https://theses.gla.ac.uk/

Theses Digitisation:
https://www.gla.ac.uk/mygla/theses/digitisation/

This is a digitised version of the original print thesis.

Copyright and moral rights for this work are retained by the author
A copy can be downloaded for personal non-commercial research or study, without prior permission or charge
This work cannot be reproduced or quoted extensively from without first obtaining permission in writing from the author
The content must not be changed in any way or sold commercially in any format or medium without the formal permission of the author
When referring to this work, full bibliographic details including the author, title, awarding institution and date of the thesis must be given
PROVISION FOR THE SINGLE HOMELESS
IN GLASGOW

JOHN M. BLACK

Submitted for the Degree of Master of Letters.

Department of Town and Regional Planning,
University of Glasgow.

February, 1982.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank the following who helped me complete this thesis:

My main supervisor, David Donnison, who maintained my, at times waning, enthusiasm in the subject as well as guiding me through a minefield of social policy issues.

My other supervisors, Anne Crowther and Jean Forbes, who at various times clarified my thinking particularly about the historical sections.

My typist, Mrs. Black (no relation), who not only made few mistakes but was also cheaper than the average typist.

My heroes, John Wayne, Robert Mitchum, Sweep, Foghorn Leghorn, Top Cat, and Mr. Laurel and Mr. Hardy, who nearly kept me sane.

My parents who often bore the brunt of my frustrations, as well as being the primary reason, along with the stork, for me being here.

Laurie Naumann, Hamish Allan, and Mick Lynch who were kind and/or foolish enough to read an earlier draft of this thesis.

Finally, to all those, too numerous to mention, upon whom I imposed myself during the period of research. Each is more personally acknowledged in the appendix.
# TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements
Table of Contents
List of Tables and Figures
Glossary and Abbreviations
Summary
Preface

## INTRODUCTION

(a) : The Perspective Adopted
(b) : The Central Questions
(c) : Points of Definition

PART ONE - THE HISTORICAL SETTING

Introduction to Part One

CHAPTER ONE - THE NATIONAL PERSPECTIVE

1.1 - The Development of Social Policy
1.2 - The Voluntary Welfare Role
1.3 - The Development of Thinking About Poverty
1.4 - Conclusions

CHAPTER TWO - THE RESPONSE TO SINGLE HOMELESSNESS

2.1 - A Framework of Change
2.2 - The Penal and Moral Response
2.3 - The Socio-Medical Response
2.4 - Central Government Provision
2.5 - Conclusions

CHAPTER THREE - GLASGOW : THE RELEVANT FEATURES

3.1 - The Economy
3.2 - The Population
3.3 - The Municipal Response
3.4 - Lodging House Accommodation
3.5 - Conclusions
PART TWO - GLASGOW'S PROVISION: THE EVIDENCE

Introduction to Part Two

CHAPTER FOUR - OVERVIEW

4.1 - The Legislation
4.2 - The Structure of Provision
4.3 - The Financing of Provision
4.4 - Types of Problems
4.5 - Types of Provision
4.6 - Fringe Organisations
4.7 - Conclusions

CHAPTER FIVE - THE STATUTORY SERVICES

5.1 - Social Work
5.2 - Housing
5.3 - Social Security
5.4 - Health
5.5 - Conclusions

CHAPTER SIX - THE VOLUNTARY SERVICES

6.1 - The Simon Community
6.2 - The Wayside Club
6.3 - The Salvation Army
6.4 - The Talbot Association
6.5 - The Church of Scotland
6.6 - The Scottish Council for Single Homeless
6.7 - The Glasgow Council for Single Homeless
6.8 - Conclusions

CHAPTER SEVEN - THE LODGING HOUSE/HOSTEL SCENE

7.1 - Current Provision
7.2 - The Residents
   (a) Laidlaw's Findings in 1953
   (b) Homeless Men Speak for Themselves (1981)
7.3 - Conclusions

Summary of Parts One and Two
PART THREE - OVERALL ASSESSMENT

Introduction to Part Three

CHAPTER EIGHT - THE PROBLEM IN PERSPECTIVE

8.1 - Housing Factors
   (a) An Outline of the Relevant Trends
   (b) Recent Policy Developments

8.2 - Social Factors
   (a) Public Awareness
   (b) Social Stratification

8.3 - Conclusions

CHAPTER NINE - THE EMERGENT ISSUES

9.1 - Rehabilitation
9.2 - Specialisation
9.3 - Accommodation
9.4 - The Voluntary Role
9.5 - Conclusions

CHAPTER TEN - CONCLUSIONS AND POLICY IMPLICATIONS

10.1 - Conclusions
10.2 - Policy Implications

Appendices

Bibliography

Note: Some minor chapter sub-divisions have not been included for reasons of clarity.
LIST OF TABLES AND FIGURES

TABLES
Table One - Glasgow District Lodging Houses and Hostels (Chapter Seven)

FIGURES
Figure One - Graph of Glasgow's Population (Chapter Three)
Figure Two - Administrative Responsibilities (Chapter Four)
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, dossor 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 organisations involved in the single homeless field in Glasgow are examined in detail in chapters five and six. Of these organisations 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 experienced 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.
PREFACE

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, rather than one in which the writer goes 'underground' in order to experience what it feels like to be 'single homeless'.

(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 'rehabilitation' 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 independently. 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.


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 inevitable 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.'

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'. 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.

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. 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, 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.'

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 contribution 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. 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 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 organisations 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 provision 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 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 increasing. 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 confirming 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 existence. 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 international 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 deprivation 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 substantial 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

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.
7. Ibid., p.65 (Saville's own view).
9. Ibid., extract 71, p.96.
11. Fraser, op.cit., p.226.
12. The television programme 'Yes Minister' is a prime example of this view.
17. Ibid., extract 53, pp.72-3.
19. Ibid., p.178.
21. Fraser, op.cit., p.117.
30. With funds provided under the Urban Programme and by the Carnegie United Kingdom Trust.
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'. 


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.


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


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:

'\textit{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:

'\textit{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 philanthropic religious societies so that the treatment constituted, 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. 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.'

Part of this decline is charted by comparing the figures of the National Assistance Board in 1965 and those of the Office of Population Censuses and Surveys from 1972. 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). 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 halfway 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. 

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 casualties 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 ascendency. 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 controlled 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 continually 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 treatment 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 improvement 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 which laid down a new policy towards casual wards. The circular started from the premise that casuals were not a homogeneous group. Consequently, 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 principles 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.'

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 out with 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 responsibility 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.
NOTES TO CHAPTER TWO.

5. The House of Commons Home Affairs Select Committee recently split over the issue.
14. Leach and Wing, op.cit., p.11.


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


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


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

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.'

In 1958 Glasgow was supplying only 4.5 per cent of world shipbuilding output. 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. 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 population 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
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. Although birth and death rates were both very high the birth rate was consistently higher. 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.'

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

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. 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, and in the last thirty a fall of over 300,000 (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. Consequently for the first half of this century the net migration loss was compensated for by a very rapid natural increase. 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 existing 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 appointment 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. Alongside 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 decentralisation 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. Redevelopment 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 accommodation 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. 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. 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.

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. 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 declining 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...'(26)

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.


6. Ibid., p.43.

7. Ibid., p.74.


12. 'Population Projections', op.cit.

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

14. Ibid.


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.


27. Ibid., p.237.


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 examination 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

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 Development 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.
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. 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. Clearly, therefore, local government 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 government 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.'
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 percent 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 ASSIHT 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 contribution. 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'. 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 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. 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 government policies. This included a pressure group campaign to ensure that the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act would apply to Scotland. Shelter's Research and Information 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 homosexual, 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.'

(vii) Specialist Organisations

Although none of the following are specifically linked with current single homeless projects, their area of remit covers aspects of some of the characteristics 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 homelessness. 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 government 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.


7. Strathclyde Regional Council pamphlet.


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


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 circumstances as the authority may in any particular case determine.'

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.

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 ago:

'...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 implementing 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.'

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, 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 continues 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 responsibility.

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.¹(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.'¹(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.'

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. 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.'
(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 Resettlement 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. 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, ophthalmic 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.'

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 concentration of lodging houses and hostels in the City are to be found. 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, 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.'

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).
NOTES TO CHAPTER FIVE

2. Ibid., pp.68-9.
8. Quoted in Martin, op.cit., p.92.
15. Quoted in CRASH, op.cit., ch.10.
21. Ibid., p.97.
22. Ibid., p.104.
24. Ibid., p.8.
25. Ibid., p.17.
29. Mair, op. cit., p.60.
30. Ibid., p.61.
35. L. McCrory, 'Sick and Homeless in the Grassmarket,' (1975), p.14, showed that the incidence of TB among lodging house residents was five times higher than the rate of the general population of Edinburgh.
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 rehabilitation. 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.
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 disillusioned 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 unemployed. 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 rehabilitation 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 responsible 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 closed 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. The Army would probably as hosts have in fact been going to the more religious spheres of the Army's work. 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 subordinates 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 rehabilitation 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.'

(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.P.s, 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 involves 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
soberly. 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. 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. 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 development.

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.'

(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 assessments 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 organisations 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 meeting 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 organisations. 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


2. Cyrenian 'Homelessness' booklet.


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


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


15. Ibid., p.4.

16. Ibid., p.6.


20. Ibid., p.11.
CHAPTER SEVEN - THE LODGING HOUSE/HOSTEL SCENE

7.1 - CURRENT PROVISION

TABLE ONE   PROVISION AS AT SEPTEMBER, 1981.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>LODGING HOUSES AND HOSTELS</th>
<th>WHEN OPENED</th>
<th>NUMBER OF BEDS</th>
<th>CHARGES (Meals not included)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Men</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Moncur Street</td>
<td>1871</td>
<td>161</td>
<td>£10.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stow College Annexe</td>
<td>1973</td>
<td>83</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hart Street</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>103</td>
<td>£11.45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Norman Street</td>
<td>1975</td>
<td>101</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Robertson House</td>
<td>1971</td>
<td>241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Laidlaw House</td>
<td>1974</td>
<td>241</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Peter McCann House</td>
<td>1976</td>
<td>251</td>
<td>£13.50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>James Duncan House</td>
<td>1977</td>
<td>249</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td></td>
<td>241</td>
<td>1,430</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

| 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 disturbances 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

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 Leidlaw)

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 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)

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 aftercare 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 environment 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) Age: Both surveys indicated that a greater percentage of elderly people live in hostels than in the non-hostel population.

(ii) Marital Status: 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) Origins: 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) Social Contacts: 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 indicated 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.


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

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 explanation was sought for the relative neglect of single homelessness 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 organisations 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 disproportionate 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 conclusions 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.
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 accommodation 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. 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. 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. 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.'

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. 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 expenditure. Finally, as has already been discussed the 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act transferred responsibility 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. 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.'

This role of providing for single people was further emphasised by a Housing Corporation consultative document in 1979 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.'

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 interpretation of vagrancy in terms of individual abnormality by encouraging its emphasis.'

Various supposedly objective examples, such as "Johnny Go Home", 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. 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.'

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, whereas a study of a higher strata of single homeless in the Spitalfields area of London 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.'

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 homeless. 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

2. Ibid.
6. Norton, op.cit., p.120.
8. Reported in the Scotsman, September 17, 1981.
11. Ibid., figures refer to Britain as a whole.
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.
16. Ibid., p.155.
20. Ibid., p.110.

21. Ibid., quote from a Shelter Report.


23. Ibid., p.150.


26. Ibid., p.40.


31. Ibid., pp.46-7.
CHAPTER NINE

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 pronouncements 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 organisations 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 rehabilitation (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 from a vagrant state he will, to varying degrees, be expected 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 accommodation.'(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 'extraordinary' 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 rehabilitated 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 inescapable aspect of progress in sophisticated 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 effectiveness 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 responsibilities. 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. 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', 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 rehousing 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.'

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
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 converted 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 households, 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. 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 characteristics, 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 treatment 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 fact 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 inability 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 rehabilitation may not be feasible. In these cases it was suggested that some voluntary organisations might concentrate instead on providing caring environments and a more experimental 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 stereotype view of the single homeless.
NOTES TO CHAPTER NINE


5. Archard, op.cit., title to chapter 3.


7. Levine, op.cit., p.87.

8. Ibid., p.86.


16. Ibid., p.508.


18. See the Directory of Projects for England and Wales, (1980-1), indicating the extent of such work.


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 conventional 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 rehabilitation 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 repercussion 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 participation, 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
A 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 institutionalisation 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 unwillingness 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 homeless 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.
APPENDIX TWO

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?
BIBLIOGRAPHY


CENTRAL OFFICE OF INFORMATION (1975) : Local Government in Britain. HMSO. London.


HMSO. London.
HMSO. London.
OFFICE OF HEALTH ECONOMICS (1981): Alcohol - reducing the
harm. London.
OFFICE OF POPULATION CENSUSES AND SURVEYS (1978): Population
London.
London and Basingstoke.
ROYAL COMMISSION (1895): Report of the Royal Commission on
the Aged Poor. Parliamentary Papers. vol.xiv.
ROYAL COMMISSION (1909): Report of the Royal Commission on
the Poor Law and Relief of Distress. Parliamentary Papers. vol.xxxvii.
Library. London.
SCOTSMAN (1981), September 17, p.12, Glasgow.
SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS (1979): Report of the
SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS (1980): Brief for the
SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS (1980-1): Sixth Annual


In addition various short pamphlets and booklets, some of which are cited in the chapter notes, were also consulted. Such material, provided in the main by the voluntary organisations, can be obtained from the addresses indicated in the Glasgow Directory of Voluntary Organisations (see under Glasgow Council for Voluntary Service).