most important single responsibility is that for housing. Some functions such as industrial development are operated jointly by both

tiers. In addition in some areas there is a further tier
of community councils. They are not really local authorities
and have no real powers. Their existence depends upon the
emphasis a particular District is putting upon community
involvement. Edinburgh, for example, has virtually no
community councils. Finally, there are three all purpose
Islands Authorities in the far north that have responsibility
for all Region and District functions except the police and
fire.

(b) Specific Responsibilities

London   DHSS   Figure Two

        Edinburgh   Scottish Office

                Scottish   Scottish   Scottish Education
                Home and   Development   Dept.
                Health   Dept.   (Social Work
                Dept.   Services Group).

                Local   Greater   Glasgow   Strathclyde Region
                Social   Glasgow   District   Social Work Dept.
                Security   Health   Housing
Glasgow   Offices   Board   Dept.

                SOCIAL   HEALTH   HOUSING   SOCIAL WORK
                SECURITY
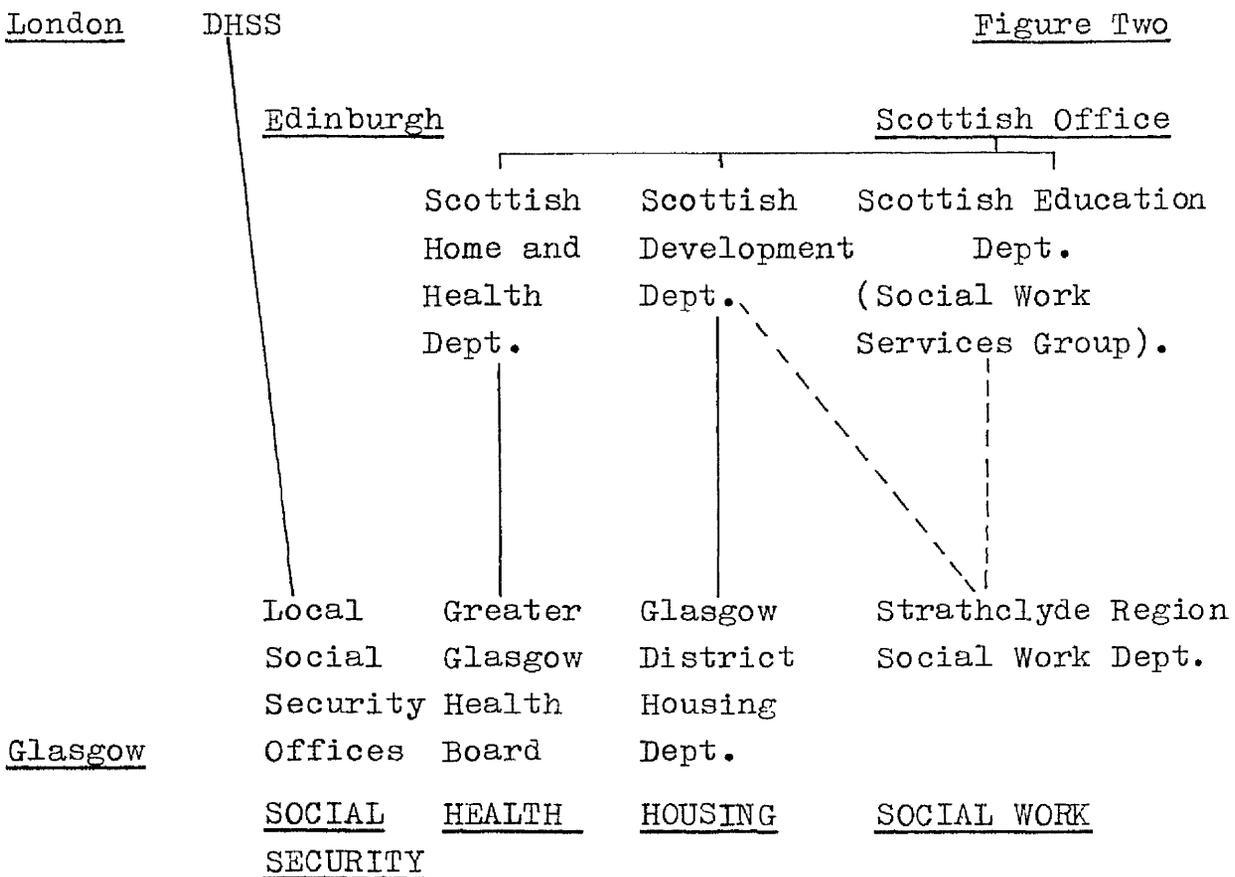
    As can be seen from the above simplified diagram the
four areas of housing, health, social work, and social
security are the responsibility of various levels of the

governmental system. Social security (i.e. the payment of
cash benefits) is controlled by central government in
London through the Department of Health and Social
Security. The Scottish Office, through two of its five
main departments, has responsibility for health and
housing. The Scottish Home and Health Department in
collaboration with the fifteen Area Health Boards in
Scotland is responsible for health. The Scottish Develop-
ment Department along with the District and Island local
authorities is responsible for housing. The administration
of the social work function is slightly more complicated.
Although social work responsibility rests with the Region
and Island local authorities the Scottish Office still
has an important subsidiary function. Within the Scottish
Education Department the Social Work Services Group
provides central support services, as well as the collection
of statistical information, for the social work services.
In addition, in its capacity as having responsibility for
local government, the Scottish Development Department
may exercise an indirect influence. This latter point will
become clearer in the next section.

4.3 - THE FINANCING OF PROVISION

The purpose of this section is twofold - firstly, to
explain how the statutory social services are financed,
and secondly, to determine within this the statutory
sources of finance available to voluntary organisations
concerned with single homelessness.

(a) Financing the Statutory Social Services

Nearly half of the total public expenditure in
Scotland is taken by the five main areas of state social
service provision, namely, social security, health,
housing, social work, and education. Of these, social
security benefits are by far the largest single item.[2]

As was seen, responsibility for each area is variously
divided between central and local government with support
from the voluntary services.

Each level of government has two sources of finance -
internal and external. It is beyond the scope of this
thesis to discuss extensively how central government
raises finance, suffice to say there are four basic ways -
taxation, user charges, borrowing, and credit creation.[3]
What is of greater relevance is how central government
distributes the resources at its disposal.

Basically there are three sources of finance for local
government - central government grants, internal taxation
in the form of rates, and service charges such as rents.
Unlike central government, taxation is not the major
finance-provider for local government. For an average
Scottish local authority the breakdown contribution of
each source is 20% rates, 10% charges, and 70% central
government subsidy.[4] Clearly, therefore, local govern-
ment is heavily dependent, financially, on central
government. The procedure of financing local government
usually operates as follows:

> 'Firstly, central government via the Scottish
> Office determines the total amount they are
> willing to spend in support of local government
> services. In the light of information on the
> grants they will receive, local authorities
> must then decide how much revenue they will
> raise from their own taxation - the rates.
> While this will determine total local govern-
> ment expenditure, the share that will accrue
> to each of the social services will depend on
> the competing claims of other services at the
> local level.'[5]

There are two types of central government financial
support for local government. One is specific grants to
help expenditure on certain services such as council
housing. Most of the support, however, comes in the
shape of a block grant unrelated to a specific expenditure
pattern – the rate support grant. Three elements comprise
the rate support grant – the 'needs' element, which is
designed to give most help to those authorities whose
spending needs are greatest; the 'resources' element,
which is used to supplement the rate income of certain
authorities whose rateable value per head of population
falls below a standard figure prescribed for each year;
and the 'domestic' element, which compensates authorities
for the loss of rate income from the reduction in rate
poundage which they are required to give to householders.

As can be seen from the above there is a good deal
of scope for central government to exercise political
control over local authority expenditure. This it has done
in recent years in order to force local authorities to
cut their expenditure in line with general government
economic policy. That it has been able to do so is partly
because of the nature of the rating system. Since rates
are a local tax paid by the occupiers of non-agricultural
land and buildings as a contribution to the cost of local
services, local authorities have been reluctant to impose
rates increases equivalent to the level of inflation
given the political and economic consequences of such
an action in terms of resentment from householders and
the closure of shops. Hence the rate has been a relatively
inflexible source of income for local authorities and as
a consequence local government dependence on central
government funding has been increasing.[6]

(b) Statutory Sources of Finance for Voluntary Bodies

Aside from their own fund-raising activities Scottish

voluntary organisations concerned with the single homeless can also acquire funding from five main statutory sources - the Scottish Office, the Urban Programme, the local authority Housing and Social Work Departments, and the Housing Corporation. In addition funding is also possible through the DHSS and the Health Boards although very little actually occurs in Scotland.

The Scottish Office through its Scottish Development Department has responsibility for providing loans and grants to registered housing associations, and grants through the Urban Programme. The former are paid, via the Housing Corporation or the local authority, for housing provision. Recently in this area joint funding has become possible whereby the Housing Corporation and the SDD can jointly fund the cost of the housing element as well as the support and caring services. As for the latter the Urban Programme was started in the late 1960s as part of a general government commitment to directing resources to areas deemed to be most in need. The main aspect of the Programme is Urban Aid whereby extra cash is allocated to needy areas. Depending on the terms of the relevant Urban Aid Circular, projects are approved first by the local authority and then the SDD. The local authority then pays the costs to be later reimbursed by the SDD of 75 per cent of the total cost.

At the local level, Strathclyde Regional Council has powers under various Acts of Parliament to make grants to voluntary organisations. Broadly, priority is given to projects that are involved in areas where the Council has already identified a special need. All applications to the Regional Council for grants are generally submitted before the 30th of November, prior to the next financial year.[7] Within the Region, the

Social Work Committee considers applications from a
variety of voluntary organisations. More particularly,
under section 10 of the Social Work (Scotland) Act
1968, the Department can make a direct grant to voluntary
organisations providing residential accommodation for the
single homeless alongside a supportive personal social
service. Under the same section the Social Work Department
in collaboration with the voluntary organisations can
apply to the Scottish Office for funding under the Urban
Programme.[8]

Under section 13 of the Housing (Homeless Persons)
Act 1977 the District Housing Department can provide
funds to projects shown to be innovative and of wider
applicability. For example, in 1980 the Glasgow District
Housing Department granted Link Housing Association
£4,000 to commission a feasibility study from ASSIST
Architects to consider the possibility of converting and
improving about fifty flats in the Kingsridge/Cleddens
area of the Drumchapel estate.[9] In addition, outwith
the legislation, Glasgow District Housing Department and
Strathclyde Region Social Work Department at present
operate a joint 50-50 funding arrangement for voluntary
organisations providing accommodation.

Health Boards are another possible funding source
under section 64 of the 1968 Health Services and Public
Health Act, although little funding has occurred. Finally,
under schedule 5 of the Supplementary Benefits Act 1976
as amended by the 1980 Social Security Act, the DHSS
can make grants to voluntary organisations providing
resettlement for people without a settled way of life,
but this is not a main source in Scotland.

The major point to be made about this section is
that each individual voluntary organisation is funded
from a variety of sources. For example, the Glasgow
Association for Mental Health has been funded through

Urban Aid and the Social Work Department. The reasons
for such multiplicity are fairly obvious. In a time
of public expenditure cutbacks funds are necessarily
limited, hence voluntary organisations feel the need
to cast their net as wide as possible . More basically
it may well be that the work carried out by a particular
voluntary body is of interest and concern to various
statutory bodies who may feel obliged to make a con-
tribution. The Scottish Council for Single Homeless is
a reasonable example of this.

4.4 - TYPES OF PROBLEMS

It is generally reckoned by most people working in
the field that there are approximately 2,500 people in
Glasgow who can be categorised as 'single homeless'.[10]
Thus given a general population in Glasgow of around
770,000, slightly over 0.3 percent of the total Glasgow
population are 'single homeless'.Yet within this small
percentage there is a tremendous diversity of types,
with homelessness,poverty, and loneliness being the
only real common factors. The official definition of
the single homeless[11]may well include those sleeping
rough, those using lodging houses and hostels, and those
using Reception Centres (Resettlement Units), but it does
not indicate that the term:

> '..can cover a..variety of single people ranging
> from the socially competent single person who has
> suddenly lost his..accommodation and has difficulty
> in finding the self contained or shared accommodation
> he seeks, through the many in accommodation where
> they have no security of tenure at all and may
> find themselves suddenly homeless, and those
> in hospitals and prisons, who have no home to
> return to on discharge, to those for whom actual
> rootlessness is almost a way of life. The label

identifies only a need for accommodation,
though the groups covered by the label
include..many people who have other needs.
The way of life of some of these may be
so unsettled or so far removed from society's
norms that they are seen as 'needing' special
services to help them, though how far they
will themselves accept any services provided
is also a factor that must be taken into
account.'[12]

4.5 - TYPES OF PROVISION

Provision for the single homeless can be categorised
into five types - finance, support services, medical services,
accommodation, and specialist services.

Finance (i.e. income maintenance) is provided by the
DHSS, and until 1980 was almost totally through the
Supplementary Benefits Commission. This payment is usually
in the form of a cheque or occasionally a voucher, and
the amount paid is sufficient to cover accommodation, meals,
and incidental expenses for the claimant.

Support services are provided mainly by the Social
Work Department, with help from some voluntary organisations.
In the single homeless field specifically, the Social Work
Department operates a homemaker scheme in Glasgow, whereby
suitable single homeless men are taught how to cope with
ordinary 'housewife' chores. More importantly, a Single
Homeless Unit was set up within the Social Work Department
in order to make such support services more effective.
These services usually take the general form of personal
advice and counselling. Voluntary organisations such as
the Wayside Club also perform a type of advice and
counselling service.

Medical services for the single homeless are usually

at the General Practitioner level, although the Casualty
Departments of General Hospitals often have to cope with
emergency admissions and slight injuries.

There is a wide diversity of accommodation provided
for the single homeless. Lodging houses and hostels are
the main type of available accommodation. In Glasgow
there are a total of fourteen such places providing a
total of 2,600 beds.[13] They are provided by the District
Council, the Salvation Army, and private establishments.
Three of these fourteen are for women.

There are three night shelters in Glasgow. Two are
for men run by the Talbot Association, and the Church of
Scotland providing around 130 places in total. Talbot also
administer an emergency night shelter for women catering
for between ten to fifteen women.

Resettlement Units are administered by the DHSS.
There are 23 Resettlement Units throughout Britain the
aim of them being to encourage people to lead a more
settled way of life. The only one in Scotland is at
Bishopbriggs with accommodation for 63 men.

The Simon Community and the Talbot Association
also provide more specialised types of accommodation
usually with a rehabilitative element of therapy evident.
Such voluntary accommodation is usually small catering
for between eight and fifteen people, and in total
around 100 people are sheltered in this way.

Specialist services, catering for people with particular
problems such as alcoholism, are also available. This is
carried out by both statutory and voluntary organisations.
There are two approved de-toxification centres in Britain
at Manchester run by the Health Authority and in Leeds
by the St. Anne's Shelter and Housing Action Limited.
Voluntary and a few local authority managed hostels for
alcoholics also operate throughout the country. The Glasgow
Association for Mental Health and the Scottish Association

for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders (SACRO) are
other examples of such work.

Finally, it should be emphasised that some of the
voluntary organisations combine such types of provision.
Talbot, for example, operate a night shelter as well as
specialised help for alcoholics.

4.6 - FRINGE ORGANISATIONS

Given the limits of time, space, and money it has
proved impossible to cover every organisation in Glasgow
that has an involvement with the single homeless. Hence
this section outlines the work of some fringe organisations
which contribute to the services for single homeless
people.

(a) The Voluntary Services

(i) Women's Royal Voluntary Service

The WRVS is mainly involved in providing furniture
for homeless people. They receive some requests from the
Single Homeless Unit of the Social Work Department for
furniture. The WRVS depend completely on the donations
of the general public. They rely on the Homeless Persons
Unit of the Housing Department to provide the necessary
transport for the moving of this furniture.

(ii) Society of St. Vincent de Paul

The Society was established in 1848 as a charitable
organisation within the Roman Catholic Church. Its main
general purpose is to give financial relief to the poor.
The main work of the Society is carried out from the
Ozanam Centre at Candleriggs where a Special Works
Conference of the Society caters for their needs in the
shape of providing clothing and footwear for about fifty
or sixty men on a Thursday evening. There are also
facilities available to the men for shower baths and the
young Vincentians operate a soup run at George Square.

(iii) Glasgow Cathedral Group

At the beginning of 1973 members of the congregation of Glasgow Cathedral organised a soup run on Monday evenings outside the Church Hall. About 100 men are assisted each night.

(iv) Glasgow Council for Voluntary Service

This independent voluntary organisation has as one of its major aims the tackling of problems associated with poverty and urban deprivation. Founded in 1974 the GCVS has various roles - it provides a forum for the exchange of ideas; it initiates and supports action in response to current needs; it provides practical help, information, and advice; and generally it encourages the growth of the voluntary services. Its members include statutory and voluntary organisations. Hence it can and does act as a mediator and co-ordinator between the two. As was mentioned in chapter one, the GCVS is supported by Strathclyde Regional Council with funds provided under the Urban Programme, and by the Carnegie UK Trust.

The GCVS has made various contributions in the field of single homelessness. For example, it chaired the working party which led to the formation of the Glasgow Council for Single Homeless.

(v) Shelter

Shelter is the major national charity concerned with all kinds of housing need. Shelter's concern is therefore wider than simply homelessness, and covers anyone who has a housing problem. Shelter Housing Aid Centres in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, and Glasgow are the main focus of this. Sometimes SHACs simply give information and advice but often they give practical help in the form of, say, preparing a defence against eviction, or talking to local councillors. SHACs are particularly involved on the statutory

side with the Housing and Social Work Departments.
More generally, SHACs are also part of Shelter's
national campaign for better housing laws and govern-
ment policies. This included a pressure group campaign
to ensure that the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act
would apply to Scotland. Shelter's Research and Inform-
ation Section is important in spreading information about
the everyday effects of new laws or policies.

(vi) The Iona Community

The Iona Community is no longer involved with the
single homeless but at one time in the early 1970s
the Community House at Clyde Street was used as a meeting
place for many organisations. The involvement of its
Warden with the Consortium for the Relief of the Adult
Single Homeless (CRASH) was crucial to this more general
commitment to various causes. During the day the Community
House was used as a day centre by the clients of lodging
houses, night shelters, and those sleeping rough. The
philosophy of the Community House was that of:

> '..a caring organisation to the many severely
> under-privileged people with whom the House
> comes in contact. These people include the
> single homeless, the alcoholic, the homo-
> sexual, the ex-prisoner and the mentally ill,
> for many their circumstances of poverty,
> isolation and loneliness are dire, and their
> physical, social and spiritual needs great.'[14]

(vii) Specialist Organisations

Although none of the following are specifically
linked with current single homeless projects,[15] their
area of remit covers aspects of some of the character-
istics of the single homeless.

For the alcoholic there are among others Alcoholics Anonymous, the Glasgow Council on Alcoholism, and the Sanctuary Rehabilitation Association.

For the ex-offender there is the Scottish Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders.

For the mentally ill there is the Glasgow Association for Mental Health.

For young people there is the Council for Housing Young People.

(b) The Statutory Services

As was discussed in chapter two although the police have been involved in this area in the past their present commitment is being increasingly reduced culminating in the 1980 Criminal Justice (Scotland) Act which in theory will further limit police involvement by establishing 'designated places' for such offenders rather than place them in prison.

Despite having a remit for greater involvement the role of the Department of Employment is not great. Many lodging house residents are dependent on casual work in the catering trade and the wages are often very low. A CHAR survey in 1978 of supplementary benefits in England indicated that the Manpower Services Commission offered few job opportunities to homeless claimants unemployed for a long period of time.

4.7 - CONCLUSIONS

Three main conclusions can be drawn from this chapter. Firstly, the emphasis of the legislation towards the single homeless indicates a lack of recognition that the main problem facing single homeless people is home-lessness. Instead, other problems such as those relating to drink have been emphasised. Secondly, given that local government is financially tightly controlled by

central government and that central government is
determined to cut public expenditure, two different
implications follow. One is that it would seem reasonable
to suggest that, if possible, voluntary organisations
should try and become less dependent on statutory sources
of finance. On the other hand, the relative cheapness of
the voluntary services may make central and local govern-
ment look favourably upon voluntary organisations and
thereby increase their dependence on statutory funding.
Thirdly, overwhelmingly the main type of accommodation
being offered to the single homeless is still that of
large hostels, lodging houses, and night shelters.

NOTES TO CHAPTER FOUR.

1. J.G. Kellas, 'Central and Local Government' in
        J. English and F.M. Martin (Eds.), 'Social
        Services in Scotland' (1979), p.6.

2. D. Dawson, 'Financing the Social Services', in
        English and Martin, ibid., pp.40-1.

3. J.F. Sleeman, 'Resources for the Welfare State' (1979),
        pp.34-9.

4. R. Young, 'The Search for Democracy' (1977) p.21.

5. D. Dawson, op.cit., p.42.

6. Sleeman, op.cit., p.65.

7. Strathclyde Regional Council pamphlet.

8. Consortium for the Relief of the Adult Single Homeless
        (CRASH) Report (1976), ch.4.

9. Scottish Council for Single Homeless newsletter, April
        1981, no.12.

10. Glasgow Council for Single Homeless, Annual Report
        (1981), p.12.

11. National Assistance Board, 'Homeless Single People'
        (1965), p.3.

12. CRASH, op.cit., ch.1.

13. Evening Times, April 21, (1981).

14. CRASH, op.cit., ch.3.

15. It should be noted, however, that some of these
        organisations such as SACRO are members
        of the Glasgow Council for Single Homeless.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE STATUTORY SERVICES

5.1 - SOCIAL WORK

(a) Background

The Social Work Services emerged from the gradual
break-up of the Poor Law during the first half of the
twentieth century. By 1948 the National Assistance Act
had made local authorities specifically responsible for
the provision of welfare services for groups such as the
homeless. More specifically, under Part III of the Act,
the duty was imposed on every local authority through
the personal social services to provide two sorts of
accommodation:

> '(a) Residential accommodation for persons who
>   by reason of age, infirmity, or any other
>   circumstances are in need of care and
>   attention which is not otherwise available
>   to them;
>
> (b) Temporary accommodation for persons who are
>   in urgent need thereof, being need arising
>   in circumstances which could not reasonably
>   have been foreseen or in such other cir-
>   cumstances as the authority may in any
>   particular case determine.'[1]

As a result, four main types of accommodation were provided
none of which specifically applied to the single homeless.
Residential accommodation came in the shape of hostels
for the mentally disordered and the elderly. Temporary
accommodation was provided for families and for the
young.[2]

Despite such responsibility, during the 1950s there
was no Social Work Department in Scotland. Such social
welfare work was fragmented between other departments
such as health, child care, and welfare. Moreover as

recently as fifteen years age:

'..there were scarcely more than one hundred
professionally qualified social workers in
Scottish local authorities.'[3]

During the late 1950s and early 1960s, however,
increasing emphasis began to be put on the notion of
common principles and methods, irrespective of the area
of practical application.[4] Such an emphasis gained
ground more quickly in Scotland than south of the Border.
The starting point was the establishment of the Kilbrandon
Committee in 1961 to look into the treatment of juvenile
delinquents and those thought to be at risk. By the time
the subsequent Kilbrandon Report[5] was published in
1964 recommending the establishment of lay children's
panels what was most significant was that a new Labour
Government had been elected. More particularly:

'..responsibility for dealing with the report
fell to Mrs. Judith Hart, an energetic Under
Secretary in the Scottish Office whose remit
included the personal social services..She
recognised the possibility of carrying through
a very far-reaching piece of reform within
Scotland and argued..that, instead of implement-
ing the Kilbrandon proposals in isolation, the
opportunity should be taken to re-shape quite
fundamentally the personal social services
of Scottish local authorities.'[6]

The resultant 1966 white paper 'Social Work and the
Community'[7] eventually led to the creation of separate
Social Work Departments under the 1968 Social Work
(Scotland) Act. The new departments came into being in
1969 with the principle objective, as expressed in
Section 12(1) of the 1968 Act, being:

'to promote social welfare by making available
advice, guidance and assistance on such a scale
as may be appropriate for their area.'[8]

To achieve this the new departments took over responsibility
for child care, welfare, mental health, probation and after
care, prison welfare, and hospital social work. Similar
trends in England, with the 1968 Report of the Seebohm
Committee into the organisation and responsibilities of
the local authority social services,[9] led to the
establishment of Social Services Departments in 1971
although probation was kept separate.

(b) Structure

The Social Work Department of Strathclyde Region is
divided into five Divisions, one of which is the Glasgow
Division. At this Division level, overall allocation and
distribution decisions about such things as the supportive
services are made. Under the Division, there is a further
sub-division into six Districts. Each District is further
divided into Area Offices. Within the Central District
a separate Unit catering for the Single Homeless was
established in 1978. Although the Single Homeless Unit
is in some ways equivalent to an ordinary Area Office
one significant difference is that the Unit is Urban
Aid funded whereas most of the other Area Offices are
funded normally by Strathclyde Region. Generally the
Area Office is the casework front-line of the Department.

(c) Provision

The Single Homeless Unit is situated at 48 St.
Andrew's Square. The staff consists of a Project Leader,
a Senior Social Worker, four Project Workers, one
Research Worker, and Clerical Support. It is mainly
concerned with those single homeless generally described
as 'vagrants and down and outs'. Other groups such as

the young single homeless are still usually dealt with
by the ordinary Area teams. The main service that the
Unit offers Area Social Workers who find themselves
dealing with single homeless clients is the provision
of advice and information about available services and
such like. More particularly the Unit is aiming to:

'1.   establish an advice/counselling/social
work support services based in a City
Centre office, night shelters and lodging
houses,

2.   evolve a support and development function
to assist primarily the non-statutory
organisations in this field, and

3.   research aspects of homelessness to assist
both with the prevention of homelessness
and in future City development planning.'[10]

Underlying the origins of the Unit was the belief that
the single homeless received a very low priority from Area
social work teams.

Since the passing of the 1977 Housing (Homeless
Persons) Act (discussed in the next section), one aspect
of the work of the Social Work Department in the area of
homelessness has become that of supporting the Housing
Department. More particularly in the autumn of 1980 'the
Homemaker Scheme' was established, whereby six homemakers
were appointed by the Single Homeless Unit to assist with
the rehousing of hostel and resettlement unit residents.
The homemakers work with residents individually and collectively
in the institution before the residents move into their own
accommodation. After this, such support and assistance con-
tinues for at least three months.

5.2 - HOUSING

(a) Background

Since housing provision is discussed in chapter eight,

what is of more immediate interest is an explanation of
how housing and social work came to co-ordinate their
work in the field of single homelessness and how in that
partnership housing came to be given the primary respons-
ibility.

As was seen from the previous section social work
was given responsibility primarily for providing residential
accommodation for the elderly and temporary accommodation
for families and children by the 1948 National Assistance
Act, and the later 1968 Social Work (Scotland) Act.
Although housing had no specific responsibility in this
field, various Acts such as the 1966 Housing (Scotland)
Act:

> '..imposed a general duty on authorities to
> review housing conditions and needs in their
> districts and to submit to the Secretary of
> State, as necessary, proposals for the provision
> of housing accommodation.'[11]

Meanwhile, various studies carried out during the 1960s
such as those by John Greve[12] and Bryan Glastonbury[13]
were indicating that homelessness could not be catered for
by merely providing temporary accommodation. What was
needed, it was viewed, was the provision of permanent
housing for large numbers, and this could only be done by
the housing authorities. So that by the late 1960s two
parallel trends were apparent. Firstly, evidence was being
accumulated indicating that the problem of homelessness
was increasing. Secondly, there was a movement towards
more co-ordinated management structures embodied in such
documents as the Seebohm Report.

By the early 1970s the homeless problem had come to a
head in England when:

> '..a late amendment to a routine Local Government
> Act reduced the limited duty which local authorities
> had to the homeless to a discretionary power..

> this amendment provoked five voluntary bodies
> and pressure groups concerned with homelessness
> to mount a campaign to reimpose a clear duty
> and switch it from social services to housing
> authorities.'[14]

Put another way while the amendment did not really reduce
the practical responsibilities of local authorities, the
pressure groups used the potential cloudiness of the
legislation to launch their already intended campaign.
The impact of this pressure was that by 1974 the new
Labour Government stated there would be an official review
of the problem.

In the same year, in response to the trend towards
co-ordination evident within the Social Services Departments
in England, a joint English Circular was produced by the
DHSS and the Department of the Environment:

> 'The prevention and relief of homelessness is a
> function of Local Government as a whole and
> not of either Housing Authorities or Service
> Authorities alone. Only a corporate and
> collaborative approach with appropriate machinery
> to ensure it works can in practice span the
> range of needs of the homeless..'[15]

In similar vein in Scotland, the Morris Report in 1975
advocated the need for housing and social work to co-operate
in the homelessness field.[16] It was from the failure of the
1974 joint Circular that the next step occurred - the
Housing (Homeless Persons) Act. With the passing of this
legislation in 1977 responsibility for residential and
temporary accommodation was finally transferred to the
housing authorities. Such is the importance of this Act
that a lengthy quote is appropriate. Basically:

> 'The Act put into law six clear principles from
> previous Government policy:

1. Responsibility for providing for the homeless should rest with housing authorities...

2. The housing authority for the area in which the person is homeless or under threat of homelessness should deal with his or her application and should not shunt the applicant to another authority without agreed arrangements having been made for the person's accommodation..

3. Accommodation should be secured by housing authorities for specified priority categories, including those made homeless in an emergency such as fire, flood or disaster, families with dependent children living with them or in care, and those vulnerable as a result of old age, mental or physical disability, pregnancy or other special reason. No one in these priority categories should be left on the streets by a housing authority.

4. No family should ever be split on grounds of homelessness, except where strong social work advice on particular cases is to the contrary..

5. Battered women with children should be treated as homeless and therefore as in priority need..

6. Some form of help should be afforded by housing authorities to all homeless people.'[17]

In addition:

'Section 4(2) of the Act required housing authorities to provide advice and appropriate assistance to applicants who are homeless or threatened with homelessness and either not in priority need or judged to be intentionally homeless.'[18]

From the above it can be seen that there is nothing
specific in the legislation relating to the average
able-bodied single homeless person other than that he be
afforded 'advice and appropriate assistance.' Later, in
response to pressure from voluntary organisations such
as the umbrella Scottish Homeless Group, the Scottish
Office issued a Code of Guidance, regarding the 1977 Act,
that put rather more emphasis on the needs of the single
homeless although no changes were made to the Act. In
England the Department of Environment also issued a
Code of Guidance although it was less specific than the
Scottish Code.

(b) Structure

The Housing Department is situated in Lomond House
at 9 George Square. At present the Department is setting
up Area Offices throughout the City. Within the Head Office
in Lomond House, the Department is headed by a Director.
Under the Director there is a main division of functions
between 'Operations' and 'Resource Planning'. Within the
'Operations' division there are three sub-sections -
'Private Sector', 'Services', and 'Allocation and Tenure'.
Although the 'Services' section caters for the lodging
house and hostel provision, homelessness comes under the
'Allocation and Tenure' section. It is within this section
that the Homeless Persons Unit operates.

(c) Provision

Established in 1978 the Homeless Persons Unit was
set up to administer the 1977 Act. Hence it has a wider
area of concern than simply single person homelessness.
There are four basic responses made by the Unit once a
person or family is considered homeless. Three kinds of
accommodation are provided - 40 flats throughout the
City, 48 flats at Keppochill Road catering for approximately
140 people, and the offer of bed and breakfast at a variety
of hotels. Such temporary accommodation is provided until

other, more permanent, arrangements can be made. The
fourth response is to give help and advice about acquiring
accommodation in lodging houses and hostels as another
temporary measure.

Although the 1977 Act was rather vague regarding the
single homeless, Glasgow District policy has been to regard
them as a priority category. In practical terms, this means
that the single homeless will be offered mainstream council
housing, if they are ready, without having to wait. Such
suitability for mainstream housing is assessed by the
combined efforts of the Housing and Social Work Departments.
This policy has been in operation since January, 1980, and
up to June 1981 around 350 people have been housed. With
the help of the Social Work 'Homemaker Scheme' the policy
has been a success and not only are 90% still in their
houses but:

> 'There have been no significant problems of rent
> arrears or anti-social behaviour.'[19]

One problem, however, has been that despite the success
of this policy the take-up rate of beds per night in the
lodging houses and hostels has not lowered and remains
at 95%. Although the closure of the Abercromby Street
lodging house and the loss of 200 beds contributed to this,
a more significant factor has been the very high percentage
(15 to 20%) of referrals that Glasgow has received from
outside Districts indicating that people are being directed
to Glasgow in order to take advantage of this 'liberal'
policy. In turn it should be added that arguably the main
reason why Glasgow adopted a 'liberal' policy was the
number of empty two and three-apartment properties it had.
Another possible reason for the high take-up of beds spaces
is the level of unemployment in the City, around 13%, but
this is as yet hard to determine. The net result is that
Glasgow housing is in high demand and during 1980 there

was a waiting list of over 500 from the District lodging
houses and hostels.

5.3 - SOCIAL SECURITY

(a) Structure

Although social security is the responsibility of
central government, it has a highly decentralised structure.
Of the 70,000 civil servants involved in the administration
of the system, less than 3,000 are involved in central
administration which includes such things as policy making.
It is in the regional and local offices that the major
part of the work is carried out:

> 'There are ten regional offices in England
> controlling about 600 local offices, and
> 'central offices' in Scotland and Wales
> covering another hundred or so local offices
> each. Most of the remaining staff work in two
> large offices in Newcastle and Blackpool, which
> maintain central records of national insurance
> and war pensions respectively.'[20]

Therefore it can be said that the system tries to combine
local implementation with uniform administration.

To achieve this three methods of control are used
- direct, indirect, and appellate.[21] The direct controls
include such things as line management whereby the manager
of a local office is responsible to regional controllers
who are in turn responsible eventually to the headquarters
of the DHSS and the Secretary of State. Therefore the
regional office links the local office to the headquarters
divisions. Staff training is the most obvious type of
indirect control. Finally, appeals can be made against
case decisions and maladministration:

> '..to an administrative tribunal of three people,
> none of them civil servants, appointed by the
> secretary of state and convened by the regional
> or local office.'[22]

(b) Provision

There are only three special offices run by the DHSS for the single homeless. Two are in London and the other is in Glasgow. Situated at Minerva Street the Glasgow office was set up in October, 1959. At that time itinerant fraud was rife and as static fraud was increasing as well among lodging house dwellers it was felt necessary to create one office to combat fraud and deal exclusively with single homeless persons. This emphasis has continued for the last twenty years exemplified by a recent statement from Lynda Chalker, the DHSS Under Secretary:

'Benefit Officers are expected to maintain a "greater control of the fraud and abuse which occurs in a proportion of those claims"'.[23]

Such special offices are claimed to have two further advantages:

'1. Special Offices provide greater control of frequently changing claims and provide a better service for the more complex needs and problems of single homeless claimants.

2. The "anti-social habits and appearance" of some of these men are liable to upset other claimants in local offices," particularly women and those with children".'[24]

Rather than go into great detail about the regulations regarding payments for the single homeless, it would perhaps be more helpful to outline the type of payments available. Under the new Supplementary Benefits system most people staying in lodging houses and hostels are paid a weekly amount for board and lodging, and a weekly personal allowance to cover the claimant's normal weekly needs that are not included in the board and lodging payment. In some cases where a claimant is thought to have 'failed to budget for charges for his board and lodging', a voucher may be

issued rather than a giro cheque. Such vouchers can only
be redeemed at the particular hostel or lodging house.
This procedure operates for people with an address to go
to.

Where a person has no address then Benefit Officers
are instructed that 'care is needed in dealing with an
unknown claimant'. Such an instruction has been given
because supplementary benefit must be paid to a claimant
whether or not they have an address. This takes the form
of an Urgent Needs Payment and while it can be paid
daily, in Glasgow it is usually paid weekly. The amount
is intended to be sufficient to cover accommodation, meals
and other expenses until a full assessment of the claimant's
needs is made.

At Minerva Street a staff of 37 operate. Although not
specially trained the staff now place much greater emphasis
on the resettlement and rehousing of homeless persons
than was previously the case. During a week the Office
makes payments to around 1,900 'live' cases (i.e. this is
the number they have on their books), and in addition
receives around 450 to 500 callers approximately one-
third of whom are of no fixed abode. The Office also runs
an appointment system, which is not the case in the London
Offices, whereby a person arriving at the Office can attend
an interview, give some verification, and then be paid all
on the same day.

(c) Bishopbriggs Resettlement Unit

The Reception Centre, as it was then called, was set
up in 1960 on an abandoned airfield site. Unfortunately
it is situated next to Lowmoss Prison and this would
hardly appear to be an ideal location. About 75 percent
of those going to the Unit are self-referrals, as opposed
to those directed there by a Benefit Officer because it
is believed they are 'leading an unsettled way of life'.
With the 1980 Social Security Act a fundamental change
has occurred in the procedure regarding such Units, because

staying in a Unit is now equivalent in law to claiming
supplementary benefit. The result is that:

> 'Task work - for example cleaning out the
> dormitories or dining room - is no longer
> a legal duty for people staying in Re-
> settlement Units, and residents are no
> longer liable to fines or imprisonment for
> failing to comply with Resettlement Unit
> regulations. However the regulations
> concerning entitlement, false claims, trade
> disputes etc. will also now apply to people
> in RUs..'[25]

Each claimant who has stayed in a Unit is paid £5.45 per
week to cover expenses. Such a payment starts after the
first two days. The Unit is assumed to be providing full
board outwith the payment.

With the increased emphasis on resettlement, the
practice of taking 'casuals' is being phased out. The
Bishopbriggs Unit, with 63 beds, usually adopts a six
month resettlement programme after which it is hoped the
man will be ready for the "outside'. Basically the procedure
is as follows . On admission a claimant will complete a
form to claim supplementary benefit and then will make a
more complete claim the following day. On the first night
the man is given a bath, a hot meal, and a bed, followed
by an interview the next day with one of the two Resettlement
Officers in the Unit. If the man decides he wishes to stay
he is informed of the House Rules such as behaving in a
'reasonable manner'. Each Officer sees the men about
once a week resulting in an individual caseload of around
30 per week. The men are encouraged to participate in
the running of the Unit.

Social Work is involved in the Unit and they operate
a Homemaker Course teaching people how to cope in the home.
Eight men are put on the Course at any one time. When a man

is deemed ready and a house is available the DHSS will provide cash for the man to get started. The gap between being ready and getting a house or flat is usually at most five days, and the usual amount of cash provided by the DHSS for furniture and the like is between £250 and £300.

5.4 – HEALTH

(a) Background

With the 1946 National Health Service Act (1947 in Scotland), a national system of health provision was founded based on six principles – optimum standards; comprehensive and universal coverage; services free of charge; general taxation financing; greater integration; and an implicit belief in freedom.[26] The result was a tripartite structure that aimed to combine efficiency and flexibility. Responsibility was divided between three types of authority – regional hospital boards, the largest local authorities, and executive councils. Regional hospital boards were responsible for hospitals, the local authorities for specialist services such as maternity services, and executive councils for general medical, dental, opthalmic and pharmaceutical services. The Scottish Office in Edinburgh was given overall responsibility for policy and finance in Scotland. Within this, private practice was permitted so that not all doctors had to join the National Health Service.

Such a structure had several repercussions:

'Although the three sectors were supposed to offer complementary services, the fact that they were separately managed, separately financed and employed groups of medical and related personnel on different terms and conditions gave rise to considerable difficulty

in ensuring the availability of an integrated
service in each area.'[27]

As a result, and in keeping with more general trends
towards integration, a Green Paper was published in
1968 by the Scottish Home and Health Department.[28]
Although by no means the first review of the administrative
structure, the proposals of this 1968 Paper eventually led
to the creation of a new structure under the National Health
Service (Scotland) Act, 1972.

(b) Structure

Three principles underlay the new structure:

'..to provide, in each part of Scotland, a single
health authority responsible for the provision of
all types of service; the creation of a professional
advisory system and of local health councils (to
represent respectively the views of producers and
consumers of service); and the creation of a
central planning mechanism through which both
the central department and Health Service authorities
could contribute to the development of forward
plans for the NHS.'[29]

Emphasis was also put on establishing clear links between
health and other local government services.

The new structure came into effect in 1974 and
established fifteen new Health Boards for Scotland to
take over from the three bodies previously responsible.
Each Board consists of between fifteen and thirty members
who are appointed by the Scottish Secretary of State after
a good deal of consultation. A team of chief officers
service each Board. Each Board covers a designated Area,
but where that Area boundary is judged to be too large
there is a further division into Districts. This occurs in
ten of the fifteen Boards in Scotland, and each District

has a similar set of officers to the Health Boards. The
Scottish Office in the shape of the Scottish Home and Health
Department oversees the structure which also includes the
previously mentioned planning and advisory bodies among
others. The aim here is the general one of more effective
resource allocation.

(c) Provision

The Greater Glasgow Health Board is divided into
five Districts - North, East, West, South-West, and
South-East:

> '..with a population of 1,082,000..deploying
> 14,529 staffed hospital beds, 555 consultants
> and specialists and 592 general practitioners.'[30]

Outwith the casualty department of a hospital there are
three main strands of primary medical care for the single
homeless - the Health Visitor, the District Nurse, and the
General Practitioner. The Health Visitors and District Nurses
have their own caseloads of people to cover within the separate
Districts, as well as covering the lodging houses and hostels.
For example District Nurses and Health Visitors from Rottenrow
Clinic visit Hope House, the Salvation Army hostel for women
in Clyde Street, as required. The most important District in
single homeless terms is the Eastern District because it is
here, around the Glasgow Cross area, that the highest con-
centration of lodging houses and hostels in the City
are to be found.[31] Ideally for each District one Health
Visitor and one District Nurse should have separate caseloads
of around 3,000 (i.e. they would visit a percentage of
3,000 people as required within their own area). In fact
in the Eastern District the caseload number is around
6,000 indicating that the number of Health Visitors and
District Nurses in the Eastern District is currently around
half strength. While most of the other Districts in Glasgow
are under-staffed the Eastern District is by far the worst

and it is possible that there is a certain reluctance on the part of some of the staff to work in this District because of the high concentration of lodging houses and hostels.

At the GP level, although the CRASH survey (see chapter seven) indicated that roughly 90 percent of the lodging house and hostel residents are on GP lists, there is evidence to suggest that some GPs in other areas are reluctant to cater for the single homeless. During the early part of 1980 the Department of the Environment's Housing Services Advisory Unit visited 74 lodging houses and hostels in England and found that:

> 'A fairly common theme to emerge during the visits was a reluctance by some local GPs to register hostel and lodging house residents - even those who had established a fairly long period at one address.'[32]

According to a very recent Community Health Council and CHAR survey the effect of this is to overload some GPs with large numbers of homeless people.[33] Another repercussion was:

> '..that the only access to medical care was seen as the local hospital casualty department.'[34]

Once again this has led to an overloading of facilities. It should be stated, however, that in Glasgow the single homeless do appear to receive reasonable medical treatment and such overloading is probably more likely in London.

In addition, three factors should be taken into account when discussing GP provision. Firstly, some of the single homeless make irregular use of the GP services, so that GPs have some justification in exercising their right of refusing to put a person on their list if that person is a 'temporary resident'. Secondly, the local nature of the GP system means that generalisations should be treated with

caution. In some places such as the Talbot Centre (see chapter six) in Glasgow the cover is very good with a GP weekly rota system of ten group practices operating. Finally, some GPs do give priority treatment to the single homeless. They do not have to wait or fix up an appointment (on the other hand this may indicate a desire to be rid of them as quickly as possible).

Although at present there is no specialised system of primary medical care for the single homeless in Glasgow, attempts have been made to create one. During the early 1970s the Iona Community opened a clinic, specifically catering for the single homeless, in their Community House. The principle underlying this clinic was the taking of medical services to the patient as a more effective system. This theme was taken up, not in Glasgow, but in Edinburgh. This was in part because Edinburgh University had traditionally used the Grassmarket area for research. Consequently an experimental scheme was established in the Grassmarket area in 1977. Implicit in this was the view that since the single homeless suffered disproportionately from certain illnesses,[35] therefore they should be given special consideration by way of 'compensation'. At a more mundane level, Dr. Una MacLean who evaluated the scheme stated:

> 'They are people who by the nature of things
> are disinclined to, or can't get on a bus
> and go and see a doctor.'[36]

A report has now been submitted to the Scottish Home and Health Department, recommending that the scheme become a permanent one after the success of this four year trial.

5.5 - CONCLUSIONS

Three main conclusions can be drawn from this chapter. Firstly, whereas provision for the single and rootless homeless has rested with the Poor Law and its descendants,

provision for homeless families has traditionally been regarded as a temporary need to be met by various welfare departments and later the social work services. By the 1970s, while the latter responsibility had been transferred to the housing authorities, no such legislative clarity had been achieved for the former category.

Secondly, on the question of health it can be speculated that there is a relationship between the other services and the general physical condition of the single homeless. For example, if the single homeless are unable to acquire their own secure and permanent housing they are probably more likely to wander about and get dirty or drunk. In short, the very reasons why some GPs may be reluctant to treat them. If this analysis is correct then the success of Glasgow's hostel policy should lessen the strain on the health services in this area.

Thirdly, leading on from this, housing, social work, and social security all now specialise their provision for the single homeless in Glasgow. While this fundamental issue will be discussed in chapter nine, a few comments can be made at this juncture.

While social security was the first to specialise, with the establishment of a special office in the late 1950s, such a change did not indicate a more enlightened approach. The aim was to combat fraud more effectively and hence in this respect reflects a more blinkered approach because it would seem to be yet another reflection of the long-standing caricature of the single homeless as being of criminal intent. What is perhaps even more interesting is that in recent years central government has attempted to justify the existence of such special offices in terms of later trends.

Traditionally specialisation has been seen as a 'natural' development from the move towards corporate structures of service provision embodied in the establishment of Social

Work Departments in the late 1960s and the local government
changes of the early 1970s. While this is broadly true
for the housing and social work services, a closer analysis
reveals a more complex picture. The Single Homeless Unit
was set up because the normal social work services were
not thought to be fully meeting the needs of the single
homeless. The Homeless Persons Unit was set up to administer
the Homeless Persons Act. In other words, specialisation in
the former occurred because the existing services were
'flawed', while in the latter specialisation occurred because
the existing services had been given a new responsibility.
So the evidence of this chapter suggests that specialisation
is a conscious decision and not necessarily the result of
administrative forces (see 9.2).

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28. Scottish Home and Health Department, 'Administrative
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33. ACHEW/CHAR Survey, 'Primary Medical Care Provision for
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36. Scotsman, May 11, 1981.

CHAPTER SIX.

THE VOLUNTARY SERVICES

6.1 - THE SIMON COMMUNITY

(a) History

> 'The Simon Community..was founded in 1963
> by Anton Wallich-Clifford because his
> experience as a probation officer had
> convinced him that the statutory services
> were inadequate to cope with the problems
> of destitution.'[1]

Its first location was in the East End of London. Since
then the Community has grown and there are at present
26 groups throughout the country. In 1970, as the
Community was growing, the National Cyrenians was
legally incorporated as a campaigning and co-ordinating
body for these largely autonomous groups.

The Community started in Glasgow in 1966 as a soup
run in George Square. Its first office was in Bath Street.
The Community now comprises three main community houses
at Parkhead, Maryhill and Broomielaw and a central office
at 133 Hill Street. The soup run is still in operation
but a night shelter/day centre complex was closed in 1978
and so far no alternative has been found, although a
'step' project was started by way of compensation.

(b) Philosophy

At its simplest the work of Simon is 'an experiment
in community living'.[2] Underlying this are two strands -
community living as a more desirable way of life, and
community living as an effective system of rehabilitation
for single homeless people. In more practical terms the

Simon Community believes that, for a proportion of single homeless people, providing only accommodation is not enough. Some need long-term social support. This support is given through the simple, caring environment of the Community. Three basic principles operate in the Community - the acceptance of the single homeless as they are rather than as society might wish them to be; the belief in a fully-participatory style of life whereby all members of the houses are equal partners; and anti-institutional houses that are small thereby enabling more time to be given to the development of personal relationships.

The democratic ideal pursued by the Simon Community bears more than a passing resemblance to the ideas put forward by Rousseau in his 'Social Contract' in that Rousseau's first principle for his ideal State is:

> '..that every man is entitled to take part
> in making decisions which all are required to
> obey..'[3]

It is believed by Simon that their Community can only flourish if its ideals are held in common. To achieve this requires extensive democracy of authority and with it responsibility:

> 'People need groups to BELONG to, to
> CONTRIBUTE to, and to DEVELOP in.'[4]

This full participation benefits both the Community and the individual at the same time.

(c) Provision

There are various stages in the Simon Community system of rehabilitation. The soup run at George Square running six nights per week and staffed by volunteers is the first point of contact for the Community. This is followed up by making the single homeless aware of what the Community and other agencies can offer them.

With the closure of the next stage, the night shelter/day centre, the Community feels this has left a gap in its potential effectiveness. Consequently to counter this the 'step' project[5] was inaugurated whereby volunteers make contact with the single homeless living in lodging houses, hostels and the like. Through this continuing contact the Community hope to persuade some of the single homeless to move on to the next stage - the Community House.

This stage also operates at various levels. There are three basic levels relating to the capability of the residents, with the 'first tier' level being for those most incapable. The Broomielaw House is a 'first tier' project which offers accommodation for up to nine long-term homeless women. The Houses at Maryhill and Parkhead are both 'second tier' projects for a total of eleven men at any one time. In addition, a recent development has been the opening of a 'third tier' level with the acquisition of a group tenancy at Tollcross for three of the 'second tier' male residents. Given that the Broomielaw House is for women it can be inferred that the problem of single homeless women is a pressing one, and an agreement has been reached with the Christian Action Housing Association for the provision of a 'second tier' house for women.

The Community Houses are long-stay residential houses and aim to provide a stable, supportive environment. Residents are selected on the basis that they need long-term support and choose to live in a community-style house rather than a hostel. When going to the house the prospective resident is vetted by the other residents and each new resident undergoes a trial period. Life in the house is shared and meals are taken together. Full participation in the running of the house is expected of all the residents. Decisions affecting the household are

taken at weekly meetings. Four basic house rules operate
in each house - no drink, no drugs, no violence, and
attendance at house meetings. The sharing environment
whereby workers and residents are equal partners is
continually emphasised. Rent is paid for the houses by
the DHSS and the residents go and collect the money
themselves in order to encourage budgeting.

The principle of consultation operates through
the whole structure of the Simon Community, and in this
way the Glasgow group also operates as a pressure group.
As part of the National Cyrenian Movement the Simon
Community puts forward its viewpoint to the National
Cyrenian Committee. The aim of the Cyrenian Movement is
to encourage concern for homeless individuals. This it
does through representations to the government and
publications such as 'Rough Justice'. The Movement is
clearly linked with the Campaign for the Homeless and
Rootless (CHAR), a London-based national body more
explicitly acting as a pressure group. Given the limited
accommodation, in terms of numbers, provided by the Simon
Community, its role as a pressure group to obtain better
provision by the statutory services is very important.

(d) Staffing

The Community is a mixture of full-time and part-
time volunteers. There are about twelve full-time
volunteers, overall, most of whom stay in the houses
alongside the residents. These volunteers undergo a trial
six month period. The bulk of the full-time volunteers
are in the 19 to 25 age group and usually from a middle-
class background. Many were initially attracted to Simon
because they believed in community living as a desirable
life-style, irrespective of the merits it has in re-
habilitation. The workers living in the houses are

financed by the Community and they receive the same
amount of pocket money as the residents.

With the closure of the night shelter/day centre
building the demand for part-time volunteers has not
been as great. Hence at the moment there are about
twenty to thirty involved in this capacity. These
volunteers are not so middle-class in origin and there
is a strong Catholic representation at this level. Some
of those working for Simon have had secondary experience
of alcohol problems, such as at a family level.

(e) Finance

Over the period 1980-1 something like 90% of the
money for Simon comes from the Social Work Department
of Strathclyde Region, and Urban Aid. The Broomielaw
House, for example, operates on Urban Aid. The rest
comes from various sources such as the Students' Charities
Appeal, donations from other voluntary organisations such
as the Catholic Women's Guild, flag days, and sponsored
walks. For last year Simon's overall expenditure was
about £28,000.

(f) Assessment

Although the community idea permeates throughout
the organisation the Simon Community has not clearly
settled what sort of community idea it favours. This
is because of its dual roots in, on the one hand, the
psychiatric concept of community-based therapy, and on
the other, the Christian religious value of sharing.
Such a duality has created a certain tension within
the Community, in part because perhaps more than in
the other voluntary organisations the workers derive
something from Simon as well as the homeless men and

women. More particularly, for some of the workers, particularly the younger ones, they are fulfilling a belief that community living is more desirable than the materialistic values of a capitalist society. From this it is only a short step to view the single homeless as also representing an alternative society that rejects certain 'normal' values:

> 'Even among those who were not motivated by
> religious values there was often a degree of
> admiration for people who had evidently so
> thoroughly rejected the style of life desired
> by most of their contemporaries - an admiration..
> based on the assumption that...'Destitution'
> was..a positive choice.'[6]

Therefore within Simon there are two community ideas existing at the same time. On the one hand, there is the psychiatric-based view that sees the community as an effective form of rehabilitation 'system' for 'flawed' individuals in order to enable them to return to society. On the other, there is the religious-based view that sees the community as an alternative society and the single homeless as being more 'perfect' than a 'flawed' society, hence they should not be returned to society. These two conflicting aims help to explain certain priorities that the Simon Community emphasise. The emphasis on democracy is held not just because it is thought to help the men acquire greater self-respect and independence, but also because they are not thought by some to be 'inferior' in the first place. The conflict also explains how Simon can make such a vague statement as 'accepting the single homeless as they are rather than as society might wish them to be.' The Simon Community is neither sure about who the single homeless are or what society it is that is being referred to.

Finally, there is the issue of the justification of
the four strict house rules. This is couched in terms
of being necessary for the proper functioning of the
community but it also implicitly suggests a compromise
on the question of 'accepting the single homeless as
they are..'. Put more simply the single homeless are
to be altered to fit the community ideal.

6.2 - THE WAYSIDE CLUB

(a) History

The Wayside Club came into existence in the 1930s
through Irish residents of the Common Lodging Houses
going about the City looking for fellow countrymen
sleeping rough. During this time many expatriate Irish-
men could be found around the Anderston area which was
the first site for the Club. Due to demolition and
redevelopment in the City the Club was forced to move,
firstly to the Gorbals, then to Cochrane Street, and
finally to its present location at 32 Midland Street.
The present building is a converted three-storey
warehouse and was apparently discovered as a possible
site by one of the men. It has been in operation since
June, 1980.

(b) Philosophy

The Club is a religious organisation run by members
of the Legion of Mary, a worldwide Catholic lay group.
Hence a spiritual aspect is evident in the Club. The
belief underlying the Club was that one way of helping
the single homeless was to provide a place where they.
could meet and talk over their problems. The atmosphere
in the Club is relaxed and informal and nothing is ever
forced on the men.

(c) Provision

Since the Wayside Club is a social club, no
accommodation is provided. The Club is open from
7.30pm to about 10.15pm every evening. The men can
play cards, dominoes, draughts, or use the reading
room. At 9.00pm soup is served followed by tea and
sandwiches. After the cups and plates are cleared away
those who wish to stay go upstairs to the oratory for
night prayers which end the evening. Toilet facilities
and a specially designed medical room, where chiropody
and haircutting services operate, are available. On
Monday nights the Club offers an AA meeting for the
men, and on Sundays there is Mass for those wishing to
attend followed by a concert. Peripheral activities
include bus runs to the seaside and days of recollection
at retreat centres in Paisley and Uddingston. During
the Christmas and New Year period the Club is open
all day with food and entertainment being provided.

The Club sees itself as a referral point where
the men can talk to others and obtain information on
the various organisations involved in this field. Most
of the men who come to the Club have problems of one
kind or another such as alcohol, drugs, loneliness, or
marital difficulties. Very few of the men have completely
turned their back on society. Sometimes drunks are
refused entry. Personal contact is made with the men
through the level of working class culture (e.g.
boxing, football) and this further emphasises drawing
a cultural parallel with a working men's club. The
Wayside Club can cater for a maximum of around 200 men.
Ninety men is considered a quiet night for the Club
and these tend to be when the men have more money, such
as Fridays, and hence go elsewhere. Similarly Sunday,

when very little else is going on, is the busiest
night.

(d) Staffing

All the helpers are part-time volunteers and
usually around ten to fifteen help out each night.
Many are regular helpers. Virtually all are Catholic
and usually come from a working-class background. Many
have had some experience of alcohol-related problems
whether personally or through their families. The ages
of the helpers range from teenagers to pensioners. Their
tasks are basically cooking, serving, and cleaning, but
some form of counselling is undertaken albeit at an
amateur level. Not being trained in such work some of
the more committed volunteers have found it difficult to
cope and have suffered nervous breakdowns. The problem
seems to be the common one of trying to strike a balance
between caring and yet not becoming too involved. This
problem of breakdowns is caused by both the nature of
the work, and the nature of the individual attracted to
such work, with the latter possibly the more significant.

(e) Finance

Since the facilities are free, the Wayside Club
clearly depends on other areas for financial support.
This comes from Catholic groups, other charities, the
Social Work Department, occasionally Urban Aid, and the
Students' Charities Appeal. The Club also runs a coffee
evening which is quite a useful source of income, and
television or Radio Clyde appeals are sometimes made.
In setting up its new facilities the Club received
£50,000 through Urban Aid.

(f) Assessment

Although the Wayside Club does not see itself in
the role of performing a long-term rehabilitative

function, some form of spiritual and physical contact
is made. More especially, however, the Club performs
the role of being a referral point where men can be
directed elsewhere. In this respect the Wayside Club
is a sort of "high class soup run' in that contact is
made, the men are given some nourishment, and they can
go to an evening Catholic service if they wish. Since
the staff are volunteers it is in many ways the most
'amateur' of the organisations being discussed. This
has advantages and disadvantages. The advantages are
that the volunteers are keen to help and full of
enthusiasm. The drawbacks are that they may become dis-
illusioned quite quickly if no noticeable improvements
are shown in some of the men. There is no obvious coherent
philosophy underlying the Club other than that of Christian
caring.

6.3 - THE SALVATION ARMY

(a) History

Founded by William Booth in 1884 the Salvation Army
started as a rescue home for women in Whitechapel, London.
The first shelter for men was opened in 1888. Booth's
book 'In Darkest England and the Way Out', published in
1890, described a comprehensive plan of social service
that formed the basis for the Army's future development.
It was from such beginnings that the Army grew into its
present nationwide network of homes, schools, centres and
hostels.

The Salvation Army started in Glasgow at the turn
of the century with two hostels each for men and women,
and a waste paper factory providing work for the un-
employed. The Army currently runs two hostels, in Clyde
Street and London Road, and administered a temporary
night shelter at Laurieston until July, 1981.

(b) Philosophy

Christian concern continues to be the motivation
for all Salvation Army service:

> '..Salvationists remain convinced that finally
> the highest service they can offer any man
> - far beyond feeding him, clothing him.. -
> is to help him personally discover that God
> is his Heavenly Father and has a plan and
> purpose for his life. That is the greater
> rehabilitation which will cover all lesser
> degrees.'[7]

The aim is the harmonising of the trinity of body, mind,
and soul. Physical rehabilitation is only one part of a
person's total rehabilitation. This approach to rehabilit-
ation is reflected administratively in that each service
of the Army, whether spiritual or social, is an immediate
referral point to every other Army service.

(c) Provision

Since the Salvation Army has been in existence for
nearly 100 years it is more bureaucratised than most
other voluntary organisations. The Army has three basic
administrative divisions, of which the Social Services
Department is the relevant division for the single
homeless. The other two divisions are Evangelistic
Centres, and Goodwill Community Areas. The head of the
Social Services Department is directly responsible to
the Chief of Staff of the Army. The Social Services
Department, with its headquarters in London, is divided
into eight administrative areas. This is done because;
overall, the Department has 166 centres of work, 347
officers, and 2,030 employees throughout the United
Kingdom. Each administrative area is administered by
a Provincial Officer. The Provincial Officer for Scotland

is stationed in Glasgow and he is responsible for all
the Army social service centres in Scotland. The
Salvation Army also has its own Housing Association in
Scotland, whose main task is to provide buildings for
management by the Social Services Area Division.

More locally, the two hostels in Glasgow exemplify
a major problem confronting the Army at present - the
poor physical condition of many of their hostels. Indeed,
current Salvation Army policy on this problem is to
reduce the need for large hostels by providing:

> '..enough alternative forms of housing that
> adequately make people self-sufficient.'[8]

While the Provincial Officer is ultimately re-
sponsible for the running of both hostels, the Captain
in charge of each hostel has a fair degree of discretion
within common guidelines. Hope House in Clyde Street is
a hostel for women and was originally built as police
barracks. It was acquired by the Salvation Army in 1936
for conversion. Fully utilised it can cater for 150 women,
some in dormitories and some in single rooms. During the
1970s it was decided to reconstruct and expand the
building by adding a new west wing thereby enabling each
of the residents to have a single room. At present,
however, this reconstruction work has come to a halt
with the constructors going into liquidation and Hope
House can currently only cater for fifty women. The
lack of a rehabilitative element is evident and the
proposed new hostel is intended to be more self-contained
with specialised services. The hostel residents are
mainly long-term and there is a low turnover rate.

St. Andrews House in London Road was formerly for
the exclusive use of long-distance lorry drivers.
Presently the hostel has accommodation for 121 men in
single rooms and dormitories. The hostel is badly in

need of repair and the accommodation is very cramped.
The Army is planning to open a new 'accommodation complex'
to replace St. Andrew's House by the end of the decade.

After a meeting in December, 1980, of the Glasgow
Council for Single Homeless it was decided that with
support the Salvation Army would open a temporary night
shelter, for women, at Laurieston. The facilities provided
were very poor with the women sleeping without blankets on
mattresses laid on the floor. Some of the women who arrived
at the shelter gave up drink due to the efforts of the
staff. The backgrounds of the women were mixed, but a
number of them had been sleeping rough for quite a time
and they were in poor physical health. The project itself
was an experimental one and was vlosed in July, 1981, but
because of the emergency nature of the situation a new
shelter was set up by the Talbot Association and this
shelter will remain open until more permanent accommodation
is available.

(d) Staffing

Hope House has four full-time staff and three part-
time. The full-time staff live on the premises with the
work being carried out on a shift basis. Based on the
evidence of personal interviews and my own impression
the full-time staff (i.e. those in charge) can probably
be classified as lower middle-class in terms of background.
Volunteers are used when needed.

St. Andrew's House has two main full-time staff who
both live on the premises with their families. The lower
middle-class background orientation is again evident.
There are also about eighteen full-time workers. Some
of these are Salvation Army recruits but in the main
they are past residents of the House who have shown
sufficient improvement to become members of staff.

Volunteers are not used.

More generally, at the administrative level, there
is a continuing middle or lower middle-class background
orientation among the staff. For many of the staff of
the Army involvement with the Salvation Army arose
through their parents or relations being Salvationists.
Officers in the Salvation Army are committed to do any
kind of work and go where the leaders of the Army deem
necessary.

(e) Finance

Salvation Army policy towards most hostels is that
they should be self-financing. In practice this often
does not happen and the Army may be forced to subsidise
the hostel from its own funds. This has been an area of
great controversy and it does seem to be true that some
of the funds supposedly allocated to social areas such
as hostels have in fact been going to the more religious
spheres of the Army's work.[9] The Army would probably
as hostels have in fact been going to the more religio
de   ence
spheres of the Army's work.[9] The Army would probably
between the religious and social operations of the Army
since they are both part of the total rehabilitation being
offered. As for the rents charged in the hostels, these
are fixed in agreement with the DHSS.

At a more general level, the Salvation Army Public
Relations Department publishes a Balance Sheet for each
year that is available to the public. The figures for 1979
indicate a net operating deficit of just over £1 million
for the homes, hostels and centres run by the Social
Services Department. At the most basic level there are
two main sources of finance for the Army - one is donations
from Salvation Army members; and the other a mixture of
central and local government grants, Housing Corporation
money through the Army's housing association, television
and radio appeals, and the selling of publications such
as 'The War Cry'.

(f) Assessment

In two important aspects the Salvation Army is similar
to the Church of Scotland. One is that unlike the other
voluntary organisations being studied, both are primarily
religious organisations. The other is that both are more
bureaucratised than the other voluntary organisations.
Rather than duplicate such an assessment; both issues are
discussed for the Church of Scotland.

What is more uniquely relevant in a discussion of
the Salvation Army is that in some respects it is an
'extreme' religious organisation. The very fact that
it is an army and is organised as such implicitly suggests
that it feels it is fighting a war. This would appear to
be a war on two fronts - spiritual and physical - with
the former taking precedence. A few examples illustrate
this - spiritual salvation is the greatest rehabilitation
that can be offered; the staff must be willing to move
anywhere as required thereby resembling the obedience
element of the army; and finally its leader and sub-
ordinates are called respectively General down to Captains.
The effect of all this has been that the Army has been
slower changing to using psychiatric methods of re-
habilitation rather than spiritual methods. For example,
the Community Service Centres are administered by its
'Goodwill Department'.

6.4 - THE TALBOT ASSOCIATION

(a) History

Founded in 1970, the Association is named after
Matt Talbot, a recovered alcoholic who died in Dublin
in 1925. The Association opened a night shelter in
December, 1970, at 67 Cumberland Street, aiming to
provide accommodation for the extreme alcoholic,

the rejects from lodging houses, and those sleeping rough. Later the night shelter was moved to Gorbals Street. In 1974 the facilities were extended to include a day centre and moved in 1979 to the present location at 344 Paisley Road West.

(b) Philosophy

Since Talbot deals with the very bottom rung of people, the chronic alcoholic, it has to have a fairly optimistic outlook - namely, that there are no hopeless cases, only helpless cases. More specifically, Talbot has the chief aims of:

'..providing shelter, food and clothing for
homeless men in the city of Glasgow, along
with such care and friendship as can be
offered..at providing Houses of Rehabilitation
for the homeless alcoholic to help him maintain
sobriety and re-establish for himself a place
in society; and Houses of Caring for older
homeless men who are no longer capable of coping
on their own.'[10]

(c) Provision

In the eleven years of its existence the Talbot Association has developed its provision from a night shelter to a day and night shelter, Houses of Rehabilitation for recovering alcoholics, Houses of Caring, a 'pick-up van service, hospital visitation, and retreats for alcoholics and their relatives or friends.

Various facilities are provided at the Talbot Centre in Paisley Road West. On the top floor there is a day and night shelter that is open from 12 noon to 8.00am, and provides three light meals a day, night accommodation in the shape of mattresses on the

floor for 90 men, medical coverage by a district nurse
and local G.Ps, and the availability of a bath and
change of clothing. In the middle floor there is a Caring
Unit with 20 beds. This has a multiple purpose - to
provide an introduction to a more normal pattern of
living for older men in preparation for moving to more
permanent accommodation, such as a Caring House; to
provide an opportunity to assess the needs of certain
individuals and to decide what appropriate accommodation
to offer them; and to provide a period of rest and
recuperation for men who are ill but not admitted to
hospital. On the ground floor there is an Alcohol
Recovery Unit with accommodation for ten men and
offering help to those just coming off drink and in-
volves an intensive programme of recovery lasting two
to four weeks. Although the Unit is geared to men at
the night shelter level it takes referrals from anywhere.

At the request of the Social Work Department the
Association operates a van 'pick-up' service between
10.00pm and 4.30am and seeks out men, who are either
walking the streets or sleeping rough, in order to
offer them the facilities of the Talbot Centre. The
van is manned by two full-time workers and makes two
city centre and surrounding area tours each evening
(the number involved may demand more than two tours).
During 1978, approximately 2,400 men were picked up.
The importance of this service, it is claimed, is
that it may prevent new 'single homeless' becoming
used to that life-style and may enable a programme of
recovery to be initiated more quickly.

The Centre also runs an information and advice
service on alcoholism. This is available to the general
public each afternoon, Monday to Friday, between 2.00pm

and 5.00pm. More generally, there are several ways in
which the Association contributes towards educating
the public to the dangers of alcohol abuse, such as
talks and slides on the work of the Association.
Alcoholics Anonymous hold three meetings per week in
the Centre and Talbot maintains contact with people
admitted to hospital. Outwith the Centre, Talbot
operates two types of Houses - Houses of Rehabilitation
for recovering alcoholics, and Houses of Caring.

The Houses of Rehabilitation are both situated at
48 Cumberland Street and are run by a House Leader and
two assistants. They are run on a two-tier basis and
no drink is allowed. The recovery programme draws
heavily on the help of Alcoholics Anonymous. The stay
in the first-tier House lasts three months and attendance
at three alcoholism meetings per week is compulsory.
Weekly meetings are held with the House Leaders. In
the second-tier House the initiative is left to the
individual, and those who 'go it alone' are encouraged
to find their own accommodation after a further three
months. For those still continuing with the programme
of recovery there is no time limit. An important feature
of this programme is to enable men to find employment
during their stay.

There are three Houses of Caring run by Talbot
at Cathcart Road, Belmont Street, and London Road.
Altogether these three Houses provide a permanent home
for about 55 men, many of whom have spent years at the
night shelter and 'skipper' level. Though no pressure
is put on the men to 'reform', the degree of caring and
cleanliness that the Houses provide usually result in a
vast improvement in the living standards of the men
themselves. The men are often initially in poor health
and are registered with a local G.P. The primary aim of

these Houses is caring and not rehabilitation.

(d) Staffing

The staff are a combination of full-time workers and voluntary helpers.

The Talbot Centre has both. The full-time staff work on a two shift basis - 1200 to 2000 hours, and 2200 to 0800 hours. The period 2000 to 2200 hours is covered by teams of voluntary helpers, who prepare and serve the evening meal, help bathe the men, hand out clothes, and generally try and make friends with the men. There is usually a minimum of six volunteers on any night.

The van service is manned by two full-time workers. Both Houses of Rehabilitation are run by a House Leader and two assistants. The three Houses of Caring are similarly manned by a House Leader and two assistants, and additional support is provided by a kitchen staff who prepare the meals.

Overall therefore there is a full-time staff of around twenty and an indeterminate number of volunteers covering all the facilities. Virtually all the full-time staff have been 'single homeless' themselves or have had a drink problem at one time. Many of the volunteers are Catholic and mainly working-class.

(e) Finance

Talbot are financed by central and local government for certain aspects of their work. This amounts to around 66% of Talbot's total running costs in a given year. The remainder is met by voluntary donations and fund-raising activities. Voluntary donations vary widely in size but fairly large contributions have come from the Society of St. Vincent de Paul and the Archdiocese

of Glasgow. The Association has its own Fund-Raising
Committee and its main activity takes place in the
City Chambers during the autumn of each year, when
the Association sets up a stall and sells and raffles
various items.

(f) Assessment

Three issues merit discussion about Talbot at
this stage in the thesis. First is the Talbot belief
that there are no hopeless cases only helpless cases.
Second is the fact that the staff and the men are more
clearly of a similar background than in the other
voluntary organisations. Finally, there has been a
good deal of criticism of Talbot's attitude towards
the causes of drink problems.

The Talbot contention that there are no hopeless
cases does not hold up in practice. It is a worthy view
but the fact that Talbot runs Houses of Caring which
try to look after certain elderly men rather than
rehabilitate them does indicate an implicit suggestion of
hopelessness. On the other hand, it can be argued that
this assertion depends on the level of rehabilitation
being attempted. Rehabilitation in the sense of a
return to some sort of independent life-style within
society is not what is being attempted in the Houses
of Caring. Rather, a life-style of cleanliness, regular
meals and such like is what is being tried, and at this
level the Houses are reasonably successful.

The staff of the Talbot Association are in many
ways the most interesting aspect of the whole organisation.
Many have experienced similar problems to those experienced
by the men. In short, Talbot is close to a mutual aid
type of organisation. This in theory makes it easier
for the staff to relate to the men. Moreover, the staff

can be used as an example to the men that it is possible
to make a return to society.

Leading on from this previous point, it has been
argued that such a relationship has created an insularity
within Talbot particularly with regards to the issue of
the causes of drink problems. The Talbot Association
holds to the view that problem-drinkers are suffering
from a disease and hence can only be cured by total
sobriety. However, the most recent research that has been
conducted in this area indicates that while people
clearly can become physically addicted to alcohol over
a long period of time, social factors such as the relative
cheapness of drink are the major causes of people becoming
problem-drinkers.[11] In other words, problem-drinking
is an extreme reaction to certain social factors and there
is no evidence to suggest that the problem can reach such
a level that only total abstinence can effect a cure.
Nonetheless, total abstinence does in a sense offer a
'solution' and because such a 'solution' has worked
for members of the Talbot staff so it has proven its
effectiveness according to the Association. Hence it will
continue to be used.

6.5 - THE CHURCH OF SCOTLAND

(a) History

Rather than go into any detail about the Church's
concern for social welfare which dates back a great many
years, I shall confine myself to those Church bodies
specifically involved in this field in the Glasgow area.

The Tom Allan Centre, situated at 23 Elmbank Street
and set up in 1962, was named after one of the Church's
leading figures in this area who was a prominent con-
tributor to the famous 'All-Scotland - Billy Graham
Crusade' of 1955 that started a mini-Church revival in

Scotland.[12] The Centre is the main co-ordinating body
of the Glasgow area in the field of rehabilitation.

The Lodging House Mission is the oldest existing
example of Church involvement. It was founded in 1908
and while at one time it was involved in evangelical
work with families in the Gallowgate District, its
present function is entirely concerned with the welfare
of the homeless and lodging house dwellers.

More specifically the Church of Scotland run a day
centre/night shelter facility at Kirkhaven, and an alcohol
recovery unit at Westercraigs. The history of the former
is that the Church opened a night shelter in Cochrane
Street as an emergency measure following a fire in 1973
at the Popular Hotel, Holm Street. In 1979 the shelter
was moved to Kirkhaven which is situated at 176 Duke
Street towards the East End of Glasgow. The present
building was formerly a Church. The present location of
the alcohol recovery unit allows for its greater develop-
ment.

Generally, prior to the existence of Strathclyde
Region the Church of Scotland was the largest social
work organisation in Scotland with a budget of seven to
eight million pounds during 1979-80. Throughout the
whole of Scotland the Church runs over 200 hostels of
various types.

(b) Philosophy

Apart from the obvious ethic of Christian concern
the Church of Scotland places great emphasis on the
family unit. Consequently the Church is currently
developing its parish ministries, and resources are
being channelled into areas such as counselling and
seminars in trying to prevent people getting into
situations which will ultimately require them being
rehabilitated. Such counselling and seminars often focus

on problems such as alcohol abuse, unemployment, marital difficulties, bereavement, and the like. At the single homeless level the Church stresses the dignity of the individual and does not really favour hand-outs. It caters for those slightly above the 'helpless alcoholic' level.

(c) Provision

Within the Church of Scotland there is a Department of Social Responsibility. The work of this Department is divided into three sections - Age Care, Community Care, and Child Care. Within the Community Care Section there is a further division into 'Rehabilitation'. It is at this level that the Church of Scotland operates in the field of single homelessness. The Tom Allan Centre and its related facilities form the Church's Rehabilitation Complex in Glasgow. The general aim of the Tom Allan Centre is that the Church should take more responsibility in the rehabilitation field and should support parish ministries as part of this. Although the Centre also provides emergency accommodation for women and can counsel homeless men it is mainly at the Kirkhaven day centre/ night shelter that the Church offers provision for the single homeless.

In keeping with the Church's stress on dignity Kirkhaven tends to concentrate help on those most willing to change. If after about two weeks there is no sign of a change the particular man may be asked to move out. The night shelter has room for 32 men and is fully used. Last year there were 1,054 different names on the register and over 11,000 visits overall. A general estimate made by Kirkhaven is that only four percent of the single homeless are 'down and outs' . The shelter provides emergency accommodation between 8pm and 8am for those

removed from lodging houses. The present building caters
for fewer men than at Cochrane Street and indicates the
increased emphasis on smaller, rehabilitative units. The
shelter is open every night and some expression of the
gospel is made in the initial meetings. The shelter
charges 90 pence per night and the basic aim here is
to encourage some form of budgeting by 'forcing'
the men to save although the Church does not refuse
someone unable to pay since its policy is first come
first served. How this works in practice is not at all
clear.

Shortly after the move to Kirkhaven, a day centre
facility began to be provided. The day centre is open
from Monday to Friday between 1.30pm and 4.30pm and
averages 120 people per day who pay for their meals.
Only a minority of those using the night shelter also
use the day centre. Last year was the first full year of
operation of the day centre and there were about one and
a half thousand visitors and 18,000 visits in total.
By combining these figures with the night shelter figures
there were in total about 30,000 visits and 2,500
different visitors to Kirkhaven last year. The Church is
aware that the turnover of people at Kirkhaven is higher
than might be desirable. The day centre operates various
activities such as indoor bowls and dominoes, and every
Monday there is a Bible service. One recent trend giving
cause for concern is the number of young people using the
facilities and stress is placed on discovering their
family backgrounds.

The future aim of the alcohol recovery unit at
Westercraigs is to develop a fairly comprehensive
alcohol resource centre incorporating family support
for the men where relevant and possible. Some referrals
are made from Kirkhaven to Westercraigs, but not as
many as one might expect.

Separate from the above but still part of the
Church of Scotland, the Lodging House Mission in East
Campbell Street has pastoral supervision over all hostels
in the centre of Glasgow. With this goes the responsibility
of providing pastoral care to hostel dwellers and those
of no fixed abode. This involves such things as hospital
visitation and funeral services. The building is an old
church which was converted by flooring the balcony.
This allowed the use of the bottom half as a canteen
with adjacent clothing stores for men and women. In the
course of a week 1,300 people on average enter the Mission
for one reason or another. Soup, clothing and holidays
are just a few of the things the Mission distributes and
arranges. It has been argued that:

> 'The importance of this mission is that many
> men and women in lodging houses who would
> not otherwise approach a charitable organisation
> or social work agency are contacted and offered
> friendship and assistance if required.'[13]

(d) Staffing

The staffing of the Kirkhaven day centre/night
shelter is the main area of interest. Suffice to say
that the Tom Allan Centre and the Lodging House Mission
are run by a mixture of full-time and part-time staff. In
the main the people in charge are of middle-class origin.

Kirkhaven has a full-time staff of six. They operate
on a shift basis both night and day. Clearly in order to
cope, fairly extensive use is made of volunteers and at
the moment there are about 250 people who are ready to
help when required. Both staff and volunteers are a
mixture of middle and working-class in origin and the
middle-class orientation is a good deal less at this level
than in the Tom Allan Centre. Finally, the motive to help

is usually based on Christian caring and is hence moralistic in tone.

(e) Finance

As with most voluntary organisations the Church of Scotland has increasingly been forced to seek aid from the statutory authorities. Aside from the nominal charge, Kirkhaven is financed from three sources – a small grant from the DHSS, urban aid, and the balance from its own resources. The Church aims to raise much of its funds directly through public subscription of its members, as well as donations, appeals, publications, and social events.

(f) Assessment

As with most other Christian religious organisations the Church of Scotland suffers from conflicting values – those of Christian caring and an implicit moral tone that the people being helped are in some way 'flawed'. This philanthropic undertone is further suggested by the middle-class backgrounds of some of those in charge. Indicative of this is the stress on dignity that is made. What this means in practice is that the Church encourages the men to accept the values of work and thrift, in particular the latter. This is the reason why a nominal night shelter charge of 90 pence is made – to encourage budgeting. However, at the same time, the ethic of Christian concern is also evident because it is stressed that people without money will not be denied entry. This conflict seemingly cannot be reconciled because it is embodied in the nature of the organisation.

The other area of interest about the Church is its structure. Being a large organisation it can be argued that the Church operates more like a statutory than a voluntary organisation. Put another way, concern for the

single homeless is only one area of many that the Church
is involved in. Hence some sort of overall planning is
necessary in order to decide where the Church will
allocate most of its resources. So that bureaucracy and
resource management become inevitable 'bedfellows'
given the 'fact' that funds are not limitless.

More fundamentally it can be argued that the more
voluntary organisations begin to operate like statutory
organisations, then the less is the justification for the
existance of separate voluntary services at all. While
this critical debate about the role of the voluntary
services in the single homeless field is more particularly
discussed in 9.4 what can be said at this point is that
the size of bodies such as the Salvation Army and the
Church of Scotland inhibit their ability to experiment
in the single homeless field.

6.6 - THE SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS

(a) History

The SCSH is the Scottish equivalent of CHAR
(Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless) although the
SCSH has a wider membership than CHAR, in that CHAR
only has voluntary agencies as members whereas the
SCSH has statutory and voluntary involvement. Nonetheless
both bodies originated from similar trends.

CHAR, the national campaign for the single homeless,
was set up as a registered charity in 1973 by voluntary

organisations involved in this field. The SCSH was
established as a charitable organisation one year
later. It is a national voluntary organisation as well
but is specifically slanted towards Scottish single
homeless requirements. The objective of both organisations
is to promote the welfare of the single homeless by
publicising their needs and encouraging action at both
local and national levels. Clearly the roots of both
organisations relate to pressure from voluntary
organisations to have some sort of focus of opinion
(although in Scotland some statutory agencies were also
involved), as well as a more general trend towards
research into the subject.

(b) Philosophy

        In its early days the Council members were mainly
those whose experience of single homelessness was
through working in night shelters and hostels, or
other services. The SCSH quickly recognised that it
could not successfully campaign as a pressure group for the
single homeless unless it also became concerned with the
wider issue of single person accommodation generally in
the housing market. The membership of the SCSH,
covering most of the Regional, District and Islands
Councils, many voluntary organisations involved in this
and related fields, housing agencies, and individual
associate members, now reflects this wider concern.
Nonetheless, the Council's main concern is still with
those at greatest disadvantage. By using cases, such as
the single homeless, as extreme examples of problems
in the housing field the Council hopes this will weaken
the barriers encountered by single people generally in
the housing market. At present the Council's immediate
objectives are:

' (i)   to encourage the provision of housing
        specifically for single people;
 (ii)   to monitor the application of the Housing
        (Homeless Persons) Act as it applies to
        single people; and
(iii)   to encourage local authorities to plan the
        phasing out of lodging houses and to
        campaign for an embargo on new night
        shelter provision.'[14]

(c) Provision

The most basic provision the SCSH makes is that
of information and in keeping with its broad membership
it uses that knowledge to give practical advice to all
the agencies concerned with the single homeless, as well
as to put pressure on the Government. Such information has
been of three main types — single person housing needs,
the design of certain types of accommodation, and assess-
ments of a variety of legislation. The 1981 SPAN (Single
Person Accommodation Needs) Report is a prime example
of the first. Its main finding was that for the needs
expressed by single people to be satisfied another
200,000 houses in Scotland would be needed immediately.
'Single Initiatives I' is a reasonable example of the
second type as it partly discusses the types of
accommodation provided by housing associations. Of
the third type, as was already mentioned, the monitoring
of the effectiveness of the 1977 Housing (Homeless
Persons) Act is the prime example.

One example of the use to which such information
can be used occurred in 1980 when the SCSH was successful
in obtaining an amendment to the Tenants' Rights
(Scotland) Bill, which obliges all local authorities
to accept any single person of eighteen or over on to
their waiting lists. The SCSH started off by undertaking

research resulting in a report, 'Letting in Single People', which was used as evidence to the Scottish Housing Advisory Committee's Sub-Committee on allocation and transfer policies. The report highlighted the anomalies and inconsistencies between authorities and their letting policies.

(d) Staffing

At the moment there are only two permanent staff - a Director and an Administrative Secretary. Special projects such as the SPAN survey are undertaken on temporarily funded posts. The main office is in Edinburgh. The Executive Committee is made up of people from statutory and voluntary organisations on a voluntary basis.

(e) Finance

Most of its funding comes from two main sources - the Scottish Development Department and the Social Work Services Group. This is in the form of a joint grant. The remainder comes from local authorities, mainly housing and social work departments, charitable donations, the sale of reports, and special grants from such organis- ations as the Housing Corporation. Despite this the financial position of the Council remains precarious:

'This year we have only survived financially
 through generous donations from:
 Edinburgh Council of Social Service
 Glasgow District Council
 Motherwell District Council
 Miss Dawson Trust
 Scottish and Newcastle Breweries
 Triangle Trust
 Weir Foundation
 Anonymous

to top up our grants from the Scottish Office
and local authorities.'(15)

(f) Assessment

As a pressure group the SCSH is more politically-
oriented than the other voluntary bodies discussed.
Two issues flow from this - what is the best way for the
Scottish Council to put pressure on the government, and
to what extent does its financial dependency on statutory
authorities inhibit its effectiveness in this respect.

The question of pressure is critically linked with
the function of the Council of providing information.
Although the information provided is available to the
public it is mainly specialised such as 'Letting in
Single People' which was a study of local authority
letting policies. More readily amenable to the general
public was the 1981 SPAN Report which was publicised in
national newspapers as well as on television. So far,
however, the amount of pressure the SCSH can put on
government, by way of public opinion, is limited. Issues
like child abuse and wife battering are far more public
and newsworthy than issues of housing policy. Hence the
main pressure that can be brought by the SCSH is
internalised. For example the SCSH has been putting a
good deal of effort into making it possible for grants
to be made to hostels for fire precaution work. Comments
were made on the Government's Green Paper 'A Future Fire
Policy'. During the end of last year a new clause,
promoted by the SCSH, on grants for fire precautions
was debated during the Committee Stage of the Local
Government (Miscellaneous Provisions) (Scotland) Bill:

> 'The Government appeared to be sympathetic to
> the plea and has set up an internal Scottish
> Office Working Party to report in the Autumn

on problems associated with making such
grants in Scotland.'[16]

This indicates a major part of the work of the Council -
to pressure for amendments to legislation that appears
to omit reference to areas that the Council is concerned
with. It thus views itself as a defender of the rights
of single homeless people in this area.

    With regards to finance there would appear to be
a vicious circle operating. Since the accommodation needs
of single people is not an immediately saleable public
issue, it is not given the highest funding priority by
local authorities, and this in turn limits the amount of
resources the Council can apply to make such issues
more public. The SPAN survey, for example, was separately
funded. It would not appear that there is an obvious
inhibiting repercussion flowing from the Council's sources
of finance. With regards to the finance of voluntary
organisations under schedule 5 of the 1976 Supplementary
Benefits Act, the Council's Executive Committee had a meet-
ing with a senior DHSS official from London in 1980,
following which a policy statement was requested from
Mrs. Lynda Chalker, the Under-Secretary responsible.
Therefore the Council is certainly not inhibited from
challenging policy. On the other hand, it would appear
to operate essentially within the system along recognised
channels. This 'respectability' however does seem to
make it fairly successful in putting across its case.

6.7 - THE GLASGOW COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS

(a) History

    This body was formally established in June, 1980,
and arose out of the 'collapse' of its predecessor
CRASH (Consortium for the Relief of the Adult Single

Homeless). CRASH was formed in March, 1973, but
by the later 1970s CRASH no longer appeared to
be representing an overall perspective of the single
homeless problem with individual members pursuing their
own interests. When a request from Strathclyde Region
about rectifying this was rejected by the CRASH Committee
Strathclyde Region withdrew its 50% of the funding of
CRASH (the other 50% was provided by Glasgow District) in
1979. A working party was then formed, out of an initiative
by the SCSH, to look into the future of CRASH. A broader
based organisation was recommended by the working party
and so the Glasgow Council was born.

(b) Philosophy

The aim of the Glasgow Council is in part the same as
that of CRASH namely:

> '..the bringing together of all voluntary bodies
> involved in this field..with the object of
> promoting the interests of the single adult
> homeless and to increase in society an awareness
> of the needs of this group.'[17]

However because the Council also includes statutory
authorities the main role of the Council has become:

> '..the promotion of the welfare of single homeless
> people in Glasgow by ensuring corporate planning
> among the voluntary organisations, the Local
> Authorities, the Health Board, and the Department
> of Health and Social Security.'[18]

(c) Provision

The Glasgow Council has at present 22 statutory
and voluntary member organisations. The voluntary
organisations include the six already discussed in this
chapter as well as various housing associations and

organisations involved in such areas as mental health
and the resettlement of offenders. The four main
statutory bodies discussed in chapter five are also
represented.

What the Council provides for these organisations
in terms of co-ordination is the availability of a
common meeting place where various views can be aired
and fully discussed. Consequently if the Council is
to succeed in this respect each individual member
organisation must operate through it rather than around it.

(d) Staffing

In March, 1981,. a Single Persons Officer was
appointed who is an employee of the Glasgow District
Housing Department. As part of his more general duties
the Officer operates as Secretary of the GCSH. Other
posts such as Chairperson are voluntary.

(e) Finance

Unlike CRASH the GCSH is totally funded by
Glasgow District through its Housing Department. At
present the GCSH has reserves in excess of £800,
nearly all of which was carried over from the previous
organisation CRASH.[19]

(f) Assessment

Problems associated with co-ordination provide the
basis for a discussion of the GCSH. Most important is
the question of maintaining a unified front without
becoming at the same time hopelessly compromised.
Put another way, the views of each member organisation
must be submerged within a GCSH viewpoint. Two examples
will illustrate this point. Firstly, the Salvation Army
put forward its plans for a new accommodation complex
to replace its present hostel in London Road. Its
proposals came in for a good deal of criticism because

the GCSH viewpoint is that large accommodation units are
undesirable. As a result the Salvation Army re-considered
its proposals and have come round more to the GCSH view
about the desirability of having smaller units (although
this can, of course, occur within a large unit). An
important consideration in this example is that the
site on which the Salvation Army proposes to build its
new complex is currently owned by Glasgow District.
Consequently, given that Glasgow District accords with
the GCSH view, one wonders how much the practical
need of acquiring a site influenced the Army in its
change of mind.

The second example concerns the Simon Community
proposals for a night shelter/day centre to replace the
one that was closed in 1978. The Simon view is that not
having such a facility reduces its effectiveness in
rehabilitating people because it leaves a gap in its
programme of rehabilitation by stages. While the GCSH
recognised the validity of the Simon case the GCSH
was against the provision of a night shelter although
it did support the need for a day centre and related
facilities. The reason for the former decision was that it
is GCSH policy that existing night shelters should be
closed down whenever possible. Since this decision
the Simon Community have submitted new proposals
indicating that, among other things, its intention is to
provide small-scale night accommodation of the Broomielaw
type rather than a traditional large night shelter. This
proposal was supported by the GCSH. As with the Salvation
Army example Glasgow District will make the final
decision about the siting of this facility and the
separate day centre facility that was also proposed by
Simon.

More generally these two examples illustrate that one
of the most important functions of the GCSH is the
identification of certain overall priorities about the
single homeless problem. In this the GCSH has taken

the view that the:

> 'starting point in considering priorities
> for the single homeless must be the wishes
> of the homeless themselves.'[20]

Hence based on the findings of the 1978 CRASH Survey
(see chapter seven) the most important priority is
that independent, conventional housing should be made
available to the single homeless. As was discussed in
the previous chapter this has been acted upon. In addition
the next step in this area will be the establishment of
an accommodation centre somewhere in the City centre
where people's housing requirements will be assessed.
Such a facility will prevent new single homeless people
from becoming enmeshed in the hostel environment.

Within this overall priority, certain problems have
arisen during the year which have necessitated the GCSH
becoming involved. One of the most important has been
the problem of homeless women. During the winter of
1980/81 up to 25 women were found to be homeless. In
order to tackle this pressing problem an emergency night
shelter was established at Laurieston and administered
by the Salvation Army with help from the Talbot Association
and Manpower Services. In addition it was agreed that a
sub-group of the GCSH was to begin to develop an overall
long-term strategy for this problem. In the meantime,
since July when the Laurieston night shelter was closed,
the Talbot Association has provided continuing emergency
shelter in new premises for the women until more permanent
accommodation is available based on this long-term
strategy.

Finally the GCSH has been strongly involved in
getting more publicity for the single homeless situation.
In particular, the 1978 CRASH Survey was widely publicised
in the Scottish media, and there is a possibility that
STV will eventually do a documentary on this subject.

The collection of evidence and the collation of it
into useable media material is one area the Council
might develop.

6.8 - CONCLUSIONS

Within these seven voluntary organisations what
has been of perhaps primary significance is the relative
lack of involvement by the single homeless themselves in
the running of these organisations. Only the Simon
Community and the Talbot Association can be exempted
from this point, and even in these two organisations the
element of client participation has been compromised.
In the former the single homeless are involved within the
confines of the ideal of the community style of living.
In the latter, the men must be 'on the wagon' before they
can actively participate.

As for the other organisations the Wayside Club
nourishes the men and informs them about where they can
receive additional provision. The Salvation Army and the
Church of Scotland would not appear to have former single
homeless people involved at high levels in their organis-
ations. The SCSH operates within certain channels and
although it has been reasonably successful there does
seem to be an air of respectability about the organisation.
Finally the GCSH is a co-ordinating body not for the
single homeless but for the organisations involved with
the single homeless problem. Having said that, the GCSH,
unlike CRASH, has recognised that it is the needs of
the single homeless that must be met and not the needs
of the organisations involved, although clearly the two
are linked to some extent.

While there are good reasons why it is difficult
to get the single homeless involved in an organisation
(see chapter eight) the point can be reasonably made

that the underlying philosophies and functions of
these voluntary organisations inhibit the potential
for single homeless involvement in their activities.
The Wayside Club, the Salvation Army, and the Church
of Scotland are all based to a greater and lesser degree
on the ethic of Christian caring. The Simon Community
is 'an experiment in community living', not an experiment
in single homeless rehabilitation. The SCSH is by its
very nature to act on behalf of the single homeless,
while the GCSH suffers from a similar functional dilemma.
Finally, although the Talbot Association was specifically
founded to help the very poorest single homeless people
its limited perspective on the issue of drink does put
a great deal of pressure on the men by setting such
extreme standards of treatment, and hence possibly
reduces the numbers who could actually be helped. This
very important issue of how far the single homeless can be
involved in those organisations providing for them will
be further expanded in chapter nine.

The basic conclusion to be made about the financing
of these organisations is that they are heavily dependent
on statutory sources of funding. The reasons for this
would seem to stem from the increasing involvement of
the state in social welfare provision. The repercussion
is that the public are less inclined to give to voluntary
organisations because they are now used to having their
money taken from them through taxes. More basically,
contributions do not tend to keep pace with inflation
so that instead of giving pounds people will still give
'coppers'.

While the staff of the voluntary organisations
tend to be very much a mixed bag perhaps the most
interesting finding is that in three of the seven
organisations there is a strong Catholic element of
involvement. While this is not proof that single

homelessness is disproportionately a Catholic problem in Glasgow it would seem reasonable to speculate that this is so given that for some of the staff their involvement has arisen from some personal or family experience.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SIX

1. J. Leach and J. Wing, 'Helping Destitute Men', (1980), p.16.

2. Cyrenian 'Homelessness' booklet.

3. J. Plamenatz, 'Man and Society', Vol.One, (1963), p.395.

4. Cyrenian booklet, op.cit.

5. The Project was temporarily suspended in 1980 in order to appraise its effectiveness.

6. Leach and Wing, op.cit., P.17.

7. The Salvation Army, 'Directory of Social Services', (1977), p.4.

8. The Salvation Army, 'Housing Association statement'.

9. See C. Milne and D. Jones, 'The Salvation Army' (1981).

10. Talbot Association, Annual Report, (1978).

11. Office of Health Economics, 'Alcohol-reducing the harm', (1981), p.50.

12. J. Cunnison and J. Gilfillan (Eds.), 'Glasgow - The Third Statistical Account of Scotland', (1958), pp.734-6.

13. D. Crousaz, 'Glasgow's Homeless Single People', (Christian Action), (1971), p.7.

14. SCSH, Sixth Annual Report, (1980-1), p.1.

15. Ibid., p.4.

16. Ibid., p.6.

17. CRASH Report (1976), Preface.

18. GCSH, Annual Report, (1981), p.3.

19. Ibid, p.14.

20. Ibid., p.11.

CHAPTER SEVEN - THE LODGING HOUSE/HOSTEL SCENE

7.1 - CURRENT PROVISION

TABLE ONE   PROVISION AS AT SEPTEMBER, 1981.

LODGING HOUSES AND HOSTELS	WHEN OPENED	NUMBER OF BEDS	CHARGES PER WEEK (Meals not included)
Men			
Moncur Street	1871	161	£10.50
Stow College Annexe	1973	83	
Mart Street	1976	103	£11.45
Norman Street	1975	101	
Robertson House	1971	241	
Laidlaw House	1974	241	£13.50
Peter McCann House	1976	251	
James Duncan House	1977	249	
	TOTAL :	1,430	
Women			
Jean Morris House	1977	48	£13.50
Inglefield Street	1972	61	
	TOTAL :	109	

OVERALL TOTAL 1,539 BEDS

(Source : HOUSING DEPARTMENT ANNUAL REPORTS)

As can be seen from the table on the previous page
Glasgow District Council at present run ten lodging
houses and hostels - eight for men and two for women.
The administration of this operation is carried out from
floor five of Lomond House.

With the closure of Abercromby Street lodging house
in July, 1981, there are now only two lodging houses left
at Moncur Street and Dunblane Street (Stow College Annexe).
Both are self-catering in the sense of offering very basic
communal kitchen facilities for use by the residents. The
rest of the accommodation is of a hostel-type and by
definition meals are provided by a kitchen staff. Within
this similarity two of the hostels, at Mart Street and
Norman Street, are pre-fabricated because as was mentioned
in chapter three they were only intended to be used for a
limited period. However given the fact that on an average
night 95 per cent of the beds are occupied in all the
lodging houses and hostels, there seems no immediate
likelihood of these two hostels being closed. Nightly
checks are carried out on all the lodging houses and hostels
in order to ensure that there are no major distrubances and
each also has a porter who is usually one of the residents.

Turning to the financing of these facilities the
rents charged reflect two things - primarily the cost
of running the particular houses but also to a lesser
degree the quality of the provision. The charges outlined
indicate the amount paid by social security to each individual
person for their accommodation. In addition a meals and
personal allowance is paid to the resident on a weekly
basis. Overall, Glasgow District Council budget for a loss
each year and during the period 1970 to 1979 there was a
total loss slightly in excess of two million pounds,[1]
or an average of £200,000 per annum. Clearly, therefore,
although it is claimed by the District that the rents
charged roughly cover the costs involved there would appear
to be some element of subsidy.

7.2 - THE RESIDENTS

This section is a review of the two major Glasgow studies of lodging house/hostel residents carried out since 1945. The first by Stuart Laidlaw took place in 1953, while the second was carried out by CRASH in 1978.

(a) Laidlaw's Findings in 1953[2]

In 1953 there were nineteen common lodging houses covered by Laidlaw's survey - fifteen for men and four for women. Within this Laidlaw took a sample of 800 men and women to represent the actual total of nearly 3,600 residents. Hence the survey approximately covered 22% of the total number of residents. Given that in the actual total women constituted 10%, the sample surveyed 720 men to represent 3,200 and 80 women to represent 360 in order to accord with that fact.

(1) Basic Social Characteristics

(i) Age and Marital Status

Age : Around 40% of the total sample of residents were found to be of pensionable age. A number of the men had served during World War One.

Marital Status : Of the men, 65% claimed to be single, 15% widowed, and 16% separated. A few married men were living temporarily in the lodging houses.
Of the women, 33% claimed to be single, 34% widowed, 17% separated, and 12% married.

(ii) Origins and Social Contacts

Origins : Of the men, 50% were born in Glasgow, 25% were born elsewhere in Scotland, and 20% were born in Ireland.

Social Contacts : 75% of the total still had
relatives alive, and 50% of those had
made attempts to contact their relatives.

(iii) Employment.

20% of the men were in employment,
15% of the women.

Of the 20% of the men in employment
25% were doing skilled work.

The men described themselves as 33%
skilled workers, 20% semi-skilled, and
47% unskilled.

14% of the men and 5% of the women had
served an apprenticeship.

40% of the total sample had had only one
occupation, while just over 40% had had one
other job. 20% of the men and 10% of the
women had had two or more other occupations.

(iv) Prison Experience

30% of the men and 12% of the women had
prison experience.

Drunkenness was given as the principal cause
of prison conviction, exceeding in number
the charges for all other crimes.

(v) Financial Situation

31% of the men and 21% of the women received
Old Age Pensions.

17% of the men and 10% of the women received
Unemployment Benefit.

6% of all lodgers were receiving Sickness
Benefit.

78% were in receipt of National Assistance.

7% of the men and 5% of the women received Disability, War, or Blind Pensions.

(vi) Health and Diet

Health : Almost 50% of the lodgers were in fairly good health. 12% of the men and 8% of the women complained of bad health.

The most frequent illnesses were bronchitis, heart disease, rheumatism, pulmonary TB, and alcoholism. Influenza and TB were the only infectious diseases.

The most frequent disabilities were mental defects, blindness, and deafness.

25% of the lodgers suffered from varying degrees of mental disorder.

Under 10% of the lodgers were methylated spirit addicts.

Generally the men were less well nourished than the women. Six of the men out of 720 suffered from varying degrees of malnutrition.

Diet : 10% of the men and the majority of the women were non-smokers.

25% of the men were heavy drinkers, 50% moderate, and 25% non-drinkers.
Of the women, almost 60% did not drink, while 12% were heavy drinkers.
Some of the chronic alcoholics were comparatively young.

(vii) Assessment of the lodgers (by Laidlaw)

66% of the lodgers seemed to be of normal intelligence, while 34% were mentally sub-normal or ill.

20% could be called lazy and inoffensive
(many were young men), over 50% of the men
were of a pleasant disposition, about 17%
were unreliable and sub-normal, while 10%
of the men were unpleasant and miserable.
Of the women, 50% could be called respectable,
and 25% lazy.

(2) Accommodation History

(i) Reasons for homelessness

28% said they liked the free and easy life.
26% said the causes were economic.
14% gave social reasons.
10% gave being old age pensioners as the cause.
8% described lodgings as suitable for their
occupation.
7% gave up their house on the death of their
spouse.
Less than 3% found lodgings convenient for
casual work.
Less than 3% were vagrants.
2% lost their lodgings while in hospitals.

(ii) Hostel Use and Mobility

Apart from the casuals few used the lodging-
house for short stays.
44% of the men and 29% of the women had been
in residence for more than ten years.
In 1888[3] the average duration of residence
was less than two years. By 1954 it had
gone up to seven years.

(b) Homeless Men Speak for Themselves (1981)[4]

Background

In 1972 the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys

(OPCS) carried out a national survey of hostels and
lodging houses and their residents. Although the results
of this survey indicated that Glasgow had the highest
ratio of lodging house beds per head of population of any
city in Britain, there was a general lack of information
on a Strathclyde or Glasgow basis. As a result CRASH decided
to carry out a local survey to determine this information
for Glasgow. Using a questionnaire similar to that used
in the OPCS survey the project was given the go-ahead
by the Manpower Services Commission in 1977. The work
was carried out in 1978 and covered the entire range of
District, voluntary, and private provision. Only the
Great Eastern Hotel, a private lodging house, refused
access. From such a comprehensive survey a total of
1,225 interviews were carried out - 1,110 men and 115
women. However the eventual report only presented the
findings in relation to the men. As was mentioned in
chapter six CRASH was superseded in 1980 by the Glasgow
Council for Single Homeless (GCSH) and so it was in
September, 1981, that the GCSH published the findings.

Main Findings

(1) Basic Social Characteristics

(i) Age and Marital Status

Age :   75% of all the respondents are aged 44
         years and over. Within this 50% are aged
         54 and over. Therefore compared with the
         outside population there is an over-
         representation of middle and older age
         groups.

Marital Status : Proportionately fewer of the
         hostel and night shelter population have
         been married than occurs amongst the male
         population in general. A high percentage of
         35 to 54 year old males in hostels are

there because of marital difficulties
indicating that initially they view the
hostel as a short term accommodation need.

(ii) Origins and Social Contacts

Origins : 80% of the hostel population are
from within the Strathclyde Region.

Social Contacts : Hostels do not attract visitors
thus exacerbating the problem of social
isolation for the residents. This problem
increases with the age of the resident.

(iii) Employment

Only 14% of those responding were in
employment at that time. The majority of
residents had been unemployed for longer
than two years, and this is more likely the
older one gets.

(iv) Prison Experience

40% of the respondents have had some form
of prison experience. Younger age groups
have a higher proportion of those with
prison experience because they tend to be
the groups who are offered a social work
service in prison and are put in touch with
lodging house/hostels on their release and
so become institutionalised into the system.
It is also an indication of a lack of after-
care support for the ex-offender. Higher
unemployment rates are associated with ex-
offenders.

(2) Accommodation History.

(i) Reasons for homelessness

The main causes are marital, family or

accommodation problems. The younger age
groups were more prone to family problems
while middle age groups were more prone to
marital problems. Of other problems drink
was high on the list although only 11% gave
drink as a reason for homelessness. A
majority of the respondents gave the marital,
parental, or own home as the last home prior
to hostel entry, and there is a strong
connection between reasons for homelessness
and problems experienced in the previous
home.

(ii) Hostel Use and Mobility

Residents display a reasonable degree of
mobility between hostels and night shelters
and other accommodation forms, but the
figures are distorted somewhat by two factors.
One is hostel closures which tend to suggest
that the continual length of time spent in a
lodging house or hostel is longer than is
the case. The other is that the figures only
show the movement within the hostel environ-
ment and not out of hostels into other
accommodation forms. The older age groups are
the least mobile, while the younger age groups
are much more mobile. There is also a strong
correlation between social isolation and the
level of mobility, with the most socially
isolated also displaying the lowest levels
of mobility. This fact further emphasises
the institutionalising effects of the system.

(3) Accommodation Preferences

(i) Attitudes towards existing accommodation

This question experienced the lowest
response from the residents, indicating
a high degree of apathy and/or resignation
about such matters. Within this a majority
stated they were dissatisfied with hostel
life.

(ii) Preferred accommodation

77% stated a preference for a house or
flat. Of the 17% who actually prefer hostel
life the vast majority came from the older
age groups thereby reinforcing the tenet of
dependence on hostel life after a period of
time. Within the hostel population ex-
offenders showed a marked dislike for hostel
life and accommodation indicating their
resentment at finding it difficult to secure
alternative accommodation.

(iii) Council house acceptance

78% stated they would be willing to accept
council housing if it was offered. This
willingness decreased with age but a
majority of the older residents still
professed a willingness to accept council
accommodation.

(4) Doctor's Lists

Due to computerisation difficulties this
section produced only two conclusions.
One was a confirmation that higher than
normal proportions of the hostel residents

are receiving treatment for drink
and/or mental health problems. The other
was that it would appear that the single
homeless were not as severely discriminated
against regarding health services as in many
other major cities in Britain (see chapter
five). 92% were on doctor's lists and of
these 88% were part of doctor's surgeries
in Glasgow. Only 3.7% said it would take
over one hour to get to their G.P.

(c) Comparable Findings

There are eight main areas of comparability in the
findings – age, marital status, origins, social contacts,
employment, prison experience, reasons for homelessness,
and hostel use and mobility.

(i) <u>Age</u> :   Both surveys indicated that a greater
percentage of elderly people live in
hostels than in the non-hostel population.

(ii) <u>Marital Status</u> : Both surveys indicated that
proportionately fewer of the hostel
population have been married than occurs
amongst the male population in general.
Laidlaw's survey suggested that this
imbalance is less for women.

(iii) <u>Origins</u> : Both surveys indicated that the majority
of the residents were born in and around the
Glasgow region. This emphasis was even more
pronounced in the later survey, while the
earlier survey suggested a significant
percentage were of Irish origin.

(iv) <u>Social Contacts</u> : Laidlaw's survey indicated that
a substantial majority of the residents still

had relatives alive but the hostel
environment does seem to exacerbate
the problem of maintaining social
contacts.

(v) Employment : Of the 14 to 20% in employment the
majority are in unskilled occupations.
Of those unemployed a majority suffer
from long-term unemployment.

(vi) Prison Experience : Both surveys indicated that a
substantial minority of the residents have
a prison record, although Laidlaw's survey
suggested that fewer women have prison
experience.

(vii) Reasons for Homelessness : Laidlaw's survey in-
dicated that something like 35% of the
residents made a conscious decision to
move into a lodging house based on personal
preference or their occupation. Of the
majority who did not make such a positive
choice, Laidlaw's survey indicated that
economic causes were the biggest single
determining factor. The CRASH survey put
less emphasis on economic factors and instead
discovered that marital, parental, and
accommodation problems were the major reasons
for homelessness. The later survey also
suggested that Laidlaw's figure regarding
the percentage who stated they actually
wanted to stay in a lodging house is now
lower. This figure is now roughly half that
of 1953 based on the 1978 finding that 17%
stated they preferred the hostel way of life.

(viii) Hostel Use and Mobility : Both surveys, and
especially the CRASH survey, indicated

that the longer a person stays in a
hostel environment the more dependent
on it that person becomes. This is
suggested by, among other things, the
fact that the older age groups are more
likely to prefer staying in hostels.

7.3 - CONCLUSIONS

Five main conclusions can be drawn from the evidence
presented in this chapter. With regard to the financing
of such provision it was discovered that the District
loses approximately £4,000 per week on these establishments.
Secondly, in relation to the evidence presented about the
residents what has been of great significance is the
relative lack of difference between the figures presented
in 1953 and those in 1978. This supports the view that the
single homeless have tended to be neglected by social
welfare policy. Thirdly, the vast majority of the residents
do not want to live in the hostels and night shelters.
Fourthly, the institutionalising effects of the hostel
environment were emphasised by the fact that the older
age groups tended to suffer more badly over a whole range
of indicators than the younger age groups. Finally, and
linked to the previous comment, there is a need for an
increased emphasis on preventing people with marital,
family, or employment problems from eventually feeling
forced to use hostels and other forms of accommodation.

NOTES TO CHAPTER SEVEN

1. Compiled from the Housing Department Annual Reports for those years.

2. S. Laidlaw, 'Glasgow Common Lodging Houses and the People Living in Them', (1956), pp.85-154.

3. Survey carried out by Peter Fyfe, Chief Sanitary Inspector of Glasgow.

4. Glasgow Council for Single Homeless, 'Homeless Men Speak for Themselves', (1981).

SUMMARY OF PARTS ONE AND TWO.

A great deal of ground has so far been covered by
this thesis. In order to remind the reader (as well as
the writer!) of the main findings the following summary
is inserted. In addition this summary can act as a bridge
between Parts One and Two and the assessment to follow in
Part Three.

In Part One the historical background to the single
homeless problem was examined. In chapter one an explan-
ation was sought for the relative neglect of single home-
lessness as a social policy issue. Three reasons were given.
Firstly, the single homeless are politically and economically
unimportant. Secondly, the voluntary services have until
recently not really adopted a political posture, in the
sense of challenging government policy. Finally, state
attitudes towards the poor have tended to blame the poor
for their own condition.

Given the lack of a constructive approach to the
single homeless, chapter two analysed what responses
have been made. Three models were identified - penal,
moral, and socio-medical. While there are clear differences
between each response, one major similarity is that each
seeks to change the individual single homeless 'client'
and hence views the problem in relatively limited terms.
Chapter Three examined particular aspects of Glasgow's
history and it was argued that the high number of lodging
house and hostel beds in Glasgow is in part due to the
two traditions of high population mobility and the demand
for cheap accommodation.

Leading on from the historical section, Part Two
primarily analysed the statutory and voluntary organis-
ations that currently provide for the single homeless in
Glasgow.

Chapter five revealed that the Housing and Social
Work Departments are combining to successfully enable

residents of lodging houses and hostels to live in their
own accommodation. The Resettlement Units of central
government are also adopting a more enlightened approach,
and the Social Work Department is involved in the Unit
at Bishopbriggs. In addition it was argued that while
three of the four statutory services have specialised
their provision it did not appear to be the case that
such specialisation was bureaucratically inevitable.

Chapter six looked at the involvement of the
voluntary services, and while the voluntary coverage
was fairly extensive it was noted that there was a lack
of 'client' participation in many of these organisations.
Two other main findings were the heavy financial dependence
of these organisations on statutory sources, and the dis-
proportionate involvement of Catholic people in some of
these organisations.

Finally, Chapters four and seven emphasised, among
other things, that perhaps the major problem in the
single homeless situation is the fact that while the vast
majority of people do not want to live in large lodging
houses and hostels, such accommodation is still by far
the major type of accommodation available to the single
homeless.

PART THREE — OVERALL ASSESSMENT

INTRODUCTION TO PART THREE

In Part Three an assessment is made at various
levels of the evidence presented in this thesis. Chapter
eight examines the single homeless problem within wider
housing and social issues. Two issues in particular are
discussed — the amount of single person accommodation
available in the general housing market, and the level
of social stratification experienced by the single
homeless. Chapter nine identifies the specific key issues
to have emerged in this thesis. Four are discussed —
the various rehabilitative approaches adopted by the
organisations involved; the merits and drawbacks of
specialised services; the issue of large lodging houses
and hostels; and the particular role that the voluntary
services can and do play. In chapter ten the main con-
clusions are drawn based on the four questions posed at
the start of the thesis, and the policy implications
flowing from these conclusions are made by way of ending
the thesis.

CHAPTER EIGHT

THE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

8.1 - HOUSING FACTORS

(a) An Outline of the Relevant Trends

Three trends are discussed in this section - the
decline of the private rented sector; the general
problems of access to local authority housing experienced
by certain groups; and the lack of ordinary residential
housing for single people. The combined impact of these
three general trends is that the single homeless have
increasingly been forced to rely on the types of accommod-
ation described in 4.5.

As was discussed in chapters two and three there
has been a fairly dramatic decline this century in the
availability of private rented accommodation not only
in Glasgow but throughout the U.K. Whereas in 1914, at
the UK level, roughly 90 per cent of housing tenure was
private rented, by 1977 it had slumped to 13 per cent.[1]
Correspondingly there has been a polarisation into two
main forms of tenure - owner-occupation and local
authority rented. There have been four main reasons for
such a pattern of tenure. Firstly, private rented
accommodation has become uneconomic due to a tight
policy of rent control. Secondly, the owner-occupied and
local authority sectors are heavily subsidised. Thirdly,
such a pattern has been a reflection of general government
housing policy.[2] Finally, inner city redevelopment has
cleared much of the available private rented sector. In
Glasgow, for example, much of the private rented sector
was situated in and around the city centre area (see
3.3). Such a pattern in itself, of course, need not
create great problems were it not for the fact that
certain groups in society, such as the single homeless,

have difficulty in gaining access to these alternative
forms of tenure, thereby severely limiting the amount
of housing available to them.

Given that the owner-occupied sector is beyond
the means of virtually all the single homeless, local
authority housing is the major form of tenure available
to those of moderate and low incomes. This is particularly
the case in Glasgow with the local authority owning
roughly 60 percent of the total housing stock in 1977.[3]
However in this area other problems arise. One is that
to obtain a house usually means going on a waiting list
and accumulating enough points to entitle the person
or family to a vacancy. Such a practice can involve a
fairly lengthy wait unless exceptional circumstances
occur. Another problem is the practice, by some local
authorities, of grading prospective tenants in order
to classify:

> '..applicants according to their supposed
> suitability for different quality
> accommodation.'[4]

The result is a tendency to channel the poorest applicants
into the lowest quality accommodation. Finally, eligibility
rules based on age and length of residence criteria are
also often used. For example, Glasgow's new points
scheme awards two points per year to those who have lived
in Glasgow for more than five years.[5] While the issue of
local authority housing will be more extensively discussed
later in this chapter in conjunction with a discussion of
the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act, what can be said
at this point is that until they became a priority
category in Glasgow the single homeless were often either
ineligible for council housing or knew very little about
such matters given the insular effects of large lodging
houses and hostels.

Turning to the final relevant trend, housing policy has traditionally been orientated towards providing family accommodation. Moreover this problem of a lack of single person accommodation has been growing in recent years with the increase in the numbers of single people. Some of the reasons for this have been:

> 'an increase in the number of separations and
> divorces; greater longevity and a general
> unwillingness for families to house their
> aged parents; changing expectations amongst
> young people with many more wanting to live
> away from their parental home; an increase in
> mobility as people leave home to seek employment.' [6]

The impact of this as shown by the 1971 Census was that of a total of eleven million single adult people in England and Wales, only three million had their own home.

This is an area in which the Scottish Council for Single Homeless has been heavily involved. The recently published Single Person Accommodation Needs (SPAN) Report was the first national estimation of the housing needs and aspirations of single people in Scotland. The SCSH gathered the information by interviewing 3,000 single people across five selected districts. Some of the findings indicated a clear lack of housing provision for single people. For example, only 7 percent of single people under 30 live on their own whereas 29 percent stated they wanted their own accommodation. From such figures the Report concluded that 200,000 housing units, whether from converted existing stock or through new stock, would be required immediately in Scotland to meet the housing aspirations of single people. [7]

Even more recently the SCSH produced another Report regarding the legal problems faced by housing authorities and housing associations attempting to help single people. The conclusion reached was that Housing Acts, building

regulations, planning legislation, and a lack of clarity
in the area of multiple occupation, all combine to create
obstacles in the way of bodies wishing to provide single
person accommodation.[8]

Finally by way of concluding this section it should
be remembered that over the last ten years there has been
a growth in the number of large local authority hostels
in Glasgow in order to offset the decline of the private
rented sector (including private hostels), as well as
an increase in the number of specialised facilities run
by the growing number of voluntary organisations (see
3.4 and chapter six).

(b) Recent Policy Developments

During the 1970s three major policy developments
have exerted an influence on the housing sector that
have important implications for the single homeless.
Firstly, the role of housing associations has been
expanded. Secondly, central government has put increasing
pressure on local authorities to cut their housing ex-
penditure. Finally, as has already been discussed the
1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act transferred re-
sponsibility for the homeless away from social work to
the housing authorities.

Although housing associations date back to the
nineteenth century and the model working-class
communities of Bournville and Port Sunlight, such
activity was essentially small-scale until 1964 when
the Housing Corporation was formed to promote, fund
and supervise housing associations in their task of
providing more homes for people still in need of them.
By 1980 nearly 3,000 housing associations were registered
in Britain, and hence eligible for funding by central
government through the Corporation. Of these, 192
were registered in Scotland.[9] Overall, housing

associations in Britain own in excess of 350,000 dwellings or around 3 percent of the total housing stock.[10] Therefore the amount of stock is relatively small.

However the role of housing associations is becoming increasingly important. The 1974 Housing Act promoted their role to that of a 'third arm' of housing provision in the area of subsidised 'fair-rent' housing. To achieve this the amount of funding allocation was extended and is currently around £650 million a year (23 percent of the total housing budget) of which the Housing Corporation received £394 million, the Scottish Special Housing Association £225 million, and the local authorities £130 million. More fundamental than this is the type of accommodation provided:

'..(it is) predominantly for small households
with 45 percent one-bedroom accommodation and
30 percent two-bedroom. Almost half the
accommodation provided is for the elderly
(49 percent) and a further 11 percent for
single people.'[11]

This role of providing for single people was further emphasised by a Housing Corporation consultative document in 1979[12] which drew up a proposed investment strategy encouraging housing associations to provide for single people and special needs groups. In addition it was re-emphasised that the Housing Association Movement should continue its role as a 'safety net' for those requiring specialist accommodation by providing supportive accommodation which could be used as a stepping stone to direct tenancy. The clients for this supportive accommodation include a small minority of homeless single people.

Although there is no specific housing association

for the single homeless in Glasgow, various associations
are running projects aimed at providing accommodation
for single people. Link Housing Association is running
a scheme in Cowcaddens for 88 places. The new Housing
Association is running group tenancies in Belmont Street,
while Central Govan Housing Association is running a
project in Luath Street. Overall there are 30 housing
associations in Glasgow, of which 21 are community-
based and 9 special category.[13] In addition, although
separate from the above, the Scottish Special Housing
Association[14] is currently expecting 12 part-furnished
flats in their own stock to become available in the
East End, as specific provision for single people,
as well as letting one person flats in multi-storey
blocks.

Turning to the second policy development, as was
explained in chapter four the inflexibility of the
rating system has put local authorities under greater
pressure to conform to central government expenditure
plans. Such expenditure cuts have been particularly
severe in the housing sector where the 1980 Public
Expenditure White Paper showed that at constant 1979
prices housing expenditure would be roughly halved
over the next five years from £5,372 million in 1979-80
to £2,790 million by 1983-84.[15] The implications of
these proposed cuts are that:

> '..it will..mean a complete change in
> the balance of housing finance and
> investment without any indication as to
> how housing policy will be directed towards
> housing need. Many local authorities will
> be able to do no more than meet their
> existing programme commitments.'[16]

More particularly Glasgow will find it increasingly
difficult to drastically reduce her amount of sub-
standard housing which accounted for 16.5% of the
total stock in 1979.[17] Moreover:

> 'Single person households were more likely
> than households with all numbers of children
> to have inadequate facilities and only one
> room heated in winter..'[18]

Finally it should also not be forgotten that the
previously mentioned Housing Corporation will also
be affected by the cuts and:

> ''is cutting back from 33,500 units in 1979-80
> to 21,500 in 1980-81 and will have to make
> substantial cuts in subsequent years.'[19]

There are three implications for the single homeless
stemming from these proposed expenditure cuts. Firstly,
if the findings of the SPAN Report are correct it is
difficult to see how the housing needs of single people
can be met in the near future. Although housing
associations have been making an important contribution
the scale of the problem means that such housing needs
will probably have to be primarily met by local authority
housing. What should be emphasised is the preventive
aspect of the adequate provision of suitable single person
accommodation. More particularly the combined evidence
of this and the previous chapter regarding single person
trends and reasons for homelessness suggest that more
young people will find it increasingly difficult to live
in their parental home. In this case the lack of suitable
accommodation may lead some to become part of the single
homeless.

Secondly, although the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons)
Act has made a significant improvement in the numbers of

families being rehoused with over 20,000 *more* families being rehoused in 1978 when the Act was in force than in 1977 when it was not,[20] it has also been indicated that:

> 'there is a significant minority of local authorities who will use any loophole to avoid treating homeless families in a positive way.'[21]

Given that the single homeless are not generally regarded as being a priority category it would seem likely that many local authorities will not treat the single homeless in a positive manner particularly in a climate of expenditure cuts when resources are becoming increasingly scarce.

Thirdly, and leading on from this point, Glasgow, despite its large stock of council housing, may find it increasingly difficult to rehouse lodging house and hostel residents in suitable and adequate accommodation particularly if the take-up rate of beds per night does not begin to drop significantly. In this respect the current idea of an accommodation centre (see 6.7) where housing needs can be assessed would seem to be important.

8.2 - SOCIAL FACTORS

(a) Public Awareness

During this research one of the most striking factors I encountered was the general lack of public awareness of not only the issues surrounding the single homeless problem but of the term 'single homeless' itself. Put the other way, the corollary of such factors is the strong element of caricature still used to present the single homeless problem, embodied in such terms as 'dosser' and 'down and out'. Usually such caricatures present the single homeless as being alcoholic, smelly, lazy, and having criminal tendencies. Many of these elements have

been implicitly and sometimes explicitly mentioned at various stages of this thesis. Broadly there are two immediate reasons for these caricatures - the media presentation of the subject; and the begging element of the single homeless way of life. Underpinning both, however, is the institutionalising effects of living in large lodging houses and hostels.

In order to examine the first point it is necessary:

'To understand the effect of the mass media on the interpretation of the phenomena and their role in the presentation of the problem,..We must take account of them as a social institution and mass communication as a social process. While all their other expressions are involved in vagrancy's presentation, news reporting is the central dimension where the paths of mass media and social problem cross.'[22]

Given that the presentation of news is a selective process and hence tends to concentrate on the most unusual:

'..vagrancy which..contains a heterogeneous collection of phenomena which are not readily typified, is characterised by those that are most strange and least representative. This serves to reinforce the conventional inter- pretation of vagrancy in terms of individual abnormality by encouraging its emphasis.'[23]

Various supposedly objective examples, such as "Johnny Go Home",[24] could be cited to indicate the subjective and sensationalistic media presentation of the problem. More generally the greater emphasis on visual imagery in the presentation of news has tended to reinforce the popular caricatures of the single homeless as being deviant

and abnormal.

This latter point can only be fully understood
in conjunction with a discussion of how the public (or
the audience) normally come into contact with the single
homeless. As was suggested in the preface this is usually
through the act of begging. By definition begging is a
temporary relationship between two persons in which the
victim is persuaded to part with a small amount of money
without any expectation of anything in return.[25] While
there are no guaranteed strategies for successful begging,
certain public places such as railway or bus stations
tend to offer a better chance of success. In part this
is as much because of the anonymity they offer the victim
as well as the beggar. In other words, the embarrassment
felt by the victim is less noticeable. Referring to the
particular issue at hand, the point is that such a
temporary, personal and yet at the same time public
relationship tends to instill on the victim a subjective
image of the single homeless based on a few stock phrases:

> 'Asking for the price of a sandwich or cup of
> tea ('I'm hungry'), explaining that one needs
> help with a fare home or to one's ship
> ('I'm stranded), or, if one's appearance
> is particularly destitute, passively
> begging alms with an outstretched hand
> ('I'm down-and-out'), are all gambits
> by which men obtain the price of a bottle.'[26]

That such media and personal images are mutually reinforced
is because of the effects of large lodging houses and
hostels on the single homeless person's appearance and on
his state of mind. (see 7.2)

(b) Social Stratification

There are two levels of social stratification

to be found within their own culture. The essential
theme is that generally the nature of the latter
stratification is conditioned by the nature of the
limited inter-action that does take place between the
single homeless and general society. More particularly,
it is possible to perceive an unusually high degree of
suspicion and hostility at both levels.

Although, as defined by the concept of deprivation,
all of the poor suffer in various degrees from a lack of
access to resources and general society, the single
homeless situation is particularly severe because of
the strong elements of institutionalisation evident
in their life-styles. While this operates at various
levels such as within lodging houses and hostels, one
of the most general for some of the single homeless
continues to be the 'revolving door' cycle whereby:

> 'Such a person is inextricably caught up in the
> cycle of intoxication, arrest for being publicly
> in that condition, conviction, confinement,
> release, and return to the street where, because
> of his complete lack of control over his drinking,
> the cycle begins again.'[27]

As was indicated in chapter two, while such a penal
response has been declining it still remains very
important. What is of greater significance is that such
a state response engenders a suspicious and resentful
attitude from the single homeless towards authority:

> 'The other day we were sat at the roundabout when
> a copper came up to the school, took a full bottle
> of cider from us and poured it all over the ground.
> He then asked us to move..he had no right to do
> that..the police are just a bunch of bastards.'[28]

The impact of such resentment upon the culture
of the single homeless is not clear. Some research has
indicated that skid-row alcoholics (i.e. those most
likely to be harassed by the police) display a fair
degree of mutual support and social reciprocity,[29]
whereas a study of a higher strata of single homeless
in the Spitalfields area of London[30] indicated the
existence of a high degree of stratification within
this sub-culture:

> '..the crux of which consists of the elaboration
> of a dichotomy between dossers, an acceptable
> identity, and jake-drinkers, a label with
> pejorative connotations and an identity which..
> would be rejected by the men..as a fitting
> description of themselves, although each of them
> would be happy to impose it on others from whom
> they wished to distinguish themselves.[31]

While it would, therefore, be difficult to generalise
about this aspect of the problem the evidence does
seem to suggest that a more constructive statutory
response would help to reduce the defensive aspects of
the single homeless response, although different responses
can be expected from different categories of single home-
less. The implications of this upon the possibility
of politicising the single homeless will be discussed
in 9.4 as part of a general analysis of the voluntary
role.

8.3 - CONCLUSIONS

Three main conclusions can be drawn from this
chapter, none of which are very optimistic. Firstly,
while the role of housing associations has expanded,
the impact of housing expenditure cuts alongside an
already existing shortage of single person accommodation
means that the housing needs of single people will not

be met in the near future. The implication for the single homeless is that large lodging houses and hostels will continue to be used extensively.

Secondly, as yet the media still presents a broadly simplistic picture of the single homeless problem based on unrepresentative stories or incidents. Assuming that this is unlikely to alter from pressures within the media, the voluntary services may have an important role in pioneering a more constructive presentation of the issues to the public.

Thirdly, given that large hostels will remain, the single homeless will probably continue to feel apart from general society to an unusual degree. This point will be discussed at various stages in chapter nine.

NOTES TO CHAPTER EIGHT

1. Quoted in M. Norton, 'Housing' (1981), p.8.

2. Ibid.

3. Glasgow District Council, 'Housing Plan No.1', (1977a).

4. J. English, 'Access and Deprivation in Local Authority
    Housing', in C. Jones (Ed.), 'Urban Depriv-
    ation and the Inner City', (1979), p.114.

5. Glasgow District Council Guide, 'Your Home in Glasgow',p.10.

6. Norton, op.cit., p.120.

7. SCSH, 'Think Single', (1981).

8. Reported in the Scotsman, September 17, 1981.

9. The Housing Corporation, 'Report', (1979-80), p.17.

10. Norton, op.cit., p.87.

11. Ibid., figures refer to Britain as a whole.

12. Housing Corporation, 'A Programme for Investment
    1979-84 : A Consultative Document' (1979).

13. Glasgow Directory of Voluntary Organisations, (1980),
    pp.65-7.

14. Set up in 1937 the Scottish Special Housing Association
    is not a housing association in the normal
    sense but a central government agency which
    supplements the housebuilding of local
    authorities.

15. Quoted in Norton, op.cit., pp.154-5.

16. Ibid., p.155.

17. Shelter, 'Scotland's Housing Shambles', (1979), p.1.

18. P. Townsend, 'Poverty in the United Kingdom', (1979),
    p.527.

19. Norton, op.cit., p.155.

20. Ibid., p.110.

21. Ibid., quote from a Shelter Report.

22. P. Beresford, 'The Public Presentation of Vagrancy'
            in T. Cook (Ed.), 'Vagrancy – Some New
            Perspectives', (1979), p.148.

23. Ibid., p.150.

24. See M. Deakin and J. Willis, 'Johnny Go Home', (1976).

25. P. Archard, 'Vagrancy, Alcoholism and Social Control'
            (1979), p.39.

26. Ibid., p.40.

27. B.C. Hollister, 'Alcoholics and Public Drunkenness: the
            Emerging Retreat from Punishment', Crime and
            Delinquency, July 16, 1970, p.242.

28. Archard, op.cit., p.92.

29. P. Archard, 'The Bottle won't Leave You : A Study of
            Homeless Alcoholics and their Guardians',
            (1975).

30. P. Phillimore, 'Dossers and Jake Drinkers : The View
            from One End of Skid Row', in Cook (Ed.)
            op.cit., pp.29-48.

31. Ibid., pp.46-7.

THE EMERGENT ISSUES

9.1 - REHABILITATION

> 'With (such) aid, the skid row man leaves
> almost any station on the loop cleaned up,
> sobered up, dried out, physically built up,
> psychologically investigated and "purged",
> perhaps spiritually renewed, and sometimes
> even occupationally placed.
> However despite the hopeful promouncements
> of the stations (agencies) and the rather
> elaborate programs to implement them, most
> skid row alcoholics eventually return to
> skid row, to heavy drinking and then back
> on to the loop, regardless of which was the
> last station visited.'[1]

Essentially this is the dilemma faced by the organisations
involved in the rehabilitation of the single homeless.
Why this dilemma exists is examined in this section from
three perspectives - service, client, and societal.
Finally these strands are drawn together to discuss the
criteria that are used to measure success.

While the definition of rehabilitation as generally
meaning the return of the single homeless to some sort of
independent existence would be broadly accepted by the
organisations involved if questioned, when such organis-
ations are studied it becomes much less clear whether such
a view is actually held.

As was indicated in chapter two there have been three
broad responses to the single homeless - penal, moral, and
socio-medical. While this section will concentrate on the
latter two, a few comments should be made about the penal
response.

The major historical theme underlying the penal response has been the gradual recognition of its impotency in rehabilitating the single homeless. At the same time, however, the fact that such a response has persisted · reflects a general lack of commitment towards the provision of alternatives, the most recent of which is the lack of separate funding for the provision of 'designated places' in Scotland. Aside from the fact that such a response doesn't work, there are two more particular reasons why greater efforts should be made to provide alternatives. One is that dealing with the single homeless distracts the police from dealing with crime. The other is the resentment felt by some of the single homeless towards authority and the stronger barriers that are consequently created by the single homeless as a form of defence.[2]

Of the eleven service organisations discussed in chapters five and six, seven have a major 'rehabilitative' function. Within this two voluntary organisations have primarily adopted a moral response − the Salvation Army, and the Church of Scotland. This is reflected in the relative lack of socio-medical facilities in their hostels for single homeless people. Rather than repeat the arguments outlined in 6.3 and 6.5 what is discussed at this point is the merits of such an approach. Broadly religious organisations involved in this field see the single homeless as 'spiritually bankrupt'. However, as was suggested in chapter two, the religious approach is now more subtle than it was during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In other words, the element of blame is much less emphasised. Generally, religious organisations now provide nourishment and care within a religious environment embodied in such things as the proliferation of bibles and the hanging of religious artifacts on the walls. The benefit of such an approach is that it can give a person a sense of belonging and in that sense helps to break down barriers. The major problem,

however, is that it seeks to explain the real world by
reference to another world (if that is the correct
phrase). Consequently to a certain extent such organisations
are seeking to convert the single homeless rather than
rehabilitate them. The justification for this is that the
former is necessary for the latter (6.3).

The majority of organisations involved now primarily
adopt a socio-medical approach. The major voluntary
examples of this approach in Glasgow are the Simon Community
and the Talbot Association. While there are important
differences between them, one major similarity is that both
organisations adopt a programme of stages towards rehabilit-
ation (see 6.1 and 6.4). For the Simon Community the first
stage is the soup run, while for Talbot it is the night
shelter. Although both encourage the single homeless to
participate after the initial stages what is more significant
is how both organisations attempt this.

The Simon Community, with its roots in the idea of
the therapeutic community adopts a basically collective
approach. Hence the single homeless are to gain strength
by participating within the confines of a group conscience.
More fundamentally, to a certain extent the group within
each House has to move on together, as exemplified by the
Tollcross group tenancy for three 'second tier' male
residents. This helps to explain why Simon puts great
emphasis on the staff and clients being equals. Implicit
in such an approach, moreover, is the belief that there is
no set way towards achieving 'rehabilitation' and it will
vary according to the different groups. Hence there are
no specific goals other than the willingness to participate
within the group, although each tier stage does represent
a different level of 'finding oneself'.

The approach of the Talbot Association is somewhat
different. From a broadly individualist standpoint the

Talbot staff are, to a certain extent, held up as the goal to be achieved. The staff are proof that change can be achieved. Underlying this approach is the belief that incentives should be offered in order to encourage people. In the Talbot example the main incentive is the benefit to be had from the 'defeat' of alcoholism. Hence the specific goal of being able to live without drink is the base from which such single homeless people can be rehabilitated. Each tier stage therefore represents a person moving upwards away from the 'gutter'.

Turning to the statutory services, as was explained in chapter five the single homeless are currently being treated as a priority category by the Glasgow District Housing Department. In order to prepare the most suitable for this move into their own house, the Social Work Department operates a 'homemaker' scheme whereby basic household skills are taught. Such a scheme operates in both the District lodging houses and hostels, and the Bishopbriggs Resettlement Unit. What is most apparent about this scheme is that, while it operates at a different level, it has more in common with the Talbot approach than the Simon Community approach. The goal set for the individual is that of his own home and all the benefits accruing from that.

Generally the fundamental difference between the two socio-medical approaches outlined is the function of participation. For the Simon Community participation is encouraged not just because it is good for the 'client' but also because it is essential to the proper functioning of each community group. In other words rehabilitation is a two-way programme between staff and clients. For the Talbot Association and the statutory services rehabilitation is essentially a one-way programme from those who are already rehabilitated to those in need of such rehabilitation. In short, the latter 'knows' what rehabilitation is whereas the former does not but hopes to discover what it is. Leading

on from this last point it is now necessary to examine
how the single homeless view rehabilitation.

In the main the situation facing each single homeless
person is that:

> 'Whatever type of institution or agency he
> chooses as his escape route form a vagrant
> state he will, to varying degrees, be ex-
> pected to..be stable, earn a living, take
> responsibility (at least for himself, if
> not for others), cope with a different time
> scale to that afforded by a vagrant life,
> acquire social skills, survive setbacks,
> increase self-confidence, be honest,
> abstain from his past deviance, acquire
> leisure interests and develop to the
> point of obtaining non-supported accommod-
> ation.'[3]

So that his 'abnormal' values are to be replaced by more
'normal' values. As can be seen from this previous quote
the degree of change traditionally expected of the single
homeless can be quite formidable. Turned around, it can be
argued that the sheer extent to which the single homeless
are viewed (and hence view themselves) as being 'deviant'
has directly inhibited the potential effectiveness of the
services involved in rehabilitation. More particularly the
weight of current research evidence into the culture of
the single homeless (see 8.2) suggests that such 'extra-
ordinary' defects arise after a person has been labelled
'single homeless', and hence eventually acts according to
the established rules of that culture.[4] Such rules
surrounding the acts of begging and sleeping rough have
been termed 'strategies of survival'.[5]

So far it has been argued that a general lack of
recognition by the services involved that housing policy
is the main cause of single homelessness has traditionally

resulted in a mutually reinforcing situation in which a
person becoming immersed in the single homeless way of
life puts up barriers that are used by the services to
justify their responses. Nonetheless it is still clearly
possible to break down these barriers and strengthen the
single homeless person by various means. Hence in order
to fully explain why such rehabilitation programmes have
usually failed it is necessary to determine the general
hostility still felt by society towards the single homeless.
Since the reasons why this hostility exists have already
been discussed, most notably in chapters one, two, and
eight, I intend only to highlight the extent of this
hostility. While much of the evidence for this is implicit,
embodied in such things as the existence of Vagrancy Laws,
one recent European study of attitudes towards poverty
indicated very strongly that the British still blame the
individual for his condition to an unusual degree. Whereas
43 percent of the British population held the view that
poverty occurs because of laziness and lack of willpower,
only 11 percent in Denmark, for example, held this view.[6]

Much of the discussion so far has centred on the
failure of programmes of rehabilitation without giving
hard evidence of this. While one estimate suggests that
only 20 percent of the single homeless are successfully
rehabilitated by the voluntary services[7] there are two
main reasons why it is difficult to be sure how many people
are rehabilitated by the voluntary services. One is their
dependence on statutory sources of funding and their need
therefore to maintain the numbers using their programmes
in order to maintain such funding. The other is that the way
some voluntary organisations attempt to rehabilitate the
single homeless clouds the measurement of such matters.
For example, the Simon Community and the Talbot Association
with their carefully staged programmes of rehabilitation
will have people at various levels of their programmes at
any given time. Underlying both these points is the general

lack of statutory commitment in this field, and the
implicit suggestion that the situation is somehow
unsolvable and hence unimportant.

Yet having said this as chapter five indicated
Glasgow District has been spectacularly successful in
its rehousing policy. More generally, and related to the
earlier point, various criteria of success operate in
this area. While Glasgow District has so far been successful
in rehousing single homeless people in ordinary housing
they have been less successful in their plans to close
the older lodging houses although Abercromby Street
lodging house was closed in 1981. What is of much greater
significance is that the sheer demand for such housing
from the single homeless indicates on the one hand that the
policy of the early 1970s to build new large hostels in
Glasgow was wrong and on the other that many of the
voluntary organisations have:

> '..become locked to a lesser or greater
> extent in their own history and practices
> and thus find change difficult.'[8]

More particularly with regards to the four voluntary
organisations discussed in this section, each to a certain
extent measures success not in terms of the numbers re-
habilitated but in terms of the number converted to the
ideals of their particular organisation. Hence what I am
suggesting, probably too harshly, is that these voluntary
organisations (and their staff) need the single homeless
perhaps as much as the single homeless need them. In short,
such voluntary organisations are implicitly in favour of the
status quo. For example, what are the Salvation Army to.
do with their large hostels? In passing, however, it should
be stated that such arguments apply less so to the Simon
Community with its additional pressure group role as part
of the National Cyrenians.

9.2 - SPECIALISATION

'A study of trends in organisations
generally..leads to two conclusions.
Firstly, that specialisation is an in-
escapable aspect of progress in sophistic-
ated organisations..Secondly, the very fact
of specialisation increases the need for
co-ordination by the organisation.' [9]

While the specialist role of the voluntary services is
discussed in 9.4 the primary focus in this section is on
the statutory services. Broadly I wish to investigate
two questions. Firstly, how and why does specialisation
occur. Secondly, does such an occurrence really indicate
progress.

Turning to the first question, each of the statutory
services described in chapter five has displayed three
key inter-related facets of social service administration -
efficiency, specialisation, and co-ordination. Within each
organisation efforts have been made to 'streamline' the
structures in order to increase efficiency, not only in
the operation of the structure but also in its effective-
ness in meeting a desired goal. From this objective of being
efficient and effective, and assuming that resources are
limited, specialisation has developed. The combination of
efficiency, effectiveness, and specialisation inevitably
leads to the need for some form of co-ordination between
the centre and the periphery. One example will illustrate
this process but it is similarly applicable to the others
(although the Health Services in Glasgow have not yet
specialised in the single homeless field, specialisation
is a fundamental aspect of the NHS. For example, Health
Visitors specialise in treating children, while District
Nurses concentrate on the elderly).

With the creation of Social Work Departments in 1969
a previously ad hoc and fragmented service was transformed

into a bureaucratised administration with various re-
sponsibilities. In the initial stages of development
emphasis was put on the skills and techniques used by
social workers in order to ascertain certain common
principles of operation. However as it became more apparent
in the late 1960s that public expenditure was coming under
increasing pressure, so by the 1970s emphasis was slowly
put on the objectives of social work as opposed to the
technical aspects of the service.[10] This can be seen as
one aspect of a wider interpretation embodied in the concept
of deprivation. As a result social work has increasingly
emphasised the desirability of prevention as well as the
need to focus on certain social problems in order to
increase effectiveness. The result in the single homeless
field in Glasgow was the setting up of a specialised unit.
Hence the Single Homeless Unit symbolised on the one hand
the belief that existing services were not adequately
meeting the needs of the single homeless, and on the other
an emphasis on the desirability of researching into the
causes of the problem in order to prevent it occurring.
Finally, as a result of this specialisation some form of
co-ordination has been inevitable in order that this more
clearly identifiable 'single homeless' voice is effectively
represented at the centre where policy and resource decisions
are taken. Such co-ordination may be carried out in various
ways such as direct formal or informal meetings.

More generally, not only has specialisation increased
the need for contact to be maintained within certain levels
of a particular department, but as has been apparent in
the Glasgow case co-operation between different departments
has also increased. This is perhaps even more fundamental.
As embodied in the 'homemaker' scheme primarily, specialised
units within different departments are co-operating in
order to tackle the problem. In other words such an approach
represents a multi-faceted response to what is deemed to be

a multi-faceted problem. The logical extension of such a view has been the establishment of the Glasgow Council for Single Homeless with its aim of co-ordinating both the statutory and voluntary services.

Turning now to the second question, irrespective of the difficulties faced in trying to define 'need',[11] the fact that the expressed needs of the single homeless for their own home (see 7.2) are being met would suggest that specialisation has been a good thing. Yet as was argued in 5.2 the main reason why Glasgow adopted a re-housing policy for the single homeless was the availability of vacant property rather than the knowledge that such a demand existed. In other words, as was indicated in 2.3, while the amount of research into the single homeless problem has greatly expanded the amount of policy change has been minimal:

> 'Even the development of Government awareness
>   that the problems of the single homeless poor
>   would be better addressed by governmental
>   agencies able to supply accommodation and
>   work has been accompanied by the classification
>   of their range of needs as special.'[12]

It can be argued that much of the evidence of chapter five indicates that the enlightened policy of Glasgow District was more a happy coincidence of events (i.e. the availability of vacant housing in conjunction with the evidence of the CRASH Survey) rather than a planned policy. More particularly the evidence of 5.1 and 5.3 with regards to social work and social security suggests that specialisation primarily occurred not to benefit the single homeless but to benefit some of the staff and other clients of these services. The special benefit office at Minerva Street, while being justified in terms of meeting the needs of the single homeless, was primarily set up to combat fraud as well as to enable women and children claiming benefit to avoid coming into

contact with such 'anti-social' people. The Single
Homeless Unit at St. Andrew's Square was set up because
of the fact that some social workers in the Area teams
did not want to be involved with the single homeless. It
is no coincidence that the people working in the Unit
volunteered to do so. In addition, as if to emphasise the
point, the Unit Leader is a former member of the Simon
Community.

Even if the motives for specialisation were more
'noble' than those suggested, it is still debatable
whether specialisation benefits the single homeless. While
the staff may become more aware of the problems involved,
one major argument against specialisation is that it may
'stigmatize' the single homeless in that they are effectively
separated from the general clientele. In short, that their
'extraordinariness' is confirmed. The repercussion of this
is that as with the institutionalising effects of large
lodging houses and hostels some of the single homeless may
act accordingly. For example, at the Minerva Street Office
local residents have complained about men urinating in their
doorways and hanging about at night drinking and swearing.
In this respect, therefore, specialisation does not really
benefit either the single homeless or the local residents
whose image of the single homeless is confirmed. It is for
such reasons that in 9.4 an examination is made of the
opposite approach whereby people with various problems
are deliberately mixed.

9.3 - ACCOMMODATION

The evidence of this and other research has indicated
two fundamental accommodation issues endemic to the single
homeless problem. The first is that for a variety of reasons
large lodging houses and hostels are undesirable as a way
of accommodating single homeless people. The second is that
for various other reasons such forms of accommodation are
likely to remain for some time yet.

Three main reasons have been put forward at various
stages of this thesis against the provision of large
lodging houses and hostels. Most fundamental is the fact
that the people using them don't want them (see 7.2). The
CRASH Survey clearly indicated that virtually four out of
every five residents would prefer to be living in a house
or flat. Another reason is the institutionalising effects
of living for a length of time in such establishments
(see 7.2). For example the older residents were much less
likely to have outside social contacts. More especially
as was argued in 5.5 and 9.2 such institutionalisation
puts greater pressure on other social services such as
health and social work leading in some cases to specialised
services which may heighten the alienation felt by the
single homeless. A third reason put forward mainly in
7.1 was that such provision is losing money and in a time
of expenditure cuts the current Glasgow District policy
of closing the older lodging houses and using previously
vacant ordinary housing instead seems sensible.

Despite the validity of such evidence there are four
main reasons why large lodging houses and hostels will
remain for a time. One is the existing bias towards such
accommodation (4.5), and the sheer extent of this bias
must limit how quickly change can take place. Leading on
from this the lack of suitable single person accommodation
alongside housing expenditure cuts (8.1) means that for
the moment there is not enough ordinary housing available
in Scotland. Thirdly, referring to Glasgow, the very high
existing 'demand' for lodging house and hostel accommodation
(5.2) exemplifies the need to tackle this problem on a
national basis, otherwise the problem will simply be
transferred to these 'enlightened' areas and there is a
limit to how many incomers can be absorbed. Finally, such
accommodation patterns more generally reflect the relative
unimportance of the single homeless in social policy

terms (1.1).

Given this situation there are three interim
measures that can and are being taken. Firstly, the
provision of an accommodation centre in Glasgow should
act as a preventive measure and hence reduce the 'demand'
for lodging house and hostel accommodation. Secondly,
existing hostel and housing accommodation can be con-
verted to a certain extent. As was indicated in 6.3 the
Salvation Army are in the process of reconstructing their
Clyde Street hostel for women by adding a new west wing
which will enable each of the residents to have a single
room. How far such a policy of reconversion could be applied
would depend on the costs involved, the position and
condition of the site, and the numbers generally using
such facilities. Similarly existing ordinary housing could
be reconverted more effectively towards single people along
the lines suggested by various Scottish Council for Single
Homeless Reports:

> '..where tenements have been converted, the
> property has usually been empty before
> conversion, and the developer could arrange
> the new accommodation to suit small house-
> holds, or single people.'[13]

Thirdly, various interested groups such as the above mentioned
SCSH must continue to press central and local government to
provide more housing for single people and to be more
flexible in their policies with regards to such things
as multiple occupancy.

To conclude this section the point should be made
that similar arguments could be applied to the central
government resettlement units. Of the 23 currently in
operation throughout Britain only two have accommodation for
less than 60 people. Moreover nine of them have accommodation
for over 100, the most notorious being the Camberwell Unit
with 938 beds.[14] In addition some of these units are

situated outside the particular city. The reason for this
was that they were set up wherever an empty site not wanted
by any other service was available, such as the old airfield
site where the Bishopbriggs Unit was established. While
it has been argued that such a dose of 'country air' will
do the men good it is more likely that the scattering
of these units and the resultant travelling involved will
make resettlement in the 'bad' city environment more
difficult.

9.4 – THE VOLUNTARY ROLE

Three issues are discussed in this section. Firstly,
to what extent the voluntary services can increase the
social policy priority given to the single homeless problem.
Secondly, whether the voluntary services have a viable
rehabilitative role. Thirdly, in what ways can the voluntary
services experiment in the area of single homeless provision.

Much of chapter one was concerned with the relative
lack of importance accorded to the single homeless issue.
The main reason for this, it was argued, was that the
state usually responds more favourably to organised interest
groups such as trade unions or business. Leading on from
this point the relative rise in importance of the single
homeless issue over the last twenty years was directly
attributed to the increasing politicisation of the voluntary
services that occurred in the early 1960s. In short that
some voluntary organisations came to promote the single
homeless issue.[15] However, in spite of a more informed
awareness of the subject and the accomplishment of certain
improvements, such as the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act,
various major obstacles are still apparent. More particularly,
three obstacles were identified in chapter eight – the
degree of cultural isolation felt by the single homeless,
the lack of public awareness of the issue, and the general
lack of housing provision for single people. Now given that:

'change in an issue's priority is...either
the outcome of alterations in its comparative
strength, in its charactersitics, or in the
basic criteria against which it is judged,'[16]

then three main strategies can be adopted to overcome these
obstacles. Firstly, wherever possible client participation
should be encouraged. This can be attempted at various
levels and CHAR has former single homeless people actively
involved in their pressure group activities. The overall
impact of this should be a breaking down of the cultural
barriers felt by the single homeless. Secondly, the attempt
should be made to make the single homeless issue more
publicly accessible, as for example with the press coverage
of the SPAN Report (6.6) and the CRASH Survey (7.2). In
particular an emphasis should be put on linking the issue
with wider housing and social issues, such as the reasons
why the public have a certain image of the single homeless
(8.2). Thirdly, and linked to the previous point, given
that the single homeless 'lobby' may not be strong enough
on its own, some attempt could be made to link with
other groups in related fields such as mental health, and
ex-prisoners. More generally, with the numbers of single
people rising (8.1) a campaign in favour of the housing
needs of single people generally will have derivative
benefits for the single homeless. For example, with regards
to the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act:

'Once a single person has registered as homeless,
Section 9 of the Act provides for housing
authorities to bring to bear the resources of
all relevant agencies in their areas..to help
meet the needs of homeless applicants.
This in itself is likely to concentrate the
minds of public authorities and to lead to
pressure on their priorities in supplying housing

accommodation. Indeed, the hope is that the
demands from homeless single people for
accommodation under the..Act will force local
authorities to radically change their supply
of housing and their allocations policies so
as to take account of the needs of single people.
These changes will then pave the way for an
extension of the Act..to provide the right to
accommodation to all single homeless people.'[17]

Underlying, and to a certain extent limiting, such
strategies is the question of finance. As has been
emphasised already (6.8), voluntary organisations are
heavily dependent on statutory sources of funding.
While such a more political voluntary stance has been in
part encouraged by the state (1.2), there may be limits
as to how far this can be taken. Moreover the options open
to the voluntary services to obtain alternative funds may
be limited. For example in 6.6 it was explained that a
cyclical situation sometimes operates whereby a general
lack of public interest in the single homeless inhibits
the amount of money that the SCSH can raise which in turn
restricts the extent to which the SCSH can publicise the
issue. One possible way around this is to raise finance
for specific projects but it is a general problem that is
difficult to solve.

With regards to the rehabilitative role of the voluntary
services, section 9.1 was very critical of the organisations
involved. Hence perhaps some sort of an attempt should be
made to redress the balance. While Glasgow District has
been more successful in rehabilitating the single homeless
because of their specific offer of suitable accommodation,
it is probably true that those single homeless on the
'homemaker' scheme should never have been in lodging house

and hostel accommodation in the first place. Put another way, one would expect the voluntary services to have a low success rate because generally they are catering for those single homeless who have greater problems. For example, the Church of Scotland night shelter at Kirkhaven mainly caters for those who have been thrown out of District lodging houses and hostels and are hence in an emergency situation. In addition, this may partly explain why there is such a high turnover of people at Kirkhaven (6.5). Similarly the Talbot Association explicitly caters for those suffering from a severe drink problem in addition to homelessness. More generally this raises the issue of the different types of problems experienced by the single homeless. While a better housing policy would reduce the numbers of single homeless there are still going to be some who will not be able to look after themselves. What I am suggesting is that in the event of such changes in housing provision the voluntary role might come to be more explicitly slanted towards care rather than rehabilitation.

This leads me on to the last issue, namely in what ways can the voluntary services experiment with the provision being offered. While the emphasis of much of the voluntary work is increasingly towards specialising in specific areas such as mental illness, drug abuse, and alcoholism[18], some organisations have tried to experiment in such areas. For example, Patchwork, a London based voluntary organisation, has developed the communal ideal by experimenting with the notion of mixing people with different needs:

> 'Every resident has his own bedroom; but
> kitchens, bathrooms and sitting rooms are
> shared. About three-fifths of their people
> have special needs of some sort, but in each
> house these needs are deliberately mixed. The

frail old man, the ex-prisoner, the unmarried
mother, the addict on the way to recovery
can each make a contribution and live with
self respect, provided they are not shut up
with people who all suffer from the same
handicaps. The other two-fifths of the
residents have no special needs. They go
out to work in the ordinary way.'[19]

While such approaches may create problems as regards the
rates of benefits to be paid where applicable[20], these
problems can be overcome. More especially such an approach
fundamentally challenges conventional wisdom on the treat-
ment of social problems. Whereas conventionally people
with 'problems' are put into particular categories, the
'social mix' approach emphasises the differences between
people within a communal environment in order to highlight
the contribution that each can make. So that in the former
people's weaknesses are emphasised, whereas in the latter
it is their strengths.

Linking this with the particular voluntary organisations
studied, one point to emerge, albeit very roughly, was
that many of the staff of these organisations became
involved either because of a particular commitment to
the philosophies expressed or because of some personal
or family experience that they had suffered in the single
homeless field. In other words, to some extent they may be
'flawed' themselves in such a way that enables them to
relate more fully with the single homeless. This is not
to imply weakness but rather the opposite. Clearly such
an interpretation would be more applicable to bodies
such as the Talbot Association and the Simon Community,
rather than the Salvation Army where the emphasis is less
on living together. It was for such reasons I argued
earlier that the voluntary emphasis should be more on

care than rehabilitation. Such an approach might provide more clearly established alternatives for those who have no real desire to live in conventional society.

9.5 - CONCLUSIONS

Four issues have been discussed in this chapter. Firstly, on the issue of rehabilitation two major reasons were given for the high success rate of the Glasgow District rehousing policy. One was the f act that such a policy was satisfying the needs of the majority in the lodging houses and hostels. The other was that the building of new hostels in the early 1970s had put some people in such establishments who should not have been there. As for the relative 'failure' of the voluntary services in this area, this was attributed to two factors - their relative inability to adequately satisfy housing needs, and their involvement with a lower strata of single homeless than those in the District Lodging houses and hostels.

Secondly, specialisation was largely viewed as an attempt to compensate the single homeless for their in-ability to acquire adequate housing. Moreover it was also debated whether such specialisation actually reinforced the institutionalising effects of large lodging houses and hostels.

Thirdly, while much of the evidence so far presented has indicated the desirability of closing large forms of accommodation, such forms will continue to remain for a time. While not ideal the idea of converting existing hostels and ordinary housing was advocated as a possible way forward.

Finally, with regards to the voluntary role it was suggested that for some of the single homeless re-habilitation may not be feasible. In these cases it was suggested that some voluntary organisations might concentrate instead on providing caring environments and a more ex-perimental participatory framework where problems could

be mixed. As for the political role of the voluntary
services, emphasis was put on the need to heighten
public awareness of the issues involved such as the
preventive aspects of single person accommodation. The
aim would be to try and break down the popular stereo-
type view of the single homeless.

NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE

1. J.P. Wiseman, 'Stations of the Lost : The Treatment of Skid Row Alcoholics', (1971), pp.218-219.

2. See P. Archard, 'Vagrancy, Alcoholism and Social Control ', (1979), chapter 5.

3. D. Levine, 'The Issue of Rehabilitation', in T. Cook (Ed.) 'Vagrancy - Some New Perspectives,' (1979), p.82.

4. W.H. Goodenough, 'Cultural Anthropology and Linguistics' in P.L. Garvin, (Ed.), 'Report of the Seventh Annual Round Table Meeting on Linguistics and Language Study', (1957).

5. Archard, op.cit., title to chapter 3.

6. Commission of the European Communities, 'The Perception of Poverty in Europe,' (1977), p.72.

7. Levine, op.cit., p.87.

8. Ibid., p.86.

9. O. Stephenson, 'Specialisation within a Unified Social Work Service', in E. Butterworth and R. Holman, 'Social Welfare in Modern Britain', (1975), p.259.

10. See A. Sinfield, 'Which Way for Social Work', in Butterworth and Holman, Ibid., pp.167-173.

11. See J. Bradshaw, 'The concept of social need', New Society, 30 March, 1972, pp.640-3.

12. N. Beacock, 'Campaigning for the Homeless and Rootless', in Cook, op.cit., p.128.

13. Scottish Council for Single Homeless', Brief for the Single Person', (1980), p.33.

14. Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless Guide, 'Supplementary Benefits', (1980), Appendix.

15. For a general discussion of the role of pressure groups
          see P. Hall, H. Land, R. Parker, A. Webb,
          'Change, Choice and Conflict in Social
          Policy', (1975), pp.88-102.

16. Ibid., p.508.

17. Beacock, op.cit., pp.135-6.

18. See the Directory of Projects for England and Wales,
          (1980-1), indicating the extent of such
          work.

19. D. Donnison, 'The Politics of Poverty,' (1982),pp.100-1.

20. Ibid., p.101.

CHAPTER TEN

CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

In the introduction to this thesis four central
questions were posed. It is now possible to answer
these questions. The evidence for these conclusions
has been bracketed for reference.

10.1 - CONCLUSIONS

1. How do the statutory and voluntary organisations
    involved try to rehabilitate the single homeless?

While not applicable to all the single homeless,
rehabilitation has been broadly viewed as the attempt
to encourage the individual person to return to con-
ventional society. Historically there have been three
main methods used to try and achieve this. The oldest
statutory response has been penal whereby the single
homeless have been treated as criminals and hence in
need of punishment in order to deter them. The oldest
voluntary response has been moral whereby the single
homeless have been viewed as lacking faith and hence
in need of spiritual guidance. Over the last twenty
years or so, however, both responses have been largely
superseded by a new joint statutory and voluntary socio-
medical response. This response sees him as either
emotionally flawed and hence in need of social therapy,
or medically diseased and hence in need of treatment
for alcoholism.

As for the organisations currently operating in
Glasgow, of the eleven studied seven have a specific
rehabilitative function. In the statutory services
social work, housing, and social security have combined
their provision. Glasgow District Housing Department
is at present attempting to rehouse selected residents

of both the District lodging houses and hostels, and
the Bishopbriggs Resettlement Unit. To ensure the
success of this operation these residents have been
taking 'homemaker' courses run by the Social Work
Department in order to learn basic housework skills.
This policy has so far been very successful and around
90 percent of the residents have made the transition.
However the number of beds occupied in the lodging
houses and hostels has not been substantially reduced
because of referrals from outside areas. In order to
tackle this problem Glasgow District is planning to
set up an accommodation centre where housing needs can
be assessed in order to prevent people from using the
lodging house/hostel facilities.

        Of the four voluntary organisations involved in
rehabilitating the single homeless two adopt primarily
a moral approach and two a socio-medical approach.
Fundamental to the Salvation Army approach is the view
that spiritual belief is the most important aspect of a
person's total rehabilitation. The moral approach is less
pronounced within the Church of Scotland where great
emphasis is put on the family unit within a general
ethic of Christian concern. The Simon Community takes
the view that rehabilitation can be most effectively
achieved within the confines of the therapeutic community
where an emphasis is put on equality and participation.
Finally the Talbot Association adopts a more consciously
medical approach whereby the first step towards re-
habilitation for that category of single homeless being
dealt with is total abstinence from alcohol. While there
are no definite figures available as to how successful
these approaches are one general estimate is that around
20 percent of the single homeless make the transition.
For those who do not there is a continuing cyclical
involvement with such statutory and voluntary provision.

The reasons for such a discrepancy between the statutory and voluntary figures are firstly that the statutory response is offering the single homeless what they want (their own home), and secondly that the voluntary services are dealing with people who have more intractable problems than those being dealt with by the statutory services. Part of the reason for the latter has been the traditional statutory response of locking away the single homeless in large institutions, which have often made individual problems much worse. In other words that the voluntary services have sometimes been responding to the results of the 'flaws' of the statutory services.
(see 2.1 - 2.3; 5.1 - 5.3; 6.1; 6.3 - 6.5; 9.1)

2. Within this how has the voluntary role developed?

Broadly the voluntary welfare role is largely determined by the view the state takes of its own welfare role. With industrialisation and the magnification of certain social problems there was a great flourish of voluntary activity during the nineteenth century based on the two principles of mutual aid and philanthropy. While mutual aid was mainly for the better-off, philanthropy attempted to promote human well-being in a wide diversity of fields among which vagrancy was one. The state, meanwhile, while also involved in various areas still adhered to the basic principles of 'laissez-faire.'

As Britain's economic position began to relatively decline towards the latter part of the nineteenth century so the state started to take a more interventionist stance to offset this decline. As this trend developed economic inefficiency became linked to the generally poor health and welfare of some of the population. Consequently by the early twentieth century the state had

adopted a more directly interventionist role. The
result for the voluntary services was a gradual
reappraisal of its role.

During the inter-war period the voluntary role
became more explicitly one of supplementing the
statutory services. The future of this role, however,
came under increasing doubt following the widespread
reforms of the 1945-8 period during which time the
'Welfare State' was created. For much of the 1950s it was
thought likely that the voluntary services would gradually
wither away. However by the 1960s growing criticism about
the 'Welfare State' and Britain's economic position led
to a revival of the voluntary role. Most significantly
there was a growth of political organisations ranging
from pressure groups to tenants associations. One re-
percussion of this was an increased promotion of the
rights and needs of certain 'disadvantaged' groups such
as the single homeless by these new pressure groups.

The overall impact of these trends has left a
current situation in Glasgow in which of the seven
main voluntary organisations involved in the single
homeless field, three offer relief, one encourages partici-
pation, one is of a mutual aid type, one is a pressure
group, and one is a co-ordinating body. How such diversity
will eventually develop is unclear but it has been suggested
in this thesis that the voluntary services might develop
the idea of offering a radical alternative to the statutory
services rather than a cheap substitute. Whether this
could be achieved, given a situation in which the voluntary
services are heavily dependent on statutory funding, is
another matter.
(1.2; chapter six; 9.4)

3. What do the single homeless identify as their own main
needs?

Given that the single homeless are a very heterogeneous

group of people their needs can be very diverse.
Nonetheless for a substantial majority their main
need is their own house or flat. That other needs have
developed is because this main need has not been met by
state housing policies. The impact of this lack of
suitable ordinary housing has been a gradual institutional-
isation and cyclical recurrence of the problem in the
shape of large accommodation forms and the recourse to a
specialisation of services in an effort to more adequately
treat the effects. In other words there has been an un-
willingness on the part of the state to recognise that
homelessness is primarily a housing problem, and this
unwillingness has put an unnecessary burden on other
services, not to mention the unhappiness caused to many
people.
(3.4; 7.2; 8.1; 9.2)

4. How have attitudes towards the poor developed and
   influenced policies for the single homeless?

   While the intellectual view of poverty has developed
from a relatively limited subsistence concept to a wider
concept of deprivation, state and popular attitudes have
remained much more static. Most particularly, the poor
have been blamed for their condition. That this attitude
survives to a strong degree has been indicated by a recent
European survey. The impact of this upon the single home-
less has been one of neglect and caricature. Neglect in
the sense that only limited policy changes have been
achieved for the single homeless. Caricature in the sense
that perhaps more than any other group in society the
single homeless have an identifiable public image that
confirms their position. Such caricatures have made it
more difficult for the single homeless to be rehabilitated.
(1.1; 1.3; 8.2; 9.1)

10.2 POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. The most interesting aspect of this study has been the fact that the statutory services rather than the voluntary services have tended to lead the way in providing for the single homeless. More particularly, the example of Glasgow clearly shows that a policy of rehabilitation based on the needs of the single homeless for their own house or flat can work. However two points by way of qualification should be made. Firstly, the policy is only in its infancy as yet. Secondly, the criteria by which 'success' is measured by Glasgow District is limited to such things as the avoidance of rent arrears by the tenant. In other words there is no real evidence about how successfully the single homeless have been rehabilitated (i.e. reintegrated) into general society.

2. The biggest obstacle to a successful policy of rehabilitation is the general lack of suitable ordinary housing for the single homeless as well as for single people generally. The impact of this is that the desirable phasing out of large hostels and the like will probably take a fair degree of time. In the meantime, therefore, certain interim measures such as the reconversion of hostels might be tried. While such measures may prove beneficial they should not be used as an alternative to more adequate housing provision.

3. Given that, in respect of housing, the voluntary services are less able than the statutory services to meet the primary need of most of the single homeless it is possible that the voluntary role should be more clearly differentiated away from a rehabilitative role towards a caring and experimental role for those not suitable for rehabilitation.

4. Specialised services are not necessarily an indication of commitment in a particular field but rather an excuse not to adopt other measures. Therefore the idea that specialisation in itself is a good thing should be questioned and alternative methods of developing the social services need to be debated. While such ideas as mixing people with different problems may present funding difficulties such avenues should be explored.

5. Although some of the single homeless may suffer from particular personal problems they are united by their common homelessness. Hence one of the major perspectives of this study has been to treat the single homeless as a homogenous group. While this is an exaggeration it is contended as being necessary to encourage a coordinated policy response. By viewing homelessness as the common problem it should be easier to highlight and cater for those unsuitable for rehabilitation.

approx. 48,000 words

APPENDIX ONE

Much of the evidence presented in chapters four, five, six and eight was provided by the following people:

Chapter Four

Barbara Ramsay	: Women's Royal Voluntary Service
A. Fitzpatrick	: Society of St. Vincent de Paul
John Anderson	: Glasgow Council for Voluntary Service
Martyn Evans	: Shelter
Rev. Campbell Robertson	: Iona Community
John Stewart	: Glasgow Association for Mental Health
Mrs. Coles	: Scottish Association for the Care and Resettlement of Offenders

Chapter Five

Mick Lynch	:	Social Work
Bob Winter	:	
Margaret Vass	:	
John Kernaghan	:	Housing
Bill Willemse	:	
Robert Wilson	:	
Jim Burns	:	
Andrew Murphy	:	Social Security
Dave Beveridge	:	
Ruth Simpson	:	Health

Chapter Six

Gerry Pontiero	:	
Paul Mooney	:	
Jim Harbridge	:	Simon Community
Jim Riley	:	
Mick Lynch	:	
Jimmy White	:	Wayside Club

Hamish Montgomery   :
Stan Smith   :   Church of Scotland
Roy Brown   :
Rev. J.B. McPherson   :

Willie Devine   :
                                Talbot Association
John Docherty   :

Major Tribble   :
Captain Foreman   :   Salvation Army
Captain Moffat   :

Laurie Naumann   :   Scottish Council for Single Homeless

Prof. David Donnison   :
                                Glasgow Council for Single Homeless
Hamish Allan   :

Chapter Eight

Gail Cunningham   :   Key Housing Association

In addition more general information was obtained from
Evelyn Schaffer,   :   Principal Clinical Psychologist,
                                Douglas Inch Centre, Glasgow.

    Finally it should be recognised that while Dr. Stuart
Laidlaw served the City with great distinction, most notably
as Medical Officer of Health for Glasgow, his 1953 study
stands somewhere between a moral and a socio-medical
perception of the single homeless.

METHODS OF RESEARCH

As was mentioned in the introduction to Part Two the information regarding the services involved in providing for the single homeless was collected over an 18 month period between April 1980, and September 1981. Such information was obtained in the main by personal interviews with the people in charge of the particular establishments. Most of the 'fringe' voluntary and statutory services were contacted by letter or phone without being visited. Most of the key organisations of this study were contacted more than once as my knowledge of the subject increased and my needs became more particular. Generally my initial interviews combined a walk around the establishment with an interview afterwards. Such initial interviews sought to obtain information primarily about the organisation, the staff, and the facilities. Although informal, certain key questions were central to the interview:

1. The organisation:

   What is the basic philosophy/function of this organisation?
   When and why was this organisation founded?
   How does this organisation try and help the single homeless?
   How is this organisation financed?
   Could you describe the structure of this organisation?

2. The staff:

   How many people work in this organisation/unit?
   How many are part-time or volunteers?
   Could you give me some idea of why people get involved
   in this field or this organisation?
   What is the social background of the staff?
   What is the male/female breakdown?

3. The facilities:

   How many beds are available in this building?
   How many single homeless people usually reside here?
   What more general communal facilities are available?

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