



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

Theses Digitisation:

<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/research/enlighten/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

Enlighten: Theses

<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/>
research-enlighten@glasgow.ac.uk

Policy and Provision for
the Single Homeless
in Glasgow and Boston

MAUREEN J. MERCER

Submitted as part of the
requirements for the Degree
of Master of Philosophy

Department of Town & Regional
Planning
University of Glasgow

APRIL 1985

ProQuest Number: 10754035

All rights reserved

INFORMATION TO ALL USERS

The quality of this reproduction is dependent upon the quality of the copy submitted.

In the unlikely event that the author did not send a complete manuscript and there are missing pages, these will be noted. Also, if material had to be removed, a note will indicate the deletion.



ProQuest 10754035

Published by ProQuest LLC (2018). Copyright of the Dissertation is held by the Author.

All rights reserved.

This work is protected against unauthorized copying under Title 17, United States Code
Microform Edition © ProQuest LLC.

ProQuest LLC.
789 East Eisenhower Parkway
P.O. Box 1346
Ann Arbor, MI 48106 – 1346

SYNOPSIS

Homelessness has become a major social problem, both in the United States and the United Kingdom. Where does the responsibility for this affliction lie - can it be attributed to some administration failing? Has policy, or the lack of it, caused or contributed to it?

In the UK national legislation has been enacted which places local responsibility on the district authorities to plan and provide for the homeless in their areas. However, this legislation makes no provision for the single homeless. Glasgow has taken its own initiatives in providing for this special and discriminated against group.

The US has no such legislation and so each state is responsible for handling its own problem - if it chooses and as it chooses. Massachusetts and its capital city Boston have been cited as leaders in provision.

The research looks at the problem, policy and provision of and for the single homeless in both countries through an examination of its causes and treatment at the national and local level.

Chapter 1 is a brief introduction to the problem of homelessness and of single homelessness in particular.

Chapter 2 presents an overall view of homelessness in general in Scotland - the scope of the problem, causes, policies etc.

Chapter 3 focuses on the single homeless in Glasgow and highlights some of the activities which have given the city its reputation of being special and unique.

Chapter 4 places homelessness in an American perspective, examining the extent of the problem, causes and any national action taken.

Chapter 5 looks at the state of Massachusetts, Boston and the single homeless and relays the activities there which have been considered special.

Chapter 6 tries to draw the material together and present a comparison of attitudes ,policy and provision between Glasgow and Boston.

The last page presents some closing thoughts.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Many thanks are due to many people on both sides of the Atlantic for their help and encouragement in the production of this paper. Their names are listed in the first Appendix.

I'd like to especially thank David Donnison for all his interest, advice and guidance, and Bryan MacGregor for his honesty, (why not?).

TABLE OF CONTENTSPage

i	Synopsis	
ii	Acknowledgements	
iii	Table of Contents	
iv	List of Figures	
CHAPTER 1	Introduction	1
CHAPTER 2	Homelessness in Scotland	4
CHAPTER 3	The Single Homeless in Glasgow	23
CHAPTER 4	Homelessness : An American Perspective	44
CHAPTER 5	Massachusetts - Boston - and the Single Homeless	70
CHAPTER 6	Boston and Glasgow A Comparison Some Closing Thoughts	98
APPENDICES		
BIBLIOGRAPHY		

List of Figures

iv

	<u>Page</u>
Table 2.1 S.D.D. Homeless Applicants by Household Type	8A
Table 3.1 D.H.S.S. Live Load Compilation	29
Table 3.2 Single Homeless on Rehousing Lists	30
Table 3.3 Glasgow Re-housing Concentrations	41
Table 4.1 U.S. Estimates	52
Table 5.2 Homeless Women, Boston	75
Table 5.3 Homeless Men, Boston	75
Table 5.4 Shattuck Shelter Survey	76
Table 5.5 Bostons Homeless	78
Table 5.6 Sheltered Citizen Count	79
Table 5.7 Street Count, Boston	80
Table 5.8 General Relief Benefits	83
Table 5.9 Supplemental Secutiry Income	84

CHAPTER 1 : INTRODUCTION

"The foxes have holes, and the bird of the air have nests;
but the Son of Man hath nowhere to lay his head".

Matthew 8:20

Homelessness has been a part of civilization for centuries. Its affiliations have changed over the years as have perceptions about it.

In early times, it has been regarded as a religious ideal. The Christian virtue of poverty and the Buddhist ideal of "non-attainment" have associations with homelessness. In the name of religion, people voluntarily detached themselves from their homes in order to attain the purity of the road.

Modern homelessness is something less than virtuous.

The phenomenon of urban homelessness is not new. It seems there have always been various "unconnected" people in the cities - musicians, migrants, refugees and prostitutes. Urban homelessness has traditionally been associated with outcast groups, but it has become apparent, especially over the last 20 years, that ordinary "normal" people help form the homeless populations of modern cities. A fact that was noted in both the UK and US.

Studies begun in the 1960's with the rediscovery of poverty, gave evidence that the numbers of people without a home were increasing, that it was no longer just the ageing drinking man or otherwise socially terminal person in the street but that women and families were homeless too.

The "new" homeless population has been increasing and changing in dimension. High unemployment, housing crises, government budget cuts, new policies on mental health care and changing social trends, among other things, have been linked to contemporary homelessness.

Although this "contemporary" homelessness has been recognised for nearly a quarter of a century, it doesn't appear that measures taken have actually been effective in preventing it; although some measures taken have helped improve the situation of those faced with homelessness.

When this hidden population of ordinary citizens was discovered, homeless in our cities, the public reacted vociferously. They found it hard to believe that families were forced to live as "down and outs" in temporary accommodation, squatting in abandoned property, or in the worse cases, sleeping rough or taking shelter in cars or skips.

Homeless families have always received the public's attention and sympathy. And to a certain extent so have the homeless elderly, crippled and alcoholic.

The fit single homeless person is often passed over. Why?

It may be that it is difficult for some people to understand the hardship faced by the single homeless because it is not physically evident. Or, it may be that because they are fit, it is thought their situation is the result of some personal defect: that they're lazy or, delinquent in some way.

The single homeless have been hurt by these prejudices. Most are simply ordinary citizens who simply need a place to stay.

Glasgow is one of the few cities where this group is recognised as a special case. And though more needs to be done, the city has taken unique initiatives in providing for them.

This paper examines the issue of contemporary homelessness in the US and UK with particular attention being paid to the single homeless. The focus is on policy and provision for the single homeless in Glasgow and Boston.

Boston, Massachusetts is also regarded as a unique city with regard to homelessness. The measures taken in Boston vary greatly from those in Glasgow. But as both cities have earned reputations as forerunners in their respective policies and provision for the single homeless, they make an interesting comparison.

The research is based on the personal assumption that Glasgow can be considered a "model" in its treatment of the single homeless.

Although considered inovative and progressive in an American context, Boston's current "policies" for the single homeless are no match for Glasgow's.

CHAPTER 2 : HOMELESSNESS IN SCOTLAND

2.0 Introduction

Homelessness is not a new phenomenon in Britain. Reference is made to the "houseless" poor in literature as far back as the Middle Ages. Contemporary homelessness however, is a different issue in its scope, intensity and implications.

Through the past and up to the present the numbers and characteristics of Britain's homeless have changed. Where once associated with the ageing, drunken, down and out sleeping rough, the term "homelessness" has taken on new dimensions. Families with children and men and women of varying backgrounds and circumstances form the contemporary homeless population.

Any provision for homeless is a reflection of public perception, reaction and attitude. Homelessness has been treated as a police problem, a moral problem and has often been associated with a personal defect of one kind or another. The public perception of the homeless has hurt and stigmatised this group. The general public is just beginning to recognise that the homeless are ordinary citizens with the same rights as themselves.

Homelessness is a multi-faceted problem related to a vast list of socio-economic issues. It is becoming increasingly clear that at the crux of the problem lies an imbalance between the supply and demand of safe, affordable housing. Any other personal factors - drink or psychological problems, for instance - and their ultimate solution may well be dependent upon the provision of a safe, permanent and stable place to live.

This chapter will deal with the homeless issue in a Scottish context and will be concerned with the issue in a general sense. It will attempt to bring to light some of the relevant issues. First, in order to comprehend such a diverse and multi-faceted problem as homelessness,

a definition of the term is needed. Then, an idea of the scope of the problem as well as possible causes and links to it must be asserted. This is what Section 1 sets out to do. As homelessness is linked to housing (or the lack of housing), Section 2 provides a brief examination of housing in Scotland; with a focus on housing in the 1980's. The third section illuminates the response of central and local government. Finally, Section 4 asks, why in Scotland where homelessness is recognised as a growing problem, do some people get left out?

2.1 Definition - Scope - Causes

Homeless (Adj): lacking a place to live (Oxford-American Dictionary)

In attempting to define the term "homeless" a myriad of images and possibilities come to mind: down and out, wino, dosser etc.... Whatever association is made, the idea of somehow being "unconnected" and "unsettled" is always present. Although it appears a simple enough word to define, homelessness as a phenomenon becomes clouded as attempts are made to use it in a technical sense. The obvious definition of "lacking a place to live" causes problems when it must be assigned to people, for although its a descriptive term, it has implications which vary between individuals. Who is considered homeless? Does the term refer just to those individuals who are "roofless" or does it include people living in emergency and temporary accommodation? Should the definition be extended to include those people "making do" in the houses of friends and relatives? Popular definitions of homelessness are often based on an "address" philosophy. But the obvious lack of a roof does not fully depict the precarious situation faced by homeless people i.e. those who consider themselves homeless. Is it not possible

to have an address and still not have a home?

The most current legislative definition of homelessness suggests that

"... a person is homeless if he has no accommodation which he (and others who would normally live with him) is entitled to occupy; or cannot gain entry to ... he is considered "potentially" homeless if there is a likelihood of becoming homeless within 28 days...."

(Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977)

Advocates and professionals working in the field have pressed for a wider interpretation to include anyone living in unstable, impermanent, unfit accommodation and

".... regard the homeless as people without a home of their own who are forced to find accommodation where they can, be it begged, borrowed, shared, decrepit, stressed or overcrowded.."

(Reid, The Scotsman, 22.11.84)

The idea of "no security of tenure" and "being forced to seek accommodation within a time period which the client considers immediate (upon release from an institution for example) is stressed by researcher Madeline Drake (Drake, et al, Single and Homeless 1982, p.125)

The vital difference between the legislative or statutory and the advocate or research definitions is the affect it will have on the numbers of homeless people showing up. Recognising homelessness as a major problem has important implications for government, namely the justification and responsibility for action. For this reason "official" statistics are static and lower than those compiled by independent non-governmental groups.¹

1. Shelter, a housing pressure group, believe the figures remain static because homelessness is one area of collusion between Central and Local government - by the local authorities not admitting the size of the problem they help Central government with its no "new build" policies (Shelter, Dead End Street, 1981)

How are statistics taken? What methods are used and who makes the study? Since the passage of the 1977 Housing Homeless Persons Act (to be discussed in a later section) local authorities have become statutorily responsible for the rehousing of "qualifying" applicants. As a result, local authorities keep a count of the number and type of homeless person applications it takes. There is a very real possibility that these figures do not disclose the extent of the problem.

There are what may be called the "other wise" homeless - those uncounted people "doubling up" with friends and relatives or sub-letting flats from others. In some cases, women are reluctant to admit to homelessness and will take accommodation anywhere rather than approach the authorities, and it may well be that another type of "uncounted" homeless population exists - those who are so unconnected (i.e. people living on the road for so long, or moving about from place to place) they do not take advantage of benefits and rights which they are entitled to. Hence, they do not appear on official rolls. Official statistics rely on the number of applications taken for rehousing.

Another problem in quantifying the extent of homelessness is the "type" of homeless person. Some people may drift in and out of homeless, others may be temporarily homeless. There are the long term homeless and other homeless persons who have multiple problems as well. The transience and impermanence of the homeless population cause the numbers to fluctuate.

So, while the number of officially recognised homeless people i.e. those making application with the local authorities have remained static at about 17,000 - 15,000 applications per year, many feel (Shelter, homeless advocates) the actual number is much greater. Unfortunately this "feeling" of a greater immensity of the problem has not been practicably quantified and for the purposes of this research, only the "official" figures will be used.

The Scottish Development Department reported, (from a compilation of local authorities figures) in the year ending 31 March 1983 14,317 applications were made to the local authorities: 57% of these were determined to be in "priority need"; 5% were assessed as "intentionally homeless" and accommodation (long or short term) was secured for 58% of the applicants (see table 2.1).

People applying to housing authorities as homeless will be considered as such (and provided for accordingly) depending upon the definition used by the authority to which application is made. Hence, many people, especially the single homeless are excluded.

Keeping in mind that the figures do not include all homeless people and that the local authorities operate at their own discretion in considering applicants homeless and eligible for provision what reasons and causes for homelessness have been given?

Referring to the SDD's report once again, 47.2% of the Scottish applicants state their reason for becoming homeless to be the "unwillingness or inability of friends/parents/relatives to continue to accommodate them." The second most common reason, that of mental/cohabitee dispute, was reported by 19.5% of the applicants. Other less significant reasons given include domestic disputes, court ordered evictions, illegal/insecure accommodation, fire or flood, inability to pay for accommodation. (SDD, Housing Statistics, 31 March 1983).

In a more theoretical sense :

"Homelessness is caused by processes occurring at many different levels, the family level, the social group level, and the societal level. Housing and labour market factors, migration, demographic and socio-cultural factors inter act to create the pre-conditions ... social and health factors, life cycle and personal crisis cause people to be more vulnerable."

(Drake et al, Single and Homeless, 1982, p.12)

TABLE 2.1 Applicant households by status

Status	Period of application (year ending 31 March)	As assessed by local authority		No. for whom accommodation secured
		No. of applicants with given status	No. intentionally homeless	
Homeless	1980	7,440	625	6,470
	1981	7,005	535	6,093
	1982	8,186	476	7,356
	1983	7,641	469	6,691
Potentially homeless	1980	2,770	399	1,786
	1981	2,439	341	1,649
	1982	1,976	279	1,266
	1983	1,821	316	1,100
Neither homeless nor potentially homeless	1980	1,703	-	798
	1981	1,778	-	765
	1982	1,656	-	619
	1983	1,426	-	474
Not stated or contact lost	1980	3,547	-	8
	1981	3,596	-	85
	1982	3,916	-	31
	1983	3,426	-	39
Total Applications	1980	15,460	1,024	9,062
	1981	14,818	876	8,592
	1982	15,734	755	9,272
	1983	14,314	785	8,304

During the year ended 31 March 1983, 14,300 applications were notified to SDD, 54% of these applicant households were in priority need and 5% were assessed as intentionally homeless. Accommodation, either permanent or short-stay, was secured for 58% of applicants.

SOURCE: SDD Housing Statistics, March 31, 1983.

In a time of general economic decline with its subsequent increase in unemployment and public expenditure cuts, some British citizens have been faced with overwhelming pressures. Families find it more and more difficult to cope, emotionally and financially, and breakdown, sometimes causing one or more members to seek accommodation elsewhere. In other cases, families may lose their tenancies and the entire family is forced to find alternative accommodation. People leaving institutions must compete in the housing market. Young people leave home earlier in the 1980's than ever before. They may be in search of employment and opportunities, or due to the constraints placed upon the family, the parents may no longer be able to accommodate them. Some homeless people have other personal problems as well - with drink or drug abuse or emotional problems. In a tense and despairing environment, it is impossible to determine whether these other problems are the cause or effect of homelessness or the threat of homelessness.

For whatever reasons, there are virtually thousands of people forced to seek new accommodation when homelessness afflicts them. The search for accommodation is not an easy one - the private rented sector is dwindling and council house waiting lists are extremely long and the allocation systems of the local Housing authorities often discriminate against particular groups. Central government has given housing a low priority which has severely limited new building. As it is the premise of this paper that housing is at the crux of the homelessness issue, an examination of the housing situation is appropriate.

2.2 Housing

"Homelessness is the most acute form of housing need" (English, Social Services in Scotland, 1983, p. 112). This powerful statement perfectly echoes the sentiments of homeless advocates and the homeless people themselves. It is a fairly recently recognised concept. As

Donnison points out, the homeless were the responsibility of the public welfare departments and when homeless researchers in London in the 1960's approached the County Councils housing department, the question "What does housing have to do with homelessness" was asked of them (Donnison, Housing Policy, 1982 p. 266). Housing, or the lack of housing, is now recognised as being related to homelessness and attempts have been made to rectify the problem. However, the current housing situation leaves much to be desired.

In this section, housing in Scotland will be dealt with. Much of Scotland's housing is subsidised and so much of the discussion will concern itself with the role of the public sector. By way of introducing housing, a brief look at the background to and financing of public housing is provided. The focus however remains on the contemporary housing situation.

Public Housing Background

The development of council housing has been marked by a number of distinct phases during which new building had different purposes and these are reflected in the public sector stock as it now exists (English, Social Services in Scotland, 1983, p.85).

Government has been involved in housing since the 1850's when its concern was overcrowding, slum clearance and redevelopment - a response to the unhealthy urban environment of the Industrial Revolution. The idea was to reach a "minimum" standard in the building of new and the repairing of old housing.

After the First World War, an increase in government involvement resulted in massive public building. In the 1920's, council houses were built to overcome shortages - this was "general needs" housing.

Through the 1930's the shift was away from general needs building and the focus was on slum clearance schemes and the rehousing of those displaced. This type of building took the form of tenements in Scotland (today's difficult to let property, in many cases).

After the Second World War, Government undertook to repair war damaged housing and to build for new families. Slum clearance was resumed through the 1960's and Government took an interest in the suburbs as possible receptacles of inner city overspill. Inner city housing built during this time was often in the form of high rise towers.

Attention has re-focused on the city with more concentration and effort being placed on redevelopment but with a shift away from slum clearance with new emphasis placed on more effective development area policies.

Public Housing : Finance

Public housing is financed by a partnership between central government (Exchequer subsidies) & local authorities (rates and tenants through their rents). From 1919 through 1972, Exchequer subsidies for housing were in the form of a 40-60 year "fixed sum" for each house. The majority of Britain's housing is subsidised by the taxpayer - to council tenants who receive reduced rents through Exchequer support and grants and rates of the local authorities. Private renters receive support through housing benefit payments and a mortgage subsidy is offered to owner occupiers.

The public subsidy system was altered by the Housing (Financial Provision) (Scotland) Act in 1972. Exchequer subsidies were replaced by a new system related to levels of expenditure (rates were "fixed" in proportion to these subsidies); local authorities were placed under an obligation to bridge the gap not met by subsidies and rates and a rent rebate scheme was introduced. As Scotland relies heavily on rates contributions, much controversy was caused by the "fixed rate" situation

and the power of the local authorities to charge rents as they determined was restored in a subsequent act (Housing Rents Subsidies)(Scotland) 1975).

In 1978 a Housing Support Grant was introduced where the grants were more flexible and directly related to the needs and circumstances at the local level. The Housing Support Grant is fixed annually.

Until 1977, local authorities viewed their responsibility in building and managing council houses. The 1977 Housing Plan System introduced the requirement on the part of the local authorities to prepare comprehensive 5 year housing assessments and use these as guides in capital expenditure programmes (either public sector-building, improvement or private sector-slum clearance).

The current government has given housing a lowered priority in public expenditure that fell within the responsibility of the Secretary of State. In 1981/1982 it accounted for only 14% (Shelter, Dead End Street, 1981). And although rent rebates subsidies and assistance expenditure rose, new building declined by 50% between 1974/75 - 1981/82 (IBID). Since 1981 larger cuts have been imposed and the effects of these are as yet unknown. It is increasingly common that more council houses are being sold than built.

Housing Allocation

There are three schemes local housing authorities allocate council housing through. The schemes can vary from authority to authority. These schemes are a "date order" scheme, when a house is allocated according to the date of application; a "merit" scheme where allocations are made by local officers or committee according to merit of the case; and a "point" system which operates on the accumulation of points based on household size, age, health... It is the point system which is most commonly followed in Scotland (the other two may be used from time to time) as it is judged to be the fairest system.

Allocation of council housing in all the schemes is intended to be based on need rather than price. In addition, local authorities have a statutory obligation to rehouse those displaced by clearance and rehabilitation schemes, those living in over crowded and insanitary conditions and certain categories of the homeless (Langsley, Housing and Public Policy, 1979, p.67.). The allocation system has to allow some ordering of priorities amongst those on waiting lists - tenants seeking a transfer to another house, single parent families, the aged etc. It is this prioritisation that can become controversial.

Private Sector

In 1917, 90% of the houses in Scotland were rented from the private sector. In the 1980's, 57% of houses in Scotland are rented from the public authorities (English, Social Services in Scotland), 1983, p.90). What has happened to private accommodation?

Since the first world war and heavier government intervention in housing, the structure of the housing market has been altered. A major change has been a transfer to owner-occupation (predominantly in England & Wales) and an increase in council housing (Scotland) ; 57% of the housing property in Scotland is municipally owned, 37% is in owner occupation and just 10% remains in the private rented sector (IBID).

Government intervention can be held accountable for a massive decrease in private accommodation - through slum clearance & demolition. Other activity includes improvement subsidation where the property becomes more valuable and the landowner is placed in a profitable position. He may sell the house or keep it as an investment.

The scarce furnished private rented accommodation which is available is often highly priced; although low income tenants can receive a housing benefit to pay for it, it is still inaccessible to many as landlords often are discriminatory in renting it to certain groups - families with children, for example.

Rent Acts have been instituted, changed and enforced with varying degrees of vigour. The aim of the rent acts has been to bestow tenurship on unfurnished accommodation and so those people left to rent in furnished accommodation have no security of tenure. Depending upon the prevailing governments attitude of the time, the rent acts have favoured the landlords or the tenants.

Housing in the 1980s

While there is a definite lack of accommodation in the private sector, the public sector does appear to have sufficient property. However, much of that property is unattainable for certain groups —

owing to restrictive and discriminatory allocation policies, on the one hand and improper size and type of building.

Public building in Britain has been geared towards the "average" sized family and has taken the form of three bedroom flats. Very large families, childless couples and single people find it difficult to be admitted to council housing. For example people who move about often never acquire enough "points" to receive the housing of their choice.

In view of central government's lowered priority towards public housing, especially with regard to new building, it appears that much of the existing property is not suitable for particular groups. In addition, there is a significant problem regarding the condition of some of the existing stock — in 1982 it was estimated that 100,000 "substandard" houses in Scotland representing 5% of the stock (English, Social Services in Scotland, 1983, p.88). Many council houses suffer from damp and condensation; in some cases this is the result of poorly planned electric heating systems which tenants cannot afford to run.

Scotland has a proportion of difficult to let properties as well. These estates become collections of disadvantaged people — low income, large families, high child densities, difficult tenants ... all those

groups who are not in a position to wait for more decent housing. The lack of amenities, location and reputation of these estates along with the inferior design and quality of the houses themselves make them unpopular. These are facts to keep in mind - the housing stock local authorities have available - as we consider the statutory responsibility placed upon them for the rehousing of homeless people.

2.3 Provision for the Homeless

This section will look at provision made for the homeless. It begins with a brief examination of the traditional measures taken for dealing with the homeless poor and then considers the most recent measure - the Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977. As mentioned earlier, attitudes toward a group are often reflected in any policies and provisions aimed at them. This look at the changes in methods of dealing with the homeless demonstrates this.

The emergence of Government interest in dealing with the homeless has been gradual. The first measures were the Elizabethan Poor Laws, which, in their administration, made relief so degrading and unpleasant that they actually served as a deterrent. The poor laws established a dual structure of relief- "outdoor relief", paid to the "deserving" needy in their homes and then institutional care, where residential accommodation was provided for the impotent poor. The philosophy of "less eligibility" was thought to be a preventive measure - that the principle would prevent people from applying unless they were desperate and hence truly deserving. Philanthropy and charity organisations took a great part in relief during the Industrial Revolution where urban socio-economic problems were magnified by the rapid industrialisation and homelessness increased. "Friendly Societies" developed, which intended to instruct the poorer classes in the ways of the upright - the very poor

needed to rely on the poor houses and exploitative lodging houses. Other institutions came forth, the Salvation Army, for example. Although the Salvation Army has provided food, shelter and clothing for many poor homeless people, their's has been a spiritual crusade rather than an attempt to eliminate or prevent situations of homelessness. The prevalent ideology that poverty was due to some type of personal failing was generally accepted.

By the beginning of this century, research (Rowntree Booth) demonstrated that the extent of poverty was much greater than had been thought - that it was caused by a number of factors - old age, sickness for example - and not simply the result of some personal defect.

Positive measures were taken before the Second World War, acts such as Old Age Pensions, National Insurance, Unemployment Assistance. The Beveridge Report (1942) and the National Assistance Act (1948) called for a radical reform of the social security system. Beveridge's proposals were aimed at

"... promoting solidarity and bringing institutions and individuals into partnership with the state, in a common condemnation of the scandal of physical want"

(Heidenheimer, The Development of Welfare State in Europe and America, 1981, p.19)

The new programme called for the abolition of the poor laws. The idea of means testing were limited and benefits were extended to cover all of the population. Duties were placed on the local authorities (by the National Assistance Act, 1948) to

"... provide temporary accommodation for persons who are in urgent need thereof, being need arising in circumstances which could not have reasonably been foreseen..."

The 1950's, thought of as a period of relative prosperity, saw an increase in the numbers of people placed in temporary accommodation by the welfare authorities. Arguments to explain this increase in numbers

include the relaxation of rent controls (Rent Act 1957) the rapid growth in sales of rented housing for owner occupation, reduction in council building for general needs and the greater confidence with which homeless people sought help from the local authorities (Donnison, Housing Policy 1982, p.265). The 1959 Mental Health Act was intended to replace institutional mental health care with community care. Subsequently some of these released patients fell out of the system and became homeless. Studies concentrating in London, begun in the 1960's coincided with the rediscovery and redefining of poverty. Pressure groups, some of which were politically significant (Shelter, for example) community level initiatives (such as tenants associations) continued research and changes in the general perception of poverty contributed to the adoption of the Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977.

Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977

Significant changes for (some of) the homeless were made in the provisions of the Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977. The above mentioned rediscovery of poverty and homelessness provided a political catalyst. But first another significant factor needs to be considered: that is, the realisation that a definite need for a link between housing and social work was in order.

The 1975 Scottish Development Department's report of the Morris Committee called for such a link based on the idea that both departments have similar interests in local authority activities. The report recommended that

"... primary responsibility for the homeless should rest with the housing authority ... the SDD should initiate discussions with local authority associations on means of insuring a smooth transfer from social work to housing authorities for the provision of temporary accommodation (para 8.18-20)... that far too little temporary accommodation is available ... greater use should be made of local authority housing (8.25-21)... children should never be taken into care merely because of homelessness (8.40)"

The report and its proposals for a new homelessness policy in Scotland was built on the promise that the housing needs of the homeless should not be assumed to be different than those of anyone else. It suggested that the local housing authorities were in the best position to deal with homelessness by practices of sensible provision and measures of prevention. However, the report is quick to point out that although the housing authorities should be given the direct responsibility for the rehousing of the homeless by no means should this be interpreted as the relinquishment of all responsibility on the part of the social welfare departments. A "double harness" approach on prevention and provision should be taken. This joint effort, once recognised and made public by the report, was set into action with the passage of the Housing Homeless Persons Act (1977) and adopted in Scotland in 1978.

Until the passage of the Act, homelessness was dealt with by the Department of Health and Social Security, who provided reception centres and acted as co-ordinators for other agencies; those dealing with alcohol abuse, for example. This act confirmed what seemed like an obvious suggestion - that homelessness was a housing problem.

By the early 1970's, the minimal provision for temporary accommodation on the local authorities part - the result of the 1948 National Assistance Act, became questioned. As Donnison pointed out :

"... the 1948 Act provided the wrong powers (imposing a weak obligation to provide temporary shelter for small numbers when the problem of homelessness called for strong obligations to provide permanent housing for large numbers) and these powers were in the wrong hands (resting ineffectually with the DHSS and county social service departments instead of the DOE and the district housing authorities) (Donnison, Housing Policy 1982, p.271)"

When a later amendment to a local government act (1972) appeared to be reducing the already limited duty of the local authorities, pressure groups, advocates and the homeless adamantly protested against the proposal. At the end of a sometimes bitter and controversial battle, the Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977 was enacted.

The Act gave statutory responsibility to the local authorities for the homeless and "threatened" homeless. The act called for local authorities to act in ways which would prevent homelessness and to rehouse homeless persons. The responsibility of temporarily accommodating homeless persons was transferred from DHSS to the housing authorities. Each application must be decided according to the individual circumstances.

In deciding each case the local authority needs to determine if the applicant is homeless or threatened with homelessness. He is homeless if he has no accommodation which he (and others who'd normally live with him) is entitled to occupy or cannot gain entry to. He is considered potentially or threatened with homelessness if there is a likelihood of becoming homeless within 28 days (HHPA 77). The idea of priority need must be determined. An application is accepted as priority if there are dependent children; or is homeless because of fire, flood or other emergency. A pregnant woman, together with anybody who lives or might reasonably be expected to live with her is accepted, as is a person considered vulnerable (due to age or infirmity). It must be determined if he became homeless "intentionally" i.e. in order to be rehoused. A local connection must be asserted; i.e. to either the authority he is applying to or to another one. If the applicant is homeless, in priority need, is not intentionally homeless and has a local connection, the local authority is statutorily required to rehouse the applicant. If the applicant does not meet any of the necessary criteria, he must be given advice and assistance.

Those fortunate enough to be eligible for rehousing will, in almost all cases, be placed in temporary accommodation until a council house becomes available. The HHPA does not state what type of temporary accommodation should be provided, nor is there any standard of permanent accommodation.

In practice, homeless persons are placed in bed and breakfast accommodation, hostels and in some districts, in empty mainstream housing. Much of this "temporary" housing is inadequate and provides a bare minimum of the basic amenities required by those using it.

The Homeless Persons Act came into force in Scotland in early 1978. Two years later a Code of Guidance published by the Secretary of State was circulated. Since the suggestions and advice in the Code of Guidance cannot be statutorily enforced, it is often ignored. The Code offers a more liberal interpretation of the Act and sets standards for temporary accommodation. For example, the Code recommends the use of bed and breakfast accommodation only as a last resort, yet many authorities place their homeless in this type of establishment for the duration of their waiting period. Bed and breakfasts are not designed to support families for any extended period of time - there are no cooking facilities and the family must crowd together in one room. Temporary accommodation can last several weeks and longer - in a dismal overcrowded and inadequate shelter, it can hardly be called effective.

Who Gets Left Out

At the beginning of the previous section, it was mentioned that the HHPA made significant changes for "some" of the homeless. There are certain groups who get left out.

The largest proportion of those "left out" are the single homeless. Single homeless people are not deemed to be in priority need. Although a part of the priority needs criteria makes mention of the idea of vulnerability, it statutorily refers to the aged/mentally ill or handicapped. The under used Code of Guidance suggests the inclusion of any homeless young person who are at risk of sexual or financial exploitation. Few districts recognise this (Glasgow does)

People who have travelled long and often are not assumed to have a local connection. The local authorities statutorily must assert a local connection before providing housing. If the applicant has a local connection in another district, he will be advised to go there. This can result in an already displaced person being shifted from one district to another.

The idea of intentionality is probably the most controversial. Recent literature relays story after story of people being denied housing because they made themselves homeless intentionally. There are three requirements - all of which must be met to be declared intentionally homeless. They are (that)

- i. the applicant, if homeless, must have deliberately done, or failed to do something in consequence of which he ceased to occupy accommodation which was (at the time) available - or if threatened with homelessness, something of which the likely result was that he would be forced to leave such accommodation.
- ii it must have been reasonable for him to continue to occupy the accommodation and
- iii he must have been aware of all the facts

2.4

In summarising this brief examination of homelessness in a Scottish context, four major points can be made.

The first is that homelessness is not a selective phenomenon peculiar to those with some sort of personal failing. It can happen to anyone unfortunate enough to fall into a certain set of circumstances - a poor or violent marriage or relationship, unemployment, family dispute, eviction or any unconnected sort of lifestyle. Basically anyone who becomes a victim of "hard times" is a potential candidate.

Secondly there is a housing crisis in Scotland, which can be considered to be a cause of homelessness or something which augments the problem. Homelessness is becoming recognised as a housing problem. But government policy has helped perpetuate the housing crisis by its lack of commitment to housing in general. A large supply of unfit, deteriorating houses and a reluctance to build new ones allows homelessness to continue.

The third point is that although some aid has been provided legislatively through the Housing Homeless Persons Act, the Act itself and its administration is haphazard and discretionary. The Code of Guidance cannot be statutorily enforced and it should be. The clauses and conditions are so open to interpretation, and in practice the Act is implemented with so much local variation that it cannot be considered a variable solution. Certainly, particular districts are generous in their interpretations and provisions, but that generosity needs to be extended nationwide.

And finally, there are some groups who, generally speaking, have been passed over. To be alone and poor and homeless are a combination of hardships that most of us do not have to face. This compilation of misfortunes topped off by a government which does not sufficiently recognise and react to single homelessness as an overwhelming and difficult problem is disheartening. However, single homeless people have begun to organise and have won some support of at least one Scottish local authority, i.e. Glasgow.

Thus far the discussion of Scottish homelessness has been very general. The next chapter approaches one aspect of homelessness - that of single people - in the city of Glasgow and relays the experiences of the single homeless there.

CHAPTER 3 : THE SINGLE HOMELESS IN GLASGOW

3.0 Introduction

Glasgow has a long commitment to the city's single homeless. The city has always had a relatively large homeless population, due in the past to the influx of migrants (most from rural Scotland and Ireland) in search of work. These homeless individuals have been provided for in a variety of ways - through informal networks, the commercial sector, voluntary organisations and now statutorily. Until recently, the typical response has been to place the single homeless in large hostels or lodging houses. In the 1970's it became clear that most single homeless people were ordinary citizens wishing to live in ordinary houses. Where the city could at one time boast the most hostel-bed spaces per head of population, it now operates Britain's largest rehousing scheme as directed by the Housing Homeless Persons Act 1977. But the city has done much more than conform to the statutory duties of legislation - it has, of its own initiative, been significantly more generous and creative in providing for the needs of the single homeless. Much of Glasgow's success lies in the co-operation and organisation between the Housing Department, Social Work Department, Department of Health and Social Security, voluntary organisations and the single homeless themselves.

This chapter examines the case of the single homeless in Glasgow and the reaction of the authorities to the issue. The first section addresses itself to the extent of the problem within the city - it identifies who the single homeless are and what causes can be attributed to their homelessness. The second section views Glasgow as a special city by highlighting the roles played by various groups. Next, the current rehousing programme is evaluated in Section 3. The chapter concludes with some thoughts on Glasgow and provision.

3.1 Extent of Single Homelessness

Various bodies have stressed their interest in the identification and causes of single homelessness in Glasgow. Official nationwide studies of the single homeless in lodging houses and hostels were done in the 1970's (Office of Population Census by the DHSS) but these reports never specified the problem as it relates to Glasgow or Strathclyde; the reports highlighted that Glasgow had a higher than average proportion of bed spaces per head of population but noted nothing particular about the single homeless people themselves.

Two major surveys were conducted by the Glasgow Council for the Single Homeless (GCSH) in order to place single homelessness on a local basis. The first report, Homeless Men Speak for Themselves (1981) surveyed men staying in Glasgow's hostel. A later report Homeless Women in Glasgow (1983) was undertaken to determine the extent of homeless females in the city and to distinguish any differences between the needs and aspirations of single homeless men and women.

In an attempt to identify the single homeless in Glasgow, let us consider the two reports.

Homeless Men Speak for Themselves (HMST)

The HMST was originally begun by the Consortium for the Relief of the Adult Single Homeless (CRASH) but was later superseded by the GCSH.

The objectives were (to) :

- i Identify the role of hostels and night shelters
- ii Identify the needs of residents
- iii Establish basic characteristics of residents
- iv Determine attitudes to present accommodation
- v Scrutinise the employment situation
- vi Explore medical information

(HMST, 1981, p.5)

At the time the research took place (1978) there were 3000 bed spaces in the city. 1,225 interviews took place and were recorded (115 women were interviewed but the information from them was not used). The results were gathered from 1110 men.

The basic characteristics of Glasgow's single homeless men briefly summarised are as follows :

75% were aged over 45 years

50% of these were between 45-67 (see table 3.1)

- just less than 50% had been married

77% had experienced marital difficulty leading to separation

70% had lived in Glasgow all their lives

86% were unemployed/retired and the majority of the unemployed had been out of work 2 years or longer

a majority were socially isolated

40% had some experience in a penal institution

53% had slept rough or used night shelters

over 60% reported their last home to be that of the family or marital home

73% had first used shelters longer than 2 years ago

33% first used hostels 10 years ago

77% wished accommodation other than hostels

8% had drink problems

The findings of the report indicate the reasons for homeless vary with age. In the young homeless groups, (of the young homeless between the ages of 15-27) family problems are given as the primary reason for leaving home. The middle aged group reports "marital problems". Accordingly, the last settled home of the youngest group was with the family; of the middle aged it was the marital home.

The older age groups, 65-74 years have a longer history of hostel use. The older, protected homeless men are termed "long term."

When asked to evaluate their hostel accommodation, the younger people were more critical while the older men were generally more satisfied. However, 78% responded positively when asked if they'd consider a council house.

It became apparent through this survey that the residents in Glasgow's hostels were there not by choice but by circumstance; that they were local people with the same rights as other citizens and that most of the men simply needed a house with furnishings. The report recommended the allocation of mainstream council housing.

Homeless Women in Glasgow (HWIG)

Two years after the publication of HMST, a similar one concerning women was released in October 1983. This report intended to bring to light any significant differences between homeless men and women.

As other research had suggested, women are a very special case of the single homeless. Often they are "hidden" i.e. they do not identify themselves or are not officially identified as homeless.

Many women find themselves homeless after the death of their parents, husband or cohabitee or through divorce or separation. Some women lose their accommodation through the loss of or retirement from jobs with tied accommodation (nurses, for example). Women will very often exhaust all other alternatives before calling on authorities, preferring to stay with friends, parents or relatives.

The HWIG study addressed itself to the cause of women's homelessness in Glasgow; to the possible preventive measures to be taken; practical emergency facilities and the future monitoring of the situation. The information was discussed from interviews with the women and shelter staff.¹

1. Shelter staff were asked to take note of the women either seeking accommodation or using the shelter during a one-month period

108 women were reported searching for accommodation over a one month period. The report suggested that 45% of women searching for accommodation and 31% who enter and leave hostels within 3 months, never become visibly homeless. They do not get counted. Many women simply refuse to stay in hostels or in some cases, there may be no room for them and so they melt back into where they came from.

The female hostel population in Glasgow is dominated by older women (aged over 45).

It is this group that stays in hostels the longest. Most of the women in shelter had been married or cohabiting and that was reported to be the last settled home. This said, it is interesting to note that 43% of the women searching for accommodation over the one month period were between the ages of 16 and 27.¹ This group is the least likely to find accommodation as most hostels will not accept women under 18. This age group is more fluid in its homelessness.

Of all the women surveyed 68% had never had their own tenancy. The 32% who did left it because of problems with vandalism, poor health, or too expensive. 83% of the women wanted to move into their own accommodation. Those who did not or were unsure gave reasons such as fear of living alone, of break in and vandalism, especially amongst the older ones, there was a more apparent desire to remain in hostels.

The rehousing of single women is not easy. Single women are not treated as priority unless they are over 60 years of age, vulnerable or the separated spouse from a council tenancy. The Single Homeless Persons Unit of the housing department deals only with those people staying in hostels. If a woman chooses not to stay in a hostel - (and the report gave evidence that many do not) and is not being dealt with by the

1. As compared with Census figures for all of Glasgow women in this age group find themselves 3 times as likely to become homeless than women over 25.

Homeless Persons Unit she will not be put on ordinary council house waiting lists. This is unfair as women with children who take "meantime" accommodation elsewhere i.e. not within the hostel system, will be eligible for rehousing through the HHPA.

Fit single people are discriminated against by allocation policies. They receive few points - although they may receive some for local connection or overcrowding in their current accommodation, single people are not considered to be in priority. So access to public housing is limited for single women (as well as single men).

The reports done by the GCSH shed some light on various characteristics and aspirations of the city's single homeless. However, the most realistic number of single homeless people in the city was never made clear.

Single Homeless Person count

There are two other bodies which can better provide a good estimate of the numbers of single homeless in the city. As most single homeless are recipients of public benefits, figures from the DHSS are useful. The second body would be the Housing Department, which keeps records of the numbers and types of homeless applications it takes.

The Department of Health and Social Security set up a homeless persons office at Cranstonhill in 1959 to combat fraudulent claims. At one time it dealt with all homeless people, but now its concerned only with the single homeless.

The DHSS has provided "live load" figures which relay the number of single homeless applicants seen at this office. A list of the numbers (and changes in numbers) of single homeless people receiving benefit follows.

Table 3.1 : Live Load Compilation

	E	SA	R	Total
February 1983	772	761	385	1918
February 1984	735	788	382	1905
May 1984	799	819	401	2009
August 1984	958	900	408	2266
November 1984	980	948	361	2289
February 1985	928	940	357	2222

Category E = unemployed SA = invalidity R = retired

(Source : DHHS Live Load Compilation, March 1985)

The most current total provided is 2222. Of this figure, 384 claim to have "no fixed address". Claiming to be NFA is stressed here for one reason. It is the feeling of those personnel interviewed at the DHSS that not more than 100 single homeless people in Glasgow are "sleeping rough". Other "homeless" workers believe that even the 100 - figure is too high - that probably not more than 50 people sleep rough in the city.¹ It was implied that the great majority of the NFA claimants were young - 16 and 17 year olds who, as NFA supplementary benefits claimants receive £29.40 per week compared with the usual £21.00. (More importantly, though is that this fraud or deception has never been proven).

It may be that the figure of 2222 is too low - that some of the more settled and stable hostel residents use other offices.

1. The estimated number of people sleeping rough varies between people consulted - the estimates of homeless workers and advocates range from 30 - 100 with 100 being the expected maximum.

Another means of determining the extent and type of homelessness in the city is by using the rehousing applications taken by the Housing Department. The Glasgow Housing Review (1983) reports that 45.4%¹ of homeless applicants on the list are the single homeless. At April 1983, there were 914 single homeless persons on the Glasgow Housing Department waiting list. At December 1983, that figure had increased to 1034.

Table 3.2 Single Homeless Persons on Rehousing List

<u>Single Person Household by age</u>	<u>April 1983</u>	<u>% Homeless Applicants</u>	<u>December 1983</u>	<u>% Homeless Applicants</u>
Single person household under 25	152	8.8%	239	13.2%
Single person household 25-64	683	36.6%	706	38.9%
Single elderly household 65+	79	4.2%	89	4.9%
Total	941	49.6%	1034	57.0%

An increase in 93 cases in a 4 month period although not overwhelming is significant enough to attempt to account for. It could be indicative of more systematic record keeping on the part of the housing department; it may be that more single people are becoming aware of the possibilities of rehousing and so make application or it could be due to an increase in poverty and unemployment and all the other possible contributing factors mentioned in the last chapter.

If one considers the figures and estimates, provided by the DHSS and the Housing Department, some curious issues arise. The DHSS reports 2222 cases of single homelessness in the city where the Housing Department reports 1034 - a difference of 1188 people. This discrepancy between those in homelessness and those seeking rehousing is confusing. In order to be considered for rehousing a single homeless person must be staying in

1. The 45.4% represents those cases deemed homeless as defined in the HHPA. The %'s given in the table are higher as they are taken from the total number of applicants (whether considered or not).

a hostel. With this in mind, the 384 reported cases of no fixed address can be deleted. Still, that leaves over 800 people who are unknown to the Housing Department i.e. who have not made application for rehousing. This could mean that 800 of the city's single homeless do not wish to be rehoused, or that they are unaware of the possibility of rehousing (which is contrary to one of the suggested explanations for the increase in rehousing applications taken in the 7 month period between April and December 1983). The most likely reason will be that some of that group of 800 do not "qualify" as homeless people in the eyes of the Housing Department as per the HHP Act 77 i.e. statutorily. As the DHSS has a different obligation towards the single homeless, it does not follow any stringent legislation.

In any case, it is obvious that there are a significant number of single homeless people in Glasgow. The most reliable estimate is probably that of the DHSS. With over 2000 single homeless men and women in the city, let us now consider the measures Glasgow has taken.

3.2 Glasgow As a Special City

As stated earlier in this chapter, Glasgow has traditionally shown an awareness to its problem of single homelessness and has responded accordingly i.e. as has been deemed appropriate at the time. Many of the earlier attempts of "progressive" provision - the building of the large hostels in the 1950's and 60's for instance - can be viewed in retrospect as clearly inappropriate. Glasgow in the 1980's is now fully aware that homelessness is basically a housing problem and today operates the country's largest rehousing scheme. It is not a clearance project but a voluntary transition from temporary to permanent accommodation. So far,

the scheme appears successful (though it does have some drawbacks).

For the time being, in considering the "successes" of Glasgow, what factors can be attributed to that success? These may be

- the availability of council houses; the continuous involvement of the Social Work Department and its collaboration with the housing department, the DHSS and grants it makes available which help make the move to permanent housing possible, the involvement of city councillors and single homeless people themselves; the vital role played by voluntary agencies and the city's generous interpretation of the HHPAct. The combination of these factors have helped make Glasgow a unique city. This section looks at the roles played by the contributing agencies and highlights the city's involvement, commitment and flexibility in its approach to the problem.

Provision for the homeless poor generally falls into one of the following categories

1. Finance, usually in the form of income maintenance (DHSS)
2. Accommodation - very diverse - can be emergency, temporary or permanent
3. Support Services - usually through Social Work Departments
4. Specialist Services for particular problems i.e. rehabilitation

These four elements of provision are important for the virtual survival of the single homeless. In combination they can allow for so much more. Rather than just enough i.e. the bare minimum for day to day existence the correct combination of provision can enable a single homeless individual to live in the community and to function quite normally. As was stated above it is the integration of these measures, carefully co-ordinated and monitored, which have allowed a substantial number of Glasgow's single homeless to return to an "ordinary" way of life. A discussion of each will help explain how they work and are related to others.

1. Finance - DHSS

The DHSS has always had some involvement with the homeless. Its traditional role has been in income maintenance, providing funds for people who are unemployed, ill or elderly. Under Section 5 of the Supplementary Benefits Act 1976 (as amended 1980 Social Security Act) the DHSS makes grants available to voluntary organisations to help in providing night shelters and hostels. The DHSS also runs a "resettlement" centre at Bishopbriggs in Glasgow which has spaces for 72 men and has recently been involved in the rehousing programme.¹

The DHSS also makes available a single payment grant which enables single homeless people to be rehoused. The grant which may be worth up to £700.00 is used to purchase furniture and household goods by someone entering a first-time tenancy or the first tenancy for a long time. Items allowable for purchase include bedding, kitchen furniture and utensils, a heater and other necessities. DHSS staff work closely with other bodies to ensure that the funds are used effectively.

The DHSS also pays supplementary benefit to the single homeless (£25.10 per week), unemployment (£27.00 per week). Those single homeless staying in shelter have their accommodation paid for them and are allowed £29.70 per week in meals allowance and £10.30 per week in personal expenses (DHSS handout, Basic Scale Line).

2. Accommodation

Accommodation is very diverse and may be provided by the commercial sector, the voluntary sector or the public sector. In most cases in Glasgow, it is the Housing Department that is directly responsible for the

1. The DHSS runs about 20 of these resettlement units in Britain. It has recently been announced that the DHSS intends to eventually close all of its resettlement units and use the money saved to grant-aid voluntary bodies.

accommodation of homeless people although some may obtain accommodation in the other sectors. The HHPA 77 placed a statutory duty on the local authorities for the housing (both temporary and permanent) of the "qualifying" homeless. The duty is usually limited to those with special needs, and under ordinary circumstances, a fit single homeless person is not considered. However, Glasgow is keen to close dilapidated lodging houses and hostels and to rehouse homeless people. Within the Housing Department there is an appointed Single Persons Office who is responsible for developing new housing opportunities for single people. A rehousing programme for the single homeless was begun in 1980 and in the five years since its been in operation over 1000 people have been rehoused. This programme, which is discussed in more detail in the next section, is a Glasgow initiative and is the largest rehousing programme in Britain. The Housing Department is willing to consider suggestions from concerned agencies and has, in the past, reviewed its allocation policies and points system. In its rehousing scheme, it has been sensitive in the allocation of houses and has given priority to young single homeless people. The (Scottish) Code of Guidance which was discussed in the last chapter commands sensitive judgement on the part of housing interviewers and Glasgow tries to follow that recommendation.

3. Support Services

Support services are provided through Strathclyde Region's Social Work Department. The Social Work Department has handled the transference of responsibility for homelessness to the Housing Department effectively i.e. it has not abdicated its role in providing services for those who need them. The Housing Department and Social Work Department have a clear liaison apparatus between them. The Single Homeless Project (SHP) was established in late 1978 with the objective of supplying comprehensive social services to the single homeless.

A vital area of the Social Work Department/Single Homeless Project is its homemaker scheme. Through the scheme supportive services - instruction in returning to the community, budgeting, costing and maintaining a household are offered to those needing it, especially the longterm homeless, the elderly, those entering a tenancy for the first time and those who have been in institutional residential care. This intensive personal attention has proven to be successful in helping the ex-single homeless adjust.

The scheme primarily operates on a one to one or individual basis whereby one homemaker usually carries a workload of between 10-12 clients. Group projects, where small groups meet with one or two homemakers and receive instruction and support in a group setting. The Bishopbriggs Resettlement unit is an example of group support. Again the Social Work department works closely with the Housing Department to be sure support is provided to those requiring it.

4. Specialist Service

Some clients require a more specialised type of support. Some may suffer from problems with drink or drugs; problems relating to mental health or maybe special problems such as adjusting to life outwith prisons. These services are often rehabilitatory and may be provided by specialist organisations such as Alcoholics Anonymouse or Glasgow Association for Mental Health. Some of the city's hostels - the Talbot Association for example, have special "care" units attached where guests can receive help. The network of helping agencies within Glasgow is very closely linked and a person receiving services from any of the other organisations who required specialist service would be set up with it.

There have been other important organisations contributing to the aid of the single homeless- mostly voluntary or sometimes called "fringe" organisations. However, to stress the uniqueness of Glasgow, they will be skipped over and two of the more special organisations will be discussed.

Glasgow Council for the Single Homeless

The Glasgow Council for the Single Homeless (GCSH) is a coalition of over 30 agencies, both public and voluntary, concerned with the housing needs of single people. The GCSH is not a pressure group, nor does it have any political power. It provides a forum for research and discussion of Glasgow's Housing problems as they relate to the single homeless (and vice versa). The GCSH is a firm base for activity in the direction of resolving the housing crisis of the city's single homeless population and the ideas and suggestions it has presented to the Housing Department, DHSS and Social Work Department have been considered and often implemented.

It is the premise of the GCSH that the homelessness problem is a housing one - that homeless single people should not be discriminated against by allocation policies i.e. that housing should be allocated according to need. The ultimate goal of the GCSH is that every single homeless person who wishes permanent housing should be provided for - that no one should have to remain in a hostel lodging house or any other type of temporary or institutional accommodation solely because there is no other suitable housing available.

At the same time, it recognises the existence of some people who may be happy in the "temporary" type arrangements - the point is that the choice must be made available in practice as well as in theory. It may well be true that for every 'bed' in the city there are 2 people - whether this is because there is an apparent lack of alternative housing cannot be disregarded altogether. The GCSH obviously encourages the continuance of the city's rehousing programme and does in fact have recommendations for the programme's expansion.

In a 6 point strategy printed up and circulated in the beginning of 1984 the following recommendations were made (GCSH, Annual Report 1984)

1. Better access to mainstream housing through specified changes.

This target suggests reforms to the Housing Department's point system whereby a "quota" system for allocations should be introduced and where among other changes "waiting time" category be replaced by "time in need". Access to private accommodation could be increased by the encouragement of Housing Associations to establish more single persons accommodation.

2. Better Access to mainstream housing through specified special initiatives

At present all lets in GDC going to single homeless people equals 1½% - GCSH strategy calls for 7% of lets each year to be to single people. Those people seeking rehousing from institutions should be given priority; A hostel for 16-17 year olds be established and an accommodation centre, to be the single homeless people's first port of call be established in a central location (Kyle St.). It would be through the Accommodation Centre that all admissions take place.

3. Better standards in hostel type accommodation

Many of the hostels clearly lack acceptable standards and amenities. *Changes* should be made especially related to health and hygiene, privacy, social standards, level and quality of staff. The Strategy recommends that all hostels be controlled by GDC or managed by GCSH. This to be brought about by powers of enforcement. *Powers of enforcement include compulsory purchase.*

4. Closure of Night Shelter accommodation of current type

This to be possible in conjunction with the accommodation centre, where no new admissions to night shelter be accepted and night shelters be replaced by small hostels - well staffed with specialist services as required. Probably a maximum of 60 beds in all. Those ex night shelter uses should be provided their own or shared homes in improved hostels or in "caring houses" where problems of alcohol exist.

5. Improvement or Closure of the Commercial Sector

Standards in the commercial sector i.e. those hotels/hostels providing accommodation for profit is recognised to be very low.

Many escape even the legal standard. Negotiations between GCSH/local authorities and communities should be begun to attain this standard.

If unmet, compulsory purchase orders against them should be considered.

6. Reduction in the number of bed spaces provided by the GDC and voluntary organisations belonging to GCSH

From evidence gathered in the HMST Report the GCSH feel a maximum of 400 long stay bed spaces are needed in the city. The demand for these spaces should lessen or increase in mainstream allocations.

This proposal will of course demand strict monitoring to ensure that the supply meets the demand and that there are no homeless persons needing to sleep rough or endure hardship because of a lack of a bed. Again, with the use of the Accommodation Centre & the expansion of housing allocation a reduction of beds - to 400 by end 1987 is possible.

Hostel Action Committee (HAC)

The GCSH, as one of its initial priorities, believed success in their organisation could be made only within the input from the hostel residents themselves. Two years ago, a hostel spokesman was named and this committee represents residents in Glasgow hostels (about 2000). This committee, although it does work alongside GCSH and does share similar viewpoint, tends to put more of its strength in improving the hostel situation rather than focusing primarily on rehousing. Besides requiring physical improvement some of Glasgow's hostels have been criticised for their bureaucratic management, while the commercial sector is notorious for its substandard, intimidating environment. The single homeless people and the spokesman

attend meetings, both public and private, and share their thoughts and suggestions. Hostels in Glasgow - through the aims and work of the HAC have an increasingly more secure and homelike atmosphere and there has been an increase in the cooperation between residents and staff where each tries to work with the other. Social activities and sports events now take place within and between some of the city's hostels. The attitudes of the hostel residents and hostel management have improved.

Initiatives that have taken place in Glasgow for the improvement in the lives of the single homeless have been a fruitful exercise in cooperation and effort between many people. It is safe to say that this action is more the result of a genuine concern and interest than an official obligation. This does not mean that the city has solved its problem entirely; but it does suggest that it has taken some very positive steps in the right direction. The next step to be viewed is the rehousing programme.

3.3 Glasgow's Rehousing Programme

In 1980 Glasgow began its programme of rehousing hostel residents. To date, over 1000 single homeless people have taken up tenancies in council houses. Five years later, it has been shown (through a GCSH initiated research project) that the programme has been, overall, a success. The research was concerned with about the work of the vital agencies involved in the programme as well as learning the views of those who have been rehoused. A survey of 156 people who have been rehoused showed that the majority, 70%, were still in the same house, and 90% reported they were managing well or very well and only 2% had returned to a hostel (Duffy, Rehousing Hostel Residents: The Glasgow Experience, March 1985)

Besides the Glasgow District Councils Housing Department, the Social Work Department and the Department of Health and Social Security are key agencies in the rehousing programme.

When the programme first began in 1980, staff from the Homeless Persons Unit visited hostels to inform hostel residents of the policy of rehousing and to encourage them to apply. Because of the great number of applications the canvassing was stopped and applications are taken at the Housing Department.

The application process is in three stages - three interviews in which an application is made, a legal and arrears check is done and a third to discuss what type of housing (in which area) is desired. The interviews also provide an opportunity for the housing worker to determine the need for social work support (counselling or the homemaker service). The applicant is then placed on queue for a house. When a suitable house becomes available, the applicant can begin to move in. If he/she requires the services of the Social Work Department, these will have been or will be provided. If the applicant's income is below the supplementary benefit level and if he/she is eligible for the single payment grant of the DHSS, this will be made upon being issued a house.

Of the 156 rehoused hostel residents, 132 were men and 27 were women. More than 50% of the men were middle-aged (i.e. in their 40's and 50's) while the ages of the women tended to be much older or younger. Most of the applicants were rehoused in 2 apartment flats - a great use was made of multi-storey flats and the houses in general, were in a fit state of repair. About 33% used the services of a homemaker, while a half used the Single Homeless Project of the Social Work Departments advice and counselling service. 85% of the applicants received the DHSS furniture grant. Perhaps it would be wise to view each of these three agencies - the Housing Department, the Social Work Department and the DHSS, and evaluate their contribution.

Housing

It was already mentioned that most of those rehoused were happy with their new accommodation; that the housing was fit and in a suitable area. The main dissatisfaction expressed was the length of time the rehousing process took.

The original target time of six months for the entire rehousing process has only been met by 41% of those participating. A significant number (25%) had to wait more than 12 months. This length of time is too long, from the points of view of both the Housing Department and the hostel residents themselves.

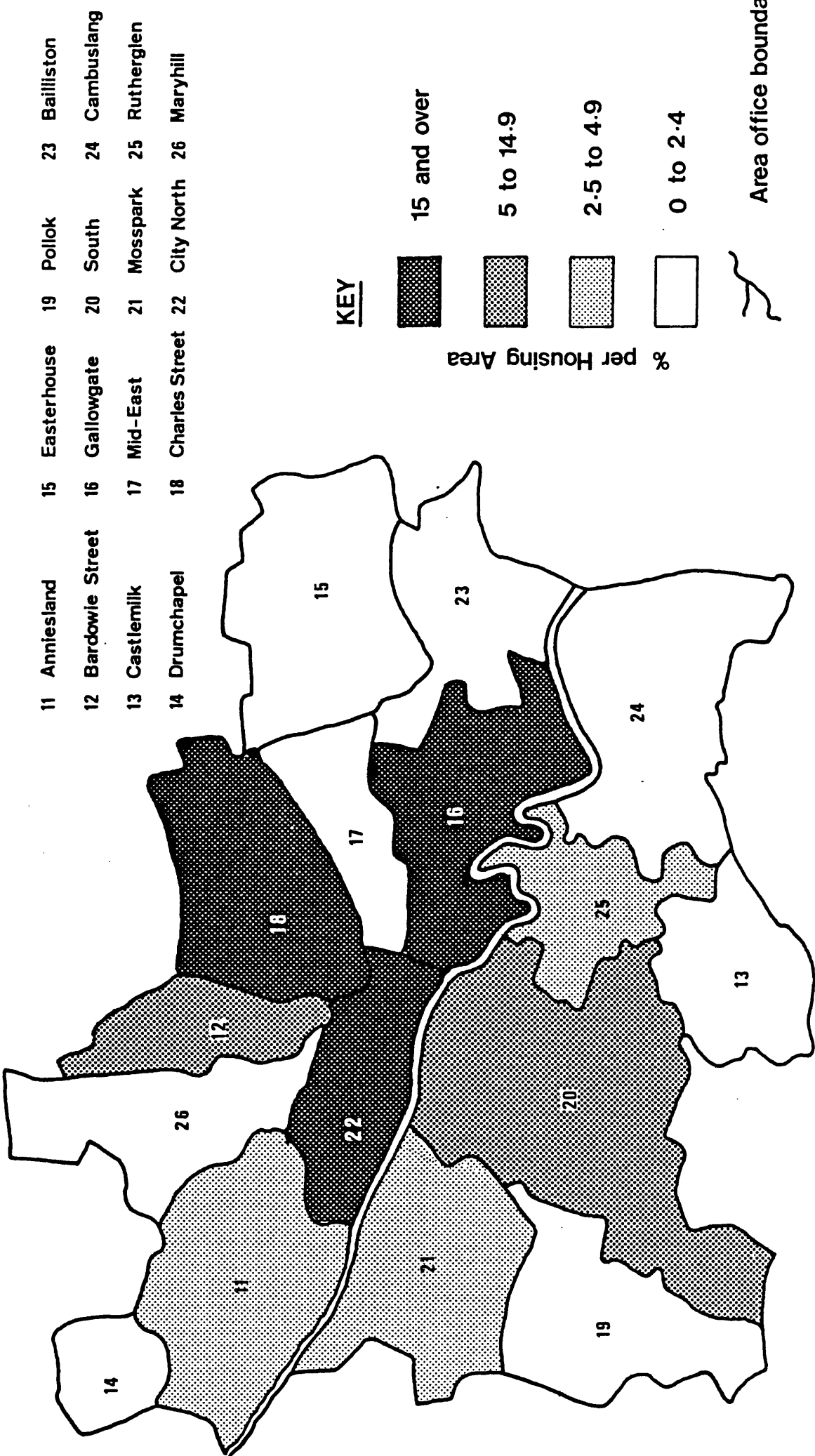
To take another housing issue, a definite concentration of rehoused single homeless hostel residents has occurred. 72% of those rehoused were placed in the city centre area, while only 9% have been placed in the peripheral estates. This concentration has been attributed to two factors. One, the distribution of one and two apartments in the city is uneven and this has resulted in unequal distributions and concentrations. The second factor may be due to local connection. Many of those rehoused were long term homeless who have lived in the city hostels and hence have a local connection to that area (Duffy, Rehousing Hostel Residents The Glasgow Experience, p.17, 1985). The most apparent concentrations occur in Gallowgate, Charles Street and City Centre 9 (see figure 3.1).

Social Work

Almost all of those in the survey used the services of the Social Work Department in their rehousing. Those who made use of advice and counselling services were generally quite satisfied with it. The Homemaker Scheme used by over 50% was especially appreciated. The Homemakers generally operate on a one to one level, but in two cases since the rehousing programme began "group" instruction has taken place¹. As staff

1. Group instruction took place at the Bishopbriggs Resettlement Unit and the Talbot Association (a voluntary organisation).

DISTRIBUTION OF HOSTEL DWELLERS HOUSED IN GLASGOW (FEBRUARY 1980 TO MARCH 1981)



is short (there are only 6 homemakers), perhaps this idea of group instruction could be expanded.

DHSS

Besides its role in income maintenance, the single payment grant provided by the DHSS is a very important contribution made in the rehousing of hostel residents.

Council tenancies are let unfurnished. A single homeless person being rehoused from a hostel into a council house is unlikely to have much furniture or other basic household necessities. However, the list of items covered is not extensive and the amount provided allows for the purchase of second hand goods, often in poor quality.

The DHSS did offer another scheme, whereby the hostel-resident does not receive a cash grant but where the Housing Department arranged for furniture and only a small amount of cash was supplied (the Housing Department was directly reimbursed by the DHSS). In the survey done, only 10 people had opted for this; however, most were dissatisfied with the quality of the furniture and experienced problems with late deliveries etc. This programme was discontinued in 1982. As the scheme was intended to benefit the new tenant by saving him the effort of looking for his own furniture, it could have been a good programme.

All in all, the rehousing programme has been judged to be successful. There are still some problems to be addressed, such as the length of time waiting for a house and hassles with furnishings but most of those rehoused are happy in their own accommodation and although a small minority report feeling lonely and isolated, most visit with friends often and many return to the hostels to socialise.

The survey recommends the continuance and expansion of the rehousing programme and it is obviously wanted by many hostel residents as well, as the Housing Department receives about 50 applications per month.

3.4 A look to the future

Glasgow, as has been seen through this chapter, is a unique city. It has taken initiatives in improving the lives of the single homeless and has creatively instituted special programmes for them.

The city is determined that the basic problem of the homeless is the lack of a home, and it has adopted measures toward providing houses. But it has done this with the foresight of involving the Social Work Department and using their services as needed, and in considering the ideas and aspirations of the single homeless themselves.

The Glasgow Council for the Single Homeless has been instrumental in the role it plays, giving a forum to statutory bodies and voluntary agencies concurred with the single homeless. The cooperation it encourages amongst various groups has resulted in a unified effort to change the lot of the single homeless.

It is realised that the provision of night shelters and hostels is not the route to take in combating homelessness. If anything, their very existence perpetuates it. It is envisaged that this city will one day have a much lesser need for temporary accommodation; that every citizen who wants one will have a safe and affordable home. At the same time, it recognises that some people may chose to live in hostel-type dwellings; but the point is that a choice is made available.

CHAPTER 4 : HOMELESSNESS: AN AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

4.0 Introduction

There has long been some element of homelessness in the United States. Virtually every medium to large size city has its "Skid Row"; the quarters where the unsettled congregate and live amidst flop houses, pawn shops, rescue missions and cheap bars. Hobos, drifters and migrant workers have always been a part of American culture. Recently, homelessness has become the topic of considerable public attention. Where once associated with the "down and out" that is, the alcoholic, the ex-convict and other "socially terminal" people, the homeless population is changing in image as well as increasing in number. New York City's Mayor, Mario Cuomo, in his address to the U.S. Congressional Hearings on Homelessness said "few would dispute the claim that, in the cover of the last few years, homelessness in the U.S. has quietly taken on crisis' proportions".... (Homelessness in America II, Serial 98-67). Mission workers, shelter staff and researchers have verified this crisis and have observed and noted the increase in the number of homeless individuals and the diversity amongst them. Still, surprisingly little is known about the nature and extent of homelessness in a nationwide context. The first attempt at a comprehensive and systematic assessment of homelessness on the part of the Federal Government was published just one year ago and to date there has been limited government action taken. It appears that although a part of American culture for a long time, the homelessness phenomenon has recently presented itself as a "new problem".

This chapter will attempt to depict the situation of homelessness in America, and begins with a general discussion of attitudes towards the homeless poor. The second section aims to identify the homeless and speculates on the causes of contemporary homelessness. The third section offers an overview of what has been done on a national level to deal with

the problem. The chapter concludes with some thoughts on the outstanding unmet needs and suggests what should and could be done nationally.

4.1 Attitudes toward the Homeless Poor

In addressing a large scale social problem such as homelessness, the concept of public attitude is very important. Any policy and provision intended for a "target group" is very often a reflection of the popular attitude of the day. This section briefly traces the changes in attitude toward the nations' homeless poor in order to provide a framework for contemporary provision.

Traditionally modelled after British law, the American colonies and their settlements treated homelessness as a police problem - as a suspect demand for relief - and, much later with the Depression it was finally realised that perhaps the homeless were not entirely to blame for their plight.

Homelessness as a Police Problem

Early American settlements dealt with vagrants, rogues and vagabonds as the British did i.e. as criminals. It was the general feeling that the "rest of society" - the decent, productive and settled communities needed protection from the wandering droves of the homeless. Societal reaction to the unfortunate mobile groups was to place them in penal institutions, almshouses and workhouses. The ruling fathers of young America "locked up" in whatever way they could, any person found wandering about or sleeping outdoors on public or private property or, if the person had no local address or was from another city, he would be extradited back to his own locality. Later, as the term "homeless" became almost synonymously associated with "drunk", the police were used to remove the "criminals"; again, to penal institutions (jails, overnight holding

tanks). These gestures were not to help or protect the homeless person from the elements or the dangers of living in the street, but were done because that was what society wanted and expected to be done. After the Civil War, the labour surplus caused by frontier breaking and railroad building called for the relocation of men across America. A migratory labour pool would shift from city to city depending upon the season and the available work. The "Skid Row" phenomenon appeared — places within the cities where clusters of these "homeless" men congregated. Here again, while most of the men were looking or waiting for work, those non-working ones, with problems related to drink or petty crime for example, were singled-out, incarcerated or extradited (often to a skid row in another city). Anyone living in a skid row was not above suspicion. Since that period, the role of the police has been to protect the innocent settled community from these "dregs of humanity" — an out of sight, out of mind type of philosophy. The Depression and onwards brought the recognition of "involuntary unemployment" and perhaps with this realisation the police line has softened a bit. In the near recent past, the police have been used as an intermediary between the "outside" and the "inside" — providing information and advice as to nearest missions, shelters and detoxification centres; returning runaway youths to their homes or back into care and, in some cases, searching out those sleeping rough and bringing them inside, especially in very cold and wet cities.

Homelessness as a suspect demand for Relief

Being modelled after the British System, the Elizabethan Poor Law and its principles of "deserving" and "undeserving" poor were contained in American treatment of the homeless poor. This insidious idea had been carried on and reinforced from generation to generation where the poor and needy should be discouraged from accepting relief by making that relief (however minimal) degrading and miserable. The poor laws were a

moralising, token approach to the problems of poverty and preached that the poor were responsible for their own lot and it was only by some good grace that they were being sustained. And this idea, along with the Protestant work ethic, was readily incorporated into the American philosophies of localism and individualism. The U.S. attitude toward the poor has been largely influenced by the period when the poor were to blame for their condition. The worthy and unworthy indigent were treated accordingly through the mid 1800's. The workhouses were full; the aged were chastised for not saving in preparation for their older years, children were taught the upright morals of work and the shame of dependency.

Laissez-faire economics, progress and change in combination with the social Darwinist philosophy (that with less attention the unfit would be eliminated as nature intended - Spencer theory) of the Industrial Revolution saw the only largesse for the poor being provided through charity.

The beginning of the 20th century with its influx of European immigrants, brought concern all over the country about the large hordes of dependent foreigners. In 1921, the quota system was introduced to reduce the number of immigrants and hence the massive numbers falling into poverty and consequently charity. More and more advocates for the poor pushed for reforms in the administration of social services and their efforts resulted in specific programmes for specific groups i.e. women and children. From any perspective it is important to note that the state took little action until it was thought that the "moral contamination" of the poor could be spread to the upright citizens. Measures taken were by no means a way of protecting a group, they were a means of protecting the rest of society from that group. This attitude was generally unchallenged and unchanged until the dawn of the Great Depression.

The Depression

"It took the hard reality of mass hardship for most Americans to realise that poverty and immorality are not synonymous" (Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, Homeless in America II, 1984)

The impact of the Depression was seen and felt in a number of ways.

The country was in a state of chaotic panic - the Government were convinced it was an economic downturn soon overcome and so the homeless poor were aided by charity groups. Many people took to the road. Localities became bankrupt, thousands of desperate, discouraged Americans supported the Communist party in major rallies in New York and Chicago. Congressman Hamilton Fish announced to the House of Representatives that "... if we don't give security under the existing system, the people will change the system" (Piven and Cloward, Regulating the Poor, pp. 86, 1971). It is difficult to say for sure what threatened the Government most - the spreading panic or the spread of communism - but it was the Depression that provided the basis for the Social Security and benefits system in the States.

Aid came in the form of disdained direct relief, which was viewed as "a temporary expedient, a way of maintaining a persons body, but not his dignity" (Ibid, pp. 92). These were followed by works projects, but these too ran against the grain of the American way, private enterprise. The "solution" came in the form of contributory Social Security insurance in the mid 1930's - unemployment benefits, workers compensation (introduced at the State level), family benefits and supplementary security income.

The war effort had effectively absorbed many of the skid row residents and what was left behind were mainly the old; the infirm, many of them having lived a marginal sort of life for years. New deal programmes and post-war prosperity led many to believe that skid rows, the obvious collecting point of the disenfranchised, were coming to an end, and for

about thirty years they did appear to be vanishing. The come back they have made in the 1970's and 80's was less than grand but significant just the same.

4.2 Identification and Causes of America's Contemporary Homeless Population

Estimates of the numbers of homeless individuals vary dramatically and range from a federal-government estimate of 250,000 to a popularised media figure of 3 million. As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the first and only comprehensive nationwide study was published in May 1984, by the Department of Housing and Urban Development, although various states have carried out their own research especially during the last decade. The "vanishing" skid rows began reappearing with different residents - women emerged on the streets in the late 1960's and were later joined by single unemployed young men in the 1970's. The past decade saw an influx of carelessly discharged mental patients irresponsibly released from mental hospitals. The 1980's recession and its subsequent federal cutbacks have forced some families into situations of homelessness. But the homeless populations are not neatly restricted to the traditional skid row areas of cities - they are dispersed throughout the urban areas, making do where they can. In many parts of rural America, the numbers of the homeless are increasing as well. The modern picture of homelessness in America now includes "ordinary and normal" people - those who were working and managing to get by but who have fallen victim to economic, housing or personal crises with limited help being afforded by the Government. After exhausting the gamut of resources and alternatives, many have no choice but to join the ranks of the homeless. This section

will attempt to identify who America's homeless are and account for the causes that have contributed to this situation. Perhaps a presentation of the material brought out by HUD in A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters, 1984, would be a useful place to begin.

A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters

In 1983, following the nations first House Banking Subcommittee on Housing and Community Development hearing,¹ the office of policy development and research of the Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) set out to address three issues concerning homelessness. The first aim was to determine the extent of homelessness across the nation; secondly to characterise who the homeless are i.e. how has their profile changed over time, what causes can be attributed to their situation and to determine if this varies in different parts of the country while the third objective was to assess the shelter system nationally. The results of their survey were published in their 1984 report, A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters.

As HUD is a federal agency and as there is, to date, no national legislation specifically aimed at provision for the homeless, the HUD definition of homelessness will be used as the "official" definition. In attempting to count the homeless population it is necessary to clarify exactly how the term is used and to whom it refers.

HUD (A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters, 1984) used the term "homelessness" when referring to "... people in the streets who in seeking shelter, have no alternative but to obtain it from a private or public agency" (HUD report, A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters, 1984, p.7). The survey did not

1. The first of a series of congressional hearings held on the homelessness issue, where social service workers, advocates and state leaders can present the issues of homelessness to a federal committee in the hopes of coming to some national consensus and ultimate solution to the problem.

include those living in substandard or overcrowded conditions (i.e. "doubling up" with friends or relatives) or those in detoxification centres, halfway houses or other congregate living facilities. For the purposes of the study a person whose nighttime residence was in a shelter or in the streets, parks, abandoned buildings, cars or other space not designed as a shelter, was considered homeless. Four approaches were used to arrive at a national figure 1) published local estimates 2) interviews with local observers in 60 metropolitan areas 3) interviews with a national sample of shelter directors 4) a combination of shelter and street counts.

1. By using the local estimates unquestioningly (i.e. those given by city officials, shelters staff etc.) the homeless rate is .25% (25 persons per 10,000 population). An extrapolation of that rate produces a figure nationwide of 586,000 people.

2. Interviews with local experts were carried out by over 500 telephone interviews in a valid national sample and the reliability of the estimates were examined through a standard procedure where the same definition and methodology was used from city to city. By using the highest and lowest estimates for the 60 metropolitan areas, a figure of 257,000 nationwide emerges (See Appendix 4.1).

3. Shelter operators nationwide were asked for their estimates of homeless persons in their areas. The figures obtained from the shelter operators were accepted as given. Together the national total in this method was estimated at 353,000.

4. The street and shelter count method was the fourth one used. The national shelter survey showed an average of 69,000 people in all shelters on a given day in January 1984. Area street counts by shelter directors were estimated at 123,000 across the country. The 1980 census attempted to

count transient individuals using a casual count of individuals in bus stations, welfare offices, street corners etc. Through a complicated methodology, the national estimate of the number of people on the street was 267,000. (See Appendix 4.2)

Table 4.1

Summary of Four Approaches to Estimating Number of Homeless Persons Nationwide		
Approach 1	Extrapolation from highest published estimates	586,000
Approach 2	Extrapolation from estimates in 60 metropolitan areas obtained in 500 + local interviews	257,000
Approach 3	Extrapolation of estimates from national sample of 125 shelter operators	353,000
Approach 4	Shelter population and local area street count	192,000
	Shelter population and 1980 census street count	267,000
Most reliable range		250,000 - 350,000

Source : HUD Report A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelter, 1984

The range of estimates in this report is 192,000 to 586,000. Other groups, notably the Washington DC based Community for Creative Non-Violence (CCNV) estimate the number of homeless people in America to be much higher - CCNV estimates that approximately 1% of the American population (or 2.2 million people) to be homeless. This figure has been used (and exaggerated) by the press. Whatever figure is considered, the fact that a sizeable homeless population exists is obvious.

The West has the highest concentration of homeless people - almost $\frac{1}{3}$ of all homeless people in metropolitan areas are in the West even though only 19% of the country's population live there (HUD report, A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelter, 1984, p. 19). This

concentration is attributed to the climate and perceived opportunities for employment. The Southwest has been experiencing an increase in the migration of Indians from reservations in search of employment and in Mexican immigrants also seeking work. The study has verified that homelessness is a predominantly urban problem although it is certainly not limited to cities. The homeless population is greater in urban areas with populations of over 250,000 people, probably because shelters and social service networks are concentrated in the metropolitan areas; because unemployed people may be attracted to the city in hope of obtaining work and because larger cities tend to have a relatively higher concentration of poor households, i.e. more households with a greater chance of becoming homeless (HUD report, A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters, 1984, p.21)

American researchers, including the HUD surveyors, categorise the homeless into basically three groups. Those who have spent a good deal of time in homelessness - the "skid row" alcoholic, drug abuser, those with psychological problems or those who have always led marginal lives. They are referred to as "street people". The second group are called the "episodic homeless", those who have become homeless from time to time due to some personal crisis - they may have been in and out of prisons, or victims of domestic violence, runaways or other transient people with little resources. The last group, the "new homeless" are those who have become homeless due to economic hardship - foreclosure on a mortgage, eviction, exhaustion of unemployment benefits. This group is referred to as the "situationally homeless".

Not much information was available regarding the prior housing of the homeless, though from local studies it appears that many were doubled up (about 50%) while the rest report living in boarding houses, single room occupancy hotels, institutions and their own apartments (HUD report, A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters, 1984,p.28).

The study found the homeless population to be quite fluid. Many homeless move in between homelessness and shelters and sharing housing with friends and relatives and then back to the street again.

Although a significant proportion of the homeless were found to be "long term" homeless, (longterm meaning for longer than 2 years) especially in New York and Boston, most cities report their homeless to be in that condition rather recently.

There is also a large minority of the episodic homeless (meaning those who experience homelessness temporarily). Elderly persons surviving on social security and living in single room occupancies are often in this situation at the end of the month as their benefit starts running out.

To demographically profile the current homeless population the following characteristics emerge :

1. Most are single, but there are a significant number of families. 66% are single men, 13% are single women and 21% are family members.
2. The homeless population is younger than in the past. Excluding children from the local studies, the median age is 34, only 6% are over 60 and 10-15% are over 50.
3. Most homeless people are white, but the proportion of minorities is increasing. Minorities are overrepresented, a change from 20 years ago. 44% of the shelter population is "minority" (Black, Hispanic, Native American) compared to 20% of the total population.
4. Over 50% have lived in the area where they are currently located for over one year. 52% were local residents.

The HUD study attempted to place the reasons for homelessness in one of three categories; chronic disabilities, personal crises or economic conditions. The study found that, nationally, 38% of the homeless using shelters had alcohol problems, 22% had mental problems, that between

40-50% became homeless because of personal crises and over 50% of shelter users had been unemployed for a long time or had never been in employment and a further 35% had become jobless within the past year. However, the report based these findings on the estimates of the shelter operators - the HUD team never performed their own survey, nor did they attempt to explain the links between various causes of homelessness. Other researchers have actually named four major forces to be contributory/causal factors. The four forces of contemporary homelessness in the US in the 1980's are

1. Unemployment
2. Scarcity of Affordable Housing
3. Irresponsible Deinstitutionalisation of the Mentally Ill
4. Federal Cutbacks.

The dimensions of homelessness are national and multi-faceted and it is difficult, if not impossible to single out one sole cause in any particular case. Very often it is a combination of one or more factors that has caused an individual's homelessness, or it may be that one force has caused another to happen. What is obvious is that somewhere, along some line, there is probably some administrative failing where the blame can be placed. That failing could be in policy or provision; be it in the ignorance of a problem, short sightedness in planning, or poorly executed and inefficient public programmes. Let us consider the four forces of homelessness with these ideas in mind.

A Unemployment

The link between unemployment and displacement seems obvious. However, using unemployment as a force in the issue of homelessness must be done carefully - the statistics only take into consideration those who have been in active employment, those currently seeking work and those capable of work. The figures do not include discouraged workers, those who have exhausted their benefits, part time workers or those who have never entered the job market.

Unemployment as % of Population

<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
5.3%	4.8%	7.5%

(Source : US Department of Labour, Labour Statistics 1980)

Many street people have never been in employment. Unemployment, especially prolonged unemployment, can definitely have an effect on homelessness. Unemployment in the 1980's showed a distinct preference for the already vulnerable striking "first, hardest and repeatedly the poor, the young and the minorities" (Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, 1984). Unemployed persons in one area of the country expect jobs to be available in another area and so they migrate there. These unemployed migrants find themselves in a strange city, already suffering from an abundance of unemployed homeless people, lack of social services, provisions etc.... For these people, a situation of homelessness is made doubly worse by being homeless in a foreign city. Unemployment creates tensions within a family and may result in one or more members leaving, or may cause an entire family to become homeless as a unit. At the crux of the homelessness issue is money, or rather the lack of money. If a person has resources, he has a better chance of maintaining a home than someone who does not. When a working person becomes unemployed and needs to rely on unemployment benefits, or when the benefits run out and he is forced to rely on "regular" state benefits, he may be faced with rent or mortgage payments he is unable to handle. Consequently, he may be evicted if he is a renter or may have his mortgage foreclosed if he is an "owner". There is little protection for the unemployed as far as keeping one's accommodation is concerned. This lack of money and its effect on homelessness is very much connected with the next factor.

B Shortage of Low Income Housing

"With the possible exception of the immediate post WWII period, the housing crisis in the United States today is unexampled in this century"(Ibid)

Large and small cities have a dwindling supply of affordable rental property. The decline has been caused by revitalisation in the name of commercial development and economic progress; gentrification and its subsequent displacement and the conversion to condominiums and high rise, high cost living spaces in the cities. Public housing is stigmatised, of poor quality and in limited amounts. The US Department of Housing and Urban Development and the National Law Project estimate the number of people involuntarily displaced from their homes each year to be 2.5 million (Ibid)

At the same time $\frac{1}{2}$ million units of low rent dwellings are lost each year through arson, inflation and demolition (Ibid). It is the poor who suffer from displacement - the group which is most vulnerable and unable to recover. Interestingly it is not just renters who have become homeless - the Mortgage Bankers Association report that 130,000 Americans lost their homes to foreclosure in 1982 (Ibid) while farm foreclosures were at the highest level since the Depression - nationwide there were (in 1982) 1245 bankruptcies, 5,908 liquidations and 877 foreclosures (Ibid).

For those fortunate to hold onto their homes they are finding it increasingly difficult. Between 1978-1980 median rents for all renters rose by 21% but increased by 30% for those households with incomes below \$ 3,000 (annually)(Ibid). The elderly find it especially difficult to cope - many are low income city dwellers who may face the situation where a decision about eating or paying the rent (an old age benefit) must be made. Whatever decision is taken, the shelter or soup kitchen is the presumed solution. For others "doubling up " with friends and/or

relatives is the alternative. The Census Bureau's Annual Survey of Housing in 1982 showed that the occurrence of two or more related families sharing space jumped from 1.2 million units in 1950 to 1.9 million in 1982 - an increase of 58% (Ibid).

Public Housing in America

In the 1937 Housing Act, the first national low income housing programme was established. Its establishment was built on various objectives: to stimulate and stabilise the economy, as a means of slum clearance and to provide "temporary" housing for those unable to afford private housing due to the diminished economy. Public housing was thus intended for the "deserving poor" of the Depression - those whose own economic situations who improve as the rest of the nation's did. The key to the initial idea in public housing is that it was meant to be temporary with a high turnover rate, that a large number of units would become available on a yearly basis for other low income families. The housing programme however, took a turn and changed in magnitude and dimension. Besides providing for war time housing needs (those working in defence, returning veterans) the programme was expanded to cover those people displaced by urban renewal and highway construction and later for the elderly and the handicapped. As its magnitude was altered, so was the "temporary - high turnover" idea. Instead of a small stock of public housing with a steady turnover and high rate of unit availability, the programme actually has become responsible for the permanent housing needs of the economically immobile, with a resultant problem of low vacancy rates and long waiting lists. The turnover concept was affected by the mass migration of rural workers from the south to the north and the Mid west - these people eventually became permanent public housing residents. Secondly, the age, skill, race and education level of many second generation permanent public housing residents (just mentioned) made them vulnerable to unemployment;

and hence their inability to leave public housing.

In the mid 1960's circumstances of unemployment, low income, disparities in the private housing market and disenchantment with the existing public housing, riots broke out in many American cities. The Johnson Administration promised new and affordable housing for low income people, but turned to the private sector. New housing legislation was introduced - the first time since WWII - in a "leased" housing programme and a rent supplement scheme.

Through the leased housing programme, the local housing authorities were authorised to provide for the poor in dwellings leased from private owners. By this tactic the Government did not need to invest in new building - rather, the local authorities took advantage of the existing housing stock by renting it to low income people at low rents.

The rent supplement programme was met with much controversy but was ultimately passed (Housing and Urban Development Act 1965)¹. The Act was designed to encourage the private sector to provide more low rent housing by offering a direct government subsidy to private sponsors for the rehabilitation or building of low rent property. By this programme, the responsibility for ownership, construction and management was shifted from the local authorities to the private entrepreneur.

1. When put before the 87th Congress, the minority report of the House Committee on Banking and Currency stated :

"... the Administrations rent supplement proposal is foreign to American concepts because

- it kills the incentive of the American family to improve its living accommodation by its own effort
- it kills the incentive for home ownership, it makes renters wards of the state
- it fosters a system of economic integration through government subsidy
- it is the way of the socialistic state

(As quoted, Solomon, Housing the Urban Poor, 1970, pp 206-207)

In the 1970's another federally assisted programme was introduced - Section 8 housing. Through this programme new build housing that meets particular criteria i.e. will provide x amount of units for handicapped persons or persons collecting state benefit, for example, will be partially or completely subsidised by the federal government. The section 8 existing programme is an extension of this where a landlord will receive part of the monthly rent from the federal government for each unit he provides for certain groups. States, at their own discretion and initiative, can construct their own public housing projects or enact state rent supplement legislation. This will be discussed in detail in the next chapter.

American public housing, be it federally/state built "projects" or assistance in the form of subsidies to the private sector has never been heralded as an overwhelming success. More often than not, it has been termed a failure. Besides physical problems of design, location and amenity faults, it has always suffered in "social" terms. Public housing is stigmatised (as are most other entitlements) - to much of the public, it represents failure of some sort. High rates of crime and violence, intensely populated by minorities, high rates of unemployment, lower than average standards of educational attainment etc.... are common images of public housing i.e. projects. On the other hand, rent supplement programmes have not been that successful either. This type of "assisted" housing is stigmatised too, and in many cities landlords are reluctant to join the programmes. Still they are needed as the long waiting lists will verify - as homelessness has been linked to the lack of affordable housing and is more generally an urban phenomenon, a look at the decline in non-public urban housing will prove useful.

What has happened to Urban Housing?

American cities have undergone many structural transformations in the recent past. Core cities have gone through periods of growth and

prosperity; cycles of depopulation and decline followed by vigorous revitalisation campaigns to restore money, people and vitality. The Federal Housing Administration and its favoured position on suburban development has contributed to the decline of the cities. What has happened during the periods of "white flight" to the suburbs is that those left behind in the inner cities i.e. those unable to afford the exodus, have been low income households, the elderly and minority groups.

The city and its declining tax base has been forced to operate in hindered circumstances. The provision of public services became more expensive and many were cut or eliminated. The real value of urban property began to decline due to blight, neglect and decay. Many property owners (some holding residential property) saw insurance pay offs as a way out - arson soared. Most inner city residents were renters, securing accommodation in inexpensive single room occupancy hotels and apartments, in older tenement buildings and down-market apartments above shops. The housing was probably not up to standard and wouldn't qualify as optimal accommodation but it did provide an affordable home for those people remaining in the city.

In their efforts to bring people, business, vigour and money back to the city local governments began revitalisation projects. And while the projects did induce new industry and investment in the urban areas and while the city made a "come back" as a good place to live, it did so at the expense of the low income groups who never left.

Inner city housing - the single room occupancies, tenements and low rent apartments were knocked down or converted to other uses - office blocks, car parks, owner occupied condominiums etc... Even shelters and missions were taken over. Such events lead to the mass displacement of many people. The low income city residents who could not afford to move into other neighbourhoods or who were not old enough to qualify for elderly housing suffered. It is not known exactly how many people in

losing their homes, either directly, through the loss of their building or indirectly, by being pushed out of newly gentrified neighbourhoods, can be counted amongst the homeless. But, it is clear that the loss of low cost inner-city housing has been a contributory factory to homelessness in American cities.

C. Deinstitutionalisation

Just over 20 years ago America underwent a mental health care "revolution" through the 1963 Community Mental Health Centers Act, 1963 (PL 88-164). In an effort to cut back on state hospital costs and in sympathy with new liberal attitudes towards institutionalisation, thousands of institutionalised psychiatric patients were released, while admission criteria were made more stringent. It was thought a good and humane idea at the time: psychotherapeutic drugs could be taken on prescription, counselling could be received at the local level and it was hoped that the patient could be mainstreamed back into the community.

As pointed out earlier, the HUD nationwide shelter survey found that 22% of the guests had mental problems. That study states that nationally, the number in mental hospitals declined from 505,000 in 1963 to 125,000 in 1981 (HUD, A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters, 1984, p. 25) . The change in admission policies can be attributed to this decline, where the locus for psychiatric care has been shifted to out-patient short term community care, rather than long term permanent hospitalisation. That said, it is interesting to learn that studies done in New York City estimate that 50% of that city's homeless population are deinstitutionalised mental patients (Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs 1984). Other cities report significant increases in homeless people in need of some psychiatric care. What does this say about the mental health care revolution?

The shift away from "institutional" to "community care" facilities did show a significant decline in the numbers in mental hospitals. But it also left many people uncared for, and homeless.

The proper resources necessary for an effective community care programme were never mobilised. As with other social service type programmes, the federal government often subsidises states in part - the state, in turn, is responsible for supporting the rest of the programme. Many states lacked the political and/or financial commitment to provide proper continuing community care. Hence their towns and cities reported significant increases in "homeless incompetents". Consequently, governments reacted by either subsidising additional emergency shelters or by "warehousing" the ex-patients in huge state operated shelters (the re-institutionalisation of the de-institutionalised).

If this revolution brought freedom for the patients, it may have done so at their expense. An essential aspect of freedom is decision-making - many of those released were not really capable of making decisions, like taking medications or visiting welfare and housing offices, for example. Those who were uninsured or lacked family or other protective resources were either reabsorbed by the system (placed in the above mentioned "warehouses") or left to fend for themselves. The ones who fell through all the cracks in housing, social services and relief benefits and survive on a day to day basis, form a part of that population known as the "street people".

Although there may be a link between de-institutionalisation and homelessness there is nothing to suggest the two are synonymous. Homelessness is a multi-faceted problem and this poorly planned release programme may be considered as one more contributing force.

D Federal Cutbacks

The 1980's in America have been marked by severe changes in fiscal policy, with the social services taking the brunt of the cuts. The effect this has had on homelessness is significant - those individuals most liable to fall into situations of homelessness are almost always dependent upon social services. In addition, those who are already homeless are also more than likely reliant upon the social services.

As part of his scheme to rebuild America, President Reagan has cut the domestic budget as a means of effecting political change. Emphasis has been placed on job creation and maintenance (as well as heavy duty defense spending) which means that less funding has been allocated to the social services. Major changes include the "reconciliation" bill; the SSDI "accelerated review programme" and implementation of the block grant system.

In 1981, both Houses of Congress adopted a "reconciliation" bill, whereby 200 federally-funded domestic spending programmes were cut or eliminated. States and cities reacted by raising taxes, laying off workers and cutting or deferring capital spending. These expenditure cuts have affected programmes of public financial aid, the building of public housing and staff and programmes of the social services. In the wake of these cuts it was estimated that only 43% of a burgeoning need for relief could be met by existing programmes (US Mayors Conference Report, October 1981).

Many of the homeless poor are (or were) recipients of Social Security disability insurance. These payments are awarded to those people who are unable to work owing to a physical or mental impairment. They are made on a temporary or permanent basis and provide direct relief and reduced or no-cost health care. The "accelerated review" scheme of SSDI was put into action in 1981. The idea behind it was to screen disability recipients and determine or re-determine eligibility. The rationale of course was a

cost-saving one. In 1980, about 4.3 million Americans were receiving disability payments. Due to stricter approval procedures, the Federal government estimated the programme would cut the rolls by about 700,000 in the first year and that the rolls would continue to decline. The net effect was projected to be both a marked reduction in costs to the Federal government and a transfer of costs (estimated at \$ 3 billion annually) to the States (Committee on Banking, Finance and Urban Affairs, 1984). This cost-saving device, however, has backfired. The Mental Health Law Project, 1982, reports that in appeal, 60% of those "removed" from the rolls have been reinstated. This "winnowing" of relief rolls has saved the government little, when it is balanced with the administrative costs of the successfully appealed cases and of new higher costs of (denied) patients readmittance to hospitals and nursing care facilities.

1982 was the first year of the implementation of the State Block Grant system which consolidated the administration of numerous categorical human service programmes at the state level. In other words, the Federal government abdicated its role in policy formulation and funding and shifted that responsibility to the state. The states receive limited funding from the Federal government and rely on state-generated revenue. The categorical money must be divided up between the local governments in local areas. Cities and towns nationwide need to compete aggressively for the much coveted but limited funding for their programmes.

The results of this administration initiatives and new policies have hurt the poor and have forced cities and towns to rely heavily on churches, charities and other private agencies for shelter, food, fuel, income and medical assistance. Federal budget cuts have hurt programmes of direct aid to the poor, i.e. the human services, most severely. Human services are defined as those services which provide assistance directly to people and may be preventive or corrective and aim to promote self-sufficiency among those served (Ibid). Within a worsening economy, cities have been constrained in the operation of their human service programmes .

The poor have once again been singled out and hurt by Government policy.

The above section supplied a very brief overview of the homeless situation in America. However, little decisive national action has taken place. It seems that homelessness is just now beginning to be noticed, that until the very recent past, the entire phenomenon was regarded as the lot of the drunk, the drifter or the madman. At this point, a synopsis of current activity on the national level will be provided.

4.3 Homelessness : A National Reaction

Efforts to aid the homeless have been made by the private and public sector. However, most of that aid has been as "emergency" funding for food and shelter. Two Congressional Public Laws were enacted in 1983.

In March 1973, an emergency programme was enacted (Public Law 98-8). Through the Federal Emergency Management Agency, a total of \$100 million was appropriated to provide food and shelter to the homeless. Half of these monies were administered as a grant to representatives of various agencies - the Salvation Army, the United Way, Catholic Charities etc.. The other \$ 50 million was awarded to the states to be distributed to localities. This programme appropriated a further \$40 million for 1984.

The second one, Public Law 98-181, enacted in November 1983, authorised the Department of Housing and Urban Development to make \$60 million worth of grants available to states, localities, non-profit organisations and Indian tribes for the operation of programmes for the homeless, where the funds could be used to operate and rehabilitate shelters.

A national task force on homelessness, chaired by the Department of Health and Human Services was created in 1983. The task force runs a food bank and operates as a "broker" between the private and public sectors when a state or community identifies a need for a facility or wishes to initiate a food or shelter programme.

The Department of Defense provided \$8 million in 1983 for the renovation of military facilities to be used as shelters for the homeless. Other federal agencies, the General Services Administration, for example, lease buildings for shelters and soup kitchens.

HUD makes available single-family properties to be used for shelters and is involved in a campaign of encouraging public housing authorities to give priority to homeless people for places in public housing.

States have taken their own initiatives as well. For example, New York has earmarked \$50 million for a four year period for sheltering the homeless;¹ California established a distribution programme in 1984 where \$12.5 million is available for statewide sheltering programmes and Massachusetts allocated \$ 7 million in the funding of 13 emergency shelters.

The private, non-profit sector has always been an important provider for the poor and homeless. Soup kitchens and private shelters have expanded in the past few years and in some areas, the non-profits often work together. A National Coalition for the Homeless has formed in recent years which acts as an advocate/pressure group.

Although these programmes do provide for the urgent needs of the homeless, they offer no remedy or long term solution to the problem. The Federal Government has yet to address the causes of homelessness and make policies accordingly. States, which receive less and less federal funding need to provide for their homeless -with limited resources, their only alternative is to provide for the short term.

1. NYC reacted so generously because it was under obligation to. In 1982 a private attorney, Robert Hayes, sued the city on behalf of the "street people". In the first case of this type, the Court decided in favour of Hayes and placed NY City under statutory obligation to provide food and shelter for its homeless.

4.4 Summary

In summarising the homeless situation in the US, some very basic but important facts arise. I don't think its too general a comment that the basic connected underlying problems are the lack of resources and the lack of a home. Although there may be other factors associated with homelessness-- alcohol or mental problems, for example, the majority of homeless people do not experience these. The problems for most of America's homeless are related to employment, urban renewal, housing, social security and institutional care.

Attitudes toward the homeless poor have changed over time. Although the traditional images of the homeless-- the wino, mad man, ex-convict--do persist to some extent, more and more people are changing their perceptions and attitudes toward the homeless poor. Advocate groups have been forming nationally and state wide. All agree the starting point towards the solution of the homelessness problem is more involvement of the Federal Government. The Federal Government so far has reacted to the homeless situation through the provision of emergency stop gap measures and has forced local governments to take care of their own. There have been heroic attempts by state and city governments to help their homeless. The dilemma they face is that in trying to arrange something suitable (albeit basic and temporary) for their indigenous homeless, local governments work with the fear of becoming a mecca for homeless people from other areas. This parochial attitude may be harsh but it is understandable in view of the constraints placed upon local governments. Hence the private non-profits have assumed a greater role in providing relief. It is quite often this "charity" that sustains the nation's homeless poor.

As a group the homeless are poor, unorganised and have little legal representation. They are dependent upon a system which is so riddled with discriminatory attitudes and procedures that their basic survival needs are barely met. Their presence persists and has indeed grown owing to the failure of that system to effectively provide for them.

The next chapter details the provision of public benefits and housing as they relate to homelessness in a state/city context and looks at one state's attempt to meet the needs of its homeless.

CHAPTER 5 : MASSACHUSETTS - BOSTON - AND THE SINGLE HOMELESS

5.0 Introduction

This chapter will attempt to place the state of Massachusetts within the national context of the homelessness issue. Massachusetts has been cited as a forerunner in its provision for the homeless, and is headed by a Governor committed to the eradication of homelessness. The focus of the states activity is on its capital city, Boston, where the Mayor echoes the Governor's commitment. Very often politicians and public officials make and use promises as campaign tools, and upon election never fulfil or even attempt to fulfil them. This remarkably, has not been the case in Boston or Massachusetts. Although different in ideology and provision from Glasgow, Boston too has been active in creating some positive change for the homeless.

The private¹ sector, always a primary provider for the needy, has an increasingly important role to play in the state and city pledge to tackle homelessness. Massachusetts is an example of a dedicated partnership between the private and public sectors.

The chapter begins with a brief introduction of the state in order to familiarise the reader with it. In the second section, the dimensions of the homelessness problem within the city will be examined. The third section is about rights, benefits and housing in Boston. A look at the activities of the state and non-public contributions are provided in sections four and five. The chapter concludes with a summary of Massachusetts' activities and some thoughts on future directions.

1. The "private sector" does not always refer to profit making bodies. Voluntary organisations - sometimes called non-public non-profits are included in the private sector reference and not only commercial ventures. For the purposes of this paper, any "non public" agency is referred to as a private body.

The basis of this research is to compare policy and provision for the "single" homeless in Boston and Glasgow. Where Glasgow makes a distinction between homeless individuals and homeless families, Boston does not. Much of the Boston information does not specify which type of homeless, i.e. single or family, is being considered or provided for. I have tried, where possible, to make this distinction.

5.1 Massachusetts : An Introduction

The Commonwealth of Massachusetts is one of the first thirteen colonies located on the North Atlantic seaboard and is, in fact, the first settlement of the Pilgrim Fathers. The state is relatively large in both geographic space (8,257 sq. miles) and population (5,737,037 1980 census). Massachusetts is a heavily urbanised state based on manufacturing - textiles, wool, paper - and accounts for a large proportion of New England activity. It was at one time famous for seafaring and was a major ship-builder although this industry has been in decline in recent years. Besides its industrial background, Massachusetts is the East Coast centre for education and research institutions and has the distinction of providing the first American university, Harvard College, 1639. The head of State is an elected Governor (4 year term) - the senate has forty members; the house of representatives has two hundred and forty. Representation in Congress is by two Senators and fourteen representatives.

The capital city and centre of government is Boston. With a population of 562,997 (1980 census) it is the largest city in New England. City government is by an elected Mayor and City Council (Boston is and always has been a Democratic city). The city has been heavily settled by Irish immigrants, and still, nearly 10% of its population is foreign born. It is a predominately "white" city (76.9%) and is often associated with racial discrimination and violence (Black population 21.8%, Hispanic 1.3%).

Unemployment in Boston is 4% (Massachusetts total about 7%) and according to published Federal poverty guidelines, $\frac{1}{3}$ of the population is low income.¹

5.2 Homelessness in Massachusetts

In order to address the needs of the homeless in Massachusetts and in an attempt to gauge the magnitude and dimensions of the problem, two separate surveys of this population were done in 1983.

The first was a joint report by the United Way (United Community Planning Corporation) and the Massachusetts Association for Mental Health (MAMH) made in February. As mental illness and deinstitutionalisation have "links" to homelessness, the joint effort in Massachusetts decided to gather data and information about the characteristics and needs of the homeless in selected areas of Greater Boston (including the extent to which mental illness plays a part). Secondly, it hoped to develop a co-ordinated approach to meeting these needs in the Boston area with potential statewide application.

The second study, called the October Project, was undertaken by the Emergency Shelter Commission on 27 October 1983. As part of his ordinance for establishing the Commission, Mayor White demanded a more

-
1. Based on 1980 prices, the following is the Government's Poverty Index : (Table 5.1)

<u>Number of Family Members</u>	<u>Non-Farm</u>	<u>Farm</u>
1	¥ 3,800 per annum	¥ 3,200 per annum
2	5,000	7,200
3	6,200	5,300
4	7,500	6,300
5	8,700	7,400
6	9,900	8,500

(Source : Levitan, Programs in Aid of the Poor for the 1980's, 1980 p.2)

accurate count of homeless people in Boston (the homeless population in that city is estimated to account for 50% of the entire states homeless); hence, the one-night count.

As these two surveys represent the most current and believed accurate counts, I will rely largely on them for the identification and count of Massachusetts' - Boston's homeless.

A More than Shelter : A Community Response to Homelessness

The report stems from a project called Homelessness : Organising a Community Response conducted by the United Way and MAMH. The organisations agreed that little comprehensive information on the homeless population was available and undertook to provide a closer analysis of the dimensions and characteristics of that population.

This project was carried out in three ways :

1. Interviews with shelter directors
2. One day census of those receiving emergency help
3. Clinical interviews of sheltered guests by 9 mental health professionals to determine the extent and nature of psychological problems.

The study did not undertake to determine the numbers of people living in the street nor did it include information on the "potentially homeless". The numbers used were those who were either using or seeking emergency shelter.

The interviews with shelter directors consisted of an eight part questionnaire dealing with baseline information about the shelter. The one-day census actually attempted to count the numbers of people (as well as note their general characteristics) seeking and/or using shelters. Twenty seven agencies were used. The clinical interviews were conducted at a hospital shelter where the mental health team interviewed 78 guests.

All the shelters in the Boston/Cambridge area participated in the one-day census conducted on 25 February 1983. On that evening there were 1032 people sheltered in the various facilities; and while the forms used by personnel included questions about sex, income, last address, etc. 62 of these were so incomplete they were discarded. Of the remaining 970 cases, 791 were men while 179 were women (McGerigle, More than Shelter : A Community Response to Homelessness, 1983, pp. 72). Mostly all those in shelter had their roots in the Boston area (virtually all the women¹ and 39.6% of the men). Most of those sheltered were between the ages of 25-64 (43.6% of the women, 78.6% of the men (tables 5.2, 5.3). Shelter staff were asked to, upon their previous knowledge of guests or upon their own assumption, record whether they believed guests had psychological or alcohol related problems. It was clear that alcoholism is still prevalent in the shelter system (women 15% and men 59.2%)

The first two methods of the research - shelter interviews and census, showed there were well over 1000 in shelter, that most were men and were from the Boston area. The clinical survey provided more detailed information.

The clinical survey was carried out at the Lemuell Shattuck Shelter because the authors felt it would best represent the sheltered population in the Boston area (McGerigle, pp. 87). Seventy-eight guests were interviewed.

1. McGerigle points out that nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of the women refused to answer any questions. The information on the women was from the remaining $\frac{2}{3}$ who participated.

Table 5.2Homeless Women in Shelter Boston 25 February 1983

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Centage</u>
17-19	7	3.9%
20-24	13	7.3%
25-34	34	19.0%
35-44	44	27.6%
45-64	58	32.7%
65 +	7	3.9%
unusable/blank	16	8.9%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	179	100 %

Table 5.3Homeless Men in Shelter Boston 25 February 1983

<u>Age</u>	<u>Number</u>	<u>Per Centage</u>
17-19	13	1.6%
20-24	53	4.7%
25-34	206	26.0%
34-44	179	22.7%
45-64	272	34.4%
65 +	58	7.3%
unusable/blank	10	1.3%
	<hr/>	<hr/>
Total	791	100 %

The clinical survey asked many more questions of each guest rather than simple demographic descriptions. The report listed table after table of characteristics - the following are perhaps the most significant.

Table 5.4 Shattuck Shelter Survey

Length of Homelessness 40% had been homeless 6 months or longer.
Half of that group had been homeless 2 years or longer.

Shelter Use 70% used the shelter every night
27% used the shelter intermittently
5.6% were first time users
85% frequented other shelters

Employment/Income 74% were unemployed
17.6% held temporary jobs
3% sold blood/subjects in medical studies
5.9% worked steadily
36.8% no source of income
22% received public welfare
 11.8% general relief
 4.4%SSI
 2.9% SSDI
 2.9% AFDC
3% income from family

Health 44% major medical problems
10% life threatening health situations
27.9% hospitalised for psychiatric treatment

Table 5.4 (contd)

<u>Medical Insurance</u>	71.8% no medical insurance
	19.7% Medi-caid
	4.2% private insurance
	1.4% Medicare
	Remainder used veterans benefits
<u>Marital Status</u>	41% single (at present time includes divorced, widowed)
	11% married
	48% never married
<u>Education</u>	31.2% partial high school or less
	37.5% high school graduate
	31.2% some college or degree
<u>Race</u>	76.9% White
	21.8% Black
	1.3% Hispanic

As pointed out earlier, the Shattuck shelter was chosen because the authors felt it would best represent the sheltered homeless population (they never explained why, however). Because the shelter is connected with a hospital, the percentages given for health related problems may be higher than those of the overall homeless population. Nearly 30% of that sample had been, at one time, hospitalised for psychiatric treatment. It is difficult to know if that figure should be taken as representative of the homeless. Although mental illness has been associated with homeless people and studies made both statewide and nationally report psychiatric illness as a factor of homeless, no one is really sure "what came first". That is, have homeless people become psychiatrically impaired from their situation or have they become homeless because of a psychiatric impairment?

The ESC in publishing its report recognised that although the shelter/de-tox/mental health census were accurate, the street count probably missed out on a significant number of those homeless and therefore, those figures are probably an underestimate.

On that evening, Boston shelters reported operating at 100% capacity - a few were well over that figure, while some of the family shelters, in attempting to keep families together, operated below capacity.

<u>Table 5.6</u>	Sheltered Citizen Count 27.10.83
Male	595
Female	191
under 17 male	9
under 17 female	10
Families	
adult males	5
adult females	38
boys	42
girls	35
Total	<u>1025</u>

An additional 652 of the counted sheltered homeless people were found in de-toxification and mental health facilities.

The street count component was done between 9 pm and 7.30 am on that same evening. The "counters" were instructed basically to use common sense; to count only those people they positively believed to be homeless, and in cases they were uncertain, not to count the individual. The assumption that a person was homeless was made in the following cases :

- persons entering abandoned buildings
- persons sleeping on park benches
- persons sleeping on sidewalks, alleys, doorways
- persons sleeping in vacant lots
- persons sleeping in subway, bus, train stations etc.

In 125 cases, verbal contact was made where the person in question was asked if he/she had somewhere to go.

<u>Table 5.7</u>	<u>27 October 1983</u>	<u>Street Count</u>
Males	879	
Females	278	
Males under 17	33	
Females under 17	9	
	<hr/>	
Total	1190	

The number of people found in shelter in the two surveys are similar - the United Way /MAMH survey found 1,032 and the October Project reported 1025. The street count component of the later survey is more significant perhaps as it showed there to be more people in the streets than in a shelter. (This point is brought up not to suggest that shelters are the solution to homelessness, but more to emphasize the extent of the problem and the ineffectiveness thus far to prevent or alleviate it).

2. Pilot Study of Doubled Up Families

For this part of the project the ESC contacted 69 churches, agencies and community groups and enquired about the existence of families living in doubled up situations. Fifty five of the groups/agencies participated in the collection of data - the others declined for fear of negative reprisals from authorities.

A family was defined as "one or two parents at least one child currently residing with one or more other families" (Emergency Shelter Commission, October Project 1983, pp. 26). All in all, 981 unduplicated cases of families living in these overcrowded precarious circumstances came to light.

This survey was interesting as it was the first time a count of this type of homelessness was done. There are however a couple of problems with it.

The count covered only 12 of Boston's 15 neighbourhoods and so that figure - of 981 cases - is probably too low. Secondly, it counted "families" - it did not count single people who were using the homes of friends and relatives. This neglect of the single homeless as a very particular aspect of homelessness is very common in America.

From the surveys done in Boston it is quite obvious the problem of homelessness is significant. As most of the city's homeless poor are native to the area and entitled to state benefits it is appropriate that these be examined. In their 1983 Special Report : A Profile on Family Homelessness Meredith and Associates found inadequate income to be the most important factor contributing to homelessness - the second most significant factor cited was the lack of safe, affordable housing (as quoted, Massachusetts Law Reform Institute, Down and Out, 1984). The next section will attempt to synthesise benefits and housing in Boston, Massachusetts.

7.3 Rights, Housing and Benefits

The homeless poor in Massachusetts are entitled to the same benefits as other citizens. Nearly $\frac{1}{3}$ of Boston's population are recipients of public benefits (interview with Boston Housing Authority). For the

purposes of this research, only those benefits that the "single" homeless are entitled to will be discussed.

The state of Massachusetts, through its Welfare Department administers five welfare programmes. Single people are eligible for the following "regular benefits": General Relief, Food stamps, Medicaid and fuel assistance. Other services of assistance available to the single homeless person (if he qualifies) are Social Security Insurance (federally funded-state supplemented) and Veterans Services. By far, General Relief is the most widely used benefit by the single homeless poor.

General Relief (GR)

The GR cash assistance programme is entirely funded by the state.

Individuals who are not recipients of any other "regular" benefits may apply. In order to qualify, individuals must meet one of the eligibility criteria :

- unable to work for at least 30 days because of mental/physical disability
- participant in a Massachusetts Rehabilitation Commission
- student 16-19 years of age, attending a high school or non-college training programme
- ex offender recently released from prison (automatic benefits last for 60 days from date of release)
- 65 years of age or older awaiting SSI
- 45 years of age with little recent employment
- needed in the home to care for a disabled adult or child
- residing in a half way house for drug/alcohol rehabilitation

Cheques are posted every two weeks and while a GR recipient, the individual is issued a Medicaid card (for limited coverage only, i.e. out-patient treatment and life sustaining drugs). The maximum monthly benefits

are based on current living arrangements - the household resources cannot exceed \$250.00.

Table 5.8

<u>No. Persons</u>	<u>GR Benefits</u>		
	<u>A living alone with shelter expenses</u>	<u>B shared living</u>	<u>D homeless no shelter expenses</u>
1	\$ 215.00	\$ 142.90	\$ 65.70
2	280.50	207.90	130.70
3	345.50	272.90	195.70
4	410.50	337.90	260.70
+	+65.00	+65.00	+65.00

(Source, Massachusetts Law Reform, Down and Out, 1984, p.16)

Homeless persons may have GR cheques sent to a local shelter (a relatively new initiative in Massachusetts) or may pick them up at a local welfare office. In most cases a homeless individual with no shelter expenses¹ will receive the minimum amount of \$65.70 per month. Upon finding permanent housing, the individuals GR benefit will increase to either \$215.00 per month (if he/she is living alone) or to \$142.90 per month if he/she is sharing a house with others.

A resident acquisition payment is available (up to \$300.00) in order to help the individual pay the security deposit and first month's rent. The amount, in voucher form, is not deducted from regular benefits and is payable directly to the landlord. This payment is available to a particular individual just once every 12 months i.e. if a rehoused homeless persons loses his accommodation and becomes homeless and finds accommodation again within one year of his/her initial RAP, the eligibility is suspended. If this happens, the person may apply for a Rent/Utility Voucher. The voucher is a very different form of housing benefit. Not more than 50% of the applicant's regular monthly benefit will be paid to a landlord or utility company and the amount is deducted from the regular benefit.

1. Boston city shelters are free

Food Stamps

Food stamps are a federally funded food assistance programme.¹ A single person receiving GR is eligible for up to \$76.00 per month in the food vouchers. If a homeless person stays in a shelter where he/she is not provided with at least two meals per day is eligible. If a homeless individual has no address he/she is still eligible to receive food stamps. Such a person must visit a local welfare office and will be required to register for work, show proof of a social security number and have a picture identification card made.

Supplemental Security Income SSI

SSI is available to those who are totally disabled, blind or 65 years of age or older. Benefits are based on the type of household and in some cases are supplemented to bridge an income gap. Household resources cannot exceed \$150.00 for an individual. Unlike GR recipients, SSI recipients receive full Medicaid (i.e. not restricted to specific treatments or drugs).

Table 5.9Supplemental Security Income

	A <u>Living Alone</u>	B <u>Sharing Expenses</u>	Household C <u>of another</u>
Blind	\$ 454.04	454.04	454.04
Aged	432.12	373.56	307.23
Disabled	418.69	334.70	290.45

(Source : Massachusetts Law Reform, Down and Out, 1984, p.23)

Veterans Benefits

Veterans benefits are a very specialised and select type of aid. A homeless individual should be either a veteran (or nurse) who served in either World War, Korea or Vietnam, or the child of a qualifying veteran between the ages of 18-23 and in high school/college or a totally disabled

1. Food stamps are vouchers which can be used to purchase food from markets only - they cannot be redeemed at cafes, restaurants...

child of a veteran. There are some eligibility criteria attached - individuals cannot hold "dishonourable discharge" papers, cannot be divorced or neglecting to support their dependents and must not have vicious habits (such as alcoholism) or be voluntarily idle or have prison experience.

If an individual qualifies he/she is eligible for full medical coverage and, if living alone, may receive up to \$ 335.00 per month.

Fuel Assistance

Fuel assistance is intended to be a preventive measure regarding homeless or threatened homelessness. This federal and state funded assistance programme is designed to help low income households pay home heating costs. Benefits are paid directly to the fuel or utility company (only 50% of the costs are met, though).

Public welfare benefits in Boston are minimal. Barely \$70.00 per month through the GR programme is intended to provide for the necessities of the individual - clothing, transportation and personal expenses. And, although he/she may qualify for \$76.00 per month in food stamps, that benefit is earmarked for one specific item. The state in a sense, tells the individual what he/she needs and how to spend the benefit. The irony about sheltered and unsheltered homeless people receiving food stamps is the lack of necessary facilities. Shelters do not provide cookers and fridges for the individuals to use and certainly the homeless with no address cannot cook or store their food purchases. If the food stamps could be used in cafes and restaurants or if the entire voucher system was abolished and replaced with a comparable amount of cash, the individuals might fare better.

Housing in Boston

Boston Massachusetts followed the route of most other American cities over the past 20 years or so. As discussed in the previous Chapter, cities have undergone some rapid and significant changes in the near recent past.

The shrinking tax base, loss of population and high unemployment in the 1960's were quelled by massive rehabilitation attempts; slum clearance, condominium conversion, building of large office blocks and department stores, all helped to replace older existing housing and to displace the occupants. What exists today is an almost closed housing market - affordable safe housing is difficult to come by, public housing occupancies are rare and turnovers in the low - rent sector is less than .50% (interview, Boston Housing Authority). One third of Boston's population (200,000 people) are considered "low income" yet only 10% of the population live in public housing.¹ How do the others manage to cope?

The Private Rented Sector

Boston, as well as other parts of Massachusetts, offers a wide range of choices and prices depending upon the neighbourhood where the housing is located. Similar apartments i.e. of the same size with similar amenities vary in rental price according to the immediate environment. Rent control is in effect in some communities while it's not in others. For those low income people needing assistance in paying for accommodation, there are various private rented subsidisation programmes (they are limited, however) to which they can apply under the States Housing Assistance Programme.

Most of the low/moderate income housing units in Massachusetts have government subsidies attached to them in one way or another (Executive Office of Community Development, Housing Resources Handbook, 1983 p.1) Some housing may be completely subsidised, others may be partially subsidised and some subsidisation may be selective i.e. for elderly or handicapped people only.

1. 10% of the population in one city is quite high by American standards. The national figure is 1% of the US population in public housing.

Subsidisation in the Private Rented Sector

Some privately developed and owned housing developments either in on-site estates or scattered through the city, receive subsidisation. The various programmes are called Section 8, Section 236, Section 23, Section 515, Rent Supplement or Chapter 707. subsidies are attached to the building i.e. an individual must be living in a qualifying building in order to receive the benefit. The two most significant programmes : Section 8, Chapter 707 of rental assistance will be discussed here.

Section 8

Through the Section 8 programme, an individual who is income - eligible for public housing but is living in the private rented sector (for lack of vacancy in public housing) receives aid in his rent. The individual pays 25% of his income for housing and the state government will pay the landlord the rest. The maximum rent schedule is set for apartment size and standards. In the Boston area, the maximum income for a single person household per annum was between \$ 12,180.

An extension to this programme is a very similar federally sponsored one - the Section 8 Existing Programme. The same procedure applies - an individual's rent is supplemented by the federal government. The main difference is that the individual pays 30% of his income (in contrast to the 25% of the state programme) and the federal government makes up the difference i.e. pays the landlord. The income limits are generally higher than the state programme (single person maximum income \$ 17,250).

Chapter 707

This is a state programme funded by the Massachusetts Executive Office of Community Development. It is identical to the Section 8 programme except the rent schedule that is acceptable for subsidisation is lower than that of the section 8 programme.

Persons receiving public benefits (GR or AFDC for example,) do not have their benefits reduced if they are receiving rental assistance.

Public Housing

There are 230 local housing authorities and 2 regional housing authorities in the state. Housing authorities are public agencies but are separated from the local city government i.e. they have no real political power. The primary responsibility of housing authorities is to provide housing. Housing eligibility is based on income and the local authorities have the right to use their own tenant selection criteria. They can give priority as they see fit. For example, the housing authority has the right to place certain people in public housing to achieve a racial balance. Priority is automatically assigned to families and victims of natural disasters, veterans, the elderly and if the applicant is in a life threatening situation. Public housing rents are not meant to be more than 25-30% of an applicant's income.

Public housing can be either state or federally funded (federal public housing is under the auspices of HUD). Where state housing requires 25% of an individual's income, the Federal government requires 30% (just as in the Section 8 programme). The federal and state programmes also differ in "priority determination". The federal public housing authorities have "the option" to give preference to persons who are victims of disaster or the elderly or veterans.

In an interview with the Boston Housing Authority (BHA) it was learned that there are currently 7000 names on Boston's public housing waiting lists. The average length of time waiting for a place is reported to be between 2 and 3 years. However, in practice, that length of time can easily be extended to 7 or 8 years. Theoretically a single person can apply for and receive public housing. But, unless the applicant has priority i.e. is elderly or handicapped, his chances of

receiving a place in public housing are non-existent. Personnel interviewed at the BHA stated it was nearly, if not definitely, impossible for a single person to receive public housing - it is just not done.

The housing situation in Boston is not a good one for low income single people. The private rented sector is dwindling and is often way out of reach - the average rent in Boston is estimated at around \$200.00 per month excluding utilities (interview, BHA). Rental assistance programmes are available but there is a problem in convincing private landlords to honour them. Many landlords do not want to rent to people receiving assistance of any sort. Public housing - which accounts for a comparatively high proportion (by American standards) of the city's accommodation for low income people - is in precious little supply and discriminatory against single people. It is easy to see why single low income people find it difficult to find and maintain a home.

The next section looks at the activities of the state and non-public agencies in the wake of the Massachusetts - Boston homeless issue.

5.4 State Action and the Dukakis Administration

Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, in his inaugural speech in January 1983, made his intention of focusing on the needs of the homeless in the state public.

Homelessness and its ultimate eradication was declared to be his number one social service priority. The Governor's decision was conditioned by the National recession, federal cutbacks, proposition 2½¹ Massachusetts¹, real increases in the numbers in the state; decline in low income housing and pressure exerted upon him by advocate groups.

1. Proposition 2½ was a referendum passed 4 years ago where the state voted in favour of cutting some social service programmes to help keep taxes down.

He immediately created a Governor's Advisory Committee on Homelessness through the Office of Human Resources. This committee was appointed with the duty of identifying the needs of the homeless at all levels and co-ordinating the efforts of agencies working in this area. The Governor's Advisory Committee formed a Planning Committee to work together with agencies in formulating proposals. The Administration then appointed a series of Task Forces (on Housing, Emergency Response, Private Sector Initiatives, Deinstitutionalisation ..) to investigate homelessness as it relates to each heading. Next, his Office of Human Resources established a statewide network of 25 locally based agencies to research and report on aspects of homelessness at the local level. These various groups provided the Governor with a multitude of reports, working papers and white papers in the spring of 1983. At that time, the co-operative joint report by the United Way/Mass Mental Health was in its final stages. It was from all this current information and hard data that Governor Dukakis and his administration formulated their comprehensive plan.

The Dukakis administration designed its programme on the premise that a multi-agency, decentralised approach was the best way to meet the states' needs. This ideology was based on two themes :

1. That solutions must come from the local level with policy and programme support from the state
2. That the Federal Government must become involved in supporting state and local efforts.

In essence, the state of Massachusetts entered a committed partnership with the non-public sector to work towards the goal of aiding the homeless. In a \$ 7 million grant programme (Boston Globe, 1.10.84) the State Department of Public Welfare awarded 12 grants to private non-profit

agencies (those opening new shelters or expanding existing ones). The grants provided operating cost assistance and support (75% for the first year, 50% for the second year) in order to continue shelter programmes. By law, the state cannot provide monies for capital costs. The Office of Community Development provided grants to regional non-profits for homeless prevention programmes as well as technical assistance to shelters.

As it was clearly obvious that a number of homeless people were unable to secure assistance because they lacked a permanent address and that many people became homeless due to eviction, an omnibus bill, the Anti-Homelessness Bill (S.1886) was passed in 1983. This bill expanded the public welfare programme (for both GR and AFDC recipients) by providing emergency assistance in the form of back rent payments, moving expenses, utility payment, fuel assistance and also allowed, for the first time, those eligible persons lacking a permanent address to receive cheques at shelters. In 1983, two other significant bills were passed. The Condominium Conversion Bill which limits and restricts the conversion of rental property into high cost condominiums aimed at owner occupation.

The second is the 1983 Comprehensive Housing Act where the state will provide 5,000 additional units of new housing for the elderly and handicapped.

FY Budget 1984 contained funds for the operating costs of several shelters and increased rent and fuel assistance. Plans for 1985 include the opening of 4 new state supported shelters, 2 in Boston.

The above mentioned initiatives are considered preventive. The Administrations approach involves a three-category programme : preventive, emergency and supportive. Emergency services include : the creation/expansion/operation of shelter, emergency assistance programme which

provides motel/hotel vouchers to families when no other shelter is available, and an alternative shelter programme where the Department of Public Welfare provides money to new non-profit shelters and programmes.

Supportive services include a housing counselling unit, continued case management of Dept. Mental Health, Alcohol Rehabilitation, restoration of medical services to GR recipients, with special grants to medical outreach programmes, Day Services, Transitional Living programmes, Employment and Training Schemes and the provision of Food Stamps to those with no address. (Document from office of Governor Michael Dukakis - States activities January 1983 - December 1984).

Unfortunately the documents from the Governor's office never gave any estimates of the financial and manpower resources going into these initiatives. A pertinent question may be, who is actually benefitting? Some of the initiatives appear to be helping the homeless while others may be viewed as means of creating and maintaining new social welfare jobs.

5.5 Non-public Contributions

The inter-agency approach taken by the state is a combination of private and public initiatives. Based in Boston, there are a number of non-public groups devoted to the homelessness issue. Their importance is qualified by the help they bring to the homeless in the form of immediate survival necessities, their co-operation between themselves and the impact they have had on the state. Hence, a look at the activities of the most vigorous of these should prove worthwhile.

Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless

In 1981, shelter workers, religious leaders and homelessness advocates in the Boston area met to discuss the problem in that city. It was blatantly apparent that numbers were increasing and the image of the down and out was changing. It was also obvious that little was being done about it - a comprehensive strategy was needed to deal with the problem. The nation's first Coalition for the Homeless was formed with the intent of bringing dignity to the homeless, based on the principle that housing is a right, that society (and government) have an obligation to take care of those most in need and that the eradication of homelessness is quite possible. Knowing awareness was the first step, the Coalition began writing letters to city and state officials, housing authorities and community groups - public speeches in parks and meeting places and vigils for homeless people who had died on Boston's streets were held. The network includes 1200 concerned citizens and has been successful in obtaining help for their cause.

The Coalition has a 17 member Board of Directors representing 7 regional chapters throughout the state. Committees work in basically three areas : Housing, Benefits/Services and Legislative/Policy. Each committee advocates policies at the state and local level of government for more support for the homeless. It is the feeling of the Coalition that emergency stop gap measures, while providing basic necessities, are not the solution to the problem - the problem requires long term commitment towards permanent housing, supportive after care and reforms in the welfare system. More importantly, however, it seeks (demands actually) comprehensive legislation (at federal as well as state level) for the prevention of homelessness. Besides supporting reforms in welfare, it supports reforms in housing development, revitalisation and public housing.

The Coalition has worked successfully for the passage of the Anti-Homeless Bill 1983 (S.1886), rent supplement programme and emergency relief programme. Although it's not in complete support of emergency - only provision, it supports the use of government property for shelters in times of crisis. In order that the issue be kept constantly in the minds of the public, it publishes and circulates a monthly newsletter and actively mobilises the media.

Boston Fund for the Homeless (BFH)

In 1983, the Boston Fund for the Homeless was created in response to Governor Dukakis' initiatives. A permanent charity fund (Boston's Community Foundation) began the BFH with a \$50,000.00 "seed grant". By law, the state cannot fund capital needs of homeless projects (it can contribute to operating costs) and so the fund was established to raise and administer cash grants to programmes and shelters. The BFH provides a way for the private sector to provide the funding the state cannot.

In 1984, the BFH raised and distributed \$ 200,000 to non profit organisations across the state (although based in Boston, $\frac{2}{3}$ of the funding goes to areas outside the Boston area). 96% of that money went to building acquisition and repairs/rennovation (Boston Glob 6 Dec. 1984).

In 1985, the goal has been raised to \$ 1 million and its remit for this year includes :

- continued funding for the capital needs of new and existing shelters
 - training and management assistance to shelter providers
 - creation of challenge grant programme of areas outside Greater Boston and to stimulate support for local programmes and shelter
- (Document, BFH 1984)

The fund is responsible for the raising and distribution of donations.

It follows this procedure :

Raising

1. Funds can come from anywhere but state government business, individuals, civic groups ...

Business contribute for 1 or 2 reasons

1. They genuinely care
2. Tax incentives

Distributing

The distribution is for capital costs only

1. BFH checks the needs of an organisation
2. BFH checks its strengths and weaknesses - capabilities
3. Recommendation needs approval from a board of volunteers
4. Maximum grant cannot exceed 25,000 to one recipient.

City of Boston Emergency Shelter Commission (BESC)

In 1983, the Mayor and City Council of Boston created the Boston Emergency Shelter Commission. It was developed to "actively engage and assist the religious and business community and residents of the city in caring for housing the homeless in co-operation with the city administration and other governmental agencies" (Document, BESC 1984). The BESC acts as a co-ordinator of any advocacy functions. The Commission, in its official statement of goals listed the following :

- i (to) educate the public to the causes of homelessness, the characteristics of the problem and the solutions which will bring dignity to people's lives.
- ii (to) structure a planning process to create short and long term solutions to the homeless problem
- iii (to) organise local and city wide coalitions to provide, on a community level those services identified by the Governor's Advisory Group.

This commission does not (BESC Dr. 19.12.84) actually provide any funding - it is mainly responsible for educating the public, researching the issue at the local level (October Project) and formulating policies in both the long and short term.

5.6 Summary

Massachusetts appears to be a typical north eastern state in an American context: its homeless population is native, many are the long term homeless, most are white, single and unemployed. It is atypical in its provision for the homeless.

Massachusetts is regarded as a fore-runner in its provision for the homeless. From the information presented in this chapter, it is clear that there exists a concern for the homeless and that initiatives have been taken, but the provisions made have been little more than emergency, stop gap measures. The basic underlying problems - of the lack of housing and sufficient resources, have yet to be addressed.

Unlike Glasgow, the problems of the fit single homeless in particular are not distinguished or addressed. This may be due to attitudes - the American idea of provision for the poor to be directed at families and the disabled, or a genuine ignorance of the special problems of the single homeless - namely discrimination in housing and benefits. There has not been any specific policy created with this group in mind.

Without increased federal interest and support, the state will continue to be hard pressed for an effective prevention and provision programme for its homeless. The city of Boston may well acquire the reputation that Glasgow had years ago - that of having more beds per head of population than anywhere in the country. It is frightening to think,

in evaluating the current state and city policies and provisions for the homeless, a need for the continuance of homelessness will be necessary in order to keep the new shelters in business. But, with more people sleeping rough than sleeping sheltered in Boston and in view of Federal abdication of responsibility, the immediate provision of shelter must appear to be the only alternative for state and city officials.

The next chapter analyses and compares the policies and provisions for the single homeless in Glasgow and Boston. Glasgow's line on homelessness, especially the single homeless, is quite different from Boston's and makes for an interesting comparison.

CHAPTER 6 : BOSTON AND GLASGOW : A COMPARISON

6.0 Introduction

As was stated in the first chapter, the premise of this research is to consider policy and provision for the single homeless in two different - yet in many ways - comparable cities. Boston and Glasgow show many similarities and have many links to each other. They are roughly the same in size and function, both being large heavy-industry built cities. Both have significant problems with homelessness and each is in the midst of a housing crisis at the local level and suffering from the public expenditure cuts at the national level.

The policies and provision for the single homeless varies considerably between the two cities. This chapter aims to compare "official" reaction to the problem by an examination of the contrasting policies and provision.

The first section lays a comparative background for the reader, briefly synthesising material presented earlier. Attitudes toward poverty in general and the single homeless in particular, are discussed in the second section. The third section highlights each city's current policies and provision. Once the facts, issues and treatment of the problem in both cities is presented, I will endeavour to speculate on the viability of Boston adopting and applying any of Glasgow's initiations.

6.1 Representation of Material

From the survey materials used in Boston and Glasgow quite a clear picture of who each city's homeless has developed. How alike or dissimilar are these groups in each city?

Boston and Glasgow have a similar problem regarding the size of the single homeless population. Each city has a population of roughly 600,000. The single homeless figure for Boston is estimated at around 2647; for Glasgow that estimate is slightly lower, 2222. Hostel bed space is comparable at about 1500 beds. In Boston, the ratio of men to women is 4:1 - that ratio is similar in Glasgow. The bulk of the single homeless population in each city are aged between 45-64 years, although the age for Glasgow's single homeless men is slightly higher, between 55-64. In both cities, the single homeless are local i.e. they are native to the city or its surrounding area. High unemployment amongst the homeless is common in both cities as well, recorded at 74% in Boston and 86% in Glasgow.

Differences become apparent when the length of time being homeless is addressed. Where 73% of Glasgow's single homeless have been using temporary accommodation for 2 years or longer, only 20% of Boston's population have been using temporary accommodation for that length of time. Boston's "long term" homeless population is not as stable as Glasgow's. There are other important differences as well. Boston reports overwhelmingly more homeless individuals sleeping in the streets; city workers estimate there are nearly as many sleeping rough as there are in shelter and there is a higher correlation between homelessness and "other problems" (drink and psychiatric) in Boston than in Glasgow. In contrast, estimates of the numbers sleeping rough never reach more than 100, and although drink is related to homelessness in Glasgow it is much less significant. A substantial number of Boston's homeless people receive no benefit at all, although they are entitled to General Relief. This may be due to the fact that there is more alienation in an American city - that relief is not considered as much of a right as it is in Glasgow (as the next section will show). The estimate of Glasgow's

2222 homeless people was obtained from the DHSS i.e. it represents those applicants who have no permanent housing. Homeless youth is another area of divergence. In Boston, nearly all of the city's homeless young people (between the ages of 16-18) are runaways with long histories of family problems and institutionalisation. Glasgow, of course, shares this problem to some extent but there is a difference in that a proportion of the city's homeless young people have left their parents home on becoming 16 years of age (and losing the child benefit) and trying to start an independent life.

So, although there are some differences in the complexion of the single homeless, the cities are relatively comparable regarding the size of the problem and the characteristics of the homeless. Basically, in each city, the crux of the problem is low income and the lack of safe, affordable housing. Probably most importantly, is the fact that, in neither city, do the individuals wish to be homeless.

With these bits of information in mind, let us consider the attitudes toward the homeless poor in each city.

4.2 Attitudes

A discussion of attitudes i.e. the attitudes of the public and the government toward poverty and homelessness must be considered before delving into an examination of policy and provision, as any public policy is the reflection of attitudes.

Every industrialised society has some form of relief it makes available to members who are unable to provide for themselves. That said, it is enlightening to look at the attitudes related to the administration and realisation of public benefits.

It has become clear through earlier chapters that "relief" is a very different concept in America and Scotland. Consequently, the provision of relief as a reflection of attitudes towards it, is much different.

In Scotland, public relief or benefit can be placed in a much more generalised background. The system provides many benefits as a matter of course, regardless of expressed need. For example, free health care, education and child benefit are open and available to all of the population. Housing is publicly provided on a much wider scale. The Scottish public view the "relief giving" function of their government as expected. Hence, provision of government benefit is hardly stigmatised.

In a self regulating, free enterprise system, like America, the public perception of state provided benefit is one of suspicion and humiliation. In the eyes of the public it is "un-American". It represents failure. However, the system does provide relief, in limited amounts, in often degrading and stigmatised ways; through the authorisation of "AID" in voucher form, insensitive reviewing of claims and by demoralising housing projects. Through these attitudes a recipient of relief in the states is reminded by the government and his peers that this "privilege" he is "enjoying" is not acceptable.

In Scotland, the right to relief is virtually unquestioned, it is an entitlement. In America, the very possibility of requiring relief is suspect and so the right to it, is, of course, questioned.

The homeless are poor. As citizens of a land they are entitled to any relief that their government says they may obtain. This particular group of the poor have been stigmatised and hurt by the public attitude. It is just recently being recognised that not every homeless individual is a lazy, drunk rambler. This is true in both countries. However, there is a sharp contrast in that, the Scottish Government plays a more

dominant role in the lives of its citizenry. Hence the citizenry expects the Government to take responsibility for action. In America where the Government stays as far away from the individuality of its citizens as possible, most people don't see the Government as the responsible body. The responsibility is seen to lie with the individual. These contrasting attitudes show up very clearly when considering policies.

6.3 Policy and Provision

"Policies can be viewed as the response to particular problems" (Gill, Unravelling Social Policy, 1980 p.6). Policies can be made at the national, local and agency or organisation level.

An immediately recognisable difference between Boston and Glasgow is Boston's lack of any national policy or provision for the homeless. Neither America nor Britain have an explicit policy directed at the "single" homeless specifically, but there is a national British policy for the homeless in general (HHPA 1977). Although it is far from being the ultimate solution it is a step for some statutory responsibility. Homelessness is recognised in Scotland. This does not mean to suggest it is unnoticed in America, because it is not. But, the government has, so far, failed to make any long term legislative commitment towards the homeless poor. American government has reacted sporadically through its "Emergency Funding" Bills of 1983, but these measures were temporary and haphazard. American states and cities are under no statutory responsibility to rehouse or even shelter the homeless, except for New York City which was placed under obligation to shelter its homeless in a personal law suit which in the end did not favour the city. For years it has been the private i.e. commercial and voluntary sector that has provided

for the homeless with temporary accommodation, food and clothing. Glasgow is very special in its generous interpretation of the statutory responsibility placed upon it for accommodating its homeless people. Up until 2 years ago, acts of charity have sustained Boston's poor and homeless rather than deliberate acts of government. The recent activities of the State government in the omnibus Anti Homeless Bill 1983 are among the country's most decisive acts of government. Although viewed as preventive it is predominantly concerned with offering emergency cash payments to the poor so that they won't become homeless. The major criticism of the measures is that the funds provided are meant to prevent an individual from becoming homeless, due to eviction for utility arrears, for example. The state will make a one time cash payment to help an individual, but what happens the next month, when perhaps the same individual cannot pay the utility bill and is ineligible for the one-off emergency benefit? Should these actions be regarded as preventive measures or lay over measures, postponing homelessness?

The other measures taken - to build more shelters are indicative of the lack of a comprehensive national strategy. With little federal finance being contributed, the state, in filling an obligation to make some provision, is limited in how much it can do. Emergency shelters are needed for the time being, but in the long run, may be disadvantageous as their very existence may perpetuate homelessness.

Provision, as an output of policy, is the end result and ultimate reflection of attitude and commitment.

Boston's provision comes in the form of temporary night shelters. Because there are no real long term policies directed at the single homeless and the national government is still in the early stages of adjusting to the problem, most single homeless Bostonians live a day to day existence.

Glasgow has made some long term alternatives available to the single homeless by the offering of 1) a house 2) counselling and advice services if they're needed 3) (through the National government) the availability of a householder's allowance. More importantly, the city offers a choice to the single homeless. Glasgow's choice is between living in temporary accommodation or (eventually) being allocated a house. In Boston, the choice is between staying in a shelter or sleeping in the street.

With the importance of attitude and its ultimate affect on policy and provision in mind, let us consider whether Boston could follow any of the steps taken in Glasgow.

6.4 The viability of Glasgow initiatives in Boston

One of the most unique and credible aspects of Glasgow's policy and provision for the single homeless is the rehousing programme. Is there a reasonable possibility that such a programme could be adopted by Boston?

In looking at the housing situation in both cities the following factors need to be considered.

63% of Glasgow's housing is publicly owned. In Boston 10% of residential property is under the auspices of the state.

In Glasgow, single people can receive public housing. In Boston this is "nearly impossible", to quote the Boston Housing Authority spokeswoman interviewed.

Other "public" housing programmes - the rent supplement schemes for example, have not proven themselves as suitable alternatives to the traditional public housing projects. Landlords are uninterested or mistrustful of them. The allowable rents i.e. the amount the government is willing to supplement is quite low. Probably the only property that could be let - assuming the landlord was willing - would be in downmarket neighbourhoods.

The DHSS provides a householder allowance which helps provide the basic necessities in setting up a house in Glasgow.

Public benefit in Massachusetts does not. Low income people may try to obtain furniture and household goods from voluntary agencies (and often they will receive them) but this is based on luck, and cannot always be depended upon.

From these basic points, it appears that Boston would be unable to match Glasgow in its rehousing programme. But there are some other aspects of Glasgow's single homelessness programme the city might consider.

1. The creation of a voluntary body like the GCSH. A body like the Glasgow Council for the Single Homeless is valuable for a variety of reasons. Through its meetings, and research it brings both the statutory and voluntary sectors together in an attempt to exchange ideas and to come to a better understanding of the problem and related issues.

The Massachusetts Coalition for the Homeless is the nearest idea to this. However, it is a pressure group and sometimes this can be detrimental especially from a political stand point. Although the Coalition has been successful in bringing about some changes it has managed these only as a pressure group. Perhaps by creating a forum, as the GCSH does, more cooperation between all parties - political or non political would result.

2. Recognising the Single Homeless as a Special Group.

There is so little known about the single homeless as a special part of the homeless population - a part which has particular needs and faces much discrimination.

3. Organisation of the Single Homeless

There is little or no, organisation amongst Boston's city's homeless. If an organisation was encouraged, perhaps more reliable information on the wishes and aspirations of the single homeless could be gained.

Perhaps the above initiatives would benefit the single homeless in Boston. If nothing else, they would at least bring more attention to and recognition of the group.

I believe one of the main priorities of homeless workers, advocates and people themselves should be their organisation, solidarity and demand for national action - preventive and long term national action. Reforms are called for in the welfare system and in public housing. Massachusetts and Boston are regarded as fore-runners in progress for the homeless in the United States. But in comparison with Glasgow and Scotland - although far from perfect - it is obvious that short term stop-gap measures are not worth much in view of their failure to actually improve the lives of the homeless.

SOME CLOSING THOUGHTS

As evidenced by this research, the issues and implications of single homelessness are diverse and multi-faceted. It is clear that there are no easy solutions to deal with its prevention or ultimate eradication.

There are many homeless people; people who become homeless for a number of reasons. Most of the reasons are out of their control. Changes in social trends, in the family structure, in the housing market and in the economy have all contributed. Personal crises are more common in situations of stress and unemployment. Some people find it difficult to cope and pack up, hoping to find something better elsewhere. Maybe some do but others might just find themselves alone in another city.

In both America and Scotland, there are significant problems with homelessness. The numbers are high and they do not appear to be coming down. As more becomes known about homelessness and interest increases we are more and more anxious to lay the blame on something or somebody. We ask how, in Scotland, when the welfare state is meant to provide for everybody, is it possible that some people manage to fall through the cracks? And in America, where all you need is determination and perseverance to succeed, why do some people fail? Are the systems responsible?

It is difficult to answer these questions. Maybe they have nothing to do with the issue. If the blame cannot be placed on the system, maybe the current Government is responsible. That responsibility may stem from poorly thought out, poorly executed plans or from a lack of any plans of any type. Maybe the Government has not reacted to the issue or has acted in the wrong way.

On a more positive note, people are beginning to take the blame off the victim. This process is very slow in America, but it's taking form. By recognising the single homeless as ordinary people with the same rights as everyone else, the single homeless are that much closer to the solution of their housing needs. We must offer the single homeless choices - and listen to what they say. As ordinary citizens they have that right and we have that duty.

APPENDIX 1

The following people were most helpful in interviews and many thanks are extended to them.

Glasgow

Hamish Allen, Single Persons Officer, Glasgow Housing Department

Elizabeth Purkis, Glasgow Housing Department

Joe Urquhart, DHSS

Yvonne McDermott, DHSS

Damien Killearn, Shelter (Scotland)

Tommy McWilliams, Hostel Action Committee

Mich Lynch, Homeless Persons Unit, Social Work Department

Boston

Joe Vallyely, Boston Emergency Shelter Commission

Elyse Jacobs, Department of Public Welfare

Karen Anderson, Department of Public Welfare

Professor Mike Miller, Department of Sociology, Boston University

Margaret Regan, Boston Housing Authority

Neil Newmann, Mass. Coalition for the Homeless

Dr. Robert Castagnula, Dept. of Sociology, Boston College

Dr. Peter Dreir, Tufts University

Bette Rossen, Fund for the Homeless

Paul McGerigle, United Way

Local Estimates of Homeless Persons in 60 Metropolitan Areas

	Lowest Estimate	Highest Estimate	Most Reliable Range
--	-----------------	------------------	---------------------

Large Metropolitan Areas

Baltimore	450	750	630 - 750
Boston	2,300	5,000	3,100 - 3,300
Chicago	17,000	26,000	19,400 - 20,300
Cincinnati	350	1,350	800 - 950
Cleveland	200	2,000	400 - 420
Detroit	3,000	9,000	7,200 - 7,800
Hartford	250	1,800	600 - 1,800
Houston	450	12,500	5,200 - 7,500
Kansas City, MO	150	1,500	340 - 400
Los Angeles	19,500	39,000	31,300 - 33,800
Miami	1,000	10,000	5,100 - 6,800
Minneapolis/St. Paul	700	1,150	870 - 1,150
New York	12,000	50,000	28,000 - 30,000
Philadelphia	450	8,050	2,200 - 5,000
Phoenix	300	1,500	750 - 1,400
Pittsburgh	50	1,500	600 - 1,175
Portland	600	2,700	1,400 - 1,700
San Francisco	7,500	11,500	7,700 - 8,800
Seattle	1,300	5,000	3,100 - 3,250
Washington, DC	3,000	10,500	3,000 - 6,400

Medium-sized Metropolitan Areas

Baton Rouge, LA	100	200	150 - 200
Birmingham, AL	300	1,000	550 - 600
Charleston, SC	50	250	75 - 90
Charlotte, NC	70	400	235 - 315
Colorado Springs, CO	45	200	95 - 100
Davenport, IA	75	500	330 - 390
Dayton, OH	75	1,000	250 - 340
Fort Wayne, IN	150	1,000	700 - 750
Grand Rapids, MI	56	550	270 - 430
Little Rock, AR	100	3,000	250 - 770
Las Vegas, NV	400	2,000	950 - 1,250
Louisville, KY	300	2,000	500 - 650
Raleigh, NC	50	225	200 - 225
Richmond, VA	325	2,250	1,100 - 1,250
Rochester, NY	91	300	120 - 150
Salt Lake City, UT	200	650	425 - 650
Scranton, PA	50	100	65 - 75
Syracuse, NY	250	450	370 - 380
Tampa, FL	250	1,500	550 - 700
Worcester, MA	700	3,250	1,500 - 1,900

Small Metropolitan Areas

Annapolis, MD	10	125	70 - 80
Athens, GA	10	75	25 - 60
Binghamton, NY	44	75	40 - 65
Bowling Green, KY	0	9	8 - 9
Columbia, MO	15	85	55 - 75
Danville, VA	0	150	30 - 100
Durham, NC	10	50	40 - 50
Fall River, MA	5	150	25 - 40
Hazleton, PA	0	100	5 - 20
Jackson, MI	25	88	40 - 55
Lincoln, NE	50	150	115 - 150
Lewiston, ME	22	30	25 - 30
Lompoc, CA	2	55	20 - 50
Merced, CA	20	50	35 - 50
Monroe, LA	25	120	25 - 105
Monroe, MI	15	37	20 - 25
Pueblo, CO	35	55	45 - 50
Reno, NV	100	400	285 - 340
Sioux City, IA	50	73	50 - 60
Tyler, TX	18	350	35 - 50

Appendix 4.2

The 35,000 reduction is arrived at in the following manner. The homeless rate, using the 254,000 estimate (obtained via the second approach) is .0011, or 11 persons for every 10,000 population. The homeless rate for larger metropolitan areas where the census count occurred is 13 persons per 10,000 population. To adjust for the large-city bias of the census count, the 233,000 figure, therefore, is multiplied by $11/13$ and the product is subtracted from 233,000. The difference is 35,000. This represents one estimate of the over count of street people nationally when simply extrapolating from the census count in the larger urban areas.

Source: HUD - A Report to the Secretary

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- AARON, HENRY J Shelter and Subsidies Brookings Institute, Washington 1972
- ARCHARD, PETER Vagrancy, Alcoholism and Social Control, Macmillan Press Ltd., London 1979
- AUSTERBERRY HELEN
WATSON, SOPHIE Women on the Margins: A Study of Single Women's Housing problems. Housing Research Group, City University, London, 1983
- BLACK, JOHN Masters of Letters, University of Glasgow. Feb. 1982
- BRANDON, DAVID Zen in the Art of Helping, Routledge & Kegan Paul Ltd., London, 1976
- CHAR (GUIDE) Housing and Supplementary Benefits A Rights Guide for Single Homeless People, Boarders and Hostel Residents, Char, London 1983
- CHAR (Campaign for Homeless & Rootless) In on the Act : An Action Guide to the Homeless Persons Act for Single Homeless People, Char, London 1983
- COMMITTEE ON BANKING,
FINANCE AND URBAN AFFAIRS Homelessness in America - II Appendix A-G
Homelessness in America - II Appendix H-M
Serial No. 98-64, Washington 1984
- CULLINGWORTH, J.B. Town & Country Planning in Britain, George Allen & Unwin Ltd., London. Revised 4th Edition 1972 (First Pub. 1964).
- DEPARTMENT OF PUBLIC WELFARE, Commonwealth of Massachusetts Sheltering the Homeless: A Guide to Establishing a Shelter, January 1983
- DONNISON, DAVID Ungerson, Claire, Housing Policy, Penguin Books Suffolk, 1982
- DONNISON, DAVID The Politics of Poverty, Martin Robertson, Oxford, 1982
- DRAKE, MADELINE et al Single and Homeless, Department of the Environment HMSO, London 1981
- DUFFY, JAMES Rehousing Hostel Residents the Glasgow Experience 1985
- EMERGENCY SHELTER COMMISSION Seeing the Obvious Problem : The October Project Boston, October 1983
- ENGLISH, J. (ed)
MARTIN, F.M. (ed) Social Services in Scotland, Scottish Academic Edinburgh 1983

FISCHER, CLAUDE S. The Urban Experience, Harcourt Brace Jovanovich
Inc. University of California, Berkley 1976

GLASGOW COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS Homeless Men Speak for Themselves, September 1981

GLASGOW COUNCIL FOR THE SINGLE HOMELESS Homeless Women in Glasgow 1983

GLASGOW COUNCIL FOR THE SINGLE HOMELESS Annual Report 1984

GLASGOW DISTRICT COUNCIL HOUSING DEPT. Annual Housing Review, 1983

GLASTONBURY, BRYAN Homeless Near a Thousand Homes, George Allen
& Unwin Ltd., G.B. 1971

GOODMAN ROBERT After the Planners, (Penguin Books) first pub.
USA - Simon & Schuster, 1972

GRIEVE, JOHN London's Homeless, Chapel Rivers Press, Andover
1964. "Occasional Papers on Social Administration
No. 10"

HESKIN, ALLAN DAVID Tenants and the American Dream, Praeger Publishers
New York 1983

HOATH, DAVID Homelessness, Sweet & Maxwell, 1983 London

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF URBAN AND REGIONAL RESEARCH 8, 2 1984 Edward Arnold (pub.) London 1984
"The Tenants Movement in the United States"
pp. 255-279 Peter Dreier

LANSLEY, STEWART Housing and Public Policy, Croom Helm London 1979

LEVITAN, SAR A Programs in aid of the Poor for the 1980's
John Hopkins University Press, USA 1980

MARSHALL, ENID A General Principles of Scots Law, W. Green & Son
Edinburgh 1978

MASSACHUSETTS EXECUTIVE OFFICE OF COMMUNITIES AND DEVELOPMENT How to obtain Housing Assistance in Massachusetts
April 1984

MASSACHUSETTS LAW REFORM INSTITUTE Down and Out, Boston March 1984

MAXWELL, KAREN Joint Initiatives in Housing between the Public
and Private Sectors
Planning Exchange Occasional Paper 10, Planning
Exchange Glasgow, May 1983

MERRETT, STEPHEN State Housing in Britain, Routledge & Kegan Paul
London 1979

McGERIGLE PAUL and LAURIAT, ALISON S More than Shelter : A Community Response to
Homelessness
United Community Planning Corporation/Massachusetts
Association for Mental Health 1983

PIVEN, F.F. CLOWARD, R.A.	<u>Regulating the Poor : The Functions of Public Welfare</u> Random House USA 1971
PRICHARD, PROFESSOR A.M.	<u>Squatting</u> , London Sweet & Maxwell, 1981
SCSH	Lausen Pippa, <u>Letting in Single People</u> , SCSH Edinburgh, November 1978
SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS	<u>Think Single</u> : An assessment of the accommodation experiences, needs and preferences of single people, Edinburgh May 1981
SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS	<u>Opening Doors</u> : A Report on allocating Housing to Single People, Edinburgh March 1, 1984
SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS	Review of Activities 4/81 - 12/82 Accounts 4/81 - 3/82 Edinburgh, January 1983
SCOTTISH COUNCIL FOR SINGLE HOMELESS	<u>Alternatives to Night Shelters</u> , Edinburgh January 1984
SCOTTISH DEVELOPMENT DEPARTMENT	<u>Housing and Social Work : A Joint Approach</u> Report of the Morris Committee, HMSO, Edinburgh 1975
SHELTER PAPER	<u>Better Than No Place</u> , Ann Holmes, Shelter, London, April 1971
SHELTER	<u>Homes Fit for Heroes</u> , June 1975, London
SHELTER	<u>Ordinary People Homeless in the Housing Crisis</u> Shelter (London) December 1982
WATCHMAN, PAUL Q ROBSON, PETER	<u>Homelessness and the Law</u> , The Planning Exchange Glasgow 1983
SHELTER (SCOTTISH HOMELESS GROUP)	<u>Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977</u> , A Short Scottish Guide, Edidburgh, February 1984
SOLOMON, ARTHUR P.	<u>Housing the Urban Poor</u> , MIT PRESS, 1977, Boston
US DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT	Office of Policy, Development and Research <u>A Report to the Secretary on the Homeless and Emergency Shelters</u> , May 1984
WILKINSON, TONY	<u>Down and Out</u> , Quartet Books, London, 1981
YOUNG HOMELESS GROUP (YHG)	<u>Moving on Moving In: Working towards Proper Housing for Young People</u> , YHG, England 1985