

PUBLIC HOUSING AND HOMELESSNESS

SPAIN AND US AN HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

BALTIMORE A SPECIAL CASE.



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INTRODUCTION

The purpose of this paper is not only to analyze the homelessness question today but the reasons that provoke it. Evidently no phenomena appear from night to morning and homelessness is not the exception.

Homelessness is closely related with economic or social factors and always take place in a political context. It is for that reason that this paper review in the first chapter how was the political, economic and social conditions in which public housing and welfare policies were develop. Basically because a homeless person is a individual without home and specially vulnerable to any policy of public support.

Perhaps the connection between what was happening since the 1930s in the social-political circumstances in America and Spain could look like some how disconnected with the realty that we suffer today of homelessness. However understand the process the both nation allow till today, not only politically but in the economy and social situation, is going to give us the key of the problem and the new way of thinking among some author and policy makers about poverty and homelessness.

The report consists of an general summary of this concern. The first chapter is a review of valuable information about the evolution of the two countries in the last fifty years. Reading this first chapter we can appreciate how was the five decades process that produce an incongruent housing market, and a inaccurate labor system. Both the crisis of the housing supply and the incorrect work force model made the issue of homelessness one of its consequence. After discern how was this background we perceive that change this social and economic system is impossible. The only possibility that we can at least accomplish, is try to remedy their worst effect and suggest some solutions (as realistic as possible) to solve it or at least minimize its effects. The first chapter and the first part of the second is a review of existing literature. An historical over view of economic, political and social changes in the two nations, having in main the circumstances that affected some how the problem. Especially in relation with the job market and the low-income housing crisis.

The second chapter is a evaluation of the principal obstacles that we found when we try to study the issue. Obstacle as the definition and measure of the phenomena, the different consideration of the individuals under study, or the difficulty in getting data in order to project new possible solutions. The second part of this chapter is a particular study about this reality in the specific case of Baltimore.

If among the first chapter and the first part of the second there is a comparatione between the spanish and the american reality in this section the analysis is focus on the situation of Baltimore for the reason that,as we explain among the first part of the second chapter, there is not possible correlation, basically because the homelessness issue in Spain meaning a total different reality not only for the authorities but for the non profit sector too.

The search about Baltimore included information for:

- .- previous studies conducted in Maryland, in others states and in the America as a whole.

- .- A review of articles form the print media in the last ten years:

- .- *The Washington Post.*

- .- *The sun of Maryland.*

- .- *Newsweek*

- .- *Architecture.*

- .- *Builder.*

- .- *Custom builder.*

- .- *Journal of Architectural Education.*

- .- *Progressive Architecture.*

- .- Information obtain through meetings and telephone calls with providers and public agencies that help the homeless.

- .- Governmental services:

- .- Ray Bird. Chief policy research. City Planning Dept.

- .- Bob Steeble. Baltimore City Dept of Housing and Community Development.

- .- Steven James. City Planning Department, Baltimore.

.- Amy Johnson, Director, Baltimore County Department of Housing and Community Development, Affordable Housing Program.

.- Harriet Goodman, Director, State of Human Resources; Homeless Services Program.

.- Peter Finlay, Health welfare council.

.- Non governmental agencies:

.-Jeff Singer, director of Social work , Health Care for the homeless.

.- Norma Pinette, Director, Action for the homeless.

Ann Sheril, Associate, Action for the homeless.

.- Gretchen Van Utt, Chief JHU services, collaborator with south Baltimore shelter.

Even if the information obtain through these interviews was fundamental for this essay, however the report dose not represent the viewpoints of the persons that handle those agencies and all the opinions, suppositions, suggestion and conclusion are only under our responsibility.

Other source of information was the data supplied through a mail questionnaire that was sending to forty two agencies (see questionnaire in the appendices). This mail was having a series of limitations. It was limited in time and in space. In time because basically we were trying to obtain data from the last ten years and in space because is focus only in Baltimore city area. There was too, a limitation of definition. The forty two agencies, in majority private, that were chosen, provide services to the homeless as: shelter or meals services, or legal, medic, manager assistance etc. The list of the organizations from which were chosen those agencies was compose trough the information got from lists of the Department of Human Recourse and Action for the Homeless, (see list in appendices).

It was a four pages questionnaire divided in four sections with close and open questions. The materials that we were trying to collect was in relation with:

.- Age of the services

.- Kind of services (public, private, profit, non profit, etc).

.- Kind of services (Beds, health and mental health services, day shelters, job training and educational programs, etc).

- .- Number of people services.
- .- Success of the programs and ways to measure that success.
- .- Central Coordination and coordination between agencies.
- .- Recompilation of information through the different agencies from services provide by others agencies. Way of access to that information. Distribution of the information.
- .- Open question about personal points of view and opinions.

We got the response of the 55% of the request and for the data of the rest 45%, the information was covered by telephone calls or with statistics from the Department of Human Resources and City Planning Department.

The evidences and the testimony denote by the interviews and the request allow us to achieve some conclusions. Through this findings we suggest several recommendations in order to improve the services and determinate the support assistance needed by the homeless group to reestablish independent lifestyles.(including the study of the most common causes that produce homelessness in Baltimore and the specific model of housing required by them).

Evidently, we know that this is not an exhaustive report. Basically because was conceive since the first moment as an overview of the economic political and social process suffering by Spain and US during period among the 1930s to the 1980s, in relation with the low-income housing crisis and as its consequence the phenomena of slum and homelessness. The second part of the study was place in Baltimore city only, for the reason, as we explain before, that it is very difficult or even impossible make comparatione among the homeless issue in Baltimore and in Madrid. Primary because they are two different social realities, and secondary because in Spain the public respond is fundamentally governmental while in Baltimore the biggest role is played by the private non profit sector.

Finally we should address our reconnaissance to all the persons of different organizations, listed before, for their cooperation in the realization of this report. Without the support and help to the Institute for Policy Studies this report could be never been possible.

CHAPTER I

THE SOCIAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE LOW-INCOME HOUSING CRISIS IN UNITED STATES AND IN SPAIN. A HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE.

The failure of the public housing policies in the last five decades have influenced the growing phenomena of homelessness. The actual big gap of low-income housing that Spain and US suffer is not new but the result of their housing policies and the evolution of the low-income housing market. The process was related with their political and economic system in a very complex relationships.

The development of their public housing programs, was some how similar historically. Political and economic development of both countries since the 1930s had changed, but one of the most important fact in the process have been the role played by the governments in the economic and social arena. Evidently the big difference between them, from 1939 to 1977 was their political regimens, key of their social policies and principal function that both governments played. A comprehensive approach of these strategies is necessary, as a condition to understand the situation of the low-income housing crisis and the homelessness today. Even, because socio-economic changes, in the past had deteriorated the existent housing market and the small stock of inexpensive housing. These governmental policies, have a high potential impact on a segment of the population that is peculiarly vulnerable to the fluctuation of the open market. They are especially depend upon support and assistance by public authority, with a high risk to be homeless in any moment. This failure of the public housing had different consequences from town to town and from person to person but normally, had the same dramatic end.

The actual situation is the result to the evolution of those factors in the housing market in the last fifty years and the ineptitude of their governments to organize the market in a more rational way, through public housing programs. The external effects of those policies were important element that affected population's spatial behaviors.

Analyses the impact that the evolution of those procedures since 1930 could give us a open point of view of the problem today.

I. Homeless today the result of the last fifty years of public housing policies.

Homelessness, in the last century, was considered in US and in Spain a social problem. The care for them and to remedy the worst effects of the situation was organized by upper-middle class as a public charity.

Different definitions about this problem have emerged in both countries and taken hold at different times. The moral criteria used to determine social responsibility has been changed as the classification of the homeless.

Time by time the conception of poverty as a social failure began strongly and the mentality of the moment change in relation with moral and religious ideas. From the social concern over the potential danger of them, to the social consideration and the recognition of the problem. Since 1930 with the profound economic changes imposed by the Great Depression in America and the Civil War in Spain, the answer to the problem began a government responsibility.

In both countries there has been very little previous public interest, however today is considered a government's obligation. The complement of this function has its success based in the recognition that the low-income housing crisis is a consequence of the disfunction of the market that as a result have created the growing phenomena of homelessness. Although homelessness reality, it is a very difficult dilemma to determinate which one is the major factor in this complex process. However the definition of this issue could be the key to achievement official policies.

Homelessness appear in front of us, as the manifestation of extreme poverty. The problem today, in Spain and in US is not caused only by personal pathologies (mental illness, etc) as part of the public opinion prefer to believe. It is a real and dramatic economic problem. It is a condition that describes who do not have home, because they can not find affordable housing at the bottom of the rental market and they are forced to live in the streets, as persons whose do not have any place of their own.

We are dealing with the typical example of a problem result from the deterioration of private low-income housing market. When the normal condition of the supply disappear, impact effect of the incorrect adjustment of the private housing structure to the real needs of the population, the scarcity of inexpensive housing restricts the freedom in choice, to the population and force them to live in over-crowd apartments, shelters or in the streets.

Those factors that produce homelessness are not so clear and obvious, as some policy makers choose to believe. There are a variety of social and personal realities, symptoms of the inadequacies of the public welfare system. But in general their problem can be attributed to the housing deficiency. The small supply of low-cost places where to live¹, as we are going to see subsequently in the second chapter, analyzing the evolution of the private market.

It is true that there are not only the homeless the ones that suffer the consequences of the lack of housing. There are so many families who live in overcrowded apartment, whose need a decent houses as much as the street homeless. (even the over-crowding can cause more physical and psychological damage than does to live in the streets).

The fact is, that during the last fifty years the homelessness phenomena has been growing as a result of wrong public policies, (simple solutions for a complex reality). This is not new, already during the best economic years, of the 1960s, about 6.9 million renter families were living in substandard housing in America and about 2.2 million were paying more than 25 percent of their income for rent. In Spain in the " happy 1950s " there was a need for 1 million houses. Today the situation is even worst about 3 million of American are homeless and the government expect another nearly 19 million people will faced the prospect of homelessness in the next 15 years.²

¹ We found them sleeping in abandoned building or in parks, etc because they can not afford a cheapest places where to live, etc, in Us, or they build their own houses with demolish materials in Spain.

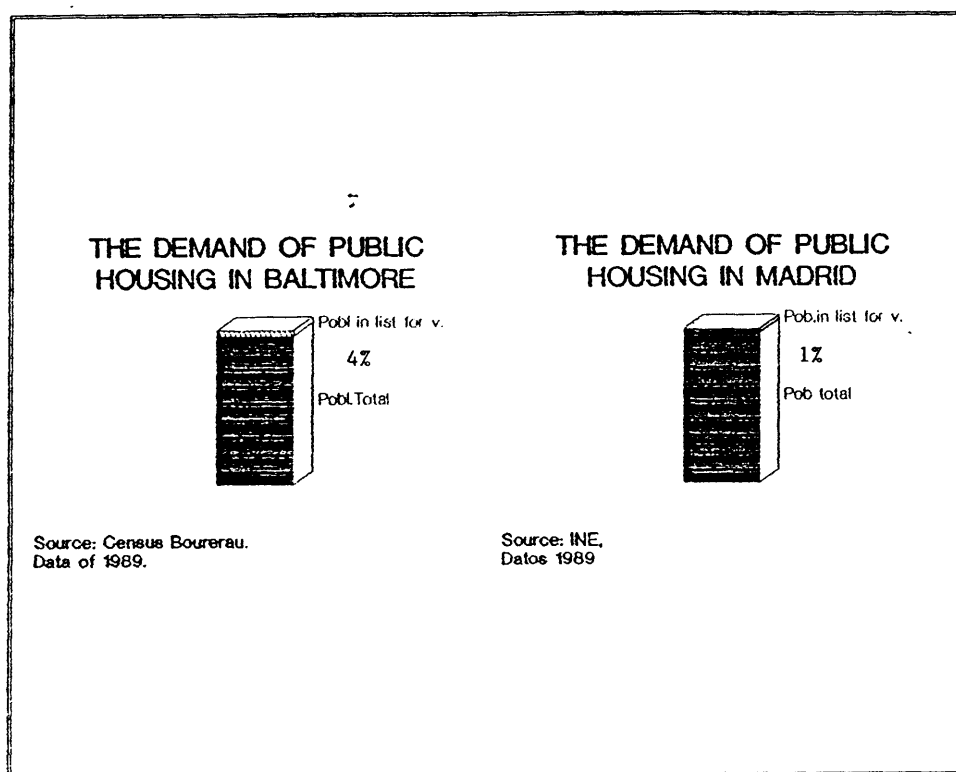
² A new-advised, Congressionally- funded analysis predicts the data. Source: Housing Coalition, Washington.

Madrid have today 18.000 people waiting in list for public housing, in Baltimore this amount raise to 32.000 people. Even, we have to bear in mind that these numbers do not show the amount of people that never apply and the ones who applied but were not found eligible for the program. The comparation between the total population and the ones waitting in list for public housing make the problem even worst in Baltimore than in Spain.(see figure A)

But none phenomena appear without a background explication, and homelessness is not an exception. The actual problem is the outcome of their social, political and economic growth in the last decades.

Public housing policies have tried to solve this dilemma without so much success. Today we can observe the magnitude of these failures. Analyzing the evolution of their economic and politic in the last fifty years we can recognize the origin of some of the problem that we experience today.

FIGURE A:



1. The political, economic and social situation in Spain and US 1930s-1980.
Public housing programs and homelessness.

1.1.- Economic and social factors 1930- 1950s. A context for public
housing policies. A difficult period.

The 1930s and the 1940s was a painful and depressing time for both nations. Spain suffer a civil war (1936-1939) and United States the repercussions of a dramatic economic crisis.

The considerable cost of the war supposed a serious problem for the spanish monetary authorities. It was terrible in terms of the sacrifice of human lives and the destruction of physical capital.¹ The First Development Plan of 1964 claimed that lend to ruin 250,000 buildings and another 250,000 were unfit for human habitation. In 192 of Spanish's cities and towns over three-fifths of all buildings were destroyed. In a nation with 25,57 million inhabitants in 1940, the destruction of half a million buildings mean homelessness for a big percentage of the population.

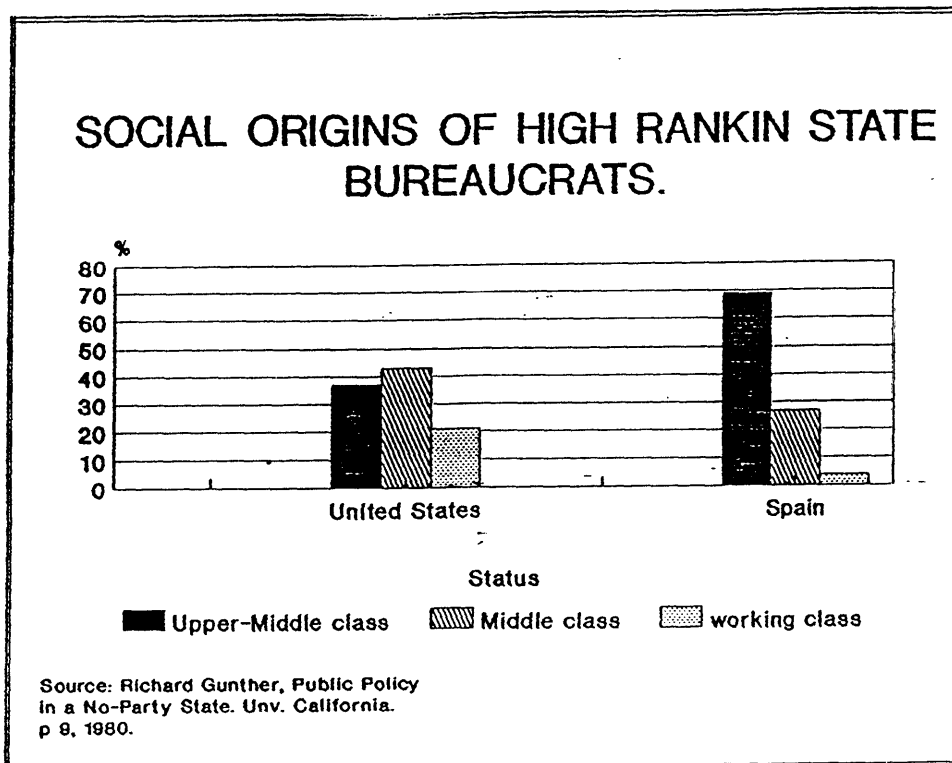
The Franco triumph in 1939 with the nationalist forces, was the consolidation of the francoist new state throughout the whole Spain. Politically Franco's Spain being a one party state as an authoritarian regimen based on a system of limited pluralism. Under that system Franco acted out a crucial role in all the political, economic and social aspect of the Spanish life. The new state attempted to reorganize the underdeveloped Spanish economy on the lines of a self sufficient model, so-called " autarquia ".

¹. The total victims of the war was approximately half million. The spanish population which had rise by -1.31 million- between 1930-1935 grew only 839.00 over the quinquenium, which included the civil war.

Source: Spain Comisaria del Plan de Desarrollo Economico y Social.(Economic and Social Program for Spain) 1964-67, Baltimore 1965, p 9.

Over 35 years before his death he continued control the nation. This was a very important aspect that had a transcendental influence over the economic and social condition of the Spanish society and it determined the public policies in which was included the welfare system and the public housing policies. The total control over all the aspect of the life by the government, in every social and economic level, made impossible any public protest or any representation at the bureaucracy level of the low-income people(as show Graphic 1)

GRAPHIC 1



Spain, in general and Madrid in particular, lament today the result of the housing policies of those years. Public housing policies doing for the people but without the people participation.

In the post-war period the semi-fascist - Falange - provide the dominant ideology of Franco's Spain with the primacy of politics over economics. Theoretically the state frequently resolved not through the good offices of the official government but by the repressive actions of the police.

A huge interventionist apparatus was soon erected controlling wages, prices, agricultural yields and exchange rates. The housing and the social policies were decided and executed by the government with a paternalism idea but without any social participation. Under francoist regimen even the corporate organization of the working class follow the model of fascist Italy the " Sindicatos verticales"².

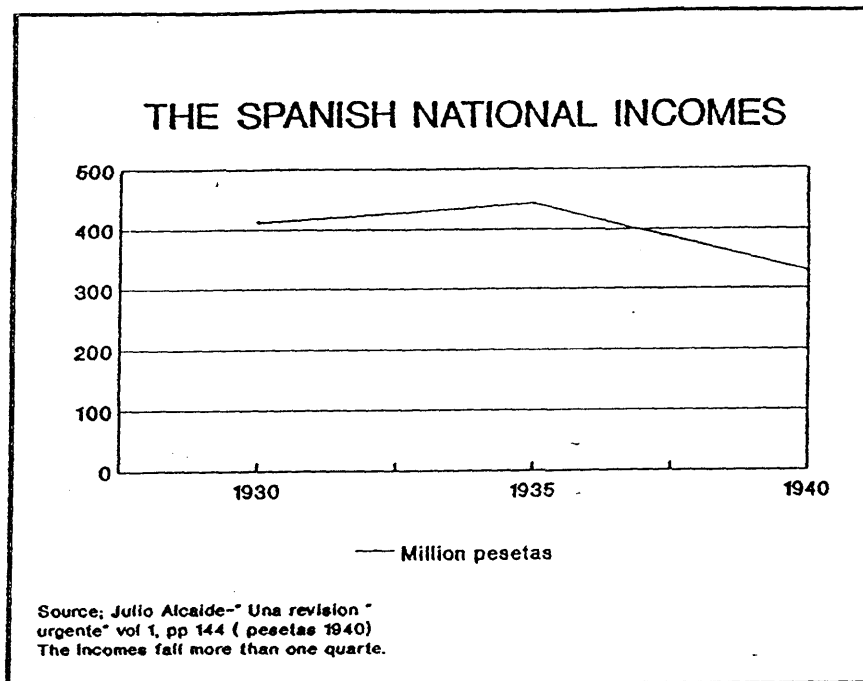
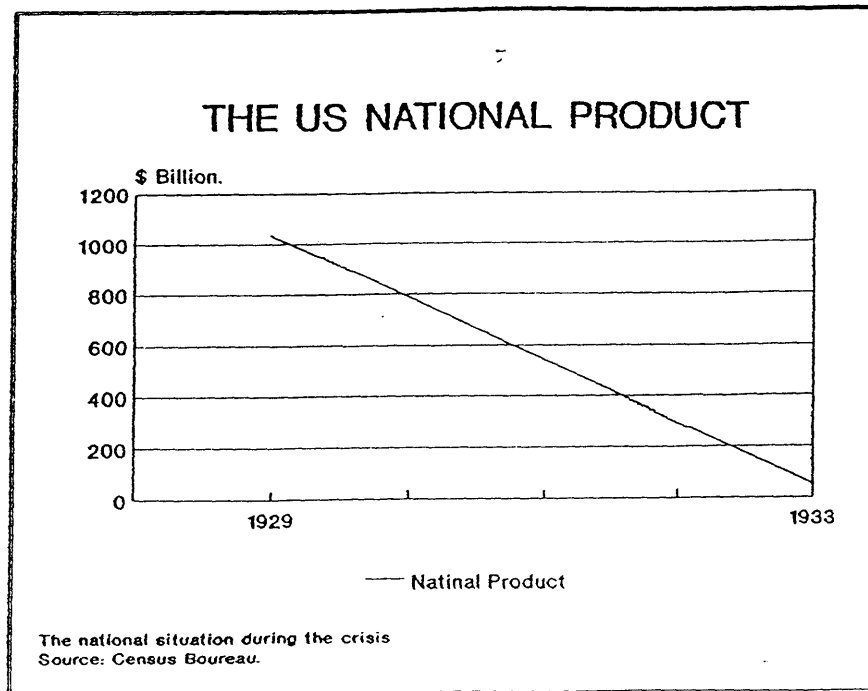
The highest priority was assigned to the quest for economic self-sufficiency and autarky development.. The goal was transform the country into a self-sufficient economic unit, and this also include the protection of noncompetitive and costly private industries in the context of the Second World War ,(which immediately followed the end of the spanish war) and later in the context of the economic and political insolation of Spain after the victory of the allies in 1945.

There was not truly data about the number of homeless people or about the number of overcrowded apartments during those years, but we can guess that had to been a considerable amount of people living in substandar conditions. We have to contemplate not only the number of buildings destroyed in the war, also the economic crisis that suffered Spain in the post-war period. Crisis that paralyzed the construction sector for the lack of money and the scarcity of materials.

During the 1940s the period characterize by the negative growth rates (see graphic II), in certain years a self sufficient system was forced upon Franco regimen.³

². The workers were affiliated into those single organizations non-democratic union. The state organized of the Spanish society through a system of vertical unions in the different branches of production at the services of the national economic integrity.

³ The Franco regimen's obsession was self-sufficiency at least in agriculture. However there was a clandestine black market so-called - "estraperlo"-. See: Julio /alcaide " Una revision Urgente" serie Renta Nacional Espanola en el siglo XX. Instituto de Estudios Fiscales. Datos basicos para la historia financiera de Espana. 1850-1975, 2 vol. Madrid 1976, vol 1, pp 1142.

GRAPHIC IIGRAPHIC III

US was experiencing even a worst situation only five years before, as illustrate the graphic III . Only one fact justified this economic actuation in Spain, the reality that after the Second World War in 1946 Spain suffer the United Nation's boycott⁴. They voted in November 1946 to institute a economic embargo to Spain not remove until 1953. In 1948 a decision from the joint committee of the US Senate and House of Representative not include Spain in the European Recovery Program (Marshall financial aid)⁵.

It is very important to realize that the economic and political process deteriorated the social situation, extending the number of low-income and poor people. The self-sufficiency economic policies were intended to promote rapid industrialization under this labor-regressive regime. The Second World war supposed an additional problem to the implementation of these policies. The international insolation reinforced the Franco's economic orientation. The state intervention was large extent carried out through the Instituto Nacional de Industria (the National Institute for Industry) created in 1941⁶. Those economic activities to the INI were mostly financed by credits from the Bank of Spain and became the mayor source of inflation. Inflation that affected the normal life of all the spaniards.

From 1941 to 1949 the regimen made a series of disastrous economic decisions, protected by the state intervention and by the constant creation of money by the Bank of Spain. The consequences after a decade or economic decline was the emerge again of a strong black market⁷, with the policy of rationing basic food stuffs decided by the government. Black market effect of the scarcity of goods because of the international boycott.

⁴ See: Ros Hombravello et al. Capitalismo Espanol: De la autarquia a la estabilizacion. Cuadernos para el dialogo 3, Madrid, 1973.

⁵ The only exception to the exclusion of Spain from international economic relations was Argentina.

See: Max Gallo, Spain under Franco: A history. London 1972, pp 183-6

Angel Vinas, " La primera ayuda economica norteamericana", en Lecturas de Economia Espanola e Internacional: 50 aniversario del Cuerpo de Tecnicos Comerciales del Estado. Madrid 1982, p 89.

⁶ The ini operated in a similar way as the italian IRI

⁷ See: Jose Manuel Nareco, " La incidencia del estraperlo en la economia de las grandes fincas del sur". Agricultura y sociedad, vol 19 (1981), pp 92.

During that time the situation in US in the 1930s and part of the 1940s was a epoch of crisis and political changes. This period was quite different in some aspect but not in other from the spanish process. Despite of fact of the civil war in Spain, both countries suffer a strong economic crisis during the 1940s. In US the 1930s was a moment of economic necessity precede by a decade of prosperity, a Midas-touch atmosphere in a speculation time. A decade of new emphasis on consumer goods that push on a higher standard of living, as in Spain was the Republica.⁸ There was a basic belief in the efficacy of the economic control and a traditional view of the importance of the balanced budget.

The crash of 1929 in America was the star of more than 15 years period of privation. The market crash collapsed the whole credit structure of the US economy and produced a spiral of rising unemployment, declining income and grow in the level of poverty. The stock market crash created quite a different emotional and ideological climate, the depression testified to a continuing failure to maintain American living standards.

A large sector of the population were generally near a poverty level and made saving impossible. In 1929 about 6 million people in America (the 26% of the population), had annual incomes of less than 1,000 \$.⁹

Unemployment was obviously disastrous for the families in a new time of poverty. Unemployment which had been-stabilized at about 4% of the civilian labor force in 1920 average about 9% during 1930 and 25% in 1937.¹⁰. As reflect graphic IV.

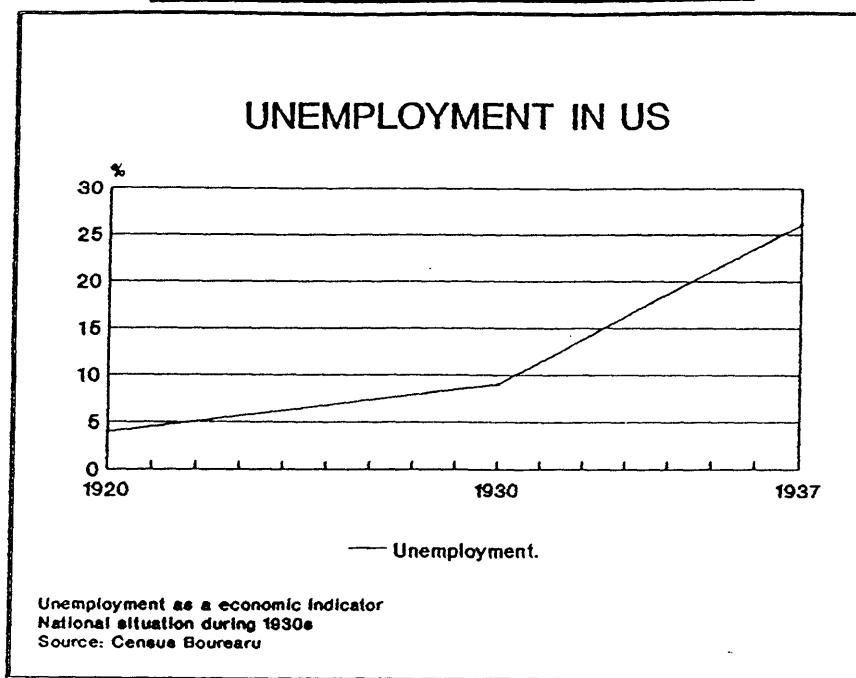
We have to bear in mind that America was the land of opportunity and anyone who really wanted to work could find a job. The concept of poor was considered a class of inferiors who need to be driven. The depression brought forcibly to consciousness the point that one could be poor and unemployed as a result of the malfunctioning of the society.

⁸. Period before the Civil War.

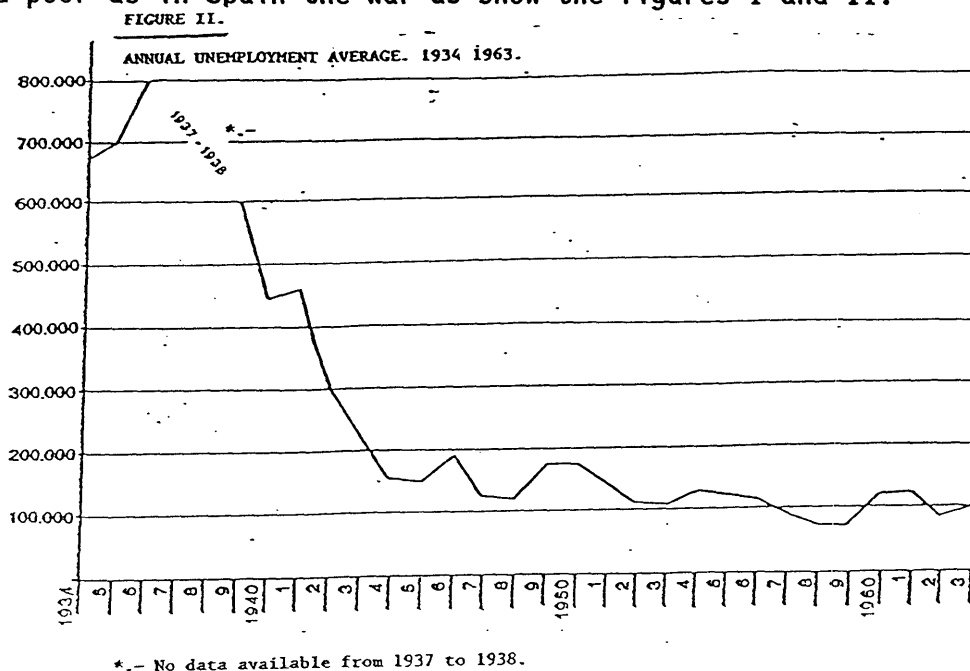
⁹. During a period of time when 2,000 \$ (in 1929 prices) was only sufficient to supply a family with basic necessities.

¹⁰. In 1938 there was the 19%. See appendices number 3.

GRAPHIC IV

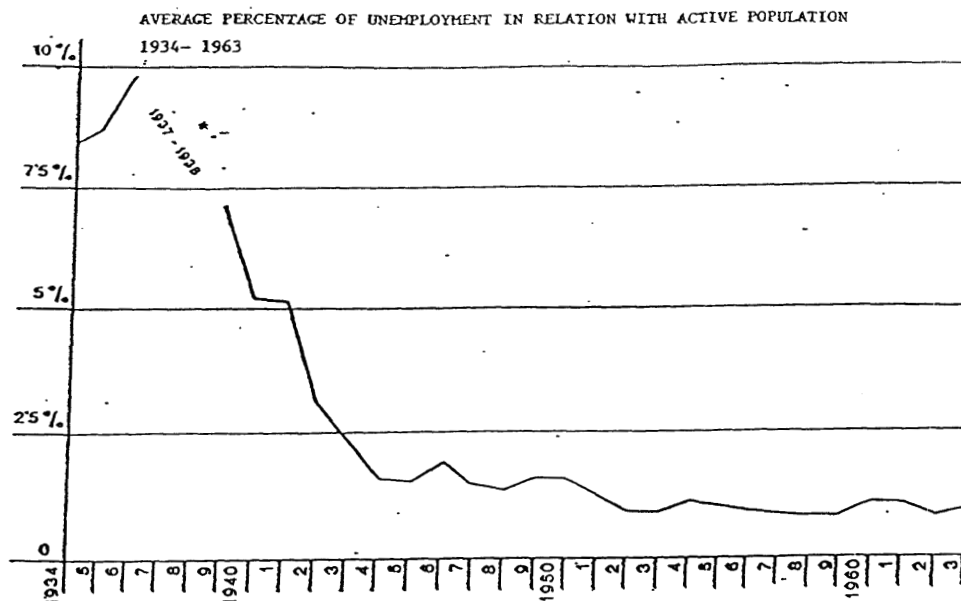


A similar process happened in Spain after the civil war¹¹, for the reason that the whole nation was suffer the consequences of one or other kind of poverty. In America the depression develop the existence of a new kind of poverty and poor as in Spain the war as show the figures I and II.



Source: Joseph Harrison. An economic history of modern Spain. Holmes & Miener Publishers, INC , NY.1984.

¹¹ Concerning the consideration of the poor.



*.- There is not data available for those years.

Source: Joseph Harrison. An economic History of moder Spain, Holmes&Meiner Publishers, Inc. New York. 1984.

The dominant view of the poverty was in both countries disassociated from person failure, and was related with the unemployment or underemployment. A least during the first ten years.

Depression in both nations posed fundamental challenges to established welfare procedures.¹² In US the government did not became a independent actor in social welfare field at this moment but at least recognized the rights of a new welfare clients and began to supply welfare services directly from Washington to the people. President Hoover recognized a increased federal obligation to do something about the business downturn. When the situation continued deteriorate he decided to expedite more relief efforts with the President's Emergency Committee for Employment. Hoover finally established the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to lend funds to banks, railroads, and other institutions and supported similar federal loans to the states for their relief efforts. The RFC was acting with the same strategies that the INI did in the spanish industrial arena.

¹². The welfare standard from 1920 when the government was sponsor of private sector activities in a effort to mitigate the evils of the depression appeared again.

In both nations the effects of the economic crisis period were visible. Bank were closing, industries were failing and farms were going into bankruptcy, wage earnings , all fell. When wages fell bellow the subsistence level¹³, the need of money was incredible and the situation painful almost for every Spanish and American home. In each one there was need for governmental aid and a feel of agreement based on experience, for more governmental action.

Although if it is true that Franco's government was a dictatorship and US was a democracy and there is not possible comparatione between these two facts, however when Franco's regimen in the post-war period started a strong control of the economic and social life, there was not surprise for the population, as happen with the role played for Hoover and Roosevelt's government in America and the growing governmental intervention in social and economic affairs.

With Hoover before Roosevelt the federal government assume new responsibilities and powers especially in social-welfare, a direct relief of the situation and recognition of the depth of the crisis¹⁴. During much of 1930 President Hoover engaged in a major campaign to stop the precipitous economic descent, trying to return to economic normalcy and balance the budget, in a *laissez faire* system, and to stabilize the financial, industrial and agricultural institution, stimulated economic recovery.

Roosevelt asked Congress to authorize federal grants to the states for unemployment victims, and the emergency relief phase began. Government allowed industry to stabilize itself through price fixing and production limitation, then industry would provide greater employment opportunities to the American labor force. There was a federal participation in financing of direct relief of the situation and recognize the depth of the crisis.

The later Social- Security Act included programs for the economic crisis and represented the New Deal's effort to create a permanent and comprehensive federal social welfare law, produced an unemployment compensation program and a federal program to pay pensions to retired industrial and commercial workers. This Social- Security Act had its parallel in the spanish Social

¹³ As they often did in the early 1930s in US and in the 1940s in Spain.

¹⁴. See appendices number 8.

Security System created by Franco's administration during the forties.

Nevertheless in America not until 1932 did Congress project the Reconstruction Finance Corporation (RFC) to provide emergency financing facilities for financial institutions to aid in financing agriculture, commerce, industry and other purposes¹⁵.

In 1932 Roosevelt created the New Deal program¹⁶, trying to increase spending for unemployment and more public works¹⁷. There was an effort, to understand the economic and political situation during the depression era, with an intense interaction between the agencies of the state in general. However for innumerable authors the New Deal was characterized simply as another proverbial triumph of conservatism¹⁸.

Regardless by the end of the decade the federal personnel were ready to initiate projects abandoned or never undertaken at all by the private sector. With a little imagination, one could recognize a obviously organized social welfare bureaucracy in federal government.

Despite the fact that in Spain with Franco, the political regime was a dictatorship, it is very clear that in both countries in the emergency situation of the 1930s and 1940s, the function played by the government was fundamental. The social and economic reality of those years determined the housing public policies of the following fifteen years after the depression, as we are going to see beyond.

When Roosevelt arrived to the power in 1932 the governmental intervention in social and economic affairs was expected and accepted, especially at the federal level. After the war when the economic problems disappeared Roosevelt lost political support. This is one of the fundamental differences between the two nations. After the economic recession years and the

¹⁵. See appendices number 1.

¹⁶. See appendices number 2.

¹⁷. But he advocated a 25% cut in federal expenditures, in order to reduce the deficits.

¹⁸. The new Deal package authorized the imposition of production controls to achieve the balance between production and consumption. However for so many authors the New Deal failed to produce a genuine or meaningful reform. See appendices number 4.

post-war period, the American government intervention in the social and economic aspect was reduced or even stopped, in some directions, but in Spain this intervention continued during forty years.

In any case, if the civil war defined the changes in the Spanish welfare system, the World War II determined the ones in the American welfare ¹⁹. It was established the federal government as the major source of funds for social welfare projects. The spending of the New Deal grew \$ 28 billion from 1937 to 1950.

In those years unemployment and the deficit of cheap housing represented in both countries the most important subjects. Not only because they were the most controversial among the other problems²⁰ but also because they constituted the most serious problem that the two countries faced. The answer to them through the government intervention, with different public economic and social policies, determined the development of the housing and homelessness problem that we still have. Unemployment and housing consequently generated the most discussion of any topic related to social problems, at that time.

In housing the New Deal moved to preserve the concept of private property, homeowners were helped to refinance their mortgages through the Home Owners Loan Corporation established in 1933, in a similar way to the Banco Hipotecario did in Spain. The Federal Housing Administration revived the house industry as in Spain the Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda (INV), giving insured loans for home repairs and mortgages for new houses.

The repercussion of those policies were very important, as long as they were a deliberate effort to subordinate the needs of the housing consumer to the interest of the housing producers. They were unable to orientate and organized the private housing market to the low-income housing demands. The gap had to be filled by the governmental inversion of billion of dollars with insufficient public housing policies.

¹⁹. During the war the tone of the government social welfare efforts changed.

²⁰. As was a big problem to change the minimum standards such as minimum wages, that were designed for time when there was a strong demand for labor existed and not for an era when unemployment already represented a large and growing phenomena.

The programs from the New Deal²¹ and from the INV, basically tried to provided shelter facilities²². However some how they were another paternalistic public policies for the people but without the people participation.

The situation became desperate during the thirties in US and in the forties in Spain. They faced similar problems of poverty, lack of affordable housing, homelessness and unemployment. In both countries there was a strong need for governmental mediation.

In US the Committee for Economic Development (CED) was the bridge between the two styles of welfare capitalism²³ that Spain never had. In US the II World War produced the conditions of transition from depression to prosperity.²⁴ Situation from which Spain couldn't get any benefit because it was a neutral country²⁵.

After Roosevelt's death in 1945 and the presence of Truman there were some important changes in the welfare system. Trumand defended the existing public welfare program but was unwilling to create new ones²⁶.

In this perspective we can appreciate how was the political and socio-economic context in which public housing policies were developed. Those policies decided the evolution of the housing market in the following twenty years, as we are going to see beyond, and as a consequence established a irrational housing market system. System that was unable to solve the demand of low-income housing.

²¹. See appendices 5.

²². The New Deal and the Social Security System (in Spain) provided too social insurance programs, work relief projects for the unemployed, and was one option for so many people. Sutherland and Harvey 1936.

²³. The private planning of the 1920s and the mixture of private and public planning of the postwar period.

²⁴. See appendices number 6.

²⁵. Theoretically was neutral but in reality Spain was again the allies as a fascist regimen.

²⁶. Even when he ask his adviser mounted a coordinated effort to expand New Deal welfare procedures. See appendices number 7.

1.1.1. Housing policies and homelessness 1939-1954.

The economic and social develop during the depression years in America and Spain, determinate the history of the public housing policies, as we already saw, in the two nations. This public housing policies were made in the name of helping the poor, that is an ideal type of institutionalize de immorality of the housing market. Very little have been learning from the past experience, that could help us do not repeat the failures and provide decent houses to low-income people.

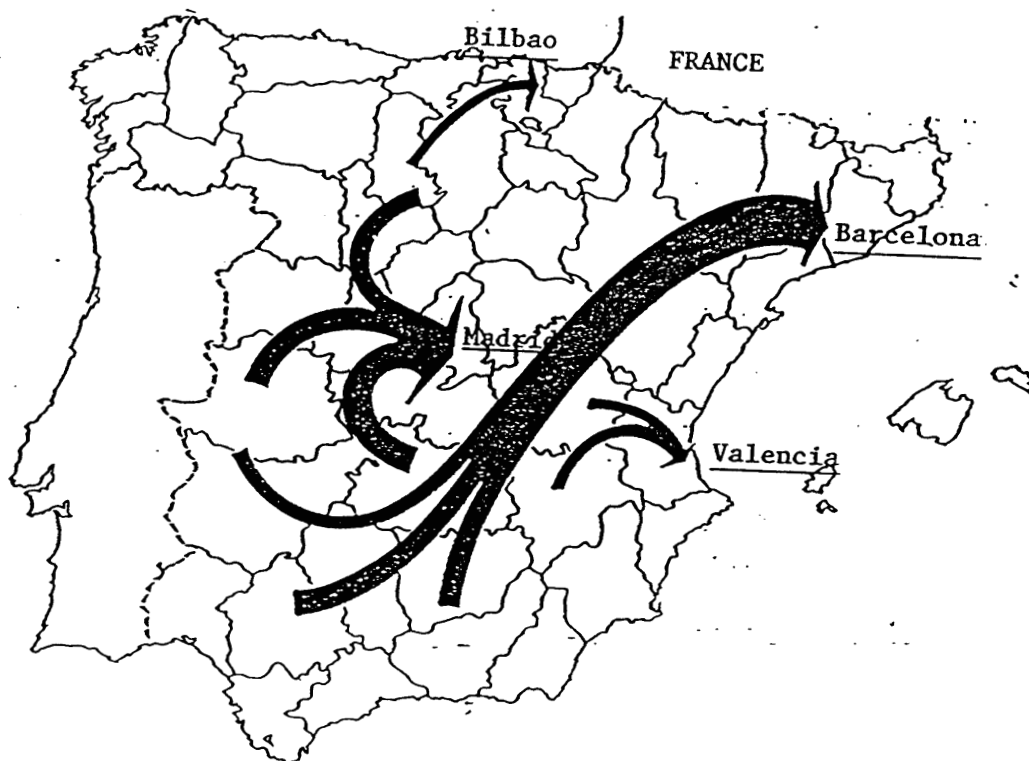
Some of those policies were failing since the first moment, because public policy at the local and national level remained blind to economic facts. Building new low and moderate income housing has proved the inefficient of the system. The explanation may be found in the deliberate effort by the different administrations to subordinate the real demand of housing to the interests of the private market.

Shortly after the civil war in Spain and after the economic crisis in America the housing problem became severe for diversity of reason, as the growth of the population, or the lack of materials and construction projects, or the destruction of buildings during the war in Spain. This minimum construction activity emerged during a period of inflation, and migrations from the country to the industrial areas that only aggravate the situation. The migration process was in part implemented through the governmental action helping only the big farms²⁷, the smallest farmers had to migrate to the towns in order to get a job to survive.

The governamental procedures in this way and as a consequence the migration process, had its high and most significant repercussions during the 1950s and 1960s, as we are going to see beyond.

In the other side the Spanish government helped the industry with different financial aids, trying to solve the unemployment issue and create new jobs. The industries were concentrated in largest cities. Cities that were not prepared to receive the enormous amount of population that migrated to them. As show the map beyond.

²⁷. See appendices 9.

MIGRATIONS PROCESS

Migration of more than 50,000 person to the biggest urban areas, Madrid, Barcelona, Bilbao and Valencia.

Source: Jose Antonio Biescas & M. Tunon de Lara. *Espa bajo la dictadura franquista 1939-75*, Ed:labor. Madrid. 1980.

During those years and with the administration financial assistance the factories developed very quickly, starting to demand more workers. However the housing market did not provide available inexpensive housing supply to this new proletariat. The situation was critical, there was a need of one million new housing unit in 1950 in Spain²⁸. In front of this problematic conditions, (worst day by day, with the lack of data necessary to make a diagnosis of the problem) the State responded by attempting to promote housing construction with direct and indirect aid, provided through the Insituto Nacional de la Vivienda (National Housing Institute²⁹). The government encouraged a high annual volumes of residential construction for the reason that at the national level housing production, has often been view as a critical instrument in the arsenal of economic stabilization policies.

The INV authorized a variety of different housing programs³⁰, similar some how to the New Deal housing plan. The dimension of those housing approach, in big urban agglomeration, (as Madrid, Barcelona or Bilbao) created a massive low-income residential areas with blocks of flats in line, no related with the surrounding area. The government promote the design of those enormous residential structures, because the scarcity of land, materials and resources provided the justification for the programs.

The principal reason for those policies was to encourage the construction of new apartments to resolve the housing deficit. They give the preference exclusively to big residential concentrations, and all those factors were strongly reflected on the living conditions to the population.

²⁸. Data from the Population and Housing Census.

²⁹. Created few days after finished the civil war. Under the Act of April 19, 1939 and through sponsored housing legislation.

³⁰. So-called - viviendas protegidas-, viviendas bonificables-, de tipo social,- de renta limitada- subvencionadas, etc. See appendices number 10.

Example of the public housing of those years are those two projects.

Poligono del Gran San Blas

In Madrid, 1959, Special Plann
for 7,484 low-income Families.



Poblado dirigido de Cano Roto

Madrid, 1957, 582 families.



Additional laws appear³¹ in 1944, defined the requisite of new types of houses. The fundamental objective of these laws was stop the level of unemployment in the country created new jobs in the construction economic sector. Sector that in the other hand dose not required special skill. The financial aids were highest than any other public housing policy till that moment.³²

³¹ Decreto Ley of november 25, 1944.

³² The credits that the builders could obtain were over 60% of the budget of their project, with a small interest. See appendices number 11.

The parallel to this official initiative in United State was the federal involvement in housing, primarily a legacy of the New Deal, though the continuing effort by the federal government to provide adequate housing for those whose income were so low that they could not even rent decent hose in the open market. They were unable to obtain a decent home through their own resources under the existing market conditions (the kind of policies that the INV develop in Spain).

From 1930s to 1960s the US low-income housing was provided almost exclusively through what was called-" public housing"-, for which public authority served as both developer and landlord. Some of those public housing have been a massive and complete failure.

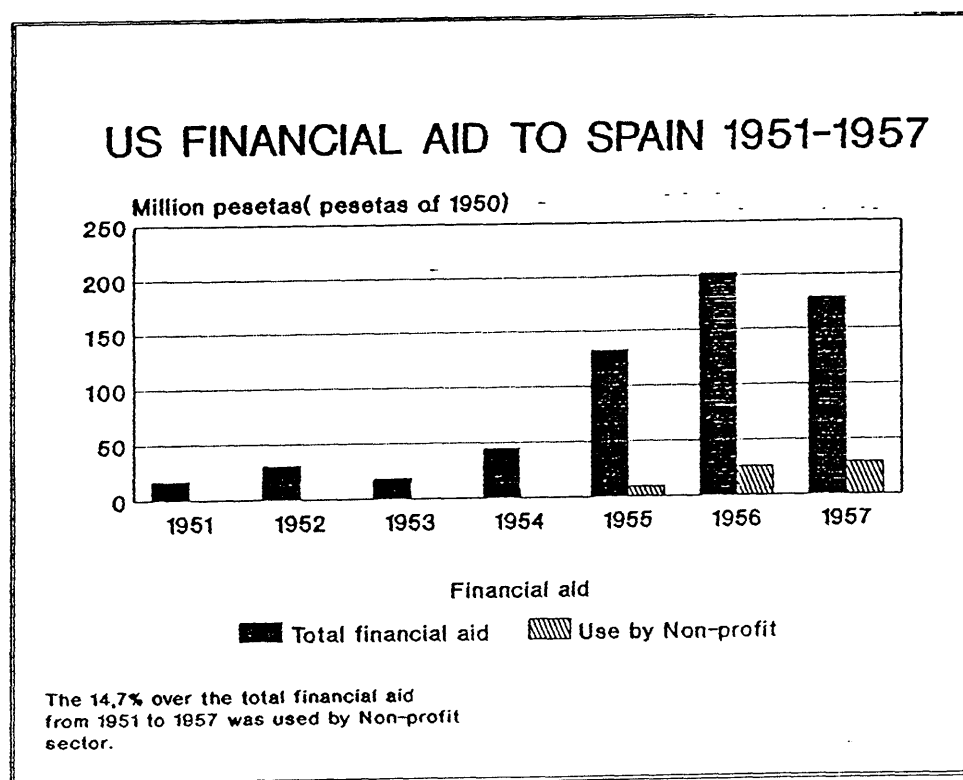
Since 1934 US establish a complex multiplicity of housing programs with a variety of approaches and for a variety of purposes,- to create jobs, to clear slums, to improve the tax base of the central cities, to help the poor, etc (it have their parallel in the INV'programs).

The Housing Act of 1934 was the federal government action in the direction of a national housing policy. However despite this aptitude for social intervention the major housing program reflect that was not enough to build new low and moderate income housing to solve the problem of homelessness.

We saw consequently that both nations suffered the economic and social problems of a depression years. Their respective governments had to respond with a variety of housing alternatives, very similar some how but unable to solve the low-income housing crisis. The importance of this process is the following impact that have in the problemen that we face today of lack of affordable housing, and hemelessness. The private market chouse the middle and upper class social sector as the one to provide a supply of houses. The heritage of the orientation to those sectors were overcrowd, low-income housing deficit and the gentrification mechanism than we faced today. In this situation the government took under his responsibility to created the enough supply of housing . Construction that could control or reduce the prices in the private market. The official programs were unable to induce a rational private market operation. They only provided a minimum supply, totally inefficient for a growing low-income social sector.

1.1.2. - The 1950s and the 1960s. An improved period. The phenomena of -"chabolismo"-and the first slum areas.

In this socio-economic depressing context Spain and US arrived to the 1950s and 1960s. However Spain as an anti-communist country got in 1946 a petition to the White House for grants credits granted the Spanish government by Us commercial banks. In 1949 was a loan of 25\$ to Franco's administration from Chase National Bank with 2.5 % annual interest for a period of two years. In September the American Congress and the Senate approved a credit of \$ 62.5 million via the export-import Bank to finance imports of American products. It was given 25 years to pay with a rate of 3% a year. This private and governmental american financial aid continued during all the 1950s as show the graphic V'.



¹ See: Enrique Fajul. El papel de la ayuda americana en la economia espanola. Informacion economica espanola. vol 577. September 1981.

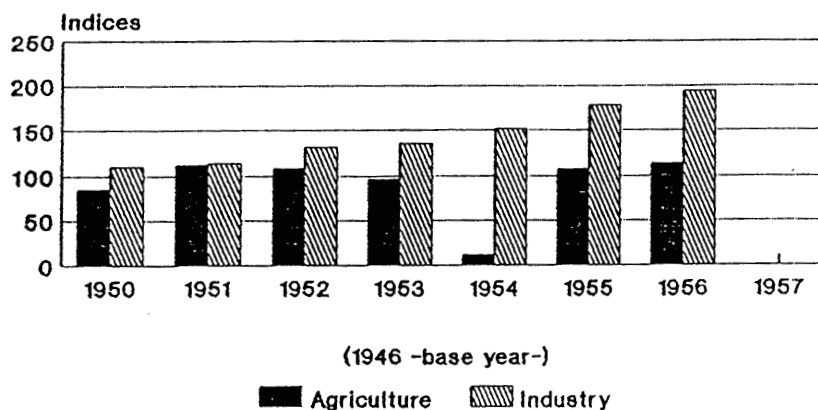
Between 1951 to 1957 in return for the provision of military bases on Spain, US paid over the Franco administration \$ 625 million of pesetas as financial aid. About \$ 92 million, the 14 %, of this budget were distributed throughout Spain by the relief agency Caritas(a non-profit organization) by welfare programs, which included some economic housing plans.

In the same period there was the emergence of a government circles of liberal economic ideology and the necessity of international exchange. It was the beginning of a profound transformation of Spain's outmode economic structure and social quality of life. Not until 1950 did the index of industrial production rise above the peak year of 1929².

The process of economic transformation begun in the 1950s from a traditional agricultural economy to a modern industrial expansion nation, as show graphic VI.

GRAPICH VI

INDICES OF AGRICULTURE AND INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION 1950-1957

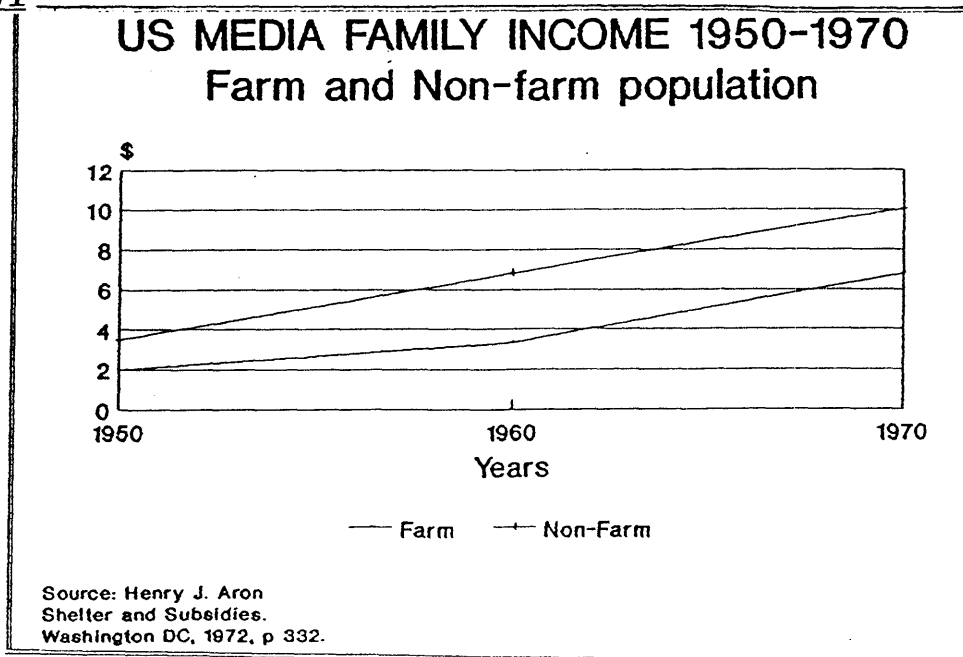


Source: Jose María Carrascal.
La revolucion del PESO. Ed: Plaza, 1985
Madrid

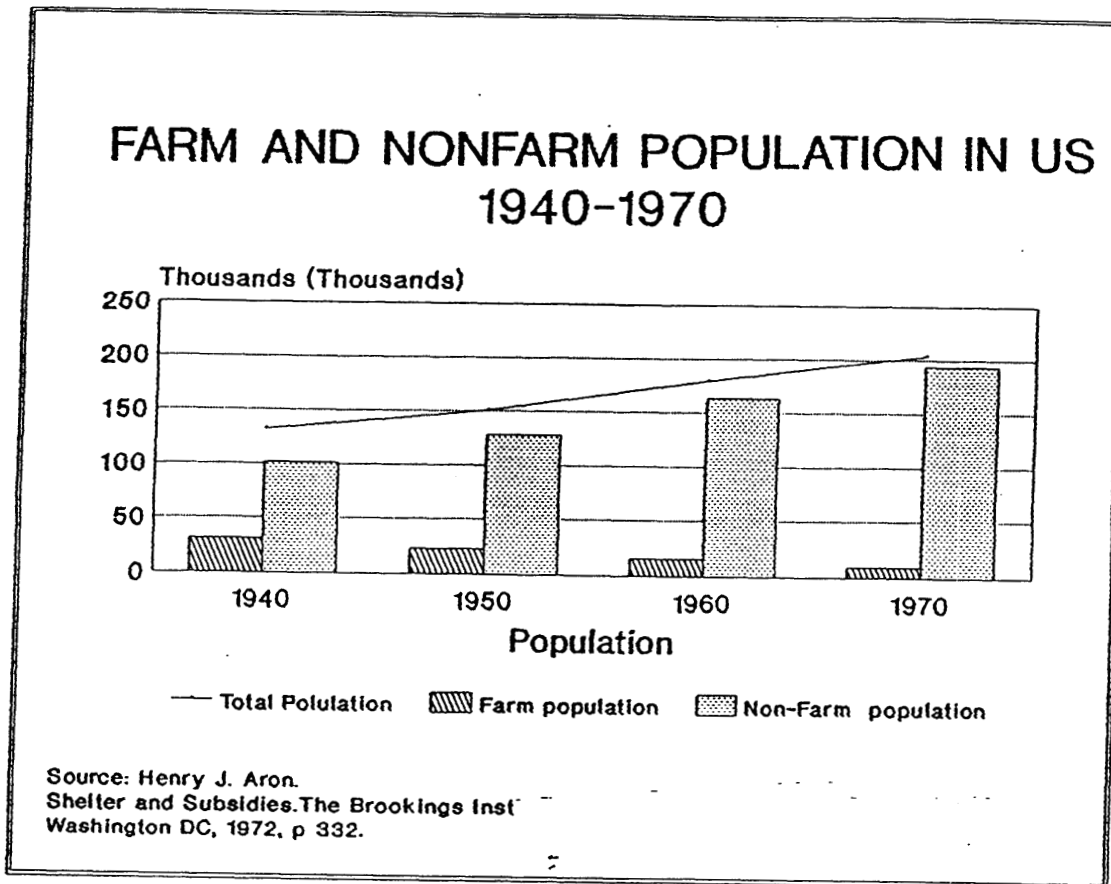
² In july 1951 started a economic program to increase agriculture productivity, create employment and to encourage rapid industrial expansion.

In July 1951 started a economic program to increase agriculture productivity, create employment, and encourage a rapid industrial expansion. The regimen sacrificed traditional agriculture to the objective of accelerated industrialization, for ideological motives plus a desire for greater social stability³. In order to stimulate the owners of small plots of land to consolidate their scattered holdings into fewer more rational units, the Spanish authorities introduced two acts in October 1952 and July 1955. The advantage of this policy known as Concentracion parcelaria were that it permitted economies of scale, especially in use of machinery, fertilizers, etc. As result of those policies millions of Spaniards abandoned the small unproductive farms to the industrial areas. The situation in US was quite similar. The difference between the median American family income in the land and in the town was one to four in 1940, created a colossal migration to the urban areas (See graphic VI). From 1940 to 1960 the American rural communities lost approximately 15,000 thousand people. (See graphic VII)

GRAPHIC VI

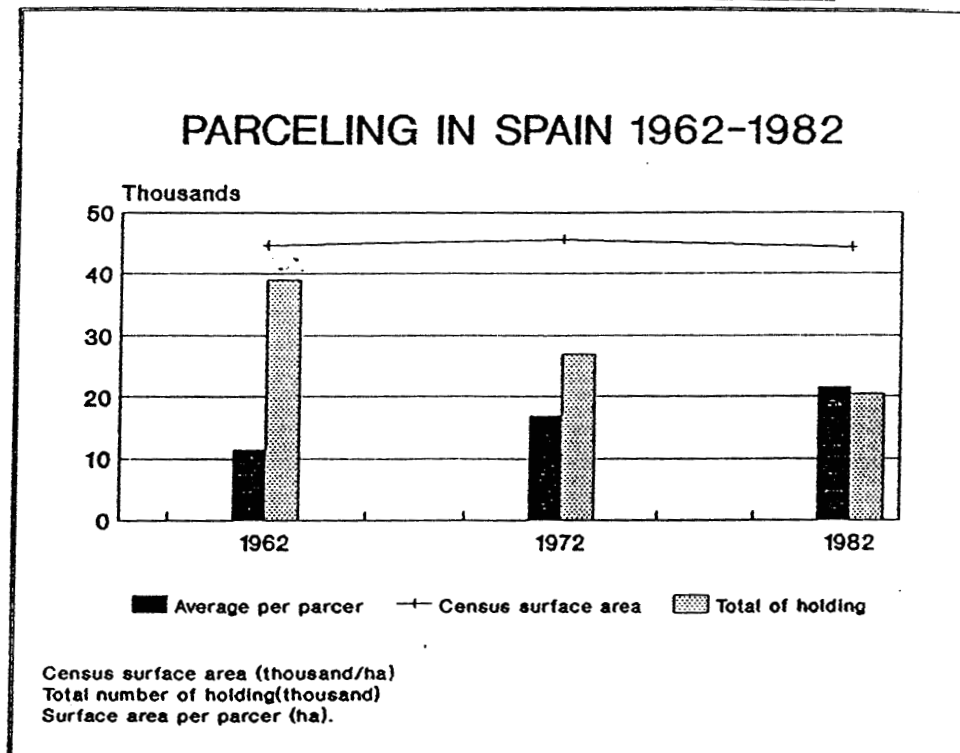


³ Spain would become a self-sufficient in food stuffs and agriculture raw materials.

GRAPHIC VII

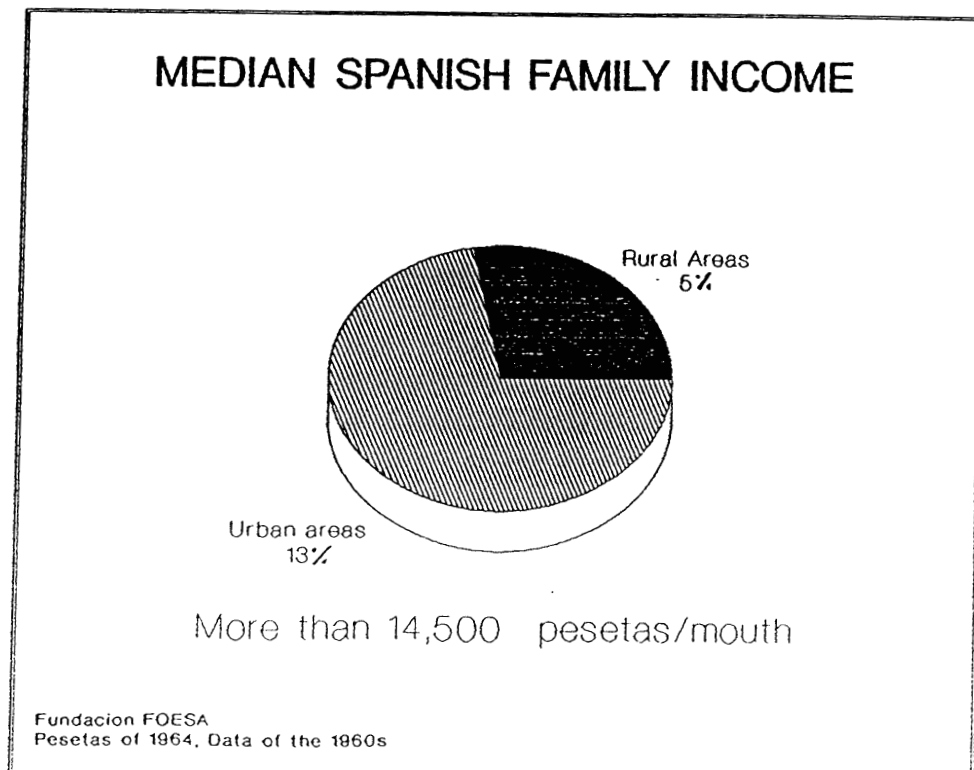
If the spanish agriculture languished in the end of the 1950s and during the 1960s the industrial sector got an extraordinary phase of expansion. Approximately one million spaniards quit the land to the towns.

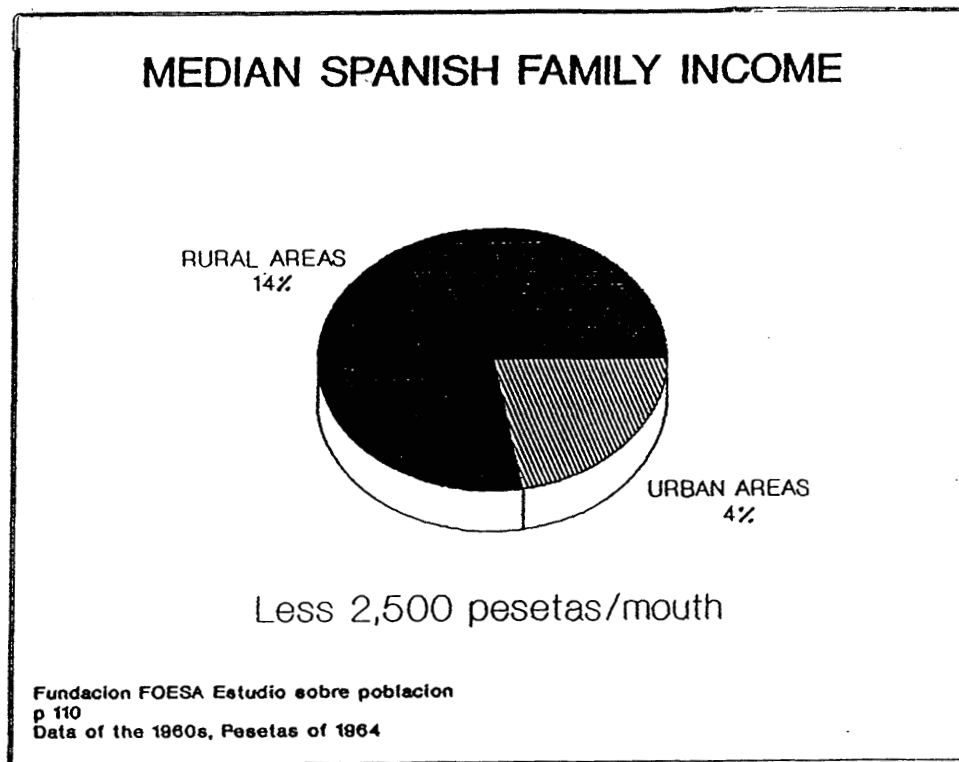
Madrid as other five provinces experienced a net increase of population, resulted for internal migration, most of this exodus came from the land. In the rural areas as a result the popolation per parcel decrees and the farmrs get biggest. (see graphic VIII).



Process that US suffered a decade before. The governmental help to the big farmer pushed the smallest to the big industrial towns looking for opportunities. Even because the level of incomes in the rural areas was ten times inferior than in the urban areas(See graphics IX and X).

GRAPHIC IX



GRAPHIC X

This migration process increased the demand of houses, especially low-income housing, in a moment when the private market and the public agencies were not prepared to solve it.

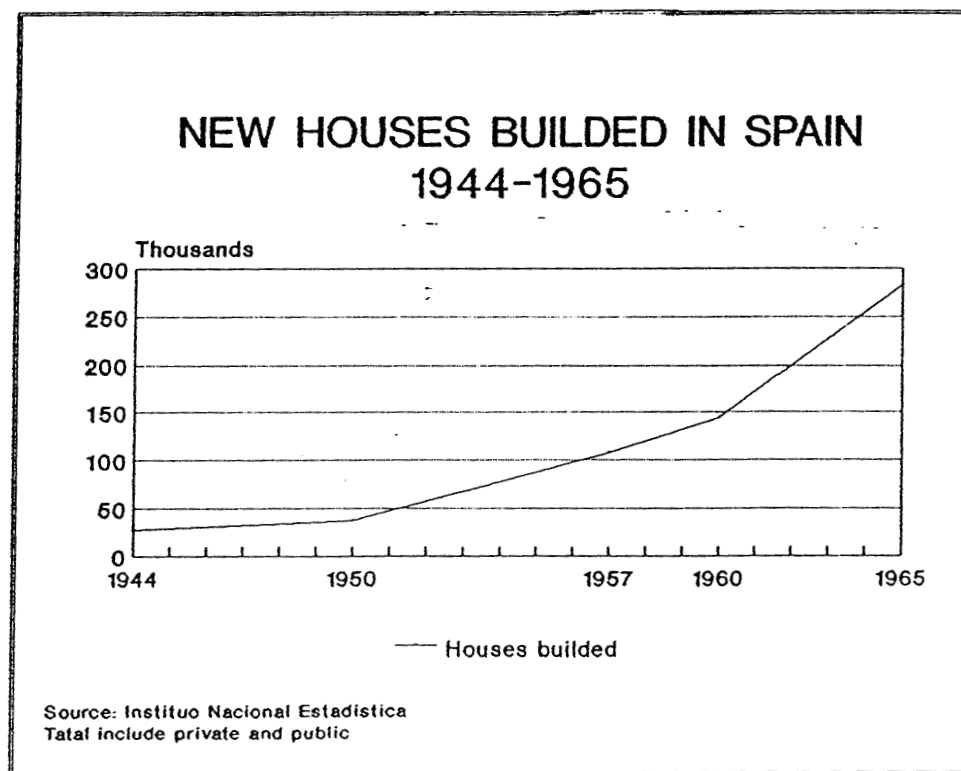
The phenomena had important consequences, deteriorating the life in the towns. Madrid was not ready to receive that amount of inhabitants. There was not a good infrastructure system and enough buildings to housing them. In a phase of rationing of resources for construction, housing construction for the poor was practically eliminated in the agenda of private companies. The government that had not enough money was unable to stop phenomena of slum areas and tolerated situation of overcrowd and ghettos so-called -"chabolismo"-

From 1951 to 1954 the Franco regimen presided over impressive expansion of the economy particularly in the

industrial sector, with monetary stability and an increase in foreign trade. The general trend of economic expansion continued in 1956-57, and was accompanied by the renewal incidence of the inflation and unemployment that made impossible to buy a house for low and median incomes families, getting higher the demand for inexpensive flags.

The government encourage the industry and particularly the construction sector, with financial aids and eassy credits, in order to provided housing to the new immigrants and to created new jobs opportunities. However more workers arrived to the town attracted for those new jobs that houses were builded for them. (See graphic XI and XII).

GRAPHIC XI

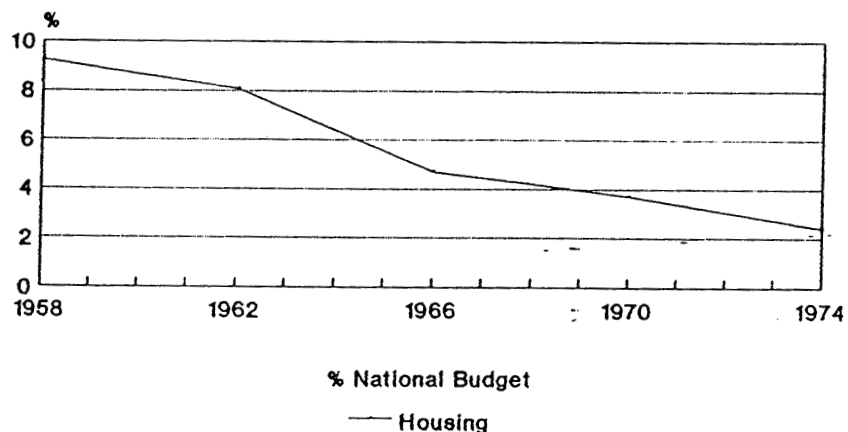


Although if the construction of houses increased enormously since 1957 in comparison with the years before, the available supply of low-income houses was still not enough to the massive migrations that those towns admitted. The new population without economic resources needed a place to live, that was not provided by the real state market.

The circumstance that created a situation of massive pressure for low-income houses, never satisfied by the normal supply.

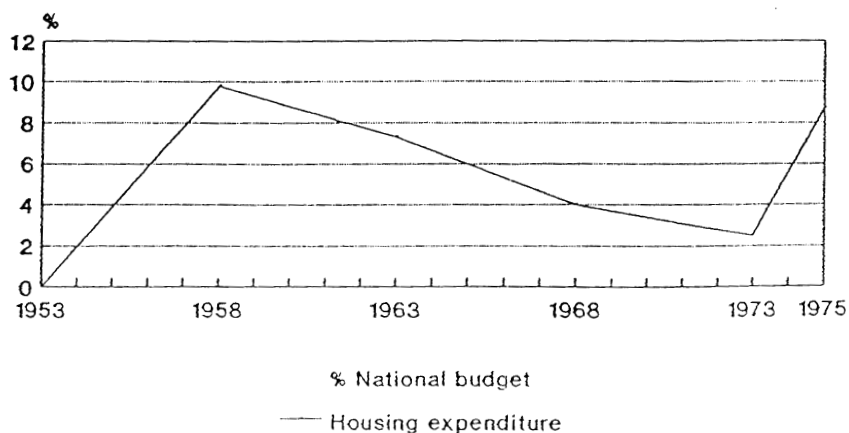
GRAPHIC XII

SPANISH STATE CAPITAL INVESTMENT & CREDITS 1958-1974



Source: Richard Gunther, Public policy in a No-party state. Univ. California, 1980

SPANISH PUBLIC EXPENDITURE 1953-1975



Source: Richard Gunther, Public Policy in a no-party state. Univ. California, 1980

The repercussions in cities as Madrid, was the impossibility to accomplish the demand to the existing offer and the need for a government action. However Franco's administration chose a policy of lassie-faire. Slum areas started to develop close to the factories that offered the employment opportunities. Houses erected with materials from demolish buildings by the new migrants, in one nigh (so-called "chabolas") emerged in all the biggest urban centers. They were building illegally and totally a part from any Master Plans, over the 24 major towns in Spain. Specially in Madrid for the reason that was the governmental seat, and the major concentration of industrial development.

Franco's government tolerated these practices, develop during the 1950s and 1960s for the reason that was unable to handle the situation. These strategy was the most acceptable political actions in that circumstances, dealing with a problem of limited solutions.

The heritage of those procedures reaming till today . In 1971, there were still 2,993 " chabolas"⁴, only in Madrid (with about 5,8 members per unit). Today still exist of 18 areas of "chabolas".

The composition of the population living there was basically unskill people (the 11,8% illiterate) with very few opportunities to improve their social status or their income levels, that could permit them to abandon those areas. Instead of that as soon as these population was able to saved a little amount of money they improve the condition of their " houses" chabolas, consolidated the areas for years. After decades of permissibility by the government, the Franco's administration could not deal with the problem and was afraid to demolish those areas. It was supposed that the authorities must remodeled the zones, tearing down the buildings, but the administration was frightened to the fact

⁴ The 12,05% had not any bathroom and the 35,39% share it.

that a policy like that could be seen as a very unsocial and unpopular operation.

The people living in those districts so-called "chabolistas" were in general blue collars workers and construction worker. Some of those families where gypsies.⁵

At the same time and in the other hand, the Franco's administration had not enough resources to provided them with new homes. The gap of residences for the working class, produced the moral justification necessary to tolerate the situation. The elimination of those communities could connote expropriation, demolition and other new accessible areas with infra-structural investments, where housing them.

The only attempt from the Franco's administration to stop the phenomena was the law of 1956. When the total of "chabolas" in the country was already 27,624. Zoning and housing regulation that in the reality never was used and did not make any different.

The first real public policy to solve the problem was the project so-called UVAS (Unidades Vecinales de Absorcion)- Renewal neighborhood units- . It was a five years national plan, to stop the development of those slum areas and provide 30.000 provisional houses to them.

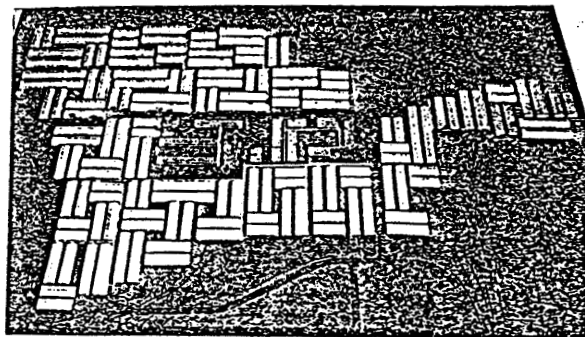
But the result of this project was a total disaster. The new houses builded with provisional materials⁶, that were going to be for 3 years remain during more than fifteen years. The provisional solution was not provisional, and the new governmental development begun the new slum areas but with the official approval. Six were the project in Madrid, very similar one to each other in design, quality of

⁵ In Madrid there were 1,406 gypsy families living in those conditions.

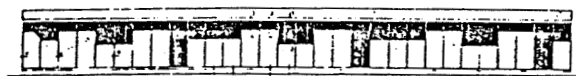
⁶ Very bad and low quality.

materials, lack of social services, and lack of communication with the surrounding area. Those projects were so-called: Hortaleza for 1100 families, Pan Bendito 655 families, Canillejas 1200 families, Vallecas 1200 families, Villaverde 950, Fuencarral 1180 families. (see pictures and maps).

.- UVA of Fuencarral: 1180 families



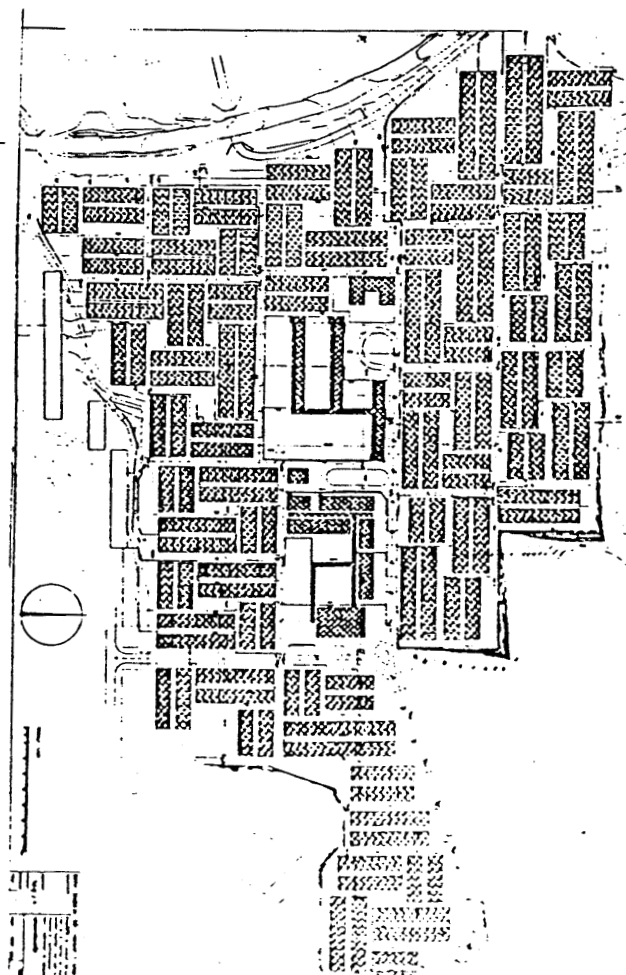
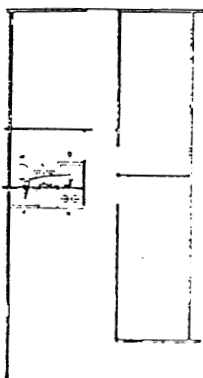
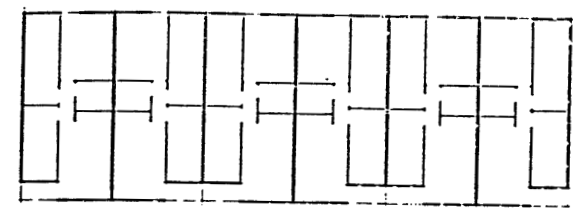
U. V. A. DE FUENCARRAL (1.180 VIVIENDAS)



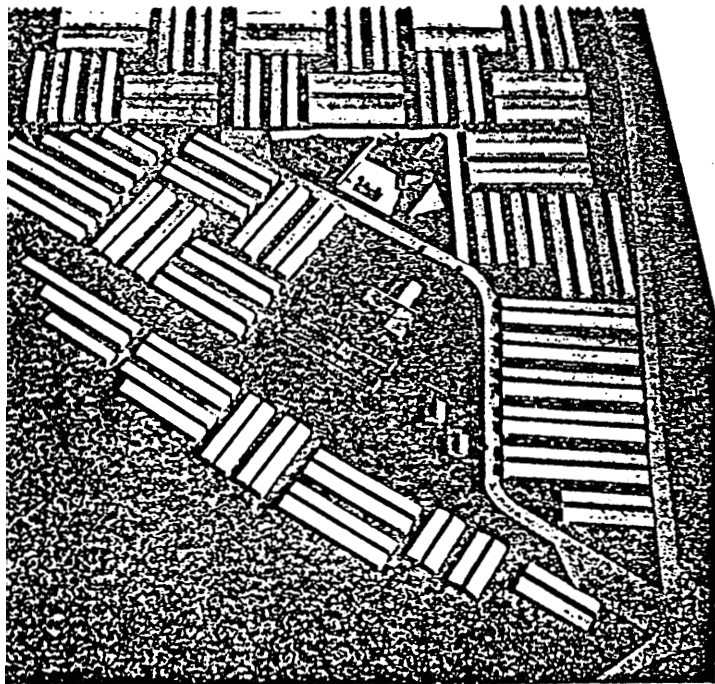
ALZADO SECCION DE FUENCARRAL DE 4 VIVIENDAS



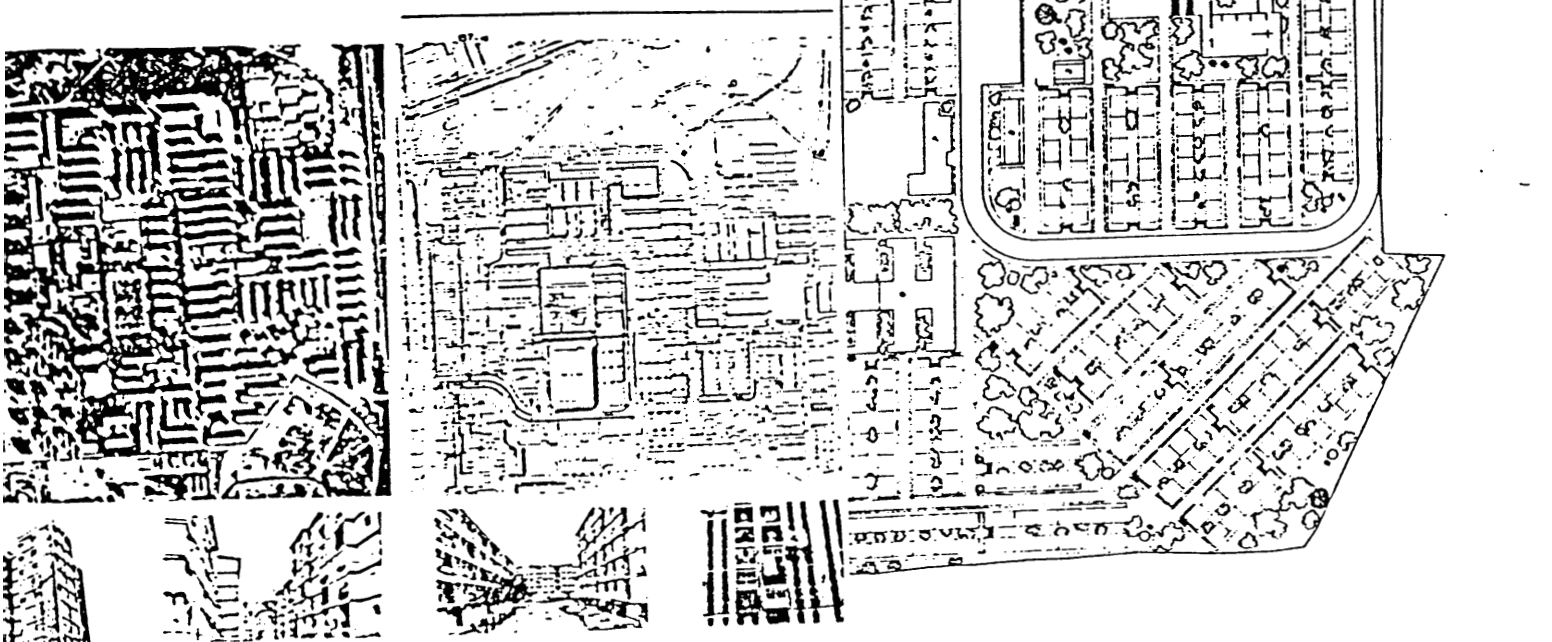
ALZADO SECCION DE FUENCARRAL DE 4 VIVIENDAS



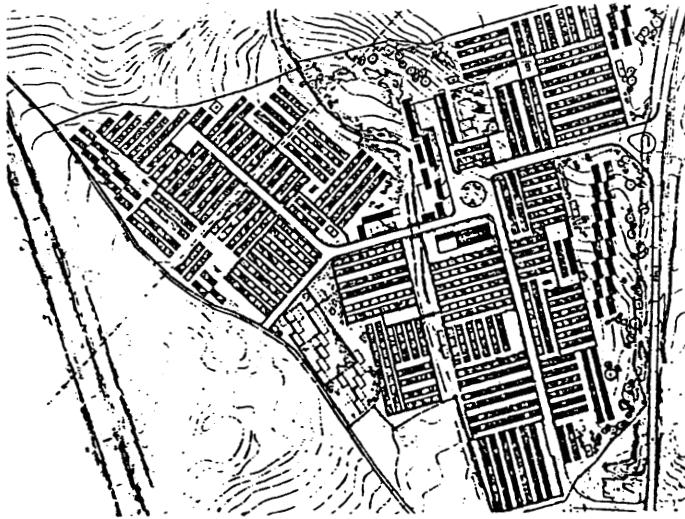
UVA of Villaverde : 650 families.
Maps: Sindicato del Hogar 1963



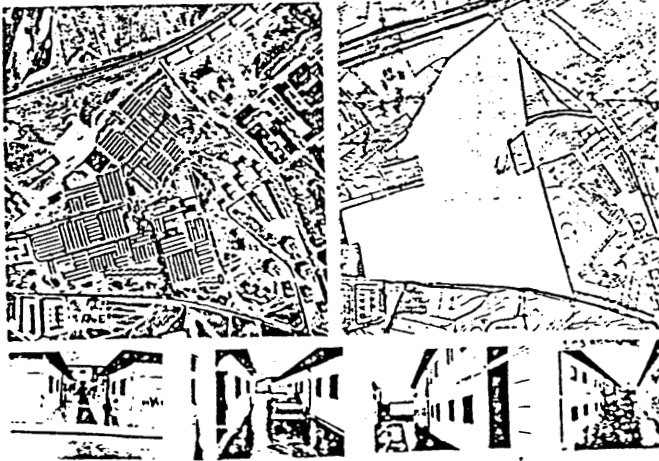
A. DE VILLAVERDE (950 VIVIENDAS)



UVA of Vallecas: 1200 families
 Maps: Sindicato del Hogar 1963



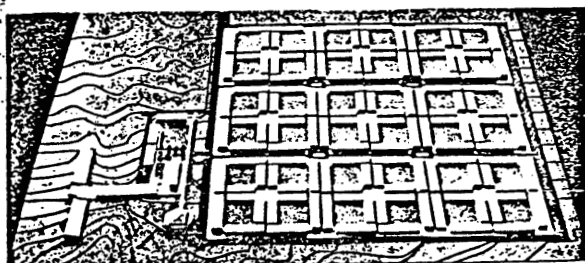
U. V. A. DE VALLECAS
 (1.200 VIVIENDAS)



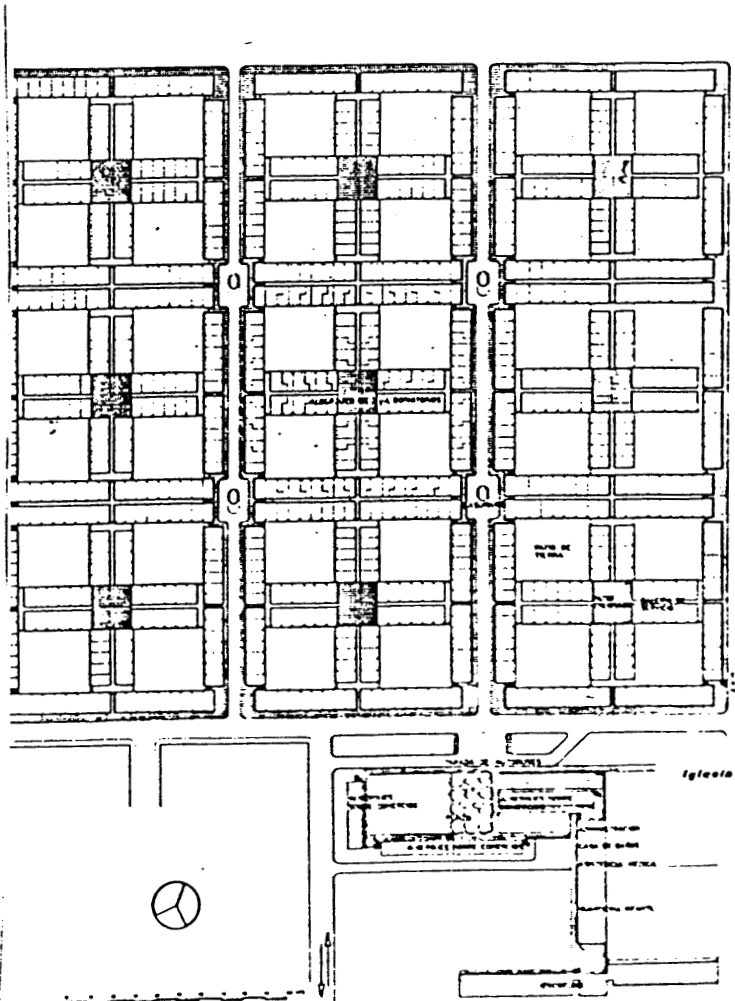
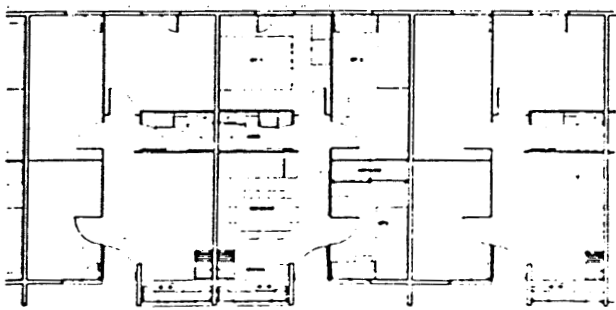
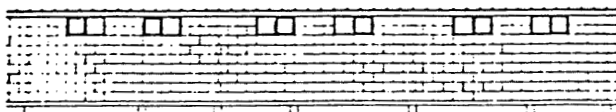
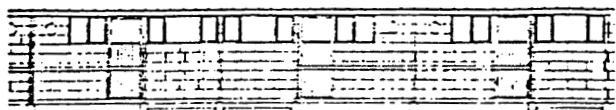
Varios aspectos de la Unidad Vecinal de Vallecas.



.- UVA of Canillejas: 998 families
 Maps: Sindicato del Hogar 1963

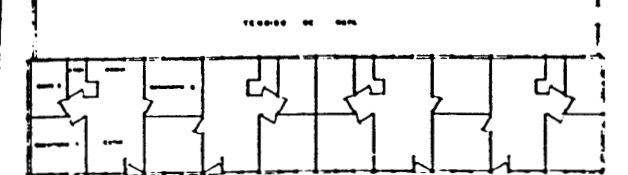
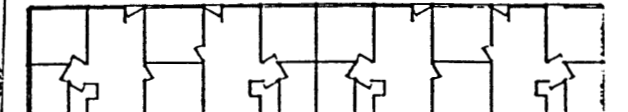
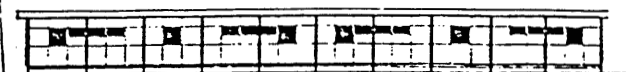
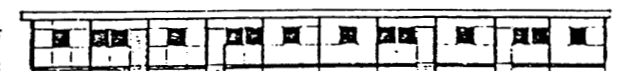
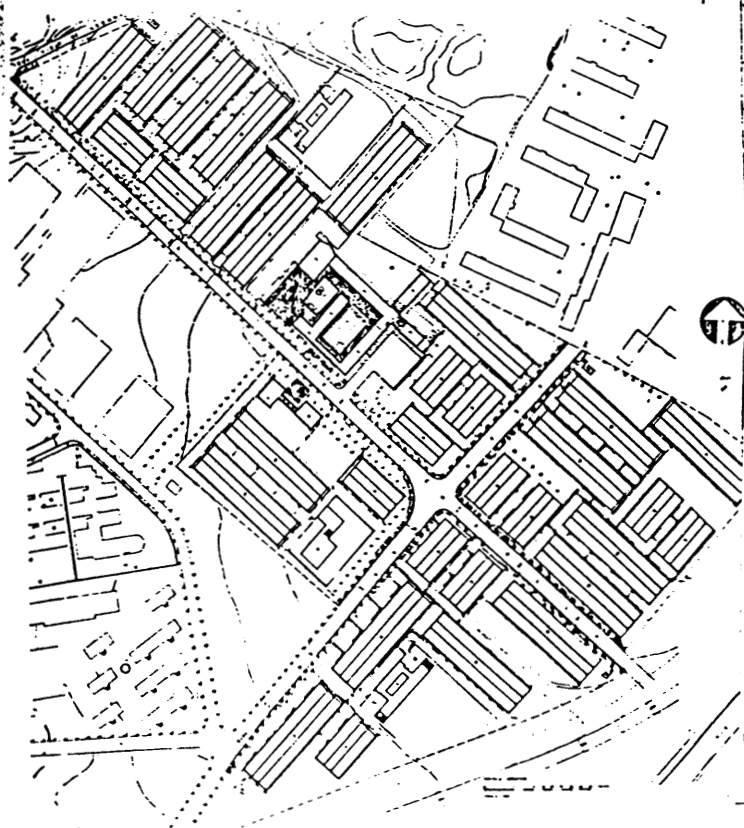


U. V. A. DE CANILLEJAS (998 VIVIENDAS)



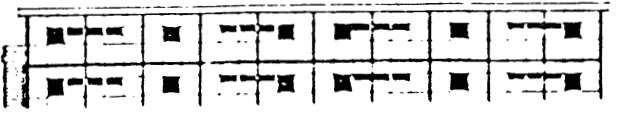
.- UVA of Pan Bendito: 655 families
 Maps: Sindicato del Hogar 1963

U. V. A. DE PAN BENDITO (655 VIVIENDAS)

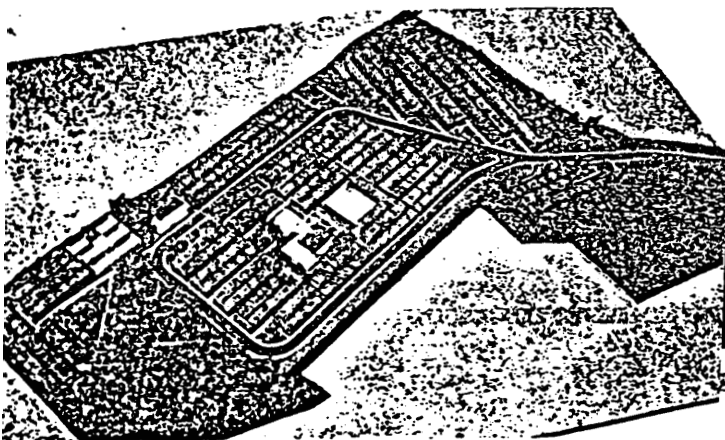


PLANTA

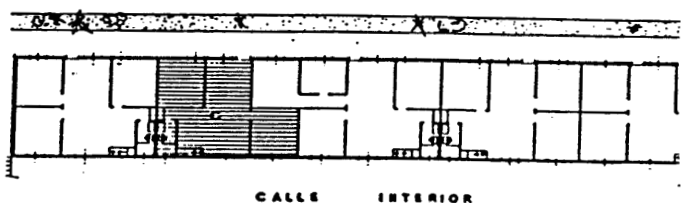
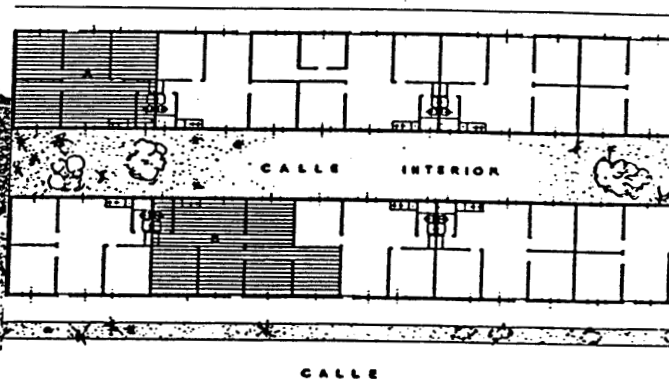
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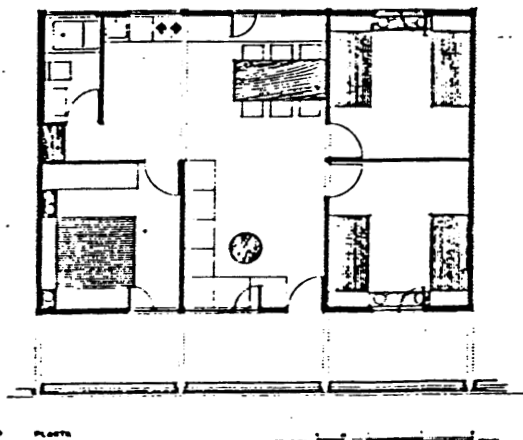
.- UVA of HOrtaleza: 1100 families
 Maps: Sindicato del Hogar 1963

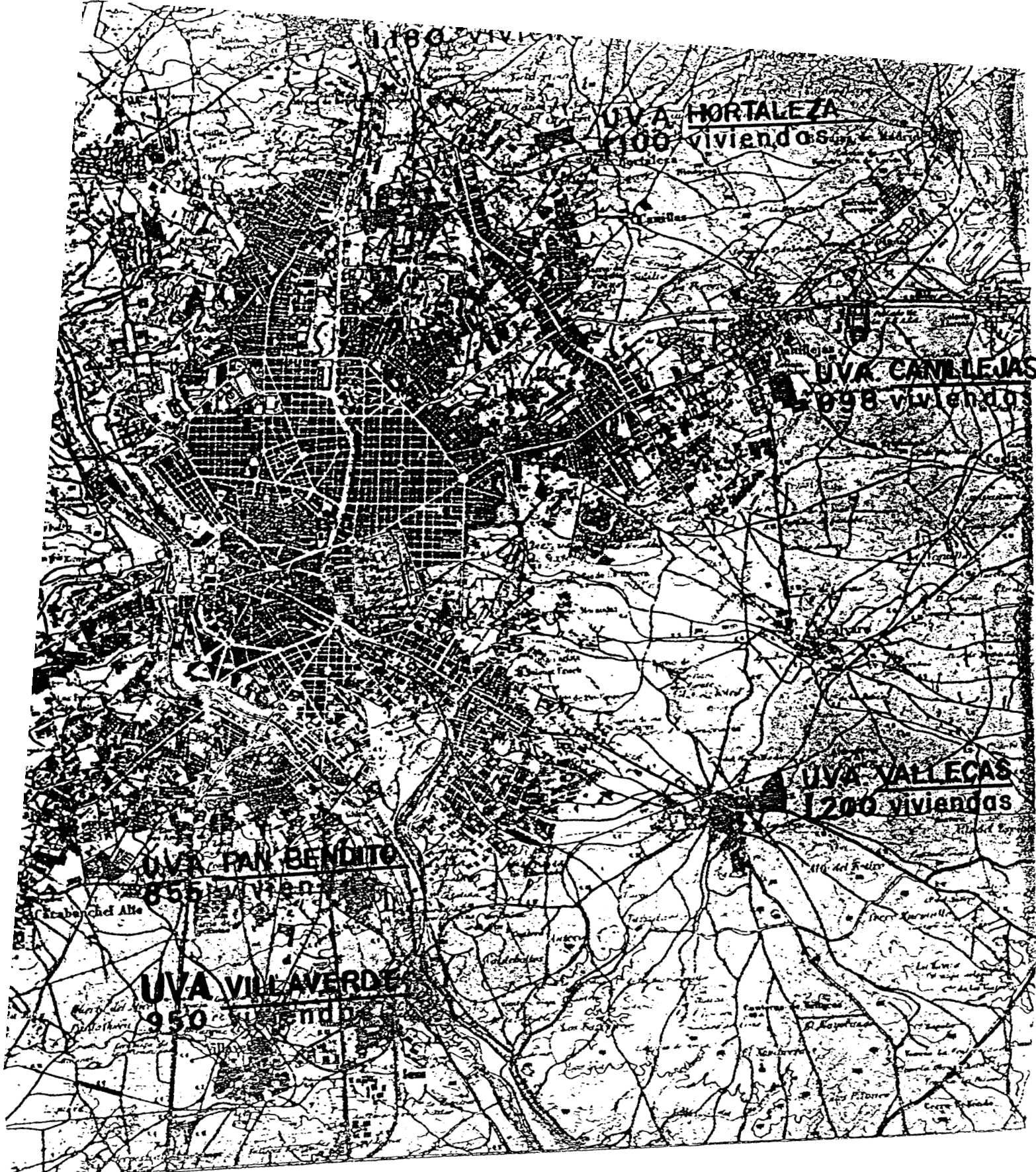


V. A. DE HORTALEZA (1.100 VIVIENDAS)



HORTALEZA (UNIDAD VECINAL DE ABSORCION), 1963
 Instituto Nacional de la Vivienda, Obra Sindical del Hogar

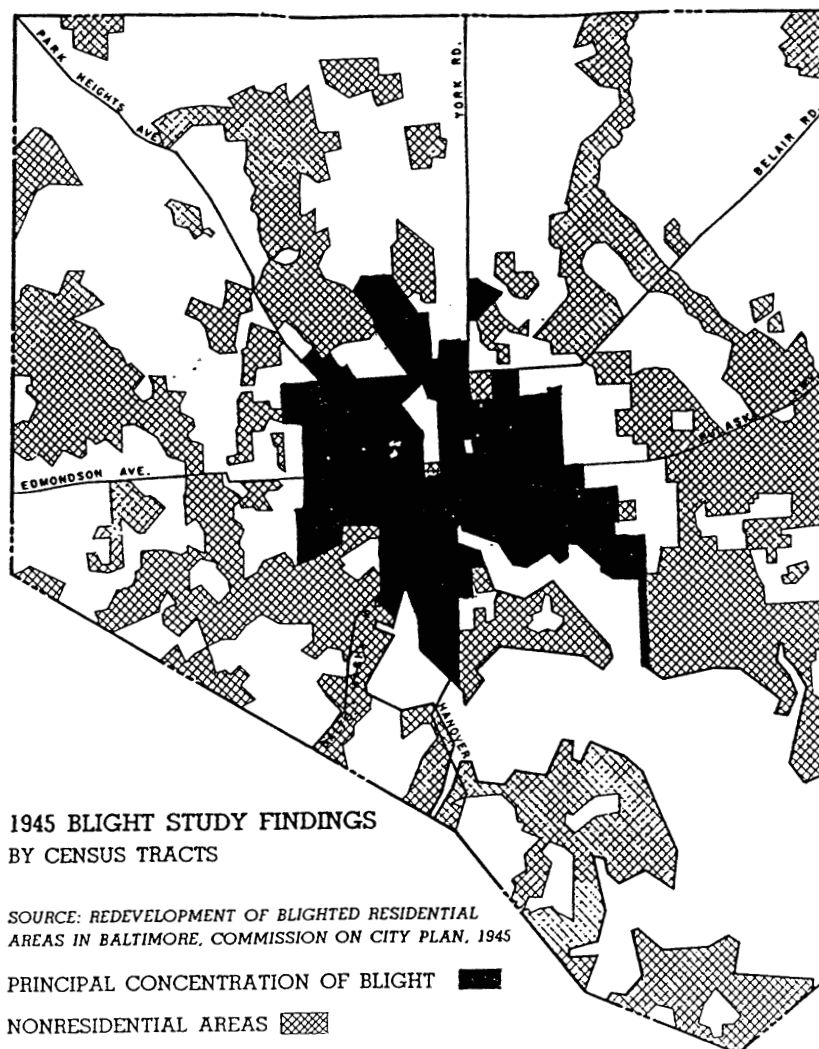




Source. Ministerio de la Vivienda. Unidades Vecinales de Absorción, 1963

Situation Plan of the UVAS.

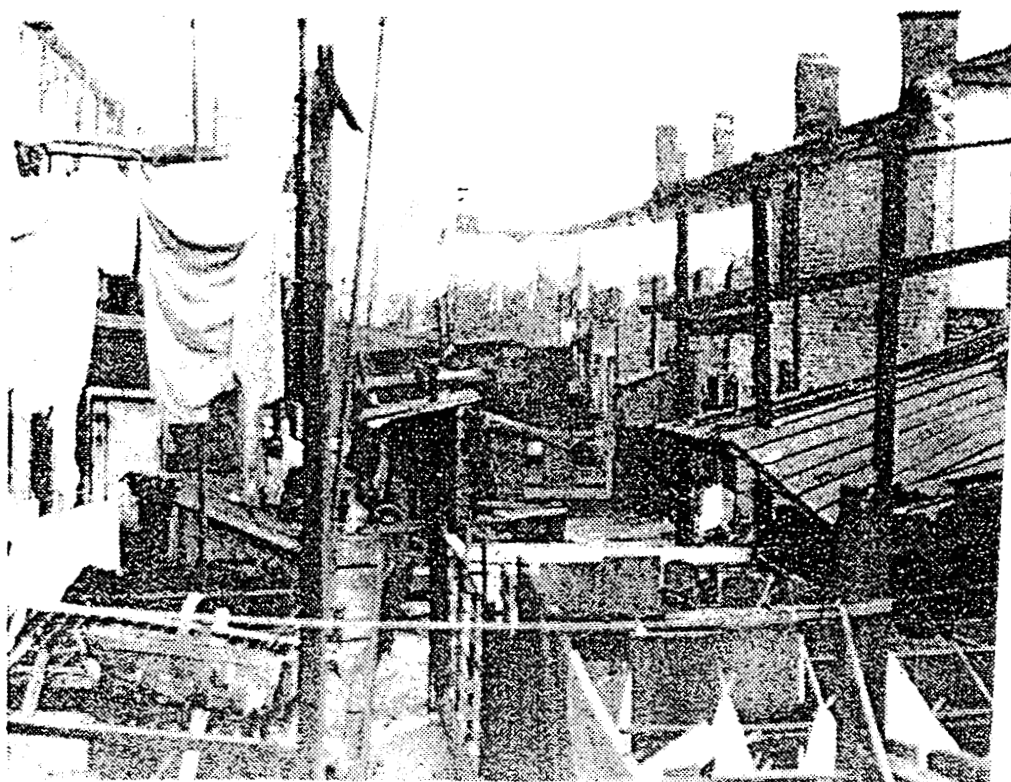
In Baltimore in comparison with Madrid the process of slum and deterioration was having place few years before. The fundamental different with Madrid was: first the slum areas in Madrid were in the suburban district close to factories but in Baltimore were in the central area as show the map; second there was a race problem (concentration of black population) that Madrid and Spain never suffered.



Map : The Urban Renewal Plann, City of Baltimore 1955.

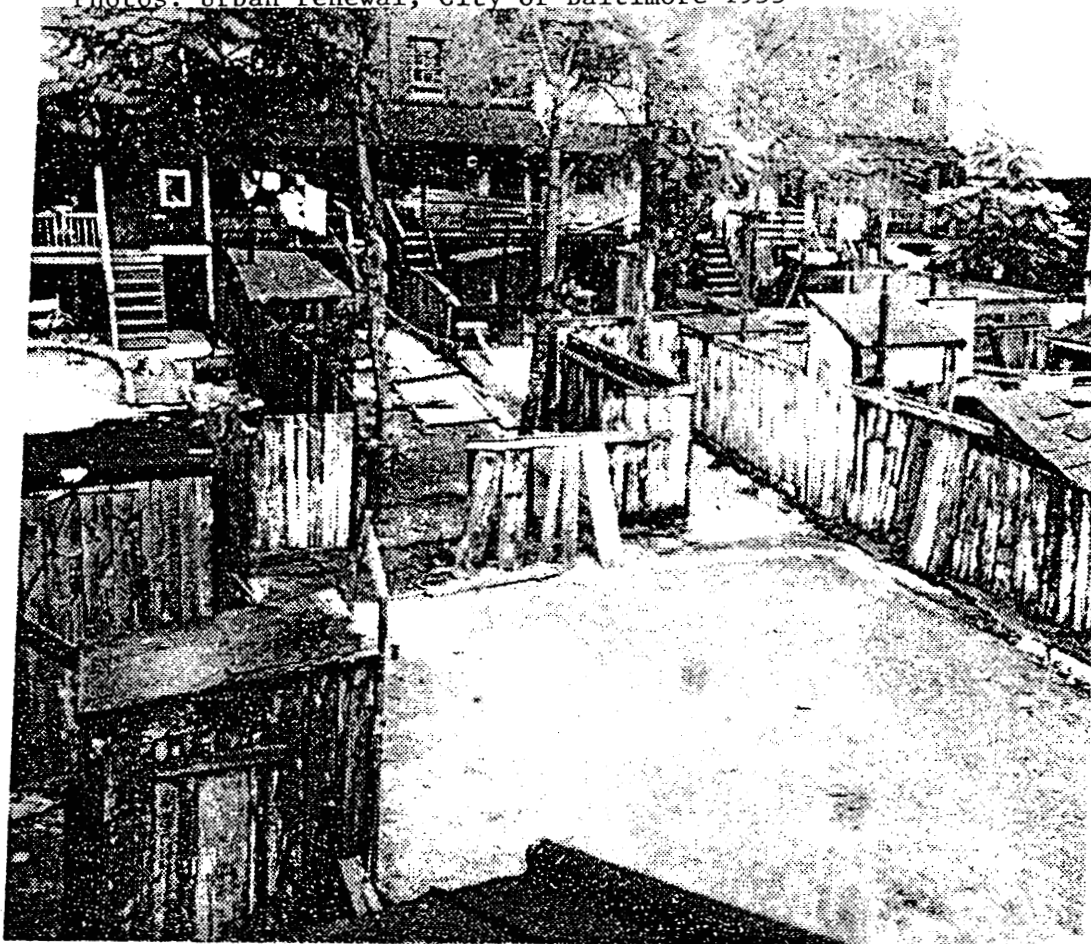


.- Slum areas in Baltimore in 1945.
Photo: Urban renewal, City Baltimore 1955.



.- Slum areas in Baltimore 1945.

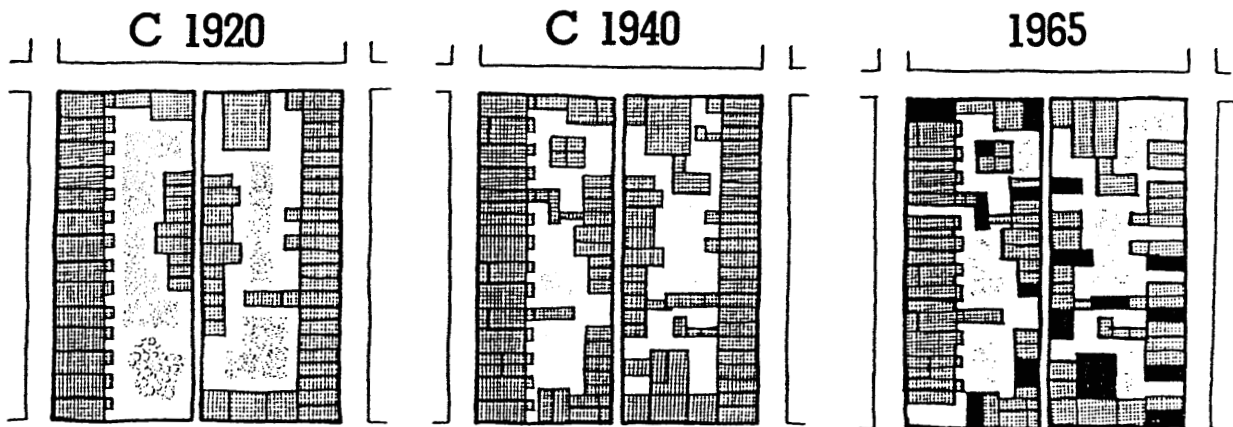
Photos: Urban renewal, City of Baltimore 1955



Already in the earliest 1930s⁷, the Housing Authority of Baltimore City was established to clear slums, and to build and to operate public housing for low income families who could not other wise obtain housing. It was develop an active Housing Bureau⁸ and vigilant insistence on landlord and tenant compliance with city codes, materially had helped keep structures sound and rehabilitate others which were slipping.

But not till 1945 was taking place the Redevelopment Commission, which functioned clearing slums and making the land available to private enterprise and public agencies for what was so-called by the authorities at that time "appropriate new uses" as residential, commercial, industrial, institutional, educational and recreational. These official strategies were the beginning of the process of gentrification that Baltimore central area have been suffered during the las twenty years and continue today. (see pictures).

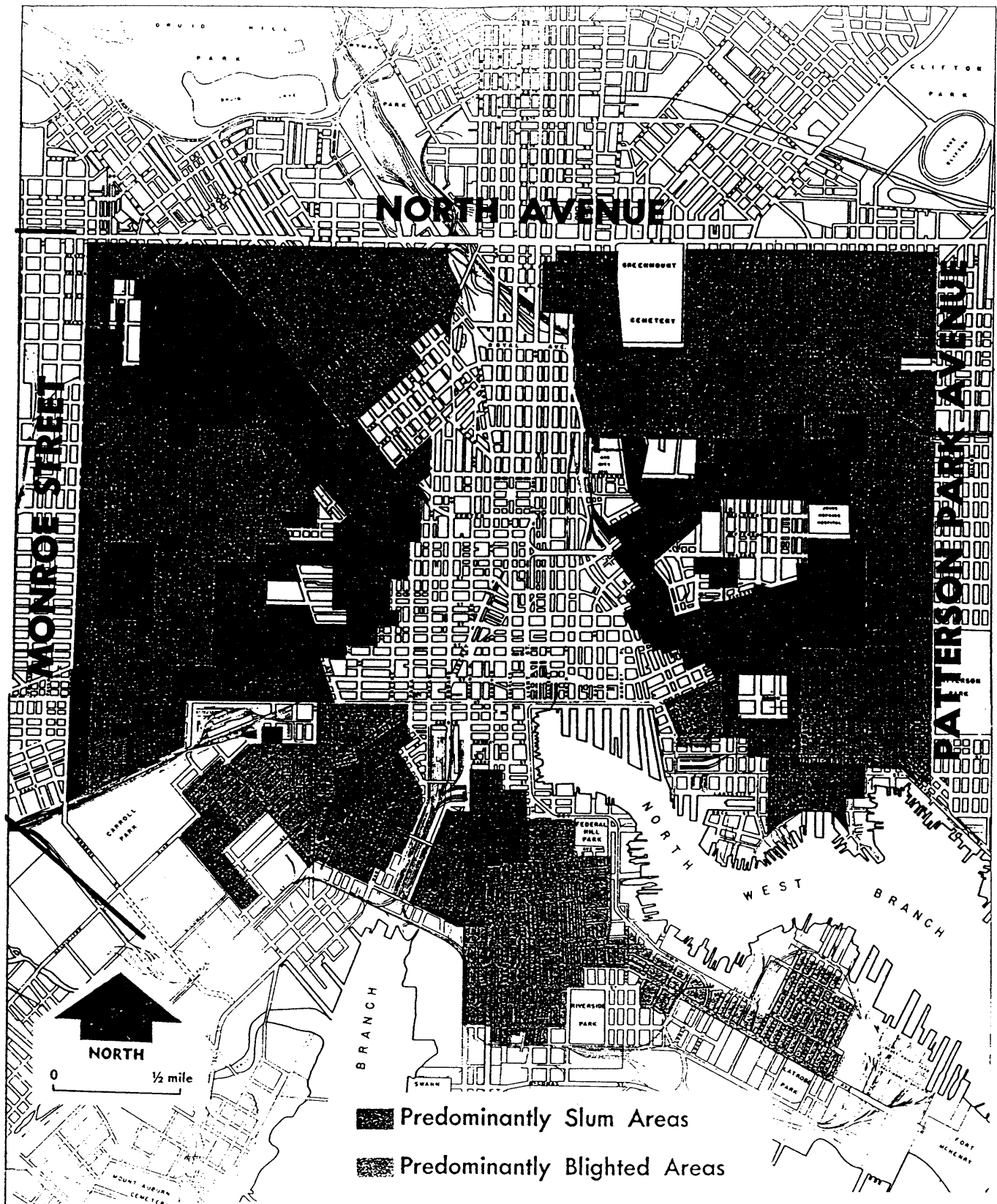
TRANSFORMATION OF TYPICAL BLOCK IN BALTIMORE



Source: Community Renewal in Baltimore. City of Baltimore 1966

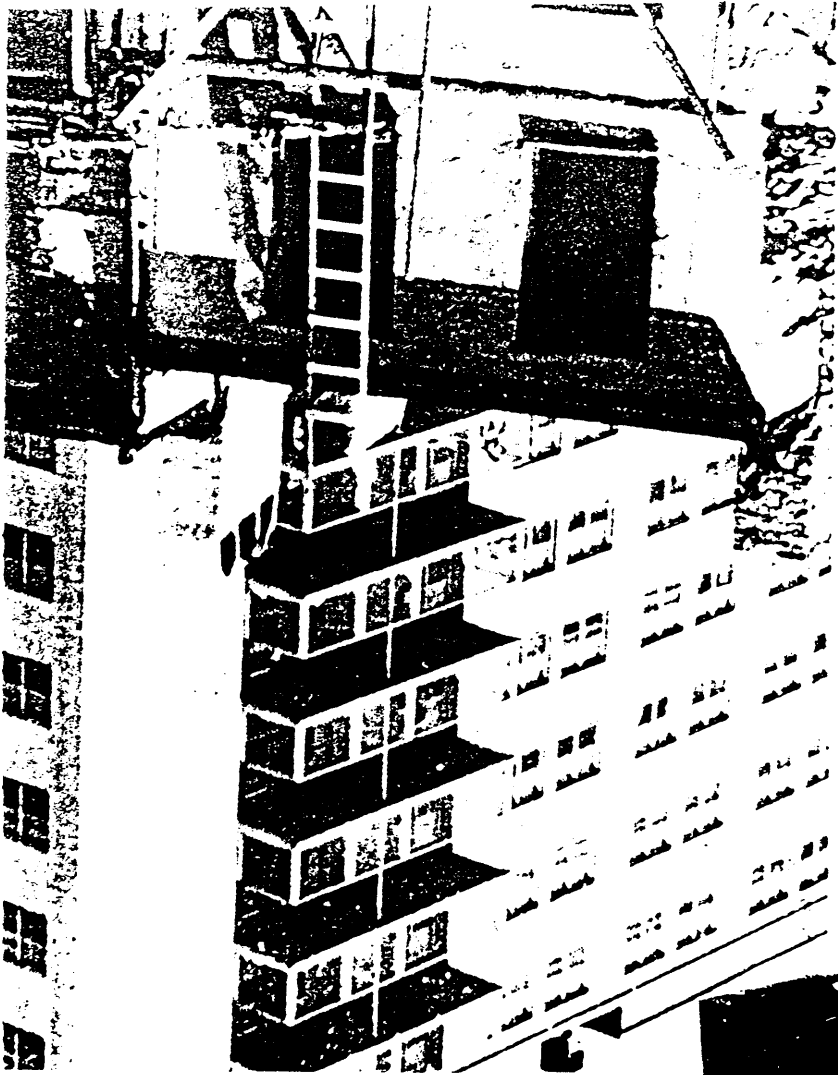
⁷ In 1937.

⁸ In 1939



.- Conditions of the houses in 1950.

Map: Community renewal, City of Baltimore 1966



Photos: Community Renewal,
City of Baltimore 1966

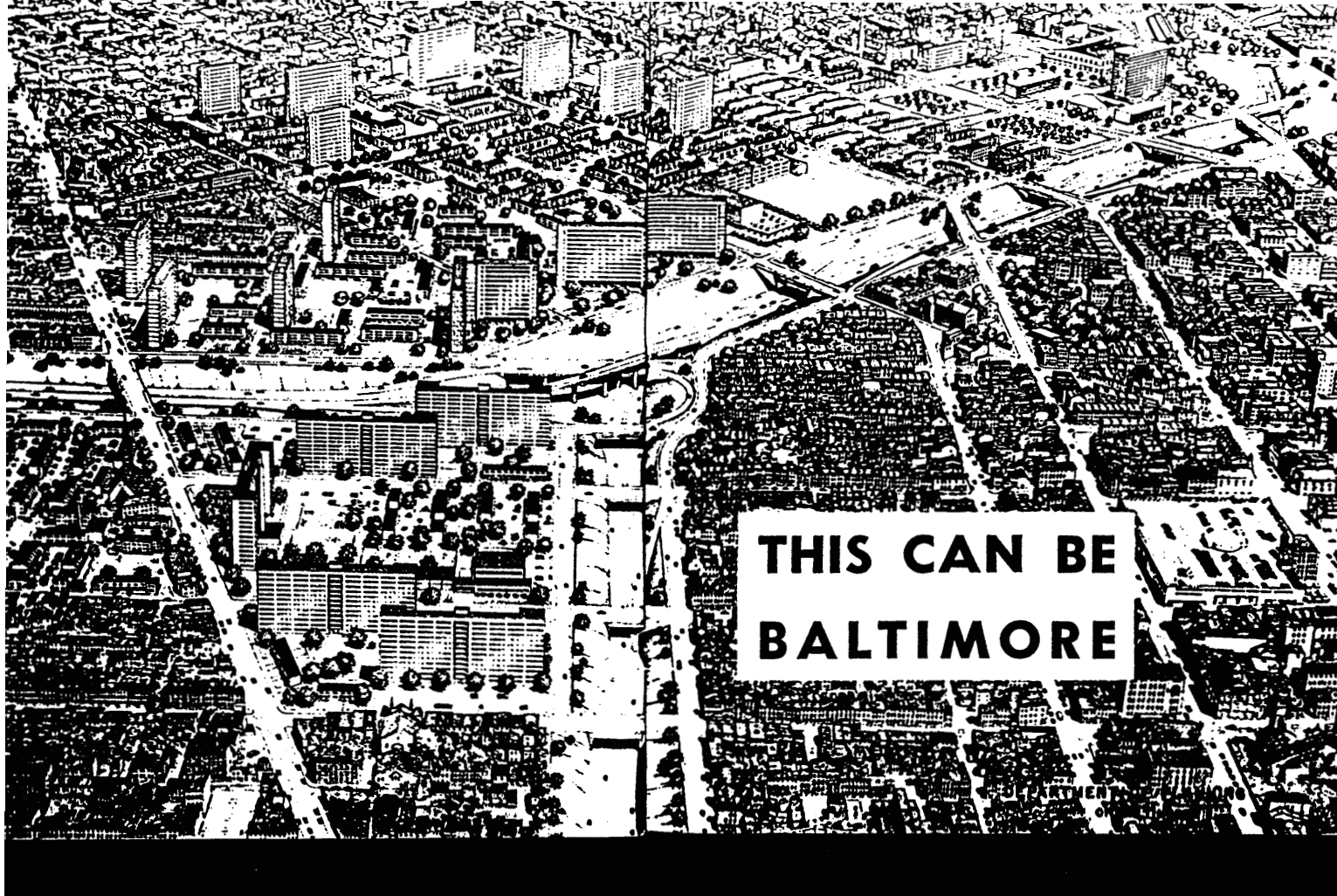
.- Process of gentrification
in Baltimore 1955



.- Slum areas in Baltimore 1955

But the real Urban renewal program did not start till Mayor Thomas D' Alensandro administration, when all the agencies got involved for a concerted drive to eliminate all slum and sub-standard areas in Baltimore. It did special emphasis in the district that surrounded the CBD of the city where the business concentration could be develop in the next twenty years. The program work in the following areas: In Lafayette area (1030 acres), Broadway area (950 acres), Fells Point (750 acres), The Fort Mc Henry(550 acres), Mount Clare (680 acres), and Franklin Square(500 acres). (See maps). All those areas were having a high concentration of population, insufficient, play areas, commercial and social services, etc. In conditions of chronic overcrowding⁹, no private bath or running water, etc. A very similar situation that Madrid was suffering during the 1950s and the 1960s in the suburban areas close to the industrial zones.

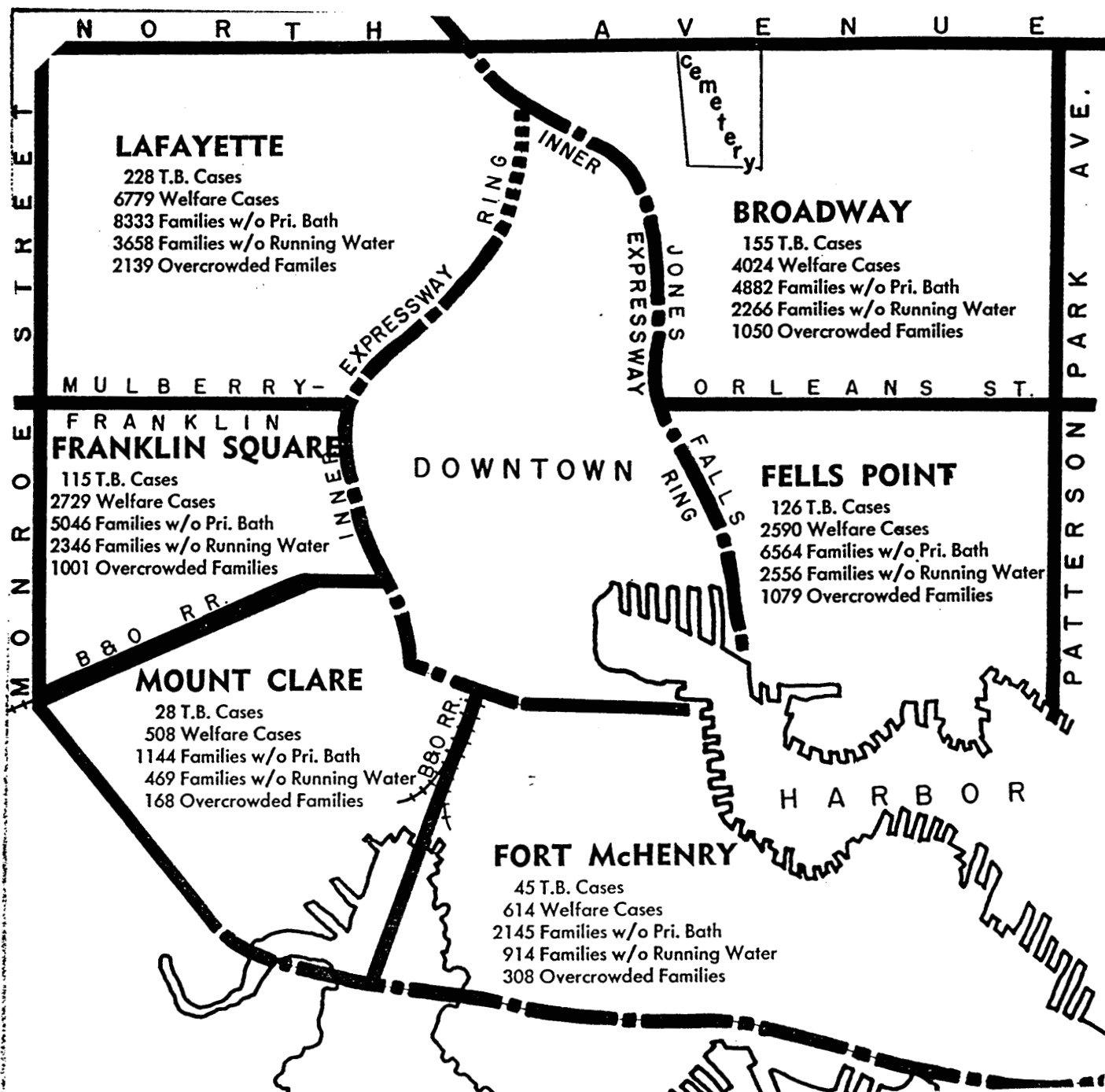
⁹ Incases more than one family in a single room.



.- Urban renewal program of Mayor D' Alesandro in 1955.

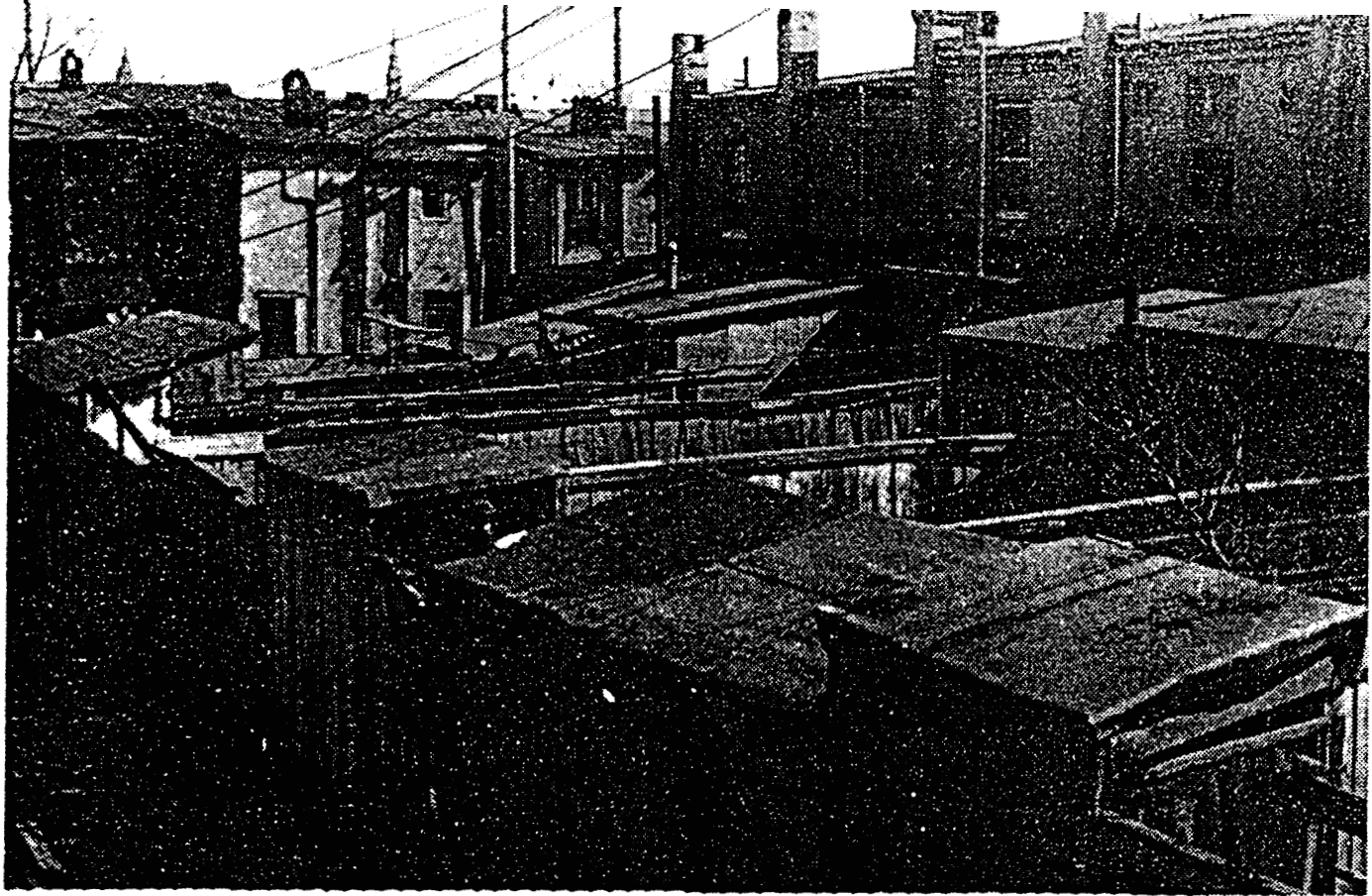
Source: Urban renewal in Baltimore, City of Baltimore 1955

.- Urban renewal program 1955, district under recuperation.
Map: Urban renewal plann. City of Baltimore, 1955.



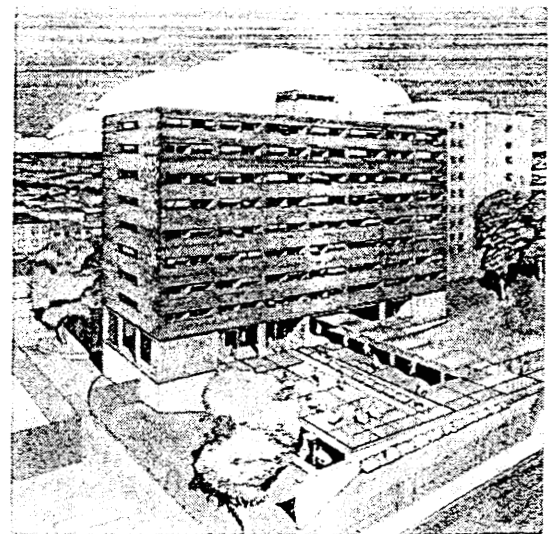
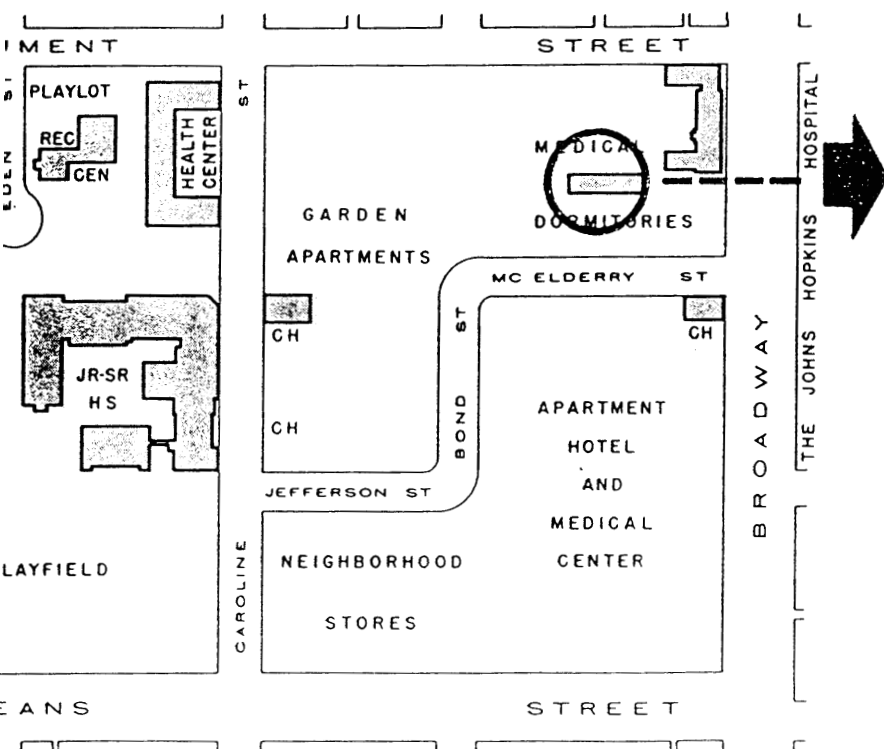
.- Conditions of the area in 1945.

Source: Urban renewal plann, 1955, City of Baltimore.



.- Slum areas in Baltimore and urban renewal programs. Process of gentrification. 1955

Photos and maps: Communiti renewal, 1966, Urban renewal 1955, City of Baltimore.



THE BROADWAY PLAN — (REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT)

.- Example of the urban renewal actions.
 Photos: Community Renewal, City of Baltimore, 1966

PREVENTIVE TREATMENT NEEDED



CORRECTIVE TREATMENT NEEDED





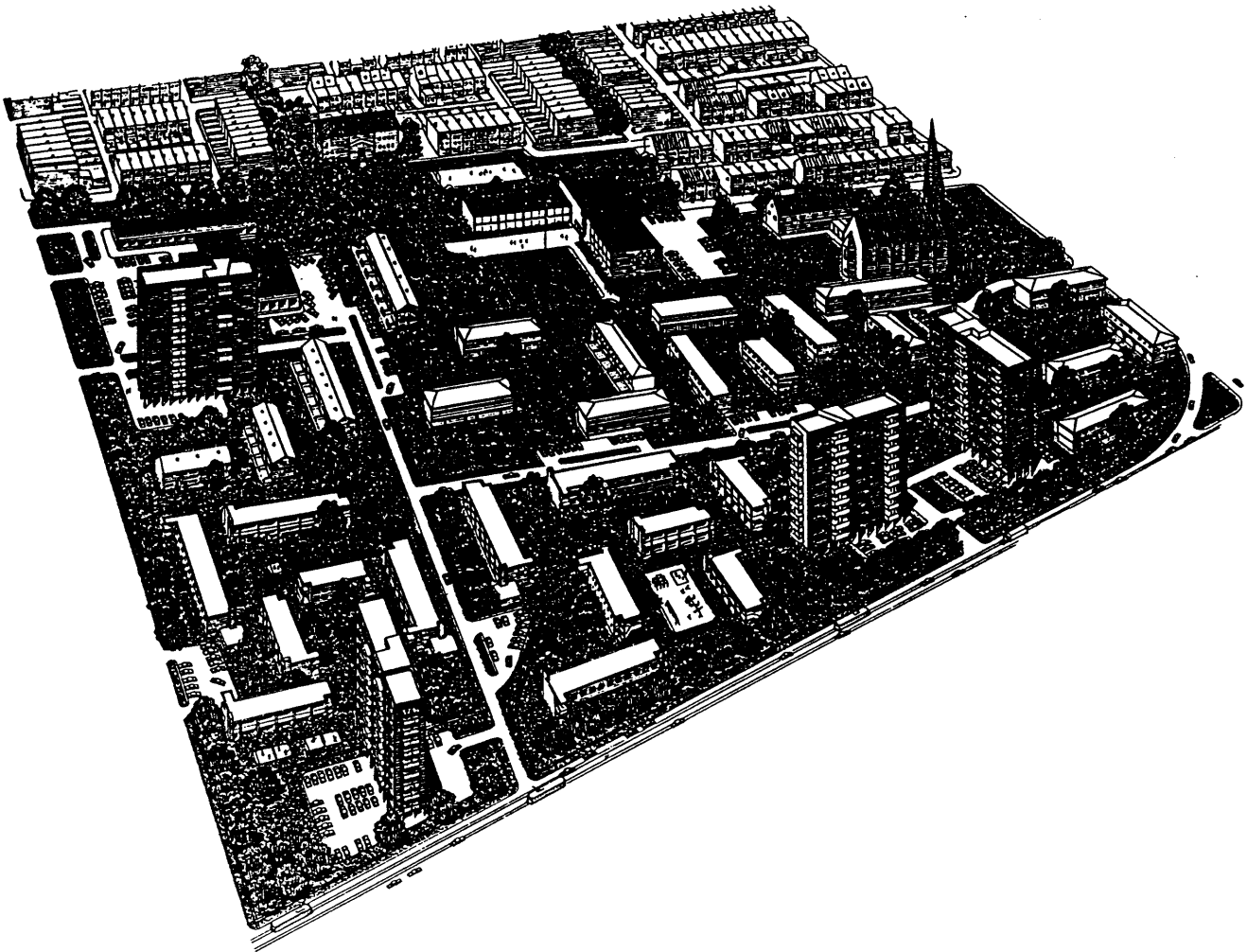
.- Urban renewal program in Baltimore
on the slum areas.

Photos: Urban Renewal, City of Baltimore
1955



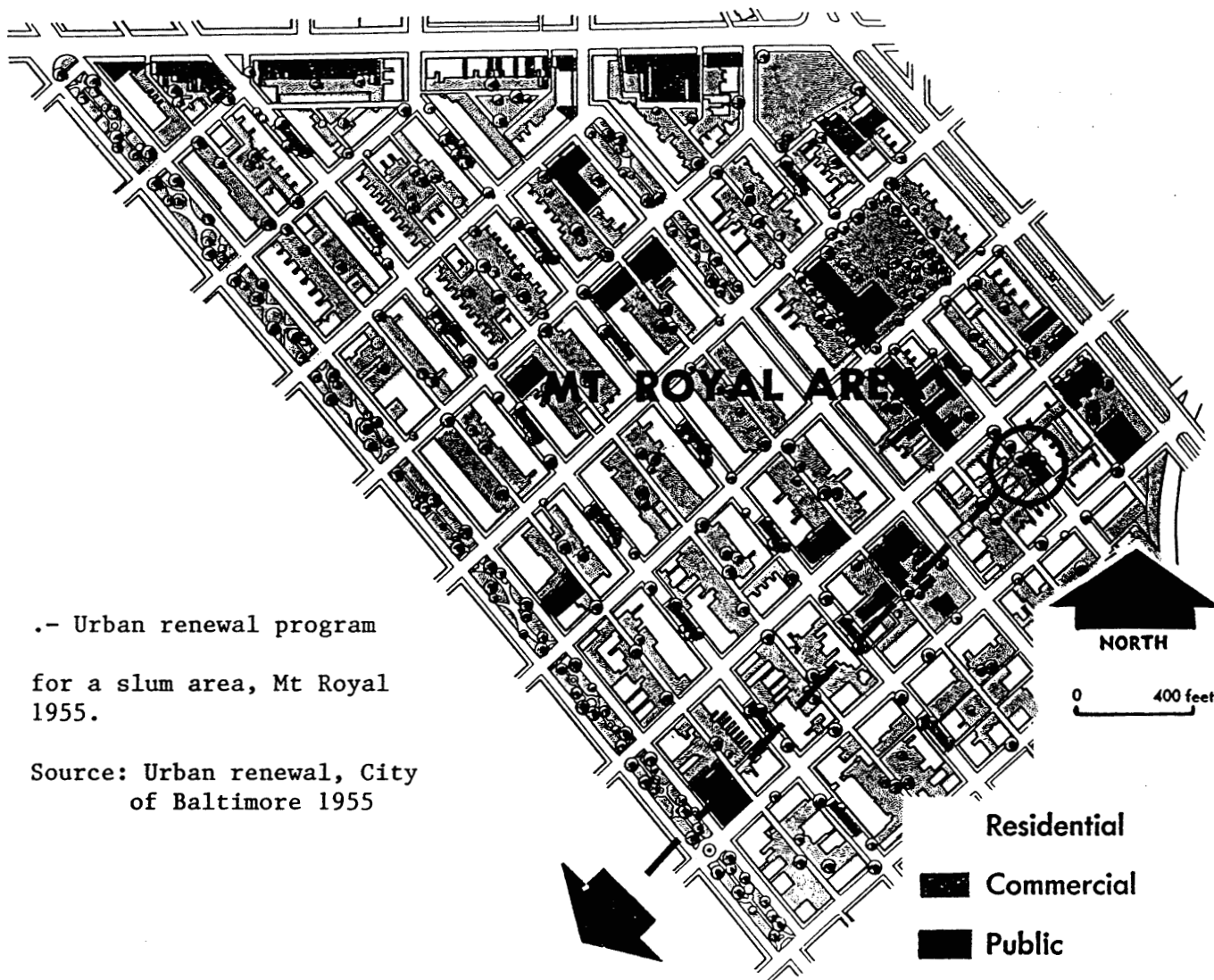
WHERE SLUMS ONCE EXISTED — (WAVERLY REDEVELOPMENT PROJECT)

A NEIGHBORHOOD PLAN



.- Project for a slum area, Urban renewal plann 1955.

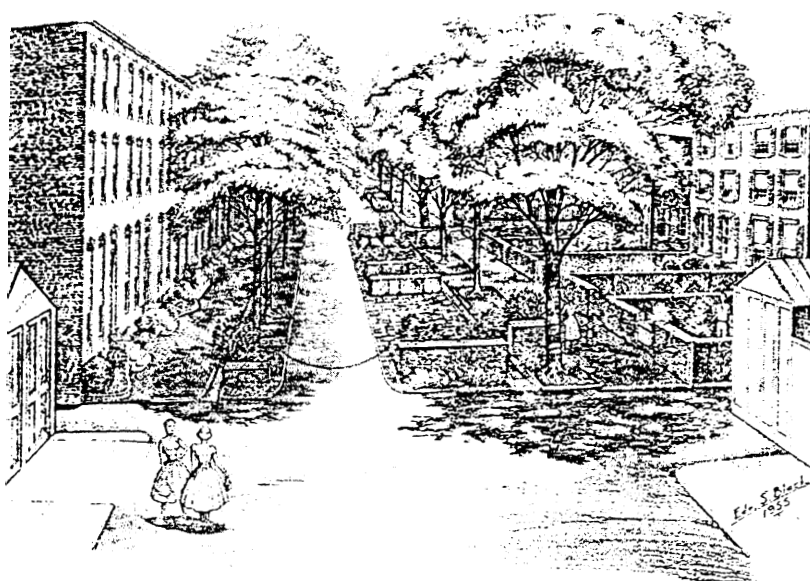
Source: Urban renewal, City of Baltimore 1955



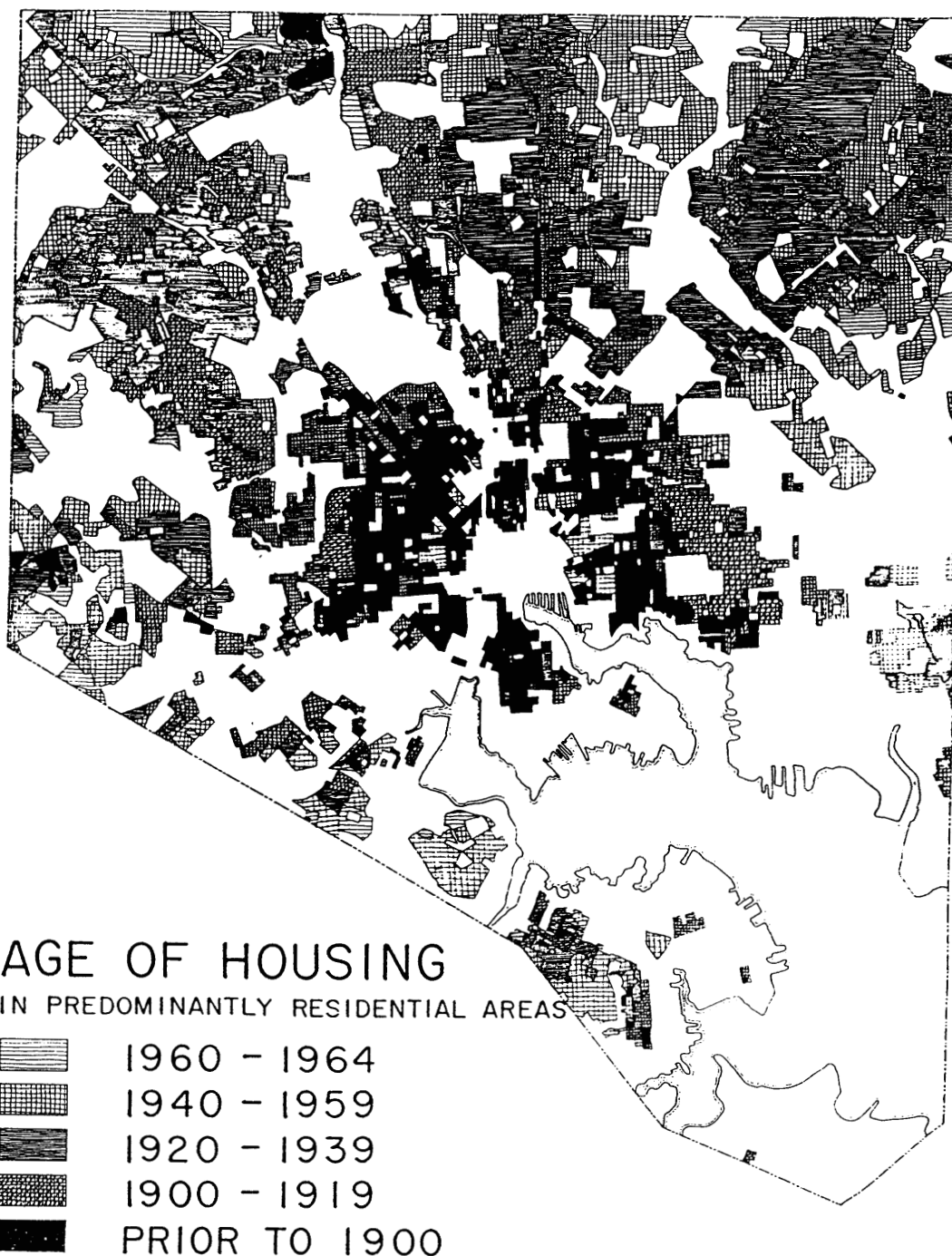
.- Urban renewal program

for a slum area, Mt Royal
1955.

Source: Urban renewal, City
of Baltimore 1955



THE NEW JOHN ST. STREET PARK



BASED ON 1940 CENSUS, AND ESTIMATES BY DEPARTMENT OF PLANNING, 1964

.- Conditions of the houses in Baltimore in 1964. 1964
Map: Community renewal, City of Baltimore, 1966

Meanwhile to the chagrin of economic liberals the government continued to defend the national industry by putting up customs duties. The 1959 Stabilization Plan was finally a long-range economic planning, to coordinate public sector investment that brought some positive short term results, but the jobless total increase by 10,7% in 1959 and by 34, 7 per cent in 1960. Subsequently the real incomes fell by 2.5 %.

A Office of Coordination and Planning (Oficina de Coordinacion y Programacion economica) was also created under the Secretary of the Presidency, and was established to begin the planning mechanism, when the policy-makers started to set out the control inflation. In this circumstances and during the 1960s the foreign tourism played decisive role in the so-called social miracle years. Spain's depended basically on earnings from foreign tourism in its balance of payments. Between 1961 to 1965 receipts from tourism covered the 73.5 percent of the trade deficit. But the rate of inflation tumbled dramatically, because of the tourist boom in 1960.

If the program of clearing slum started working in the 1960s the public housing projects for low-income people was producing houses since the end of the 1950s

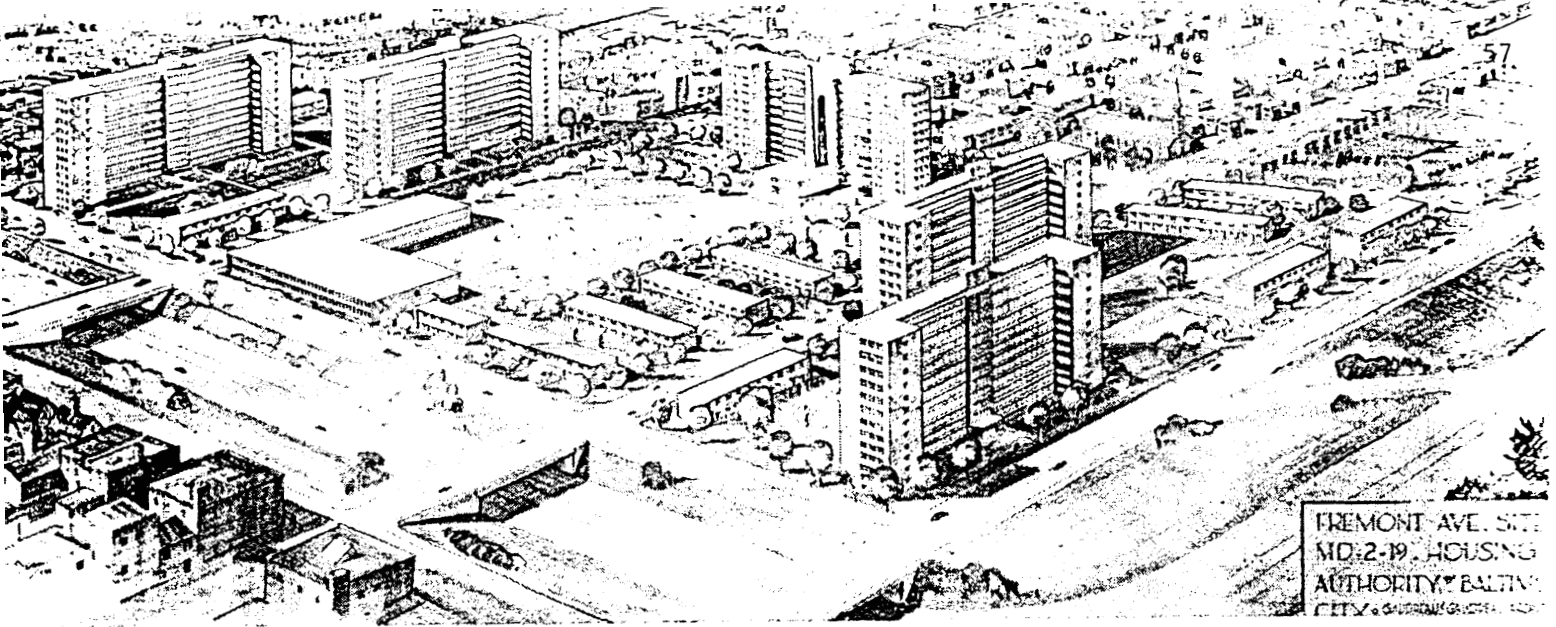
During those years simultaneously to those problems, Spain finally emerged as a semi-industrial nation. The prelude of the so-called spanish economic miracle of the 1960s and the early 1970s. The impact on the economy was considerable, the American financial aid, as we saw, favored imports of capital goods¹⁰, however in 1957-58 emerged a foreign exchange crisis corollary of the failure to increase exports. The year of 1956 was characterize by a profound political and economic crisis for the Franco regimen, the inflation average 9.1 per cent¹¹, at that time and rising 15.5 per cent in the following year. The sharp increase of the cost of living turn sparked off a series of strikes for higher pay. The resources to the low-income families to assess to a house were every day more difficult. The government had to increase in 27 per cent the wages and decided to created the Stabilization Plan of July 1959.

The Stabilization Plan had essentially two main objectives. Internally it⁷ could to restore financial stability by carrying out a number of monetary and fiscal measures designed to restrict demand and trade and encourage foreign investment. In order to reduce domestic inflation the authorities resolved to cut public sector expenditures.

The financing of the public sector was drastically cut from 11,000 million in 1958 to 3,400 million pesetas in 1959. Moreover the regimen announced price increase of up to 50 % for transport and public utilities, with disastrous consequences for the low-income sectors of the country.

¹⁰ The import totalling \$ 291 million between 1954 and 1957.

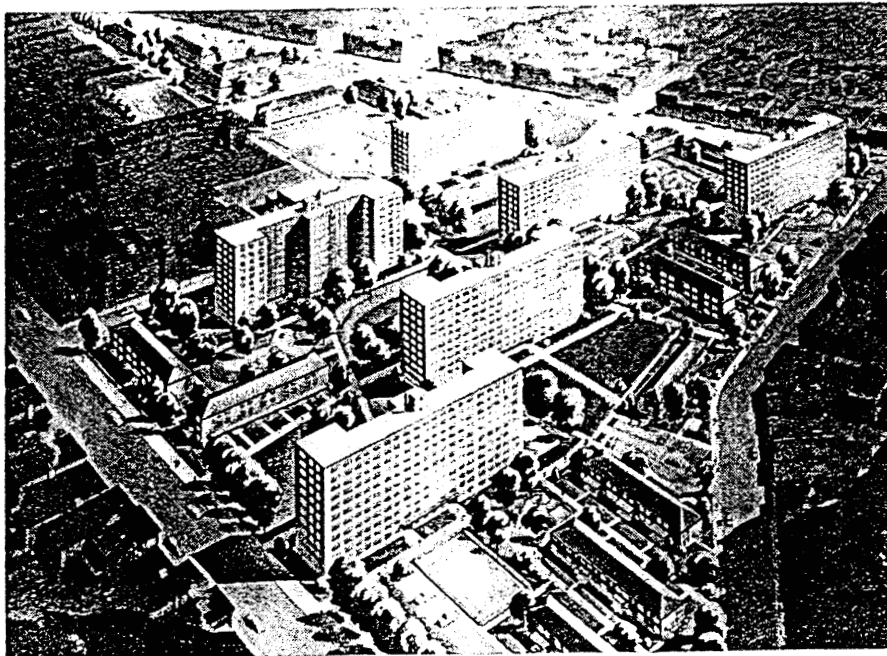
¹¹ In 1956.



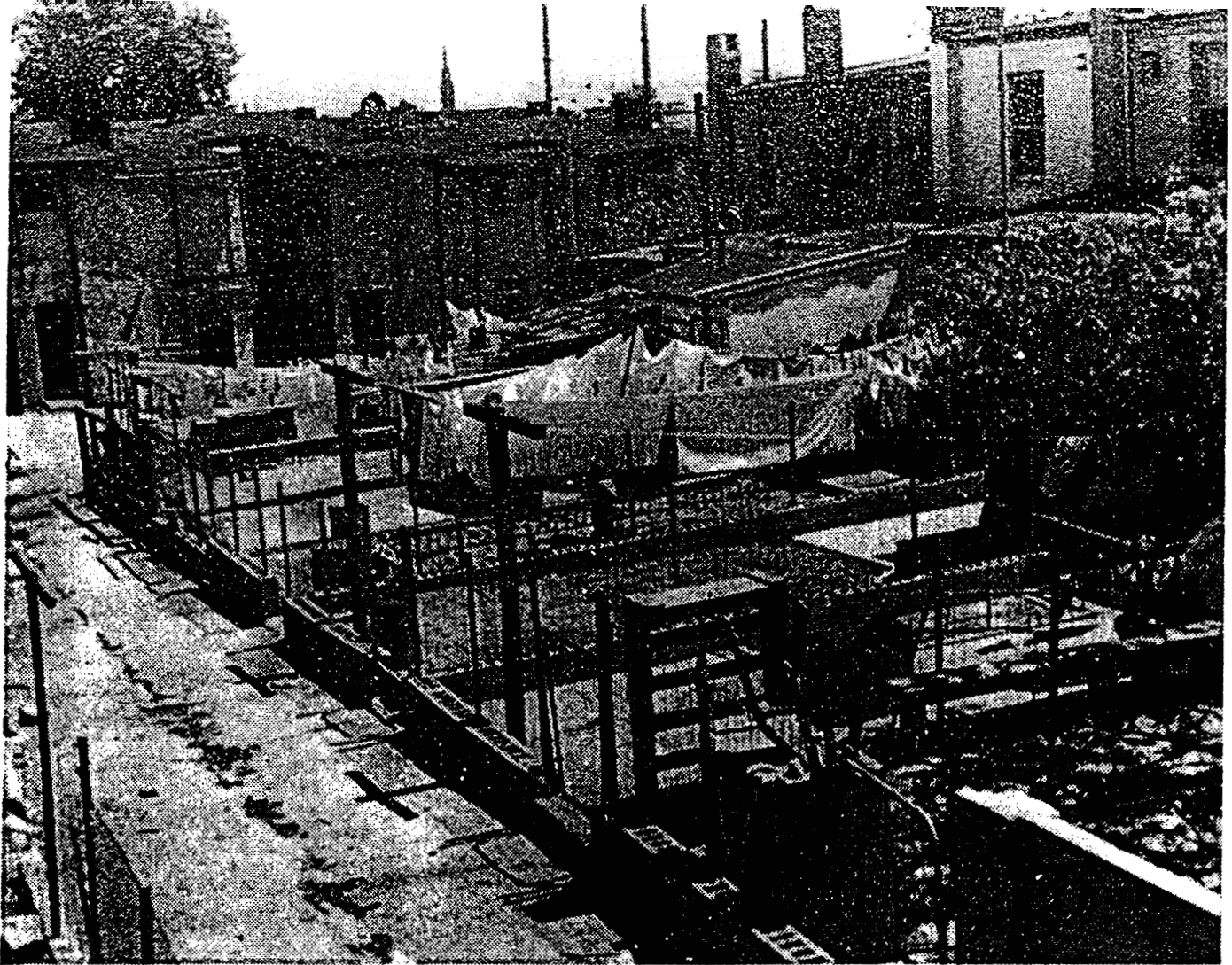
THE NEW FREMONT HOMES — (PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT)

.- Public housing programs for slum areas 1955.

Source: Urban renewal program 1955, City of Baltimore

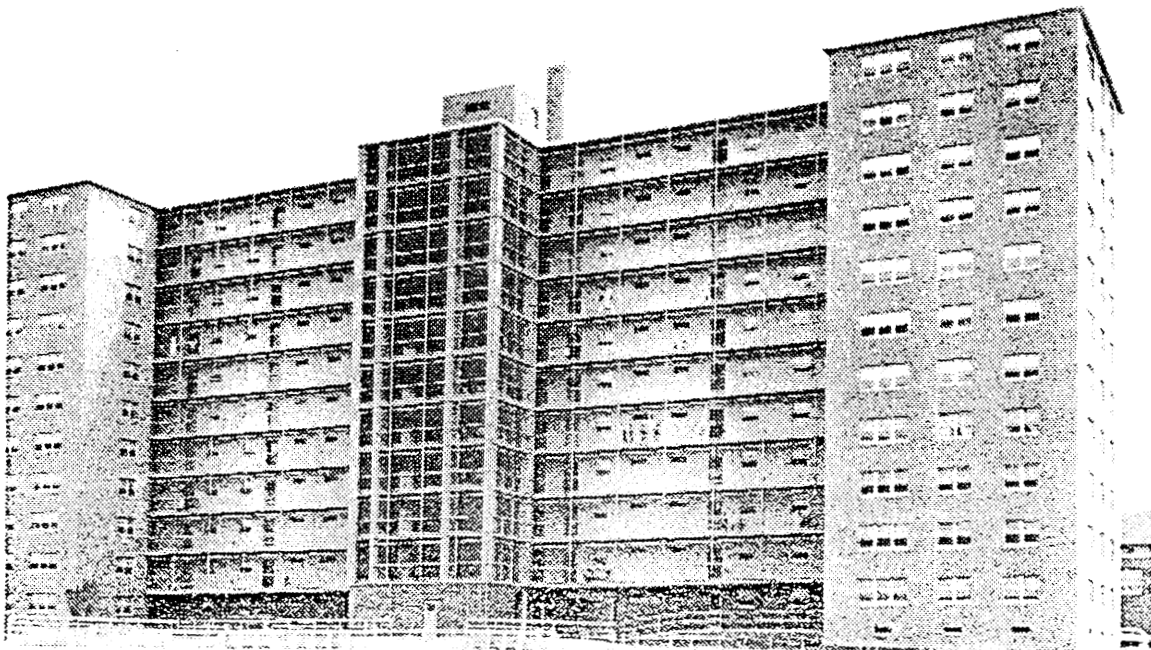


**THE NEW LAFAYETTE HOMES —
(PUBLIC HOUSING PROJECT)**

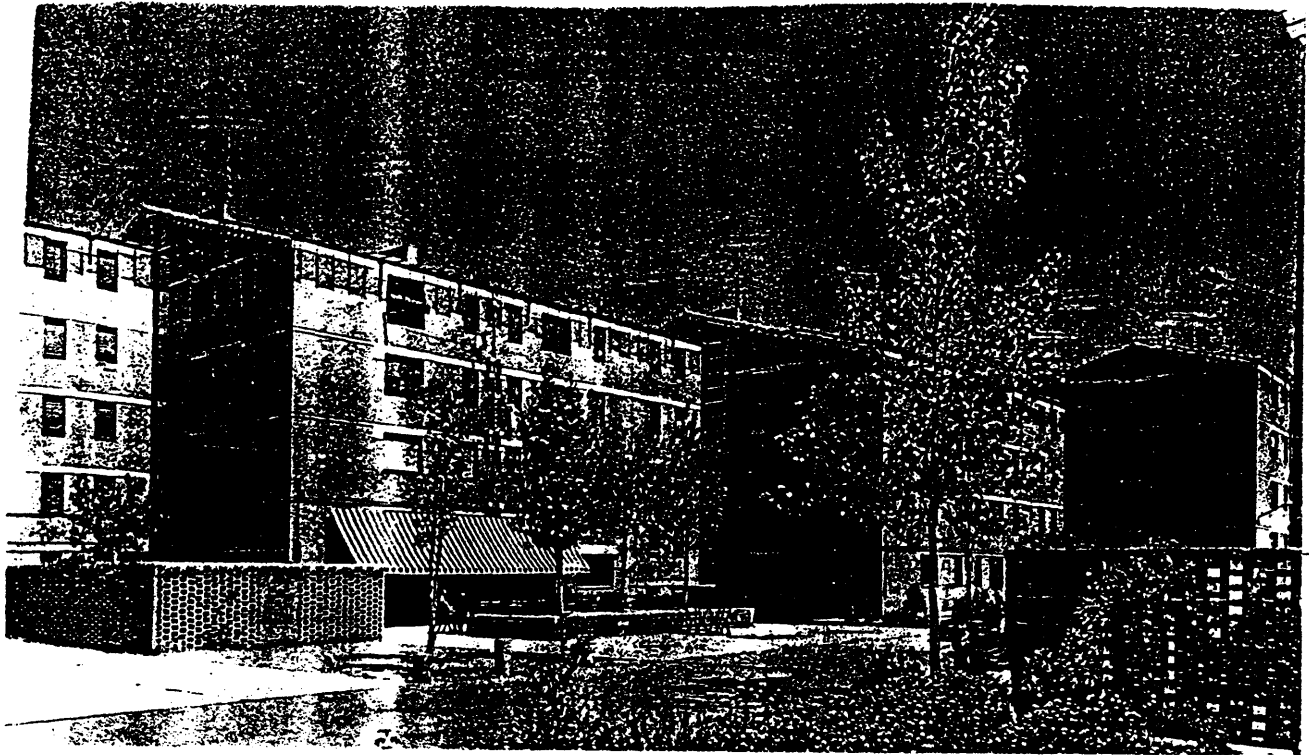


.- Slum area in Baltimore 1945

.- Public housing project in Baltimore 1955.



A illustration of the spanish public housing of the 1960s is the project that appear in the following photographs from the - Barrio Loyola- in Madrid.¹ It was builded between 1960 to 1962 for 762 families. It is one of the typical case of official architecture. All the project of those years and the beginning of the 1970s have the same physical , structural and topological characteristics.

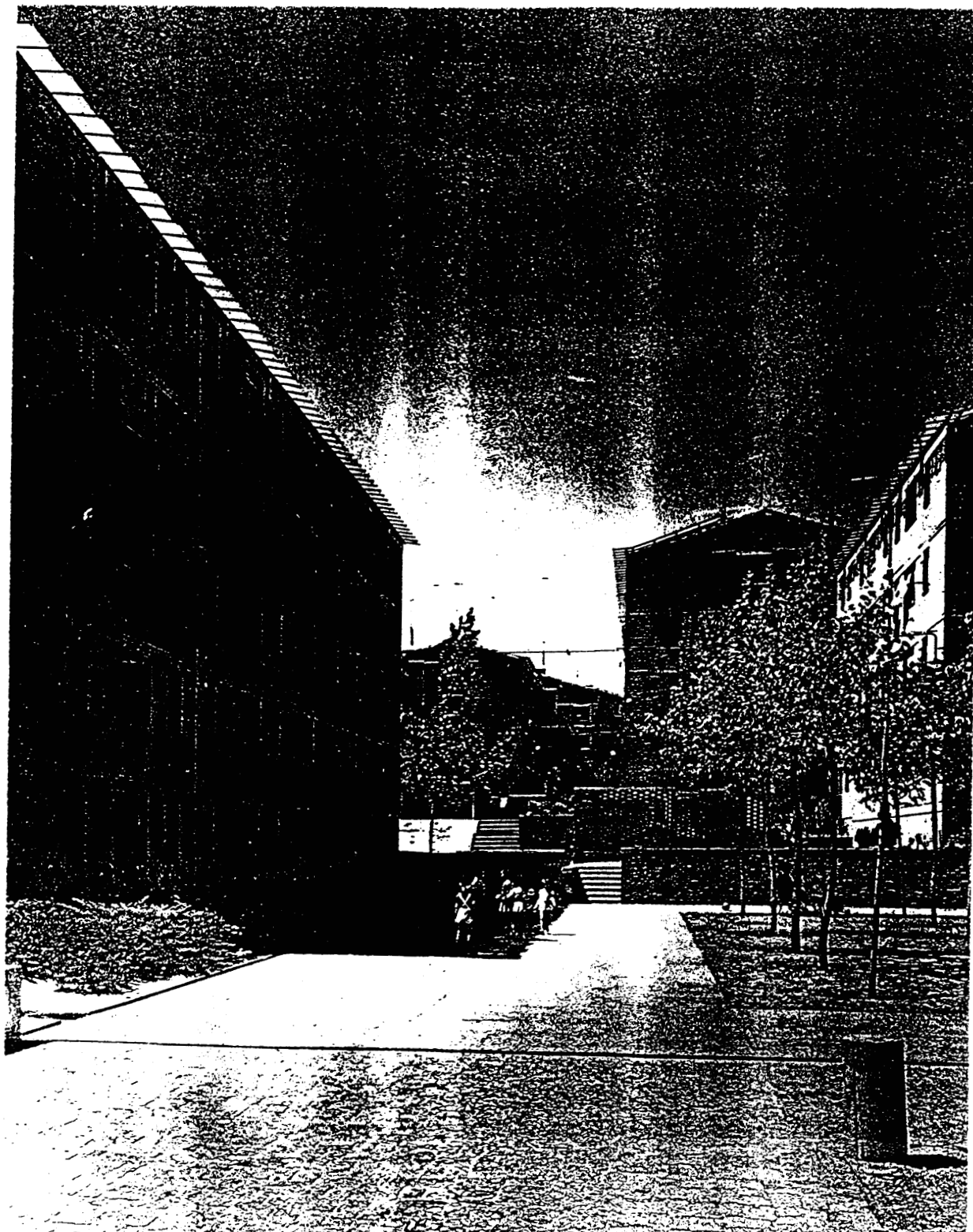


- Barrio Loyola, Madrid²-

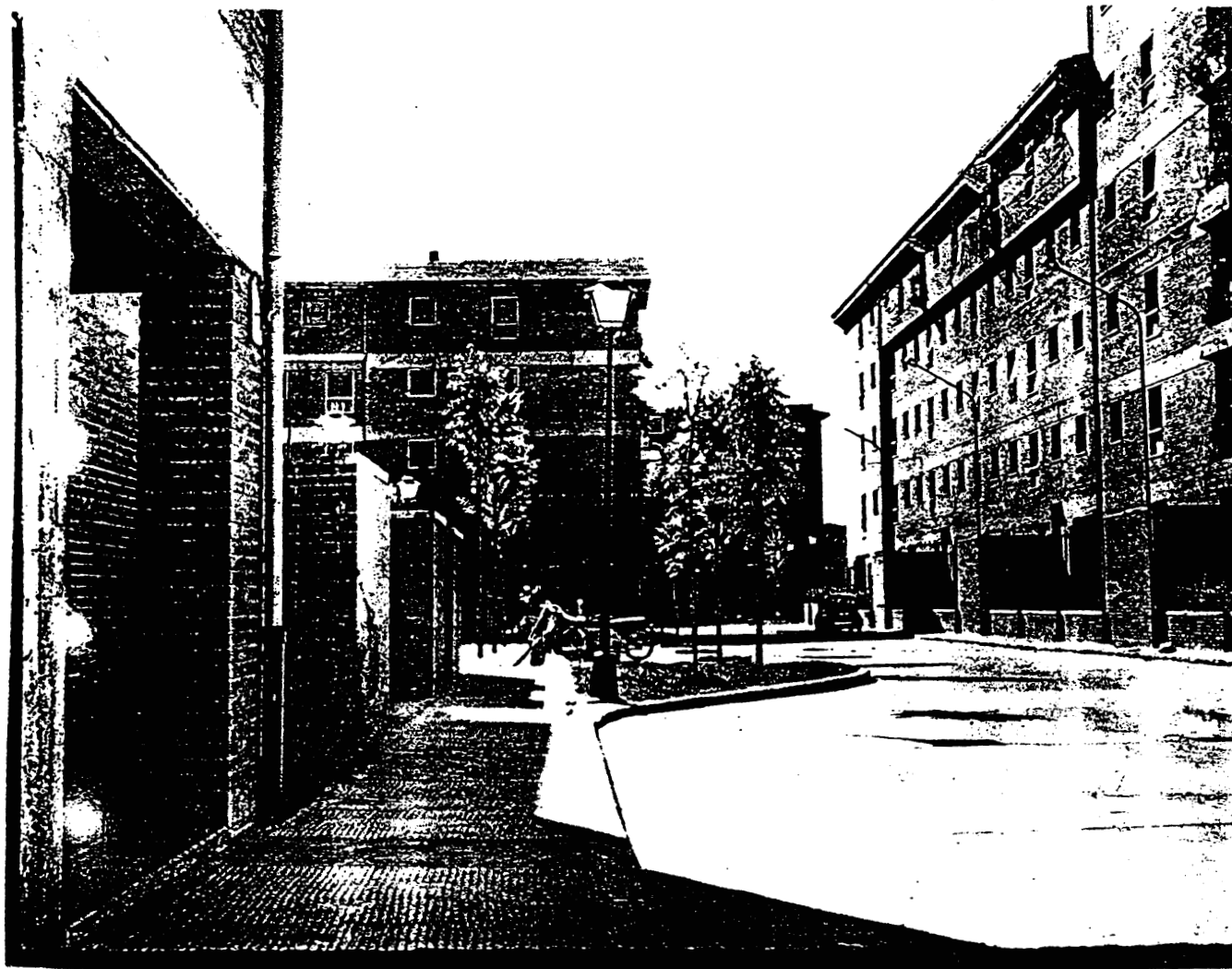
¹ Barrio Loyola is 9 kilometers from downtown Madrid. This is another characteristic of those official projects. They used to build them in the periphery where the poor and working class could not be a problem for the authorities.

² Photographs Source: Luis Domenech Girdban. *Arquitectura española contemporanea*, Madrid 1968, Ed: Blue.

.- Barrio Loyola, Madrid-

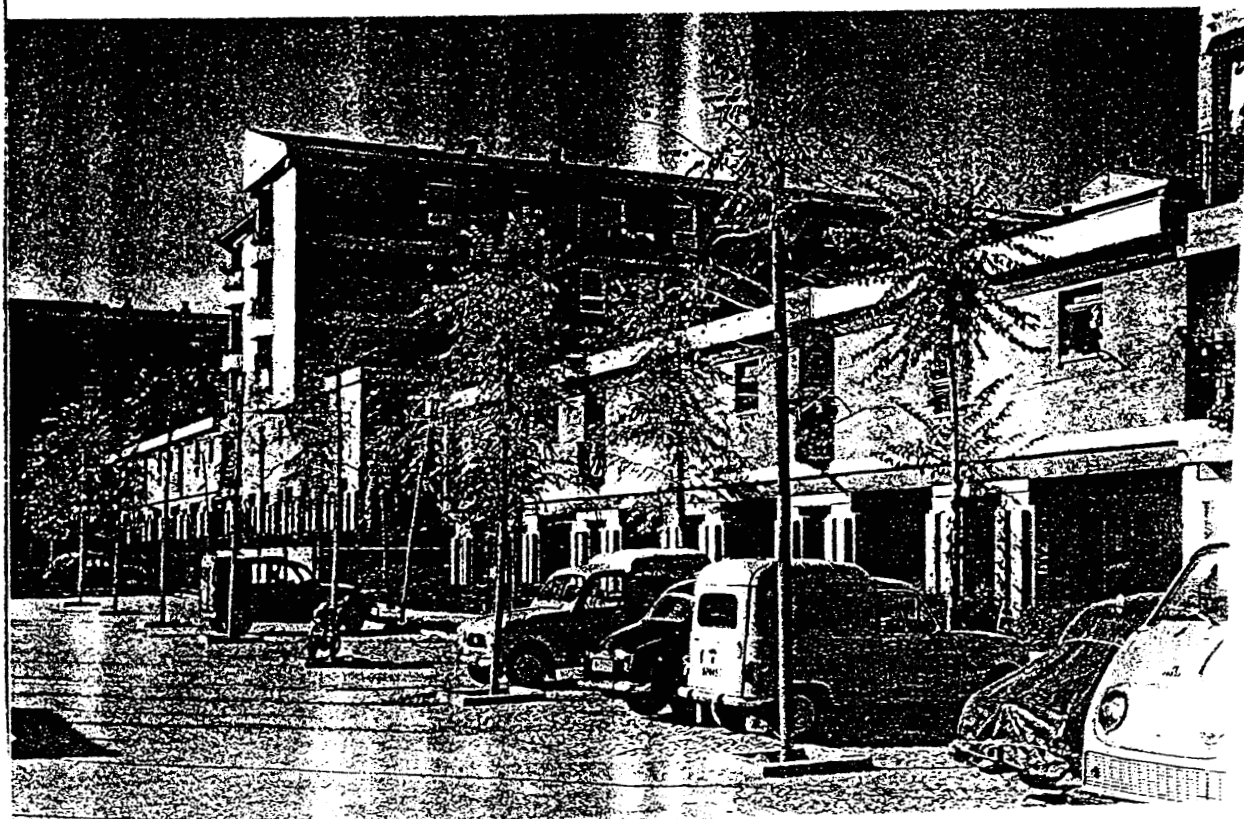
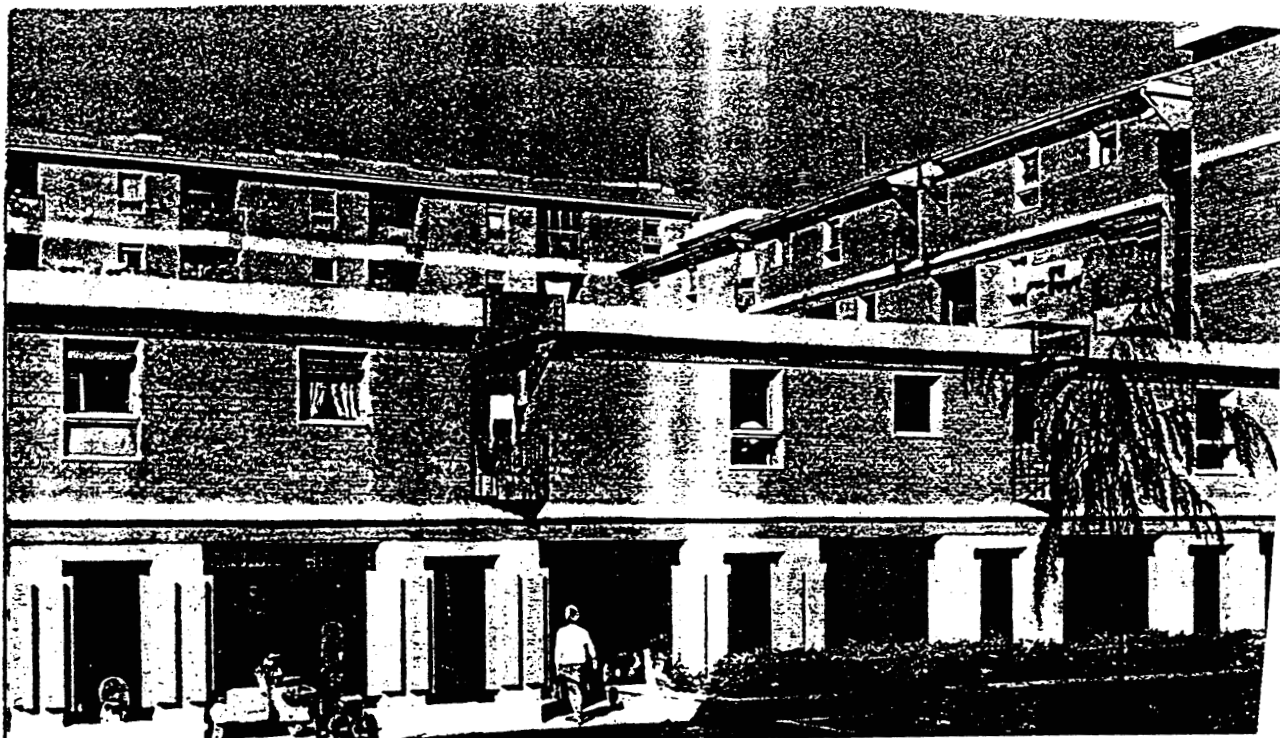


Other case is- Barrio Juan XXIII- builded bewteen1962- 1966 for 502 low-incomes families in Madrid³



³ As Barrio Loyola, this neighborhood is 10 kilometer away from downtown Madrid. Source Photographs: Luis Domenech Girdaban. *Arquitectura española contemporanea*, Madrid 1968, Ed: Blue.

.- Barrio Juan XXIII.-



Unidad Vicinal Batan.

Public Housing for 5,000 inhabitants,
in Madrid, 1955-1967.



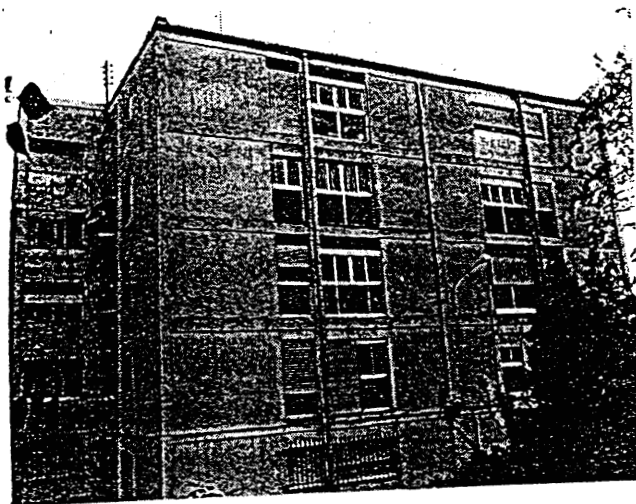
Poblado dirigido de Entrevias

In Madrid, 1956-1960,
8,440 families.



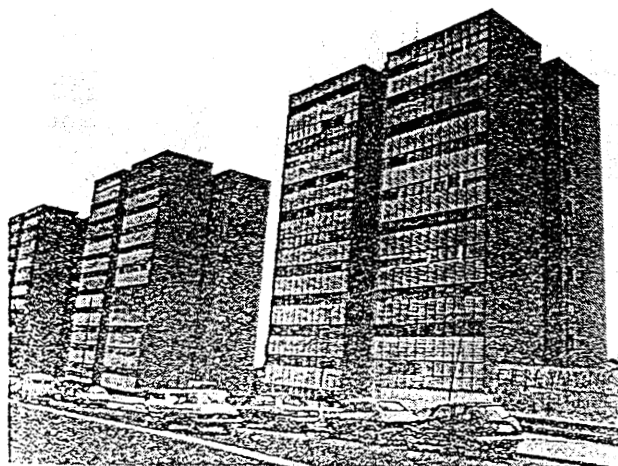
Barrio el Salvador

In Madrid, 816 families,
16 buildings, (5 floors
each).



Poblado dirigido de Canillas

In Madrid, 1956-1962, 48,48ha
123 families/ha.

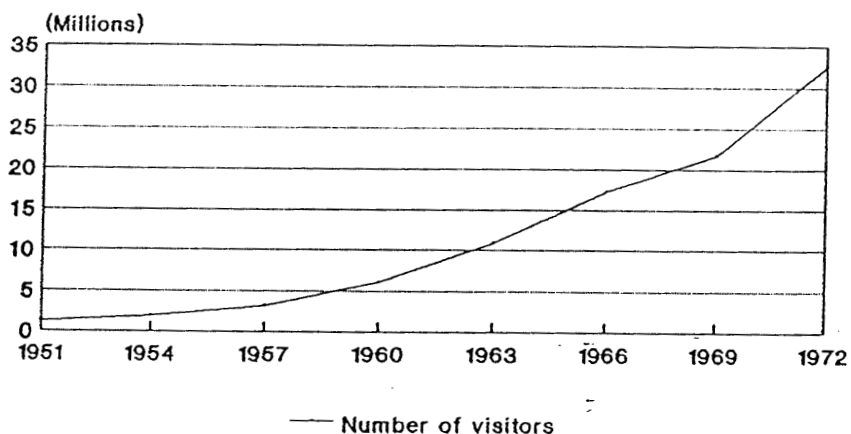


1.1.3. The socio-economic process in the "miracle" years.

A part from its beneficial consequences on Spain's balance of payments tourism (see graphic XIII and XIV) had important spin-off effects on the real economy. Angel Alcaide calculated in 1963 that 12.8 % of the new construction was in response to the requirements of the tourism industry.

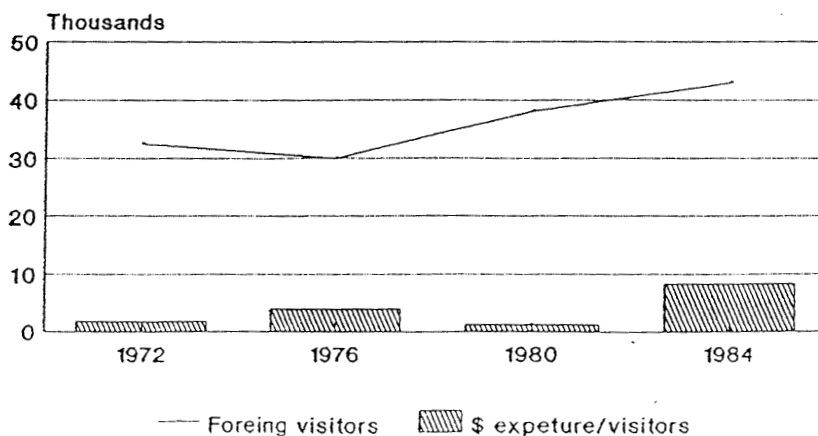
GRAPHICS XIII-XIV

TOURISM IN SPAIN 1951-1972 Number of visitors



Source: Ministerio de Informacion y Turismo e INE.

TOURISM IN SPAIN 1972-1984 Foreing visitors and expenditures



Source: Bank of Spain.
Expenditure in \$ US.

Roads, railways, airports, water, health and public work all made advances as a result of the stimulus of foreign tourist. In such a situation the low-income housing deficit in the industrial areas was considered less important than the improvement in the tourist sector. A big percentage of the nations budget was for this areas. The government more worried about the success of the tourist foreign policy than any other problem, helped economically this sector cutting off other social program more urgent but less beneficial.

The Spain's impressive economic performance in the 1960s and the early 1970s coincided after 1964 with the implementation of a series of development plans by the francoist authorities so-called Plan for Economic and Social Development (1964-67) illustrated the manner in which the technocrats attempted to maximize their political influence. A scene know as concerted action was adapted from the french device of quasi contracts: between individuals firms and the state with an agreed level of production or productivity.

The foreign investment increase too and nearly three-quarters of foreign capital import went to Madrid (36.28 percent), Barcelona and Bilbao. In return the authorities granted the companies a variety of financial and other types of aids, for a term between four and eight years.

The plans establish special areas of development, zones with a high growth potential, usually in regional capital with a population between 150.000 and 200.000 inhabitants. They were equipped with a basic infrastructure of roads, housing, schools, institutions of higher education, etc. Trying to avoid the mistakes of the decade before and to stop the slum process of -"chabolismo"- of some areas of Madrid and Barcelona.

The first plan stablished main industrial development poles, that were set up in areas which had undergone a dedree development. In the second development plan (1967-71) five

new development were designated. There was a social benefit of dispersing industry that was to decrease the pressing on the over-populated urban sprawls of Madrid, Barcelona and Bilbao. Towns that received, in the decade before all the migration process, and that were already experience problems of overcrowd and poverty.

Whatever its motivation, the evidence suggests that franquist regional policy bore little fruit and the consequence was the migration of vast numbers of spaniards in 1960s. They leave the country in search of work to France and Germany and Latin America. During a time when the relation with the EEC were complicated by a number of crucial changes.

1.1.4. The last years of the " lucky " 1960s and the crisis of 1972. The political changes of the 1980s.

The Spain's experience in regional planning between 1964 to 1975 didn't benefit the poor but the industrialists, builders, landowners and professionals were. The economic recession of the mid 1970s (beyond which was triggered off by OPEC's decision in 1973 to raise the oil prices) hit Spain strongly when the dictatorship was declined. But specially hit the low-income levels of the spanish society.

The public housing projects of those years were giving to monopoly construction companies, whose builded big residential areas with simple architecture, using low quality materials. As in the late 1950s and all along the 1960s, those companies obtained great benefices with the system of crediting the projects by the government and permitted them to buy public lands a very low prices. They constructed Residential spaces with minimum degree of equipment and the services facilities (schools, libraries, recreation areas, services facilities, etc). Services that were permanent delayed. In such a situation, the construction under the government programs was the great business of the period. The corruption was frequently trying to get contracts from the public authorities.

The decade of the 1970s was a recession time, a strong plight in the economy. Crisis that have same similarities with the situation in the 1930s. Fundamentally because all the nation suffer its consequences. For the first time segments of the middle class were affected because of the crisis.

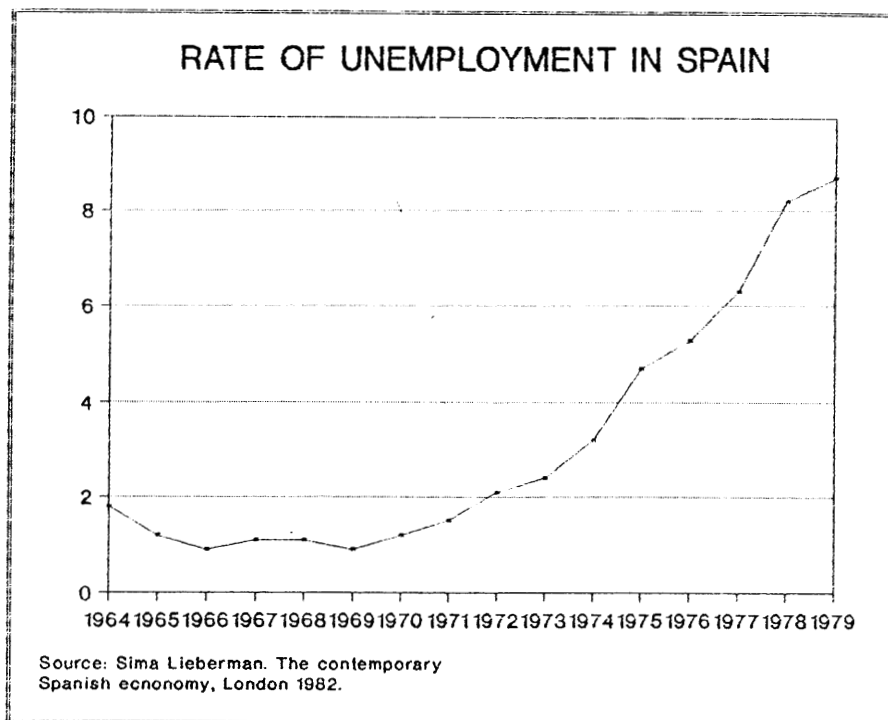
In Spain the situation was event worst because the political changes and the transitional process that the country suffered from 1975 to 1982. The nation pass from a difficult process of adaptation from an old production system to new technic that provoke the lose of 1 million jobs in the whole country. The process of inflation create a shortages

of primary material causes their prices rise sharply and consequently and extra cost in the construction area, that immediate reflect in the prices of houses in the market.

The improvement in the consumption levels since the 1960 instead of since the 1945 like in US, made the spaniards higher expectation about the future. The psychological impact of the crisis was complicated with the rise of political tension resulted from the following political change.

After forty years of political inaction the spanish people were suddenly given the opportunity to make decisions that affect their own social life. At the same time that they face the economic crisis after fifteen year of economic emphasis, suffering a very high rate of inflation. Too many spaniard like to attribute the growing economic difficulties to the establishment of political democracy. The unemployment rose by 80%¹. The government decided to control prices and to impose restriction on the increase of wages salaries. Under such condition the inflation produce a decline in the real wages.

GRAPHIC



¹ Data from Banco Urquijo, 1980, p 22

Unemployment was the most important economic problem in the 1980s for the spanish government. The sharply increase since 1974 created social and political tensions.

The economic and social pressure have strong links and parallel with the postwar period and the crisis of the 1930s. In fact the population without incomes and out market, because of the prices of the houses, develop areas of "chabolas" as we saw in the 1950s. The process was very similar but the response for the government every body expected to be different because of the new democracy system.

During the years before Francos' death and along the transitional period the country was in such a economic, political and social condition, that any public housing policies or improvement in the welfare system was totally out of the agenda of the policy-makers.

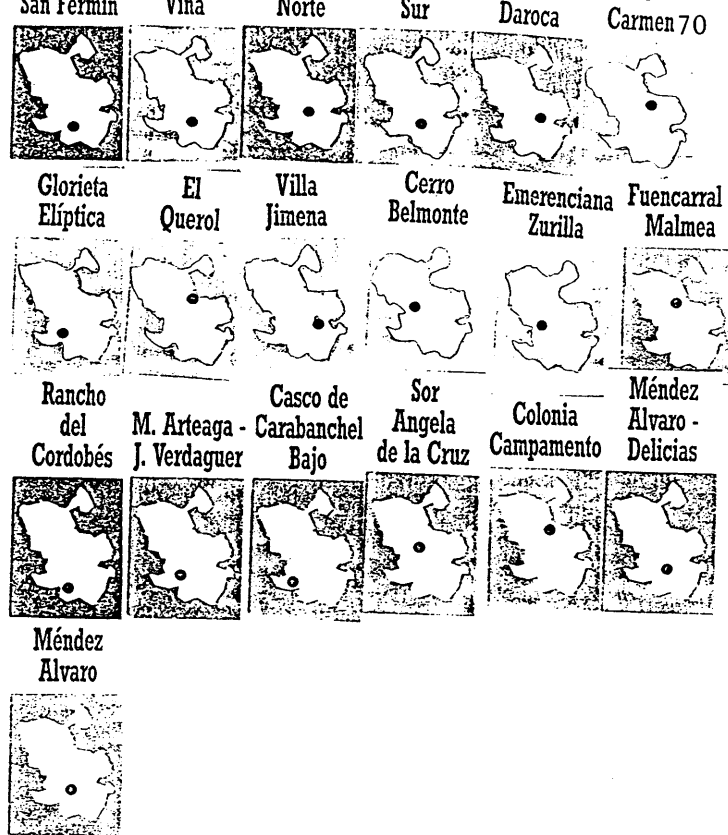
The public housing construction decreased from 185,294 in 1970 to 175,773 units in 1974, when in the same period the free market increase from 308,049 to 358,460 units. Houses absolutely out of the budget of the low-income population.

Nineteen areas of " chabolas " were localize again in Madrid, the new socialist government since the election of 1982 decided to create a special plan to remodeled this areas. As we can see the problems and political patterns are very similar to the past. The history is repeat again.

Today there is a special plan to control the problem. New houses have been created for them and the demolish of the "Chabolas" is a fact, however some of the resident do not want to abandon it, created difficult situations and social tensions.

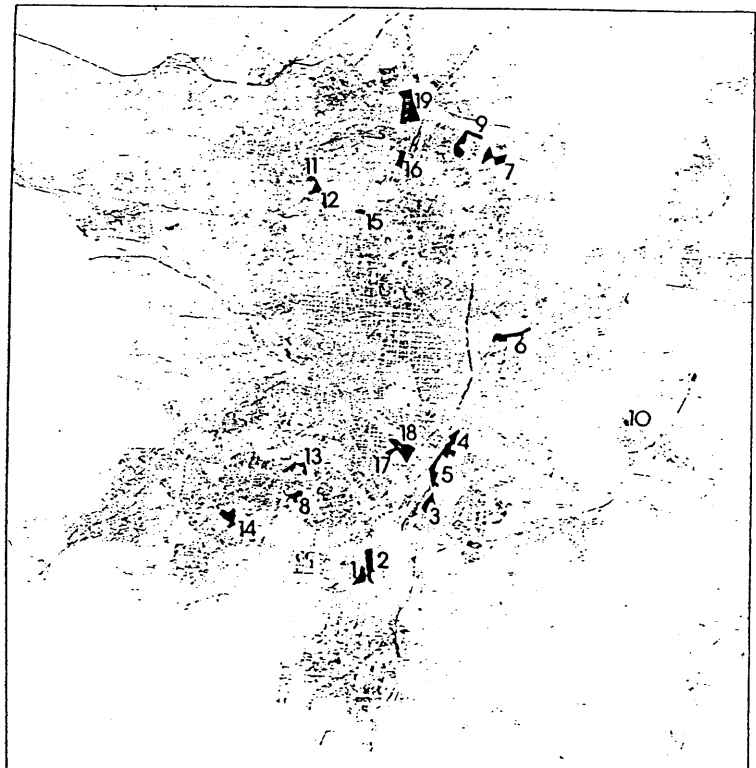
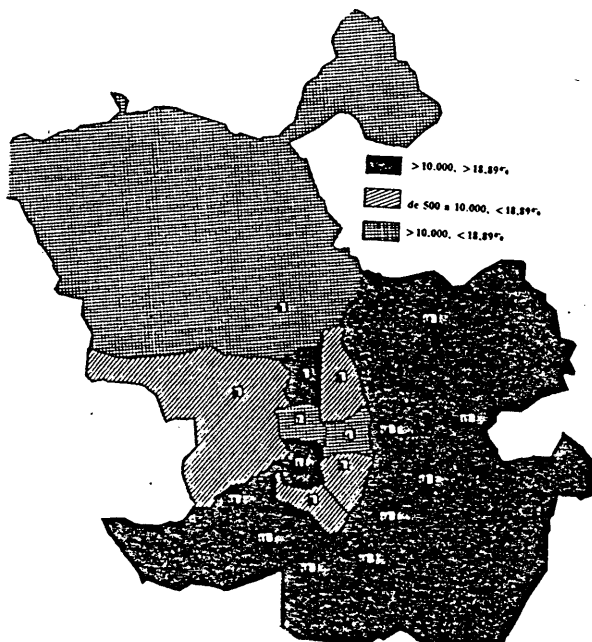
MADRID, 18 " Chabolas" areas.

Remodelation Plan.



B 1. Rancho del Cordobés.—B 2. Oeste de San Fermín.—B 3. La Vinya.—B 4. Puente de Vallecas Norte.—B 5. Puente de Vallecas Sur.—B 6. Avenida de Daroca.—B 7. El Carmen.—B 8. Glorieta Elíptica.—B 9. El Querol.—B 10. Villa Jimena.—B 11. Cerro Belmonte.—B 12. Emerenciana Zurilla.—B 13. M. Arteaga - J. Verdaguer.—B 14. Casco de Carabanchel Bajo.—B 15. Sor Angela de la Cruz.—B 16. Colonia Campamento.—B 17. Méndez Alvaro - Delicias.—B 18. Méndez Alvaro.—B 19. Fuencarral - Malmea.

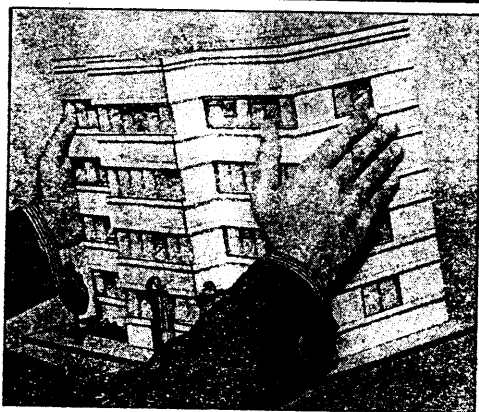
Actual unemployment by areas in Madrid.
Absolute numbers and percentage over total
Active population.
Source: Alfoz Number 52, 1989



Ayuntamiento de Madrid

Source: Newspaper ELPAIS.
1990 April.

Ahora Sí



18.000 VIVIENDAS SOCIALES



Source: Newspaper EL INDEPENDIENTE, 1990 April.

In front of the new plan of 18,000 new public project for low-income housing, the protest of the residents against the homeless in Madrid.



INAKI GARCIA

Más policías que desalojados. Tres familias fueron desalojadas ayer de sus casas, en la colonia de Torregrosa, con la intervención de varias dotaciones de la Policía Nacional por orden del Consorcio para el Realojamiento de la Población Marginal de Madrid. Miembros de las citadas familias, que suman 21 personas, denunciaron agresiones físicas por parte de la policía y culparon del desalojo a la responsable del área social del Consorcio, Rosa Molina, "porque nos quiere echar para construir la M-40". Molina indicó que la mayoría de los desalojados han vendido sus pisos de protección oficial donde vivían antes.

Source: EL PAIS, Newspaper, May 1990, Madrid, Spain.

The intervention of the police in the remodelation plan.

Other problem that Madrid face today is the migration of so many homeless to those chabolas from all over the country expected to obtain a house from the local government. The situation has created a black market of "chabolas" that are selling by their originals owners to the new arriving for a big amount of money when they move to the new houses provide by the local authorities. The situation looks without ending. An it is a new challenge to face for the authorities at this moment.

If the 1970s was a period of crisis for Spain, US was not in a better position. The crisis of the seventies affect them in a radical way. The dollar lost a big percentage of its value in the international exchange. Massive unemployment and very low wage rates, combined with seriously deteriorated physical conditions in the central cities and elsewhere produced a very large population unable to find a decent housing or to afford it.

Those factors builded slums, and the absence in the need of cheap and decent housing from public housing programs. Dilapidation and overcrowding, frequent situation of the 1940s was again the reality of every day. The construction in the cities was virtually stopped for the lack of resources. Meanwhile the exodus from the central city was well under way, as in the case of Baltimore. The dominate characterize of the 1950s of the flow of public resources into public housing was not any more, as in the spanish case. Even if the 1960s produced a change in the rhetoric of justification shifted from provision of adequate physical facilities and the concept of " decent house " to a concern for social welfare of the tenants. Public housing became increasingly a part of the overall social services program of society. However the situation was gradually complicate by the hostility of powerful elements in society to any public housing program because the real state interest, . Opposition based in the ideological considerations of " free enterprise" or opposition to "socialism" and created a systematic opposition to public housing at local and national level, by a well organized and funded set of groups. Those opposed to public housing rarely denied the presence of a seriously deprived population or asserted the capacity of private enterprise to care for them. They simply attacked public housing on emotional ways using ammunition such slogan as " undemocratic" or " un-American" or " creeping socialism". Probably because of this reason and the situation of the country various alternatives to public housing were explored, particularly design and construction of rental housing by private entrepreneurs who sold the finished product to local public housing authorities for use in the low-income program. Other way was to management of public housing developments by private firms or associations of tenants under contract with local housing authorities, lease of privately owned facilities by public authorizes who rented the dwellings to low-income families. Strategies about which not business group complain.

The question of How much new public housing should we built? was the central focus of Congressional concern.

With the arrival of Reagan and Bush after him to the presidency, the situation get worst. The economic recession of the 1970s and part of the 1980s justify the actuation of the government in the cut in the federal budget. Of course the welfare programs and all the social procedure were automatically cut. Social problems were directly putting out of their agendas. In a moment when the social conditions because the economy situations were getting worst.

Where vast areas of the downtown of the cities were concentrate the highest level of poverty. As we are going to see later in the case of Baltimore.

The new ideology of the government as we are going to see in the next chapter contributed to the growing phenomena of homelessness and the deterioration of the low-income housing market. The war to the poverty as Reagan said ones was over. They new perspective was based in make more responsible poor people. To stop asking what the society owns them and instead to inquire what the own to the society. A whole new ideology raise among the policy makers. They cut the budget of the welfare programs and other social strategies as public housing under the perspective that they can not solver the poverty problem trough them money.

The problems that we faced today of poverty and homelessness are not new in fact. They are just the effect of those policies, policies that look for their justification in the results of the policies from the last five decades.

In fact the situation of the labor market and the crisis of the low-income housing is not other thing that the consequences of the dynamic process of the economic and political factors in this last fifty years.

CONCLUSION FIRST PART

The situation of homelessness in Baltimore, that we are going to observe in the next chapter, is not something accidental. In fact it is the result of the evolution of the economic and social factors that we have been review, in the first chapter. After analyses the dynamic of those components in the last fifty years, we are in position to understand why this phenomena appear today. Evidently homelessness is not something that emerge from nigh to morning. It is more complicated. It is related with the economic and social system and determinate by the different policies hold by the government along the time.

During the last five decadas the labor market have been specialize and the new technic in the old factories lifting behind all the unskill workers. In the other hand the majority of those factories have move to the suburban areas. Where the low-income working class was unable to obtain a house, because the price of the market there. The result is a growing group of unemployment people who found very difficult to obtain any other king of job in the city limit.

Without no job, the can not afford any more to pay the rent of the cheapest and small apartment in town and they end up in the streets as homeless.

Other component of this phenomena is the evolution of the housing market among all those years. The low-income housing have been totally out of the agenda of the private sector, because it dose not give them enough benefits. The government have take under his responsibility the supply of this type of houses, with direct construction, or subsidize etc. The reality is that the majority of those project, because the lack of resources, have been enormous human agglomeration in high store buildings without any logic. They have been suffer a process of deterioration,(problems of

delinquency, physical condition, etc).

Parallel to this process the dynamic of the private market have been orientate to those sector with enough economic level, able to pay prices highest and highest time by time. The demand over the housing stock because the demographic grow, made disappear the cheapest places for the economic unlucky sectors of the society.

In the other hand and by the reason that those sectors are the biggest in the society, (the number of poor people is growing in incredible number), the demand over the low-income coast apartment is greatest than ever, over the low-cost ones. It reduces the available supply for this group with few chose in the market because their economic position.

The fact that today we have more homeless that never before, have not to surprise the authorities and the public opinion. It is the result of the conditions and circumstances that in the labor market and in the housing supply we have been created among the last five decadas.

So many policy makers can not or they do not want to understand why the phenomena is happening in our days. When in reality is as simple as that. We have what we asked for. In the next chapter with the study of the special case of Baltimore we are going to examine all those factors. We are going to observe how the actual labor and housing supply is the major reason of homelessness among this population.

The economic recession situation of the 1980s have its parallel with the 1930s. The fundamental different, between is the public response. During this last ten years with Reagan and Bush in the presidency the social policies and the welfare system have been reduce as never before. We can expect with this conditions a growing number of people ending up in the street in the next decades, if we don't do something about it.

However the worst part of this circumstance is not the public action but the reaction of the public opinion. The easy theory of watching the homeless as individuals that have

to be drive, and institutionalize, allow as to avoid other more serous problem, as the labor market system of the dynamic of the hosing market. If we continue recognize them as ill people, not as victims of a wrong system the number is going to continue growing and in few years is will be totally out of our control.

CHAPTER II.

1.-SCOPE OF THE PROBLEM: Homelessness an old problem without concrete definition.

- Who are the homeless, how many homeless are?

Homelessness is a very difficult issue to define and to solve. We only can be sure about one thing, it is not caused only by personal pathologies (mental illness, etc), as part of the public opinion prefer to believe. However whatever causes us to stereotype them, the reason basically is that stereotype them we do not have to deal with the structural problems of the society that causes homelessness, and with deeper problems as unemployment, lack of affordable housing, etc.

But if we go beyond the symptoms associated with homelessness, we would have to affront structural problems of our society instead of just putting bandages on them. Homelessness is a real and dramatic economic problem. A condition that describes those who do not have home because they cannot find affordable housing at the bottom of the rental market. The incongruent situation of the supply system force them to live in the streets, as persons who do not have any place of their own. Homelessness appear in front of us, as manifestation of extreme poverty. The factors that produce the phenomena are not clear or obvious. There are a variety of social and personal problems, symptoms of the inadequacies of the public welfare system. However in general it can be attributed to the housing deficiency, the small supply of cheapest places. As we saw those circumstances haven't been change with the time and the different political and economic facts. However more Americans are homeless today than at any time since the Great Depression. We find them sleeping in abandoned building or in parks, etc, because can not afford a room.

It is true that there are not only the homeless the ones that suffer the consequences of the lack of house. There are so many families who live in overcrowded apartment, who need a decent houses as much as the street homeless. The over-crowding can cause more physical and psychological damage than does to live in the streets. (As we examine before in relation with the slum areas in Madrid and in Baltimore).

. - The definition.

One of the most important point is the definition of homelessness and the description of the population affected for the problem. The homeless concept contain so many unlike individuals that make very difficult to determine the social components of the group. It is very laborious to delimit what kind of people are homeless. The concept is exceptionally different to each author. From the ones who think it is a social and public responsibility to the others who prefer to believe is an example of personal failure.

Justify the proper and right clarification of the dilemma, in order to make proposal, could be an impossible assignment. The concept is very difficult not only to define but to measure. A homeless person is not only a poor individual. There are more poor people that homeless in USA. Even the homeless composition as a group have change, depending on whether one adopts a narrow definition or not the number of homeless will be affected by orders of magnitude.

We must to bear in main that the composition of the group could change too with the area or the great diversity of the economic factors. The new homeless are younger, more often women and members of family units, (more likely members of minority groups, and quite often mentally ill).¹ The new homeless is frequently a single family. However, even if is true that the new homeless are youngest than before and normally families, in Baltimore city the largest group of homeless is compose by middle age single male (77%) and the number is continue growing.

However if the term homeless, as a word describe, the ones whose do not have home. It could be very useful to know what we do understand for home. If we pretend to evaluate the success of the actual services. Home, as wrote Rene I. Jahiel (1987) "... is a space with so many different functions. It provides security against the elements and against crime. Is a place where one can rest and sleep, wash and change clothing. A place where you can keep one's furniture and other *possessions. It provides privacy, may also give people

¹ Demographic characteristics of today's homeless people differ dramatically from the past, when the homeless population was dominated by elderly, white, unattached males. Today number of families are represented among the homeless.

an opportunity to prepare their meals in a inexpensive and convenient way...."

Under this definition, evidently the majority of the actual services provided in Baltimore for homeless are not achievement to the real needs of the homeless population. Even if in 1960 the City Planning Commission believe that :"*... the home is a man's last respite from the complex and confusing world of the twentieth century. The home is the place where human beings have their deepest relationships-between wife and husband, parent and child, friends and acquaintance. It is also more than a living unit; it is composed of the schools, parks, playgrounds, and other facilities that services it...*". evidently the private and public agencies have made few improvements to the services to homeless in this way.

Nevertheless all those eclectic classification of homeless, as we saw before, still retains older interpretations, based of different combination of casual and moral foundation, and probably this is the greatest obstacle to solve by providing them with better services. The general concept of homeless have been alternated a log to the time, as the composition of this group have growth and as the mentality of the society have change. Different interpretation have emerged and taken hold at different times. Historically the homeless phenomena in the last century was considered a social problem and the care for them was organized by upper-middle class. The moral criteria used to determine social responsibility has changed as the classification. Last century the small number of those homeless were commonly widows, orphans and mentally ill. Vagrancy occurred infrequently. But at the beginning of this century time by time the conception of poverty as a moral failure began strongly. The mentality of the moment change in relation with moral and religious ideas. Social concern over the potential danger of the tramp star extended. Nevertheless as we saw in the last chapter this social consideration of those who were homeless was essentially altered with the profound economic changes imposed by the Great Depression of the 1930s and the civil war in Spain. The answer to this problem began a government responsibility.

Now when the problem have raise to incredible levels is when some public and private agencies start to interrogate them-self about who the homeless are and how they can establish new policies to solve it.

One of the biggest problem in this duty is that officially some definitions include groups than others exclude . The character and the covering of the homeless word is different depending on how deep is the

explanation. The obstacle in delimiting the population is partly tied to limitations of language. Homeless have been defined in a number of ways. In a very general manner, or more specific depending on the official needed. Some interpretation even divide the group in types based on a combination of casual and moral criteria that throw back of the interpretation that they left behind, and the criteria used to determine social responsibility for them. Defining who the homeless are in an international context becomes even more complex.

Trying to do comparatione between Spain and US in general, or Madrid and Baltimore in particular could drive us to a wrong interpretation of two different realities. If the issue of homelessness in Baltimore represent in reality what the grammatical meaning of the word is (-people without home-), in Madrid the concept have to be adjust to a total different fact. The majority of the spanish population that can be include under this terminology are not homeless in that way. Basically because if they don't have homes or the lost their houses, they build a new one in the suburban areas with demolish material, on private or public land, in the same way that they did during the 1960s as we saw in the first chapter. The comparatione then have to be tide to those limitations. We have to have in main this problem of definition and try to see how the spanish solutions could be use in the American case.

Nevertheless in both nations the authors agree that homeless is one who is on the street or in emergency shelters. Definition that can cover the spanish case if we consider emergency shelter those provisional constructions or houses. For Peter Rossi (1988), for example, homeless is a person who has no permanent residence and seek security, rest and protection for the elements. They live in areas where there are not designed to be shelters (parks, bus terminals, under bridges, cars, etc) or occupy structures without permission, or are provided emergency shelter by public or private age. Other definitions of homeless include person living on a shorter basic in single-room occupancy hotels or motels temporarily, rescinding in social or health, service facilities and having no permanent address. Peter Rossi (1988) continue saying that the concept should be defined narrowly and thus restricted to those who are without conventional housing (homelessness as houselessness) or defined broadly to include all person who are inadequately housed, socially marginate, or at high risk for literal homelessness .

They sleep on park benches, huddle in doorways and regularly frequent public libraries during colder weather. They survive in cars parked, in city, county or state parks, along abandoned roadways, or in the driveways of family and friends (Mary E. Stefl).

Using the official statistic the US Bureau of Census does not define the homeless per se. There is only an approximation of the homeless population divide them in two groups of transient persons , enumerated in the 1980 and planned for the 1990.

.- all persons at missions, flophouses and other transient accommodations renting for less than \$ 4 per night; local jails and similar shorter detention centers; and places such as all-night theaters, railroad stations, and bus depots. .- transient persons (" street people") missed in all other housing units and found on street corners, bus and train stations, welfare offices, food stamp centers, and so on. The definition from the Us Department of Housing and Urban Development (1984) is more or less similar:

.- homeless is his/her nighttime residence is in public or private emergency shelters that take a variety of forms armories, schools, church basements, government buildings, former firehouses and, where temporary vouchers are provided by private or public agencies, even hotels, apartments, or boarding homes. Those who lives in the streets, parks, subways, bus terminals, railroad stations, airports, under bridges or aqueducts, abandoned buildings without utilities, cars, trucks, or any other public or private space that is not designed as shelter. Other public center define homeless as one who lack resources for adequate shelter and have no or few community ties. (General Accounting Office, 1985). Or anyone who lacks adequate shelter, resources, and community ties (Shifre Levine 1988).

In general. summarizing, why is very important the concept of homeless, is because affects the size and the characteristics of the population under consideration. However going throw all those delimitations of the phenomena some questions that appear, like: If a family live in double-up or overcrowded conditions homeless? or if they live in a small room hotel without indoor toilet, is not this family a homeless? Or what about the larger problems of inadequate housing and poverty, with a high risk to be in the streets, are those people not a especial kind of homeless?. At least they are in the Spanish case and for the spanish authorities.

For others authors, specially Americans it is very significant the comparison between those who live in emergency shelters and on the street, from those having at least intermediate shelter or permanent inadequate shelter, by the reason that person living in permanent or quasi permanent housing need less attention than those living in emergency shelter or in the streets). Assumption that could be admit only because of the lack of resources in the ejection of the policies to solve the problem. However the homeless today, are victims of economic and social hardships. These poor people lose not only a physical place, bur their social standing as well, so the individuals living in deteriorate conditions are homeless too, even if they have a roof over their heads. The definition of who the homeless are therefore, has to be much debate that the question of how many homeless there are, because the definition affects the size and the eligibility for public help. To determinate how many homeless person there are in US or in Spain is less important than to realize the phenomena as a growing problem that need immediate solutions. Solutions that must to include not only the among of population who are already in the streets but those how could be in any moment. The nature and covering of those policies are different depending on how deep or loosely is the consideration of the problem and must contemplate the needs of the number of person experiencing homeless for any range of time, short (frequently one year) or for their whole life.

Many person are homeless temporarily and episodically, and they need different solutions that the chronically homeless.

An essential point in the adjustment of those policies is the information that can be obtained from agencies or groups whose provide services or shelter to the homeless. The variance in the estimations can be extraordinary, and have several kinds of errors. Because some include persons who do not fit the definition of homeless, and even it is up what each agency understand for homeless. Nevertheless and even having in mind all those possible errors we must to recognize that phenomena need a solution and is one of the most visible social problem in our society today. The number has been increasing with economic downturns and declining with the return of prosperity.²

²For example between 1950 and 1970 the median family income nearly doubled and the number of homeless at that time decline.

Ones again became the meaningful social problem in the 1980s with the economic recession. Because in this last decade a enormous segments of the working and middle classes were gravely damage by the economic depression. The group of unemployed grow and the situation got worst when the cutbacks in federal welfare programs not only decrease the levels of support for existent aid programs such AFDC, Food Stamp, Child Nutrition, etc, but also intensified the method testing for eligibility as well. (Charles Hoch 1988). So many people were and are ended up on the streets without any solutions in front of them as we are going to see beyond.

Why this happened, primary because during the Reagan era started to be develop among different authors and many of the policy makers a substantial intellectual change in government's attitude toward the poor. They recognize that people with a guaranteed income (any financial aid from the government or other official agencies) they will simple stop working. Reagan welfare reform, establish in 1981-1982 decided cut the programs and provide aid only to the " truly needy". The theory was to force many welfare recipients to work. Reagan's policy makers support the idea that Kennedy, Johnson and Nixon administrations tended to treat the poor somehow in the way that adults treated children. They believe that during all this time before the poor were victims of government benevolence. The poor were a race apart who could best benefit from what previous generations had called self-help and benign neglect. Reagan asked the nation to take what they called a " realistic" look at the poor. They were helped to develop those theories, so-called by Gilder³ " *the limits of public assistance*", by a new generation of authors " *a liberal, intellectual elite*", whose theories were used by the government. Authors as Lawrence Mead⁴ who argued that it was time to think about obligations rather than rights.⁵

³ George Gilder, " Welfare Spurs Family Breakdown" Insight, jun 23 , 1986, pp 68-69.

⁴ professor at NYU

⁵ Lawrence Mead," Prospects for Welfare Reform", Policy Forum, November 1986. (mimeo)

These conservative social authors believed that was time to stop asking about what government owed to poor and instead focus on what the poor owed to the society. The basic concept of the Reagan's administration build on those beliefs, as Gilder remark, was to abandon the idea of completely eliminating poverty by distributing money to the poor. The cut in funds to programs, that specially affect to homeless people provoke as a consequence the raise in the number of individuals without resources and living in the streets. As we are going to see in the case of Baltimore beyond.

Bush officers today are following the same strategy and there has not been so much different between the two administration. The way how they define the poor and of course the homeless affect the policies to solve the problem and the procedures of the policy makers.

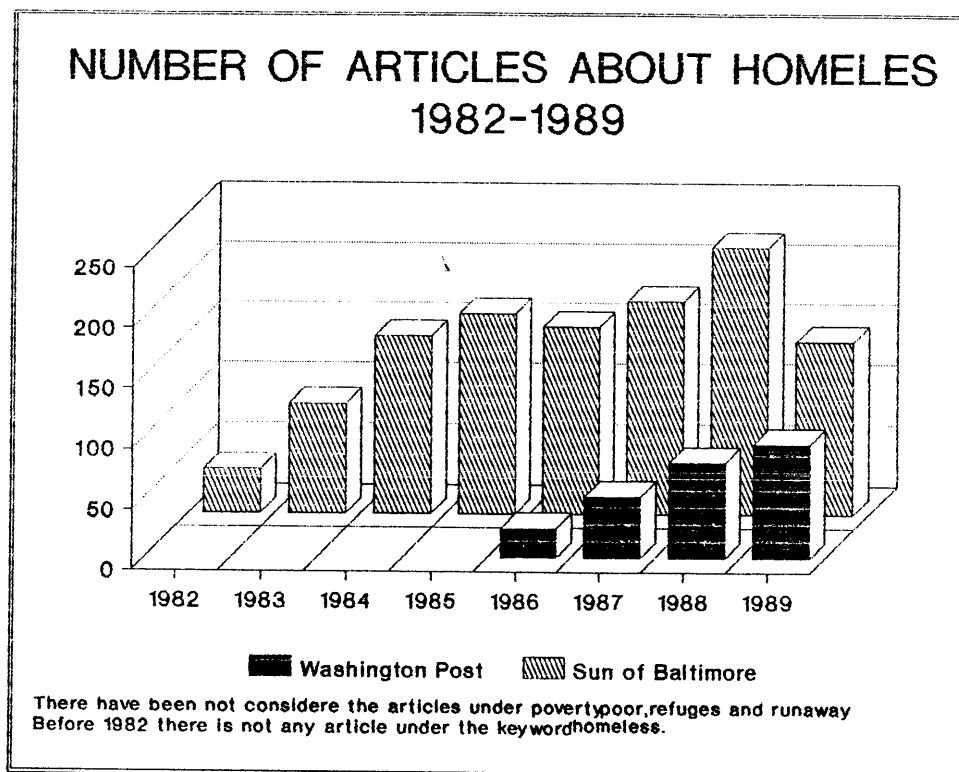
As the number of homeless grow, as the media especially the newspaper and magazines run more and more stories on the unlucky citizens crowding shelters, waiting on soup lines, sleeping on steam grates, and became clear that the sources of the problem get close to the way of how American economy and its service systems work. Homelessness was not something that appear from the night to morning, is the result of a long deterioration process of the economic and social circumstances. Process in which is fundamental the public response. Reflection of this process is the change in the public opinion about the consideration of the question. We must to accept the term "homelessness" as a new addition to the English language.

In the media form several newspaper⁶ we discover that none article appear under the term -homeless- before 1982. They were considered under terms as vagrant, vagabond, hobo, tramp. In the beginning of this decade when the problem emerge as a very difficult reality the weight of the issue made design the articles under the designation of -Homelessness-.

The number of articles have been rises disproportional in the last five years ⁷ in progressive relation with the rises of the number of homeless. (See graphic). Evidently this preoccupation in the media reflect the problems of the every day of Baltimore. (see graphic).

⁶ Basically Washington Post and The Sun of Baltimore.

⁷ From 1 or 2 per year to 200

GRAPHIC

2.2. The evolution of the phenomena.

2.2.1. US a general context. Maryland and Baltimore local circumstances.

The homelessness issue at the national level could be consider biggest problem that at local levels. Fundamentally because of the accumulation in number, and for the reason the concept of homeless hold thousand of different individual with unlike characteristics and problems. The majority of those problems related with the economic and social conditions of every era and in every zone. However the development of homelessnes in general lines is related with tree main factors:

1.- At national level : the evolution of the welfare system.(the different programs and solutions for the problem).

2.- At the state and local levels: Maryland and Baltimore.

.- The economic factors. (The raising and decrees of unemployment in the area).

.- The housing market. (The low income housing crisis).

1.- The welfare system in US.

As we saw among the first chapter, the battle between public assistance and old-age insurance illustrated how social welfare politics had changed between 1935 and 1950. With the crisis and after the war the welfare system develop a variety of program, that enclosed not only insurance and financial help but others policies too, as food stamp, housing, etc. Programs from with the homeless population is specially vulnerable.

Those policies were basically generated over two approaches: the cost efficiency that mean the view of the federal government as a financier; and the service provider approach that tried to provide a comprehensive welfare assistance directly to the populace.

With the postwar prosperity was possible, the develop of the non-profit sector as one of the most important actor in american welfare programs (not in Spain because of the role played by the Franco's administration as we observed). By providing workers with secure working environments and a feeling of creative accomplishment. The factories and companies began during the war with those strategies and continued to be popular after, with medic care, recreations programs, life insurance, and housing. It was so-called *-Welfare capitalist revival-* that expanded the social welfare system.

When the first assistance was created under the Social Security Act in 1935, many federal bureaucrats believe that the federal grant aid would only be temporary. However after the war they accepted the public assistance program as permanently necessary. Basically because the homeless problem, unemployment, etc was in a process of increasing. The central reason, as we saw, was the massive migrations of rural populations to central cities that pose new welfare dilemmas to the federal administration and made the programs expanded. In this context the approach of Truman and Eisenhower revealed their different styles and personal interest'. During this time the federal government played an important role in the economy, expanding financial opportunities. The federal policy was to help through services, rather than cash grants. The services approach cost less and encouraged communities to help themselves, rather than depend indefinitely on the federal government opportunities.

The problems began when the labor force expended and more people with the economic and social problems of the post war went into the welfare programs. By the end of the 1940s and 1950s the social security administrators spoke in terms ² of a crisis ³.

¹ Truman was more interested in the health insurance programs and Eisenhower was more related with legal battles about the them.

² Other difficulty for the recipients was that the average monthly welfare payment was 42\$ in 1949, compared to an average social security benefit of 25\$. Responding to this situation, Congress substantially modified the social security program in 1950, choosing to raise the level of benefits and extended the coverage.

Eisenhower request new programs to demonstrate that the Roosevelt and Truman were not the only ones whose know how to deal with the welfare system. His administration present in 1954 a special proposal to introduce rehabilitation policies as the only way to solving social ' problems.⁵

The federal government sent money to the states and localities for programs in aid of whose were, excused from the labor market. Program that was identified as investments in human capital. In theory the person who had received the help may to joined the work force and had no further need of the government assistance. With this system the people who consumed taxes as welfare recipients were transformed into tax payers. In reality the program was not working in that way. Because forgot the fact that the new recipient were totally unable to obtain jobs in the real market. Because of their physical, psychological or social problems, or because their lack of training. Nevertheless few members of Congress wanted to change the system. For the reason that the perception over the social security program was so successful. Many policy-makers utilize the social security system as an example to handle other social welfare problems, and it was considered effective essentially because the employers and employees paid for themselves trough the taxes in this form of insurance⁶.

Kennedy and Jonson administration accentuated service programs to encourage opportunities. Nixon aspired to concentrate the nation's many programs and replacement cash for services, but the social programs change between 1956 and 1986 . The fundamental reason was the crisis of the social security system in 1970s in the context of the general crisis that suffered the nation. With the plight that continue during the 1980s the need for governmental help came not only from the working class but from a broad middle spectrum of American society.

³ Altmeyer, Formative Years, p 169.

⁴ They demonstrate that 2 million people could be rehabilitated with those programs. In fact only 60,000 a year were.

⁵ In june 1955 they passed a disability insurance bill for people over 50 years age that they improved in 1956 with disability insurance to all americans over 50 years old.

⁶ It was in a way a public social insurance program that required financial sacrifice for the public good.

The situation suggested a parallel between the problems faced in the 1930s with the new crisis circumstances. The welfare system had to develop new programs to recover from the depression as in the 1930s but at the 1980s there was not enough resources to act in consequence. Since social security benefits were tied to the consumer price index, their cost began to rise at faster rate than expected. Unemployment rose at the same time as prices did and less money came into the system than expected. The result was the crisis.

Inflation continued into the Reagan administration. Even if the President tried to correct the problem of inflation with a constricted money policy, a profound recession broke out. Inflation fell, but extended joblessness induced new problems to an already trouble social security system, and of course extended the number of homeless persons.

The public opinion, in special the new generations, started to wonder if it would survive to see their retirement, because there was not more funds in the social security system for none. The social trust funds were losing \$ 20,000 every minute of every day⁷.

In the other hand the baby boom generation of the 1960s would provoked a immense overabundance of welfare recipients in the program in a situation of unemployment and lack of resources of the 1980s. Because during the 1960s, too, many young people having children and created a larger pool of potential welfare applicants twenty years later.

In this circumstances part of the public opinion and the Reagan's administration develop new assumption about the poor, as we saw before, reducing the programs and cutting the budget.

⁷ Newsweek magazine, jun 1983.

. - The programs.

Going back in history one of the most important welfare program was the Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) that begin to grow in funds since 1955. Two years later there was most recipient of AFDC than any other program. By 1970 the cost of the program was greater than all the others welfare programs together.

What this mean in relation with the homelessness issue, (at least in the case of Baltimore, where the majority of the homeless are middle age untouch), is that the most important programs were orientated to families, not to individuals with problems. The single person with economic or social difficulty, that suffer homelessness found that there are few programs in which he/she could be eligible. The result was that so many poor people, specially homeless were moving from areas with low welfare benefits to areas with high welfare benefits, specially from the agricultural south to the urban north.

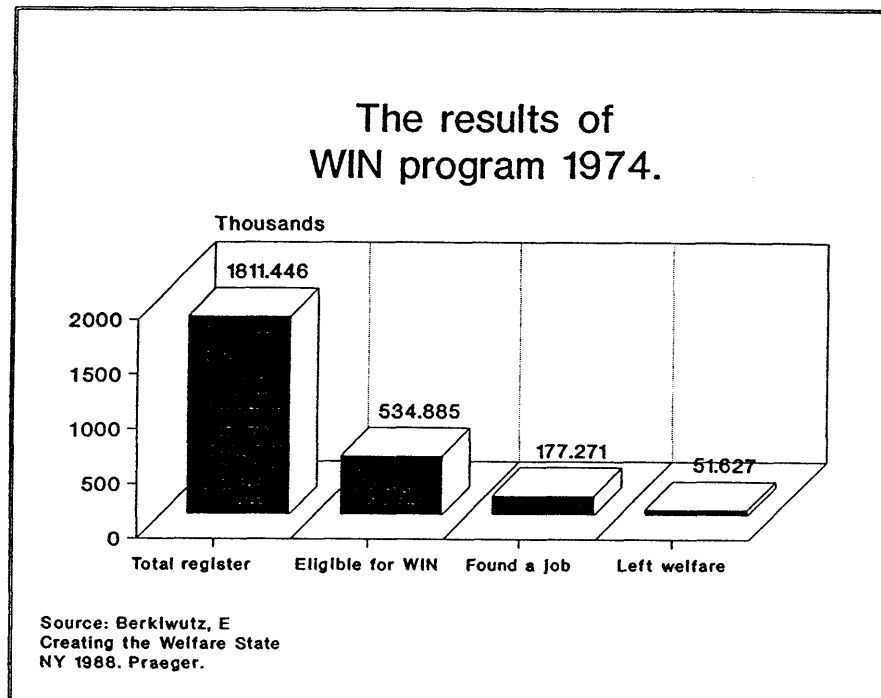
If in the past, welfare programs went to people who were excused from working because they were too old, to young, or to sick to work, with this shift in the welfare population, welfare recipients were people who had children under care but who were neither too old, to young, nor too sick to work. They protect families but they forgot totally single individuals, whose still constitute the biggest group in the homelessness issue.

One of the others important programs, was WIN created by Johnson administration in 1967 so called Work Incentive Program, that try to give adults the opportunity to acquire vocational skills and work experience. Even assuming that any homeless person could be eligible for this program, thing that is not true, the trouble is that employment is and was in short supply, particularly for single individual without high school diploma, the most normal situation among the homeless population. For example in 1974 from all the people registered for the program only the middle were eligible to

participant. Only few obtained employment and just a small group left welfare.⁸
(See graphic).

The economist called the theory that support the WIN program the "theory of the labor supply" , the person faced a choice between working and leisure. If he were given money not to work, he/she might well prefer leisure over working, it made little sense to work. The solution then, is to encourage the welfare recipient to work. However as we saw there is not enough job supply in 1974 and today the situation is even worst. So how they are going to found a job?

GRAPHIC



⁸Edward Berkowitz & Kim McQuaid, Creating the Welfare State, 1988 NY, Praeger, p206.

Continuing with other programs and following a series of guaranteed annual income recommendation from the Nixon, Ford and Carter administration, only two strategies appear. SSI, Supplemental Security Income (guaranteed income to the elderly, blind and disabled), and Food stamps program, operated as a pretense form of guaranteed income to solve the problem of hunger among the poor, specially the homeless.⁹

However, and this is really important, more ambitious aspect that could be a guaranteed income for the working poor was never taken. When president Reagan came into office and after that Bush, this proposal was totally out of their agendas. They thought that people basically don't like to work, individuals with a annual support income will simply stop working and idle.

They abandon the idea of eliminating poverty, argue that they can not eliminate poverty " *by distributing money to the poor*". Under this logic the programs were cut in funds and in new strategies. The consequence was the deterioration of the standard of living for a big number of people that they were already surviving in very bad condition, and of course the increment in the number of homeless.

⁹ A cash payments to the poor that were linked to income.

2.-.- The economic factors.

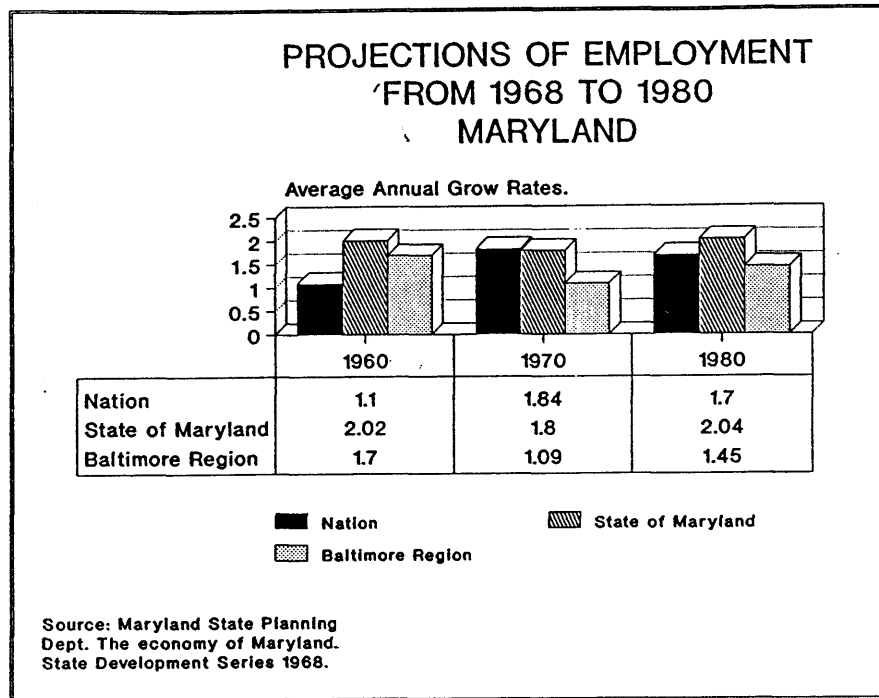
If as we saw in the definition, homelessness is the manifestation of the extreme poverty, the economic circumstances have an enormous repercussion over the phenomena. Especially in relation with the unemployment. Those economic circumstances depend of the national levels as we observe in last chapter but at the local level are more particularly defined. The evolution of this economic element in the last ten years have been extraordinary peculiar in Maryland and in concrete in Baltimore. Circumstances that changed the social landscape and made it complicated to read. Maryland as other states in America suffered the migration process of the rural population to the industrial areas looking for jobs. In general lines the number have been growing in the las twenty years in America and unemployment is one of the basic causes of the homelessness problem.

During the 1950s and with the big factories offering unskill positions, all the new arrivals found a job to support their families and theirsself. But the economic process made the situation change and there was no more occupation places for unskill people, only for specialist and professionals. There was not longer opportunities in the labor market, as the new technic were introduced in the old systems. So many of them and all of the new arrivals of the following years began to depend on provisional and less paid jobs. The public agencies and the public opinion in general had not personal sense of responsibility for their maintenance, and there was a tendency to reduce their support. The dependents were more likely poor unrelated persons whose without any kind of incomes became to increase the number of homeless in Maryland and particularly in Baltimore. Because they have a small capacity to move looking for jobs to other zones, basically for the reason that the have no assess to transportation, Baltimore city start to concentrate in its core biggest levels of poverty than in the suburb.

In the order hand a projection of employment doing in the 1960s about Maryland in relation with the nation and Baltimore, demonstrated that employment was going to grow very slowly in the next twenty years. But the rate of employment, in Baltimore in particularly, was going be even under the national average. (See graphic). Statistics not always reflect the real

unemployment problem because do not count the number of the people working only few ours with very small wages on the ones that have stopped looking. Two of the most common realities among the homeless.

GRAPHIC

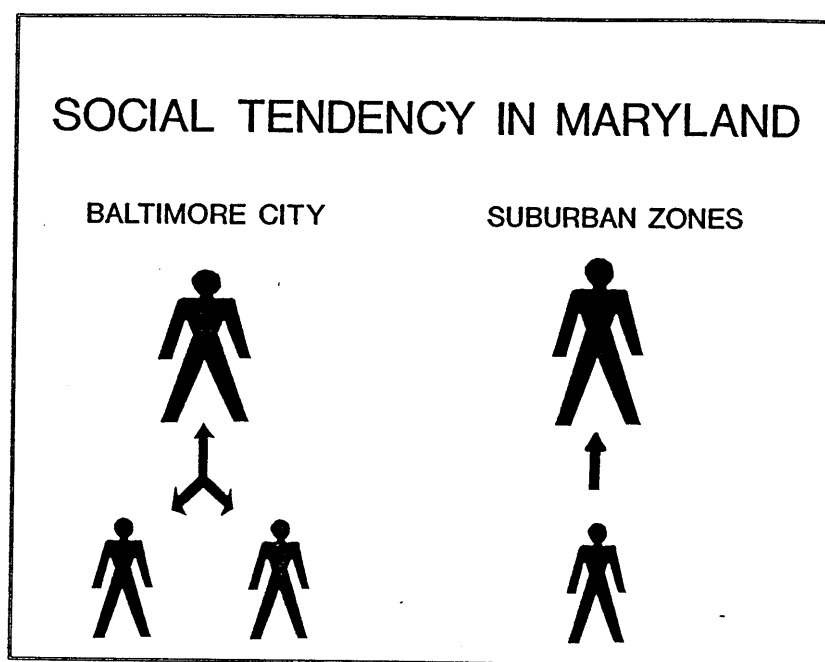


Many of the social and physical problems of Baltimore city have having their origin in this job dislocation, the unemployment and underemployment of lower-skill and inadequately educated people. One of those is the distribution of the population among the city. Even if always there was geographical expression of race and class discrimination in Baltimore, since the 1960s this situation got worst because of the unemployment risen phenomena.

New poor were more visible every day in the streets and some of them began to depend on public help. But if the dependency is the way in which a society defines the relation between its producers and its non producers, this relation among the 1970s and 1980s was getting worst, as rise the level and concentration of poverty in Baltimore city in relation with the suburban area. There was a concentration in the core of the city of individuals non producers and public dependents. The income per person in the core was in the seventy about half what it was in the remaining ring of the city. The phenomena of structural dependency of the resident rise till today.

In the region as a whole there was one depended for each producers but in the city-core there was two depend for each producer. Today this different is bigger.

FIGURE



Phenomena cause primary for the suburbanization of industries. Baltimore suffer since the last twenty years a high level of unemployment. Since World War II national housing policies and intensified suburban industrial plan construction have attracted skill and professional workers from Baltimore to the suburbs.

There have been a net movement of industrial establishments from Baltimore to its suburbs. Less-skilled workers were left behind in the central city, since an adequate supply of moderately priced suburban housing was unavailable to them and unavailable to commuting to suburban jobs.

In this context if the situation was difficult for unskill workers, non disabled population, we can image how it must be for the homeless, when big proportion of them are so old or so sick to work.

Baltimore suffer today a situation of chronic unemployment among the unskill sector of the population. The economic tendency is not going to help them, unless the public authorities start to create new and effective job-training programs for them. Solution that could solve some how part of the situation of a big number of homeless. We have to consider that, as d.Katz report in 1988, that the 52% of the homeless of Baltimore are unemployable but only 20% are in fact employed. The reason primary is the lack of skills.

.- The housing market.

The generally cited causes of homelessness are unemployment, cuts in public assistance programs, eviction, desinstitutionalization, alcohol, drugs, etc. However most of these link up quite directly with the dynamic of the housing market. Following the lose of the job arrange the incapacity to pay the current rents or mortgage charges, or may precipitate moves in other areas looking for jobs opportunities where housing cannot be found.

The reality is: "...Million of American can no longer afford a decent place to life. They have been forced into this cruel situation by rising costs,shrinking real wages, and the destruction of million of affordable apartments...Though American's homeless are the most visible manifestation of the affordable housing crisis, much of the problem remains hidden and undocumented. Many households are paying more than 50% of their income for rent and/or doubling up with other families to stay housed. These families, though not homeless, are in desperate need of affordable housing..."¹

One of the common characteristic among the homeless is the lack of what society defines as a normal place of their own to live. Evidently the nation's housing stock does not meet their needs for reason of unaffordable costs, uninhabitable condition or inappropriate size or location, etc.

Clearly housing the homeless does not solve the others problems that provoke homelessness but for a large segments of this population, the lack of housing is the principal problem. It could restor the normality in their life. Experience of losing a stable residence and being forced for weeks, months, or years to go from shelter to shelter could change the life and the physical or/and physical conditions of any one.

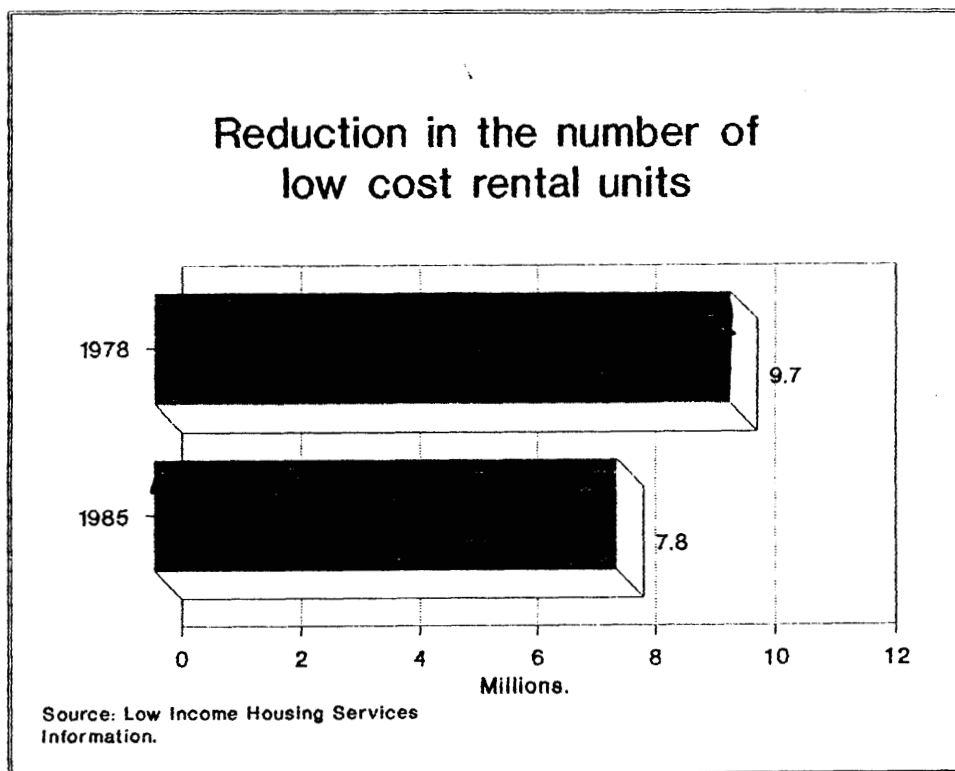
The growing gap between the cost of decent housing and the level of incomes (especially renter incomes) is one of the major causes of homelessness. The situation makes affording decent rental units difficult for almost the majority of the low income renters and especially for those living under the poverty line. Between 1973 to 1983 the median gross rent as a percentage of media income rose from 22% to 29%². Nationally in 1985 three of

¹ Low Income Housing Coalition. Out of Reach, 1990.

² Chester Hartaman .The Housing Part of the Homeless Problem.Conference of Boston 1986.

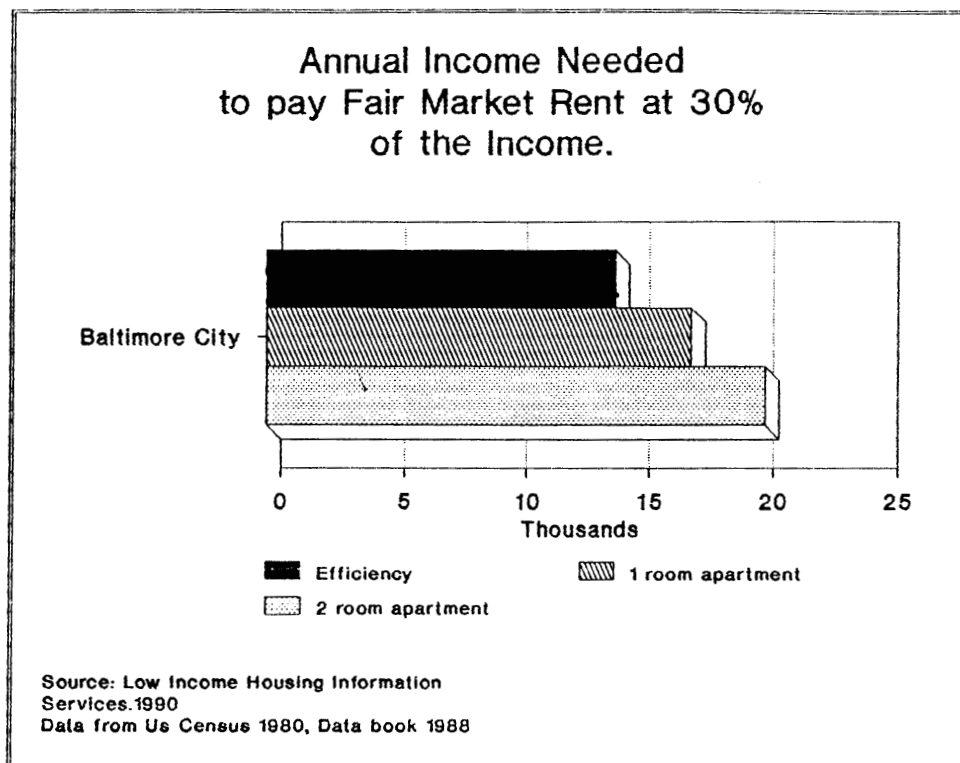
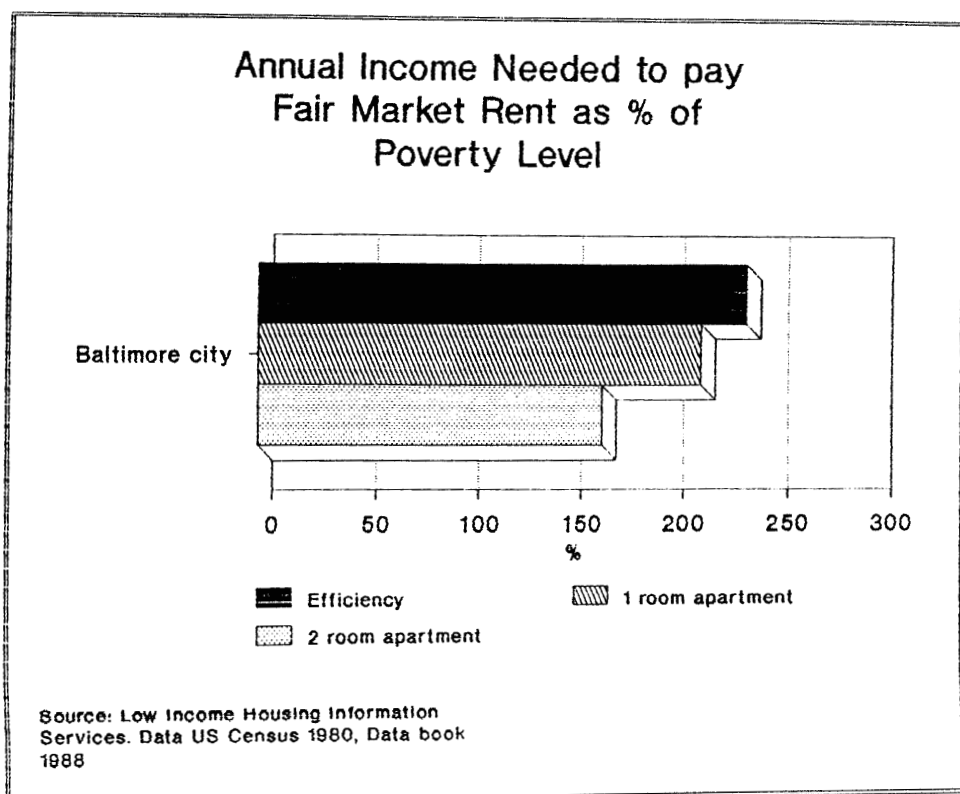
every five poor renter households spent over half of their annual income on housing.³ The reduction in the number of low cost rental unit⁴s from 9.7 million in 1970 to 7.9 million in 1985 have having a great repercussion in this process. In America in generals terms the percentage of income Spent on Housing by poor renters in 1985 was incredible, the 45% of the population paid more than 45% and only 15% paid less than 30%.

GRAPHIC



³ Low Income Housing Coalition.

⁴ Low cost rental, \$250 or less(30% of 10,000). Low Income Housing Coalition information.

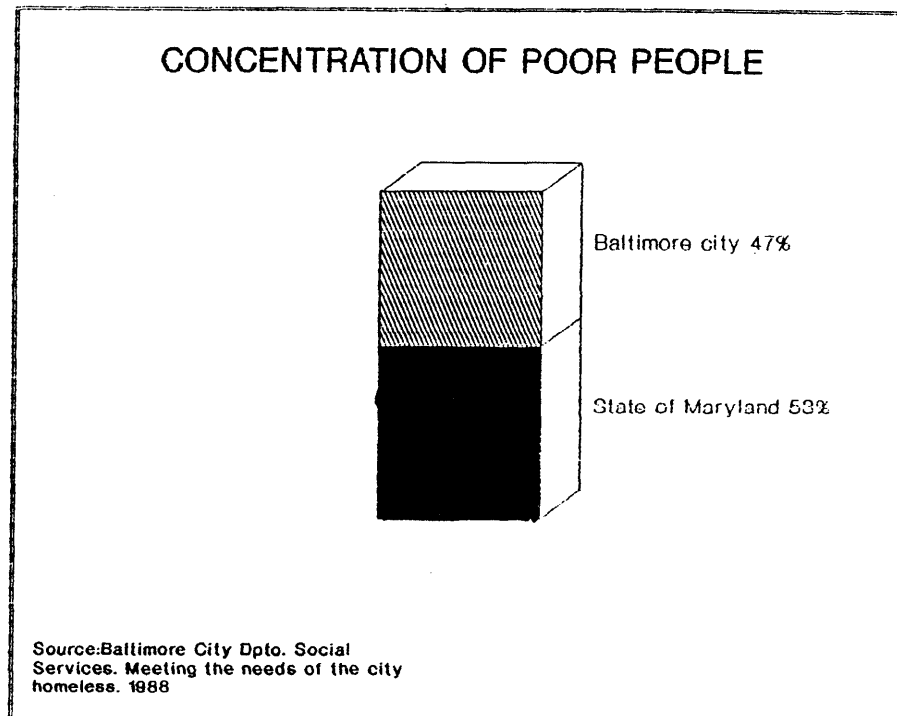
GRAPHICGRAPHIC

2.3. Homeless in Baltimore.

.- Scope of the problem.

Among all the social and economic problems facing by the Baltimore City community, homelessness emerge as one of the most visual, every day. Probably because has the greatest concentration¹ of poor people in the State. (See Graphic), and a big percentage of them are homeless.

GRAPHIC

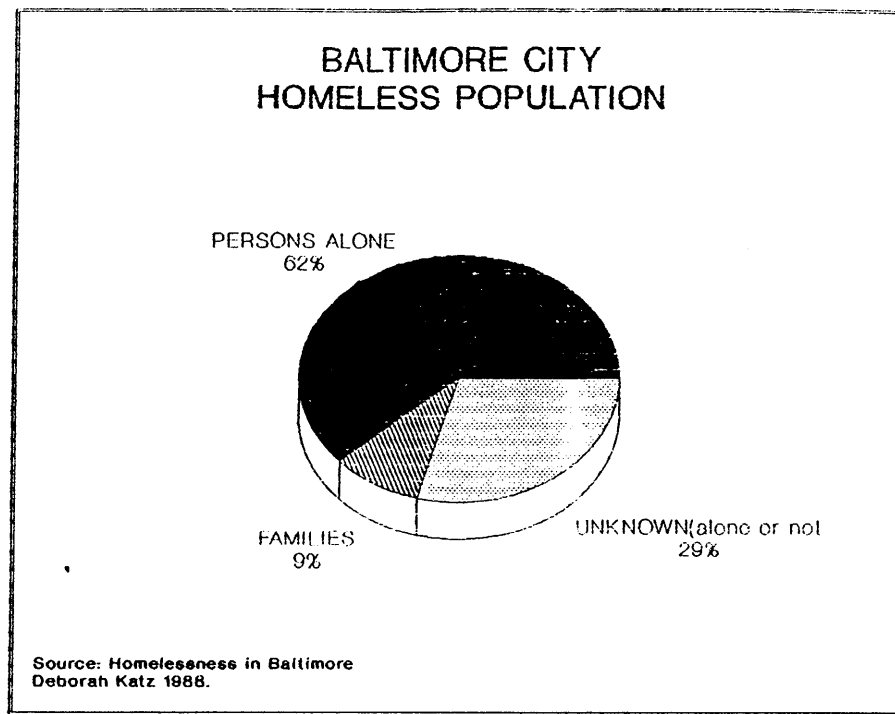


For that reason the urban authorities are working harder than ever on it.

*- " The problem of homelessness and its effects on the citizens of Baltimore is of major concern to Mayor Schmoke and the Baltimore City Council."*²-

¹ According to the Census Baltimore City concentrate the half of the total number of poor people living in the State.

². Bishop John Ricard & Eugene Bartell. Homelessness in Baltimore City 1988.

GRAPHIC

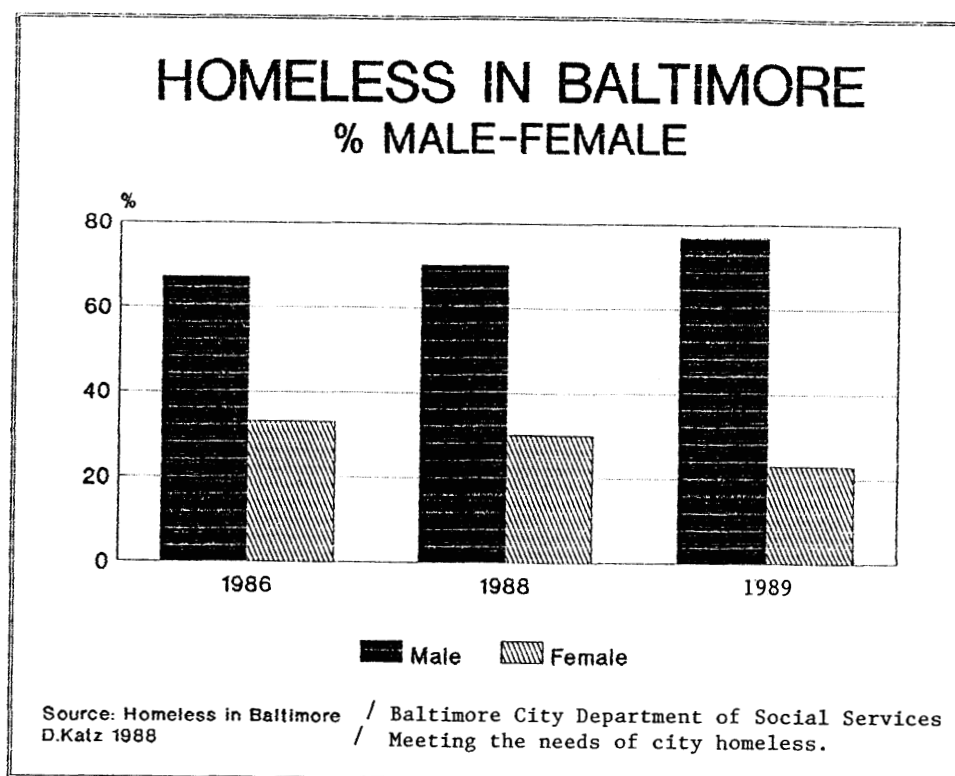
It is not a issue that one single agency or department can address. There is a need for collaborative effort and coordination among the services. Something that is still not enough organize in Baltimore City.

Among the different studies that haven been conducted about the homelessness phenomena in Baltimore from different agencies, in the last five years, they reflect that the problem continue growing and appear without solution in from of the public opinion. The complexity of the issue has made the policy makers take a proactive response, as have been the creation of the Baltimore City Homeless Relief Advisory Board. Moreover the evidence show that it is not enough, there is a big need for cooperation among the public and private sector, for more efficient utilization of limited resources.

In the request that we did, to the question : " Is there any agency in Baltimore with coordinate all the services for the homeless?." even if the majority answer were affirmative, they respond: the Mayor's Office, Action for the Homeless or "...I think it's called the Homeless Shelter Board.." or "...I guess so...". This illustrate that in fact the majority of the agencies are not sure about who coordinate services and how. The coordination is not real and connote loose of resource (human and money) and overlap or gap in services.

Under the question: "...how do you measure your success?.." the frequent respond among the questionnaires was:"... By the number of clients that are not longer homeless". When in fact and in the same questionnaire the majority affirm that they do not follow up the persons services to see if they continued to be homeless. What reflect in reality it that they measure their success by the increase in the number of person services. Fact which evidence that the situation is getting worst among the homeless instead of better. Because the number is increasing instead of decrease, if they services worked correctly and successfully.(see graphic)

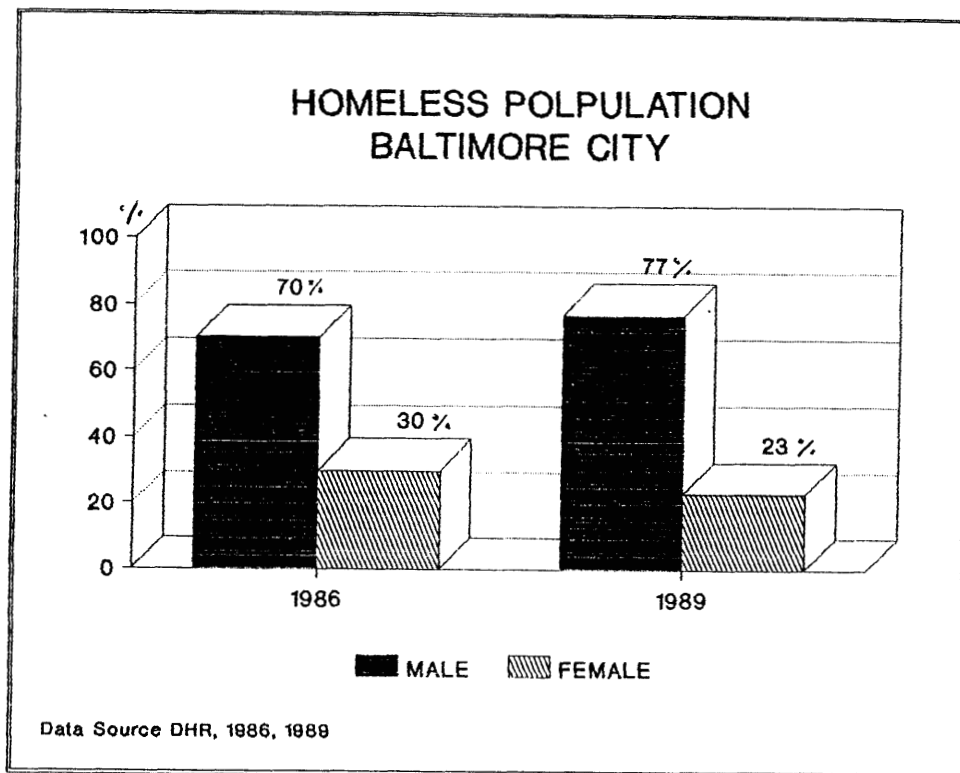
GRAPHIC



.- Who are and how they are.

As we saw in the general definition of the introduction there is a big variety of individuals among the homeless. However in Baltimore the majority still is middle-age untouch men. Group that is continuing growing. In 1986 was the 67% of the population³, in 1988 they were the 70%. Today is the 77% of all the homeless in the city⁴. (See Graphic). The families are represented too, but in small proportion in relation with the first(See Graphic).⁵

GRAPHIC



³ Homeless in Baltimore City. 1988 Bishop John Ricard, Eugene P, Bartell.

⁴ Homeless in Baltimore D. Katz 1988.

⁵ In 1986 were only 22%. Even it is true that this group has been increase in the last five years.

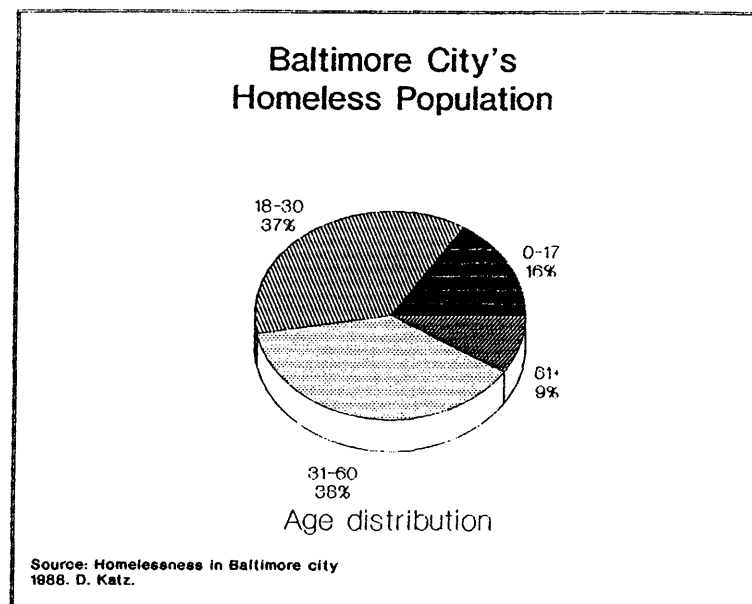
Attach to demographic aspect of this group, they have too a series of problems as health problem. Ones directly caused by their homelessness and other intensify by their situation as homeless. As in the conference of Boston⁶ one of the conference's participant said : "... If you're not crazy to begin with two weeks on the street is enough to make anyone crazy..."

Dr. William Breakey⁷ establish that about 30% of the Baltimore City homeless population suffer from chronic mental illness and need mental health treatment. Over 70% of the homeless men suffer too from substance abuse.

They suffer from several physical and mental problem some directly caused by their status as homeless and others generator of homelessness. The half (51%) suffer from some or another mental⁸ or health problem that made them very difficult to find a job⁹.

Other characteristic is their age the biggest percentage is between 31 to 60 years old (38%). From 0 to 17 years old is the smallest group.. (See graphic).

GRAPHIC



⁶ Conference in Boston, March 25-27 1986 funded by the Boston Foundation.

⁷ Funded by the NIAAA to study substance abuse and mental illness among the homeless population.

⁸ In 1986 Dr. Breakey estimated that approximate 30% of the homeless in Baltimore were mental ill.

⁹ Even when about the Mayor's Office of Homeless Services estimate that about the 52% were employable.

. - Causes of homelessness in Baltimore.

Part of the general problem is caused by the actual solutions to the issue. Homelessness is very often associated with one or another form of institutionalization. Private and public sector see them as abnormal. However as we saw before there are several causes of homelessness (personal or social problems, desinstitutionalization, eviction, family disruption, domestic violence) not only mental or physical problems. Among those ones of the most important are the lack of incomes and the lack of affordable housing.

. - The lack of incomes.

Unemployment and underemployment is one of the major causes of homelessness. Many of the director of shelter indicated in their interviews that a big percentage of the population sheltered, are underemployment. They can not obtain enough salary to pay a room and they have to sleep in the shelter.

This situation of unemployment is not new in Baltimore. Between 1978 and 1985 Maryland lost only in two¹⁰ of its largest industries the 28,6% of the all state's total manufacturing employment¹¹, among unskill labor force¹². Many of them were not able to find equivalent paying jobs in other industries. The only increase in employment (38,4% in 1988) was among the services and trade industries. Services that require experience of costly training. It is extremely difficult for an individual to find a new job. Normally they get only part-time jobs with minimum wage.

Action for the Homeless has demonstrated that it is totally impossible for a person earning that amount to afford rent. Situation in which are the 20% of the homeless in Baltimore. Statistically Baltimore has more jobs to offer than workforce to fill these jobs. The underemployment and unemployment is caused because inappropriate skill levels. Those jobs, in services, etc., usually are covered for non residents of Baltimore. If we have in main the

¹⁰ Maryland Department of Employment and Training.

¹¹ - . 23,800 jobs

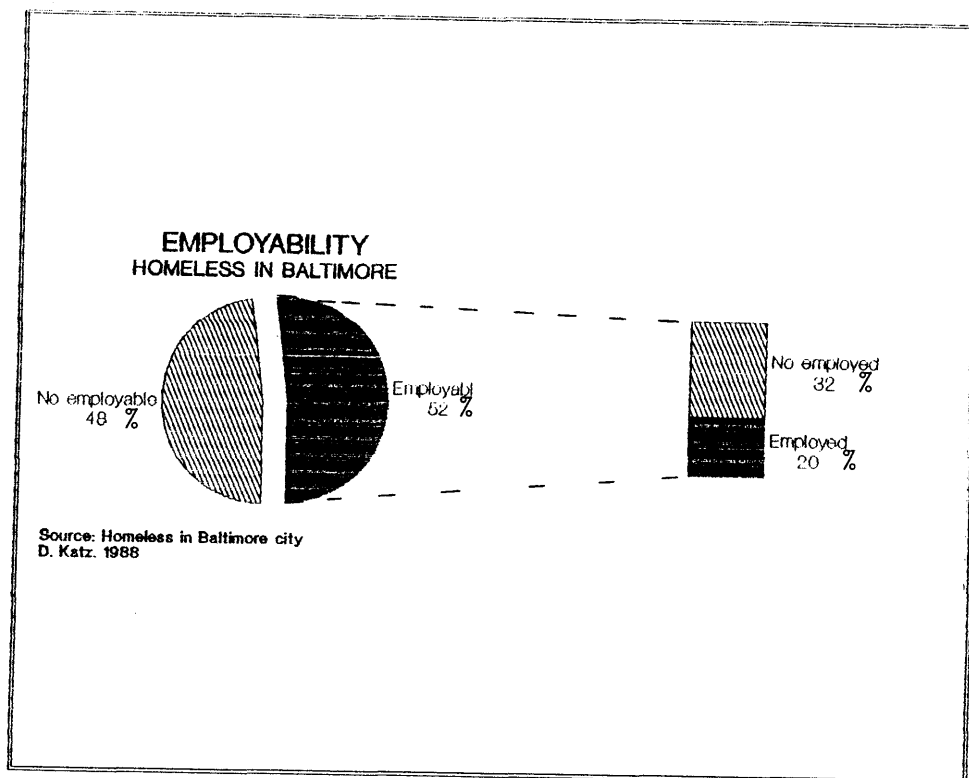
¹² Primary metals and textiles workers.

report Baltimore 2000 or the projection about the evolution of employment in Baltimore City from Maryland Annual Report¹³, we can appreciate that Baltimore jobs supply is not going to grow so much in the next year, and the only increase is related with services, trade and commerce. Occupations that require important training.

As we saw before the statistics reflect that the 52% of homeless are employable¹⁴ and only the 20% are employed. Why they are not working is because the lack of skills. What they need is programs that prepare them for the new labor market. Programs that push them to reincorporate to the normal life.

However this fact, trough our request we observe that 9% of the agencies do not provide job training, the 63% only make referrals and only 26% offer this services, that is fundamental to reintegrate them to the society.

GRAPHIC

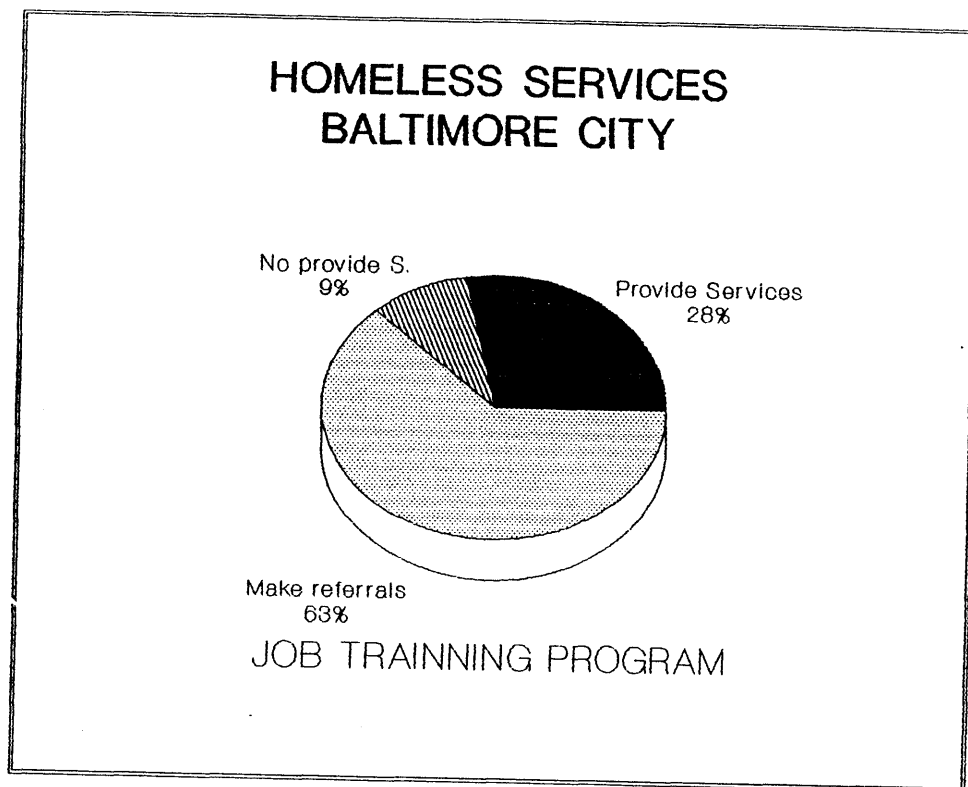


¹³ Maryland Annual Report, pp120 Baltimore City.

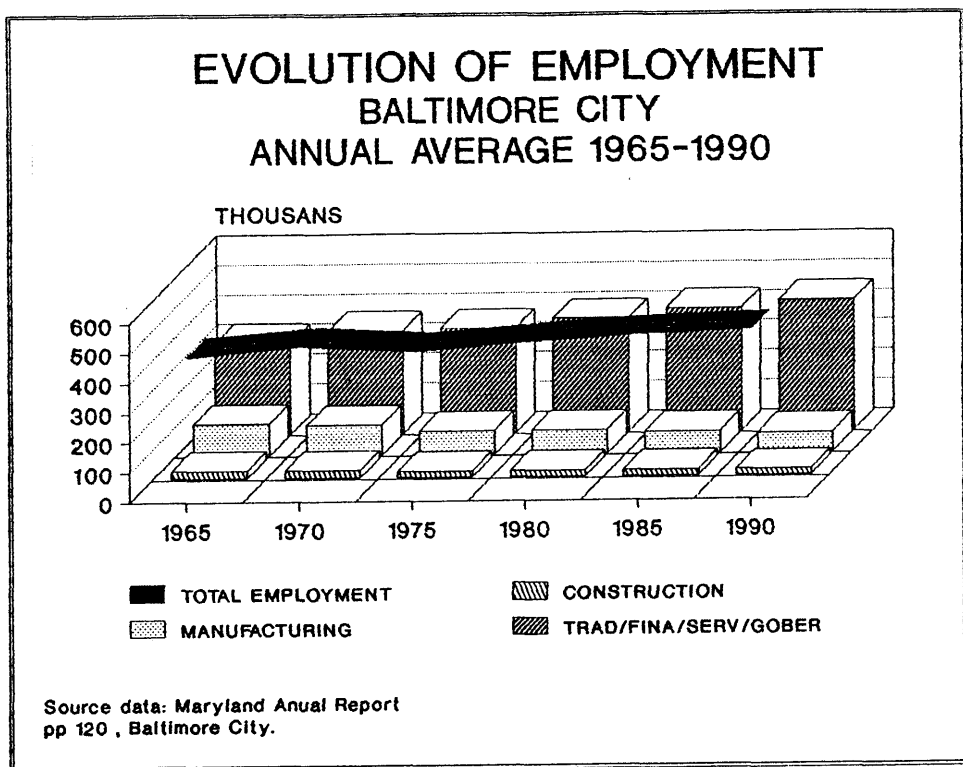
¹⁴. Debora Katz. Homeless in Baltimore 1988.

Homeless in Baltimore are in majority middle-age individuals. Theoretically they must be looking for jobs. However as we saw before because of the migration process of the majority of the factories to the suburban areas, they can not find unskill jobs in Baltimore city. The keyword is -transportation-. The need transportation to arrive to the factories, more when all the facilities (services for homeless) have high concentration in Baltimore city. In our request we found that only 33% of the agencies provide transportation facilities to their clients. So how can they look for a job where they have not available transportation?.

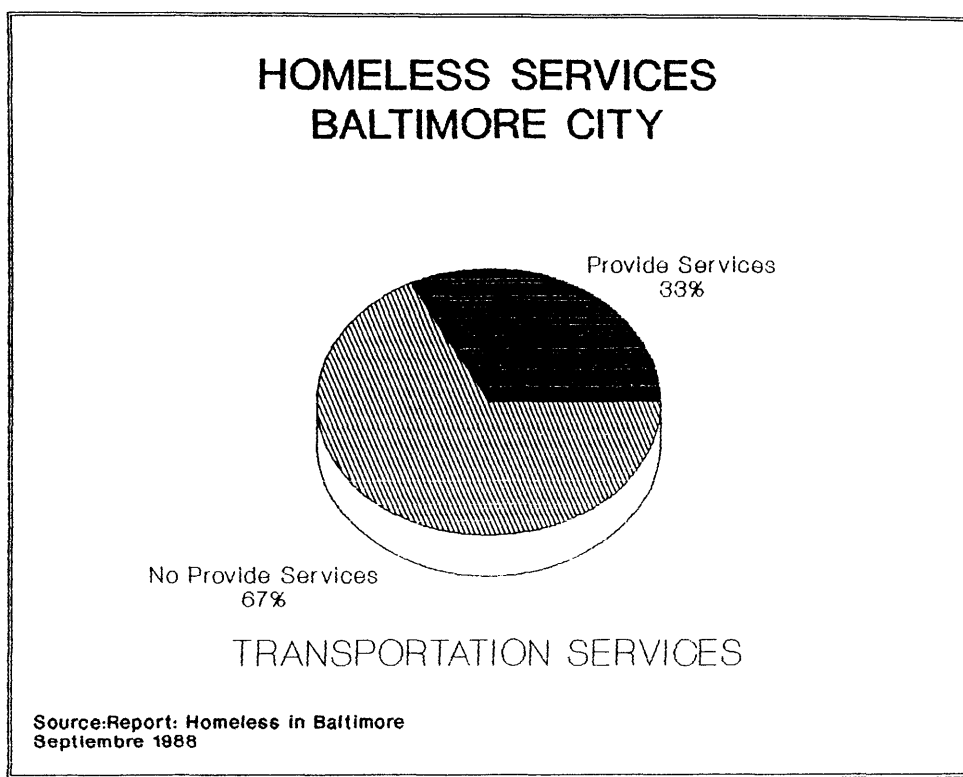
GRAPHIC



GRAPHIC



GRAPHIC



In fact the only system of transportation available is a shelter line that is: "... an information and referral service that links the homeless to social services providers and to shelters. Shelter line, now operating year-round 24 hours a day, receives an average of 100 calls per month..."¹⁵ or what they call -Shelter Shuttle-¹⁶ that picks up homeless from the winter shelter in the morning to the Department of Social Services's Emergency Environmental Services Unit, a day shelter, or to their original locations.

In fact the only effective program to encourage homeless to start a normal style of life is - Travelers Aid-¹⁷ . A program that training homeless through counselling and formal workshop in job-search methods, resume-writing, interviewing, and dress. The program provide the homeless with \$70.00 a week for meals, transportation, and other job related expenditures. They help them to find a permanent housing and assist them with certification for the Rental Allowance Program.

It is one of the best program that in this moment have Baltimore, the only obstacle is that only training 10-15 people every 6 weeks. If we think that in relation with the information for the DHR 52% of the homeless in Baltimore are employable¹⁸, this services only help the 14.7% of the employable homeless and there is an annual gap in the services of 680 homeless. When this king of programs are the only ones that can address solutions to the problem.

¹⁵ Comprehensive Homeless Assistance Plan.Baltimore City. 1989.

¹⁶ It its second year of operation, funded by the City, and coordinate by the Associated Catholic Charities.

¹⁷Started in december 1986, training about 100 homeless a year.

¹⁸ There are about 1,500 homeless in Baltimore City.

. - The lack of affordable housing.

The dynamic of the housing market is extraordinary complex process that create circumstances which throw the poor people literally out of the market.

In Baltimore in this moment there are 35,000 people waiting in list for a public housing¹⁹, the majority of them probably must be waiting during at least ten years. This number does not represent all the individuals and families that need houses, because not all the needed people apply and not all of the one who apply are funded eligible.

It is another consequence of the decrease in the supply of affordable housing as the increase in the number of poor families or the decline in the average income of poor families (they spent more than the 30% of their salary in rent). All results of the deficiency of low-income housing construction. The private market prefer to solve the demand of the middle and upper class rather than the low-income house holds.

In the last report of the Low Income Housing Coalition they show that in Baltimore 48% of the population was unable to afford the cheapest apartment of 2 rooms and only 6% of those could difficulty to allow themselves to pay 1 room apartment. They demonstrated that the median renter income in Baltimore is \$21,300, so if the cheapest 1 room apartment (HUD fair market rents) is \$432 per month²⁰, that means that they pay more than 30% of their incomes for it. If according with the information from the Baltimore City Health Department²¹ there is approximately 10,000 homeless²² in Maryland and 46% of them are concentrated in Baltimore City theoretically the city would have to be deal with 4600 homeless. But the Mayor's Office estimate that are 1500 in one given night.²³

¹⁹ Homeless in Baltimore City. D. Katz Harr

²⁰ We have to add to the security deposit that they have to pay for the apartment.

²¹ Department of Housing and Community Development. Comprehensive Homelessness Assistance Plan Baltimore City 1989

²² Other sources estimate that are 20,000 but the Baltimore City Health Department calculated that after elimination of the duplication in counting there are about 10,000 homeless in Maryland.

²³ Number that has been growing significantly over the last four years.

But even if there is 4600 of -"only"- 1500 the fact is that there is just 750 beds available for them, that mean a gap of 50%. There are the double of homeless that beds.

The public housing construction is the only alternative for this social sector. However since ten years ago with the lack of federal program for new public housing so many of the projects for new public housing have been interrupted. If there is any vacancy in those houses, normally are for families. This mean that a single person not handicapped or not elderly, first will be no eligible even to apply for public or subsidize housing. But if is lucky always is going to be in the last place in the list. In the last report of the Department of Housing and Community Development²⁴ assistance was provide to 6,043 -households-²⁵ no homeless. Even if the 97% of those were for lower income households. The City Planing Department considered under this Assistance Plan for lower income people, elderly²⁶, small families²⁷ and large family. However persons alone not elderly, situation of the majority of the homeless in Baltimore city (83%)²⁸, are not even contemplate.

If a homeless individual can not obtain a house through the public agencies the only other possibility is the existent. Regardless if the price in the market for an apartment rise faster than his/her incomes this door is close too. If the number of units of affordable housing has been reduce, in generals terms. The last chance for them are the shelters and the missions.

²⁴ Housing Assistance Plan (HAP 15) Annual Goal 1989.

²⁵ 423 units of new construction, 1,534 units of rehabilitation, 220 units of existing housing and 3,866 units of home improvements.

²⁶ Only the 7% of homeless are elderly

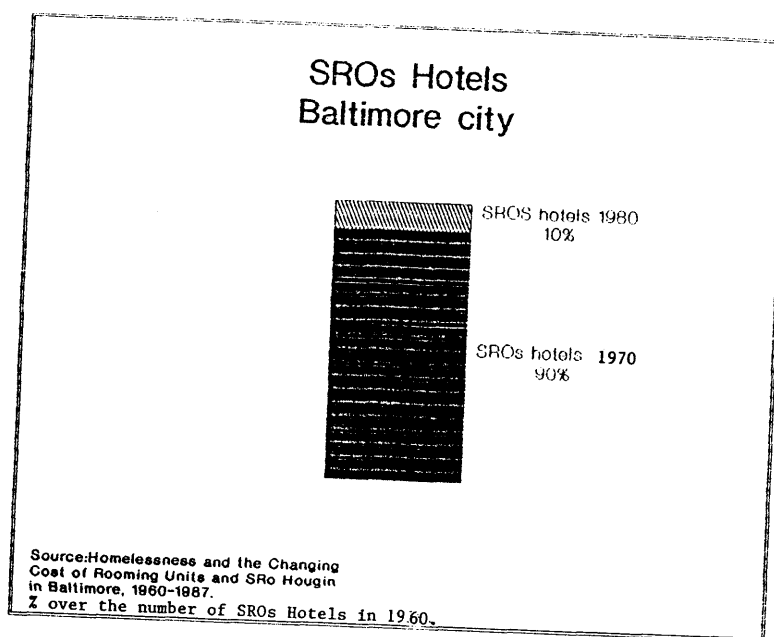
²⁷ When families are only the 17% of homeless.

²⁸ Department of Housing and Community Development. Comprehensive Homeless Assistance Plan, Baltimore City. 1989.

As we saw before the biggest composition of homeless in Baltimore is among the middle-age untouch individuals, that represent that homeless in Baltimore have a big demand over 1 apartment room or cheapest room hotels. However as the last Report from the City Planning Department in Baltimore²⁹ show the Single Room Occupancy hotels are disappearing.

The report reveal that from 1960 to 1987 the demolition of SRO hotels have been a continues among the downtown area in Baltimore, and have been replace for office buildings or luxury hotels and high rises.(See Graphic)

GRAPHIC



Parallel to the growing process of homelessness the gentrification of the downtown and the glamorous central business districts is developing. This social and economic development is not working for all people, because even if it is in the benefit to the majority, the repercussion of the gentrification process of the inner-harbor put in the street all the individuals without enough resources to pay the new rates of rents.

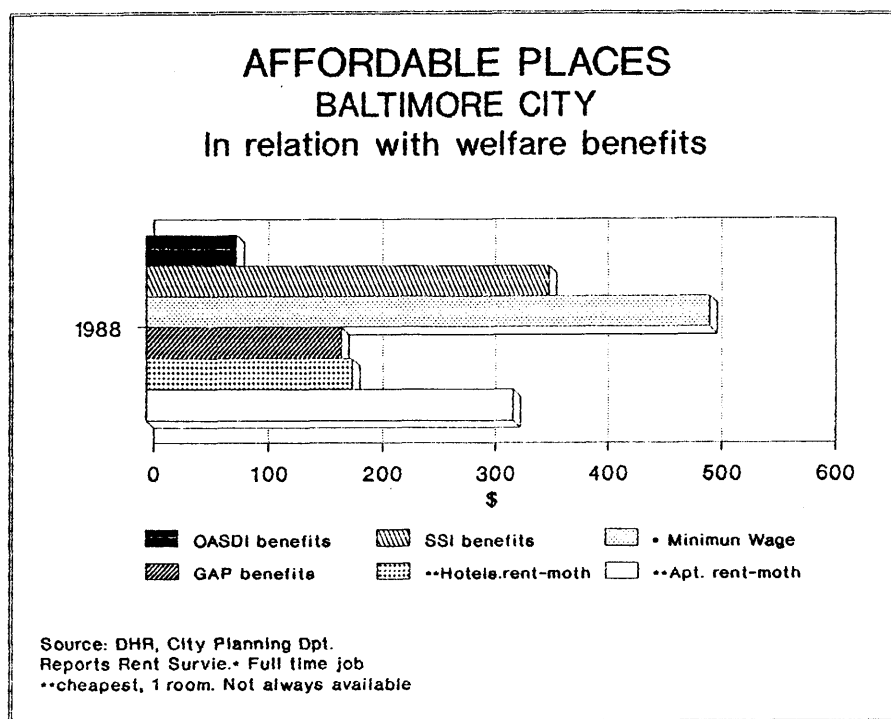
²⁹ Homelessness and the Changing Costs of Rooming Units and SRO Housing in Baltimore. 1960-87. City of Baltimore Department of Planning 1988.

The supply of rooms for single adults in downtown is disappearing at the same time that the number of homeless is rising. Among the few room still available for homeless in private houses the price of those rooms are a big obstacle for them in relation with their incomes.

The single adult homeless dose not get any benefit from programs as AFDC. The only viable program is the Supplemental Security Income³⁰, the Old Age, Survivor and Disability Insurance (OASDI) or the General Public Assistance (GAP). In others words if the homeless individual is not enough old or enough sick can not get any public financial help and have to find a job if she/he want to rent a room. However Action for the Homeless has demonstrate that is impossible for a individual earning a minimum wage to afford a rent.

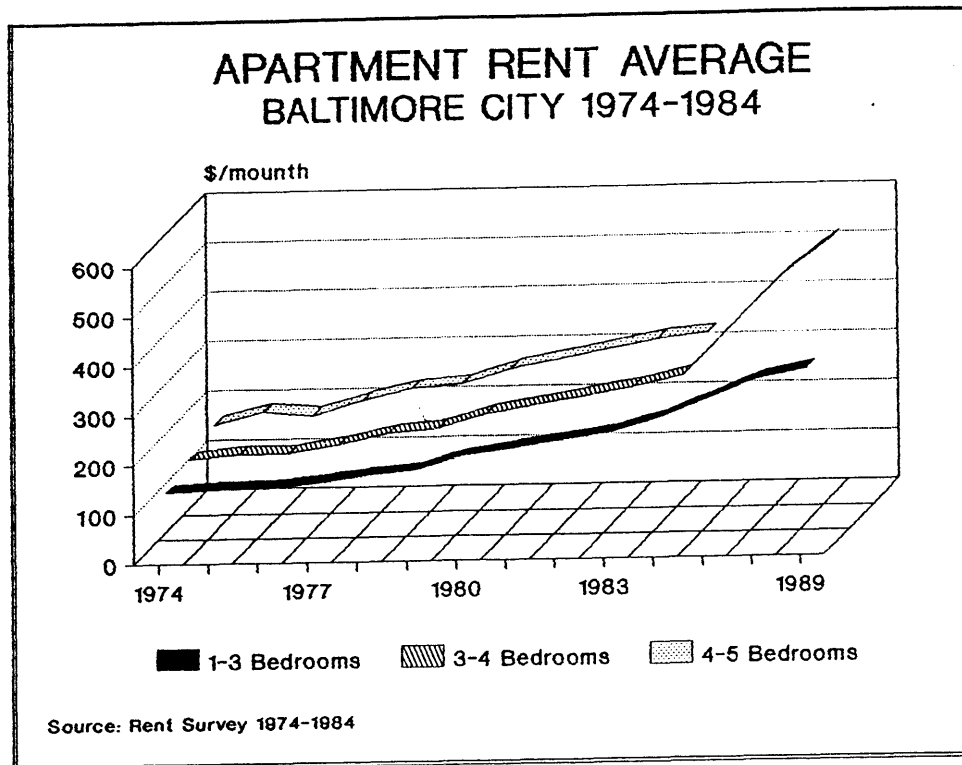
It is totally impossible that a individual who obtain a payment of \$ 171 per month (GAP benefits), or \$354 (SSI benefits) could afford even a single rooming unit in a cheap hotels or rent 1 room apartment.(See graphic).

GRAPHIC



³⁰ The SSI is a federal program that guarantee a minimum monthly income for the aged, blind and disabled, since 1974.

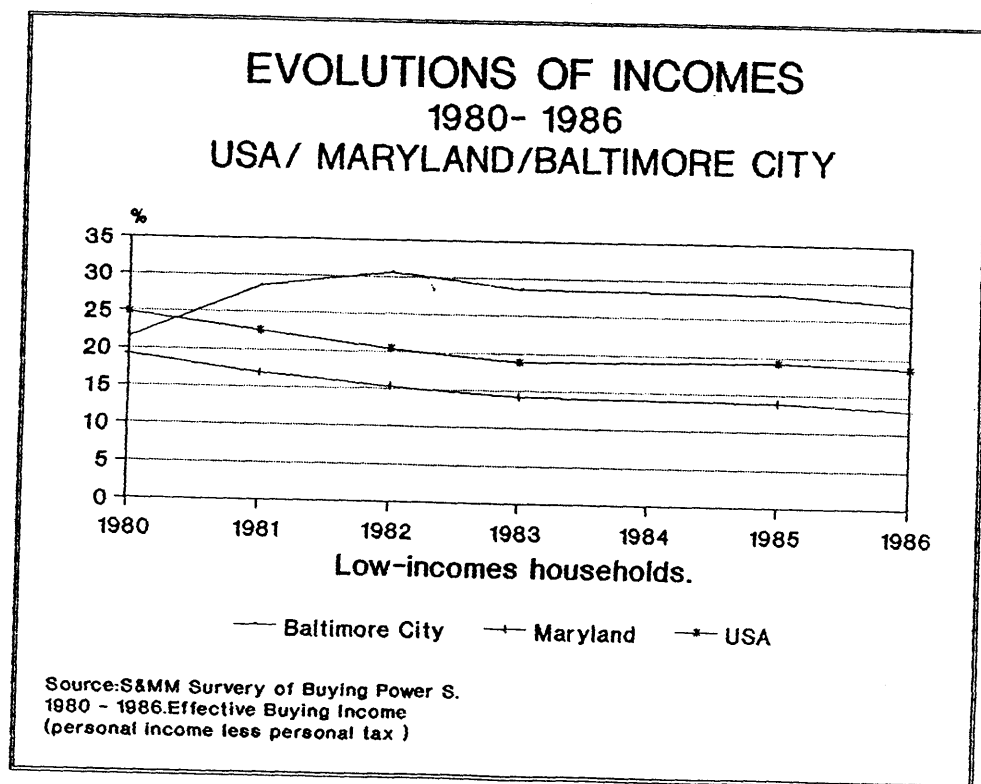
GRAPHIC



The rising of the prices in the cheapest hotels and lack of incomes are responsible for the increasing number of individuals sleeping in the streets of Baltimore, they are literally priced out of the market.

The medium rent level is rising faster than Consumer Price Index and the SSI benefit. Those factor with the increase in the number of the poor people in downtown³¹ area producing an increase in the demand for the few low prices room still available. The only alternative is the shelters and the mission. However even if we have to recognize their effort in solve the worst effect of homelessness in Baltimore, evidently a shelter or a missions is not the best place to start a new life.

³¹. Homeless in Baltimore City. Mayor's Office of Homeless Services , D. Katz, 1988.

GRAPHIC

We must not forget too that in side of the lack of low-income housing is include the process of eviction results from "...failure to pay rent when due or to move out at the end of a lease period..."³², or because of "...overcrowding in homes of families or friends where they have been living temporarily, or as a result of disputes among those with whom they have been living...".

³² Homeless in Baltimore, 1988 D.Katz.

.-What services they need, what services they get?

The two basic needs among the homeless, as we examine before, are incomes and housing.

.- Income.

The level of income is directly connected with the working situation of employment underemployment or unemployment. This status depends of the level of skill of each individuals. So that he/she can compete for a job in the real market. However the majority of the homeless are unskill. They need training and they need to recuperate again the habit of working. What they get is few available job training programs. *There is a need for improvement in those strategies (as travelers aid program) if Baltimore really want to give them the chance for a normal life.*

Their level of incomes is related too with the welfare program benefits. It is very difficult for a homeless person to get any public help if is not old or very sick. What is not the case of the homeless population in Baltimore. The welfare programs in general lines are more orientated for families that for individuals and they finally can only apply for few of the welfare benefits with none expectation to be consider eligible.

There is a need for improvement in welfare benefits among the homeless population in Baltimore. If there is not enough resource trough the federal welfare programs the state and the local authorities have to cover this gap.

.- The housing need

The first basic need of all of the homeless, is a place to sleep. As we saw before the decrees in the number of SRO hotels have been enormous. They have been torn down, vacated or renovated, reducing the supply of low-cost rent rooms in downtown area. All the room that traditionally served single adults have been disappear. None of remaining residential hotels are available for low-income persons. The reduction in those rooming units in the cites in 24% since 1974¹, made every day more difficult to find units for the homeless to the social services staff. The only available solution continued be the shelter or missions.

¹ When they were 11,485 units.

In Baltimore city there are at this moment 750 emergency shelter beds and 273 more during the winter months². If sadistically there are 1500 homeless there is a gap of 50% in during the year and the 32% during the winter time. In other words during the year the half of the homeless of Baltimore are turned away because the lack of space. After analysis the data from the request and other sources, and made a comparatione with the number and characteristics of the homeless in Baltimore, we found that the biggest number of beds available are for men. It is in connection with the reality that suffer the city as we saw. However the majority of these beds are in missions. Even if is better a bed in a mission that nothing and we have to recognize the big effort of those agencies have been done in remedy the worst effects of homelessness, a mission is not the better place to star a new life or to began a normal one. Normally the missions are long rooms with beds and without any intimate. Where the individuals sporadically can have a personal life or privacy. Where rarely can leave their personal belongs.



This is the normal aspect of any mission in any city in US, in this case is Boston.

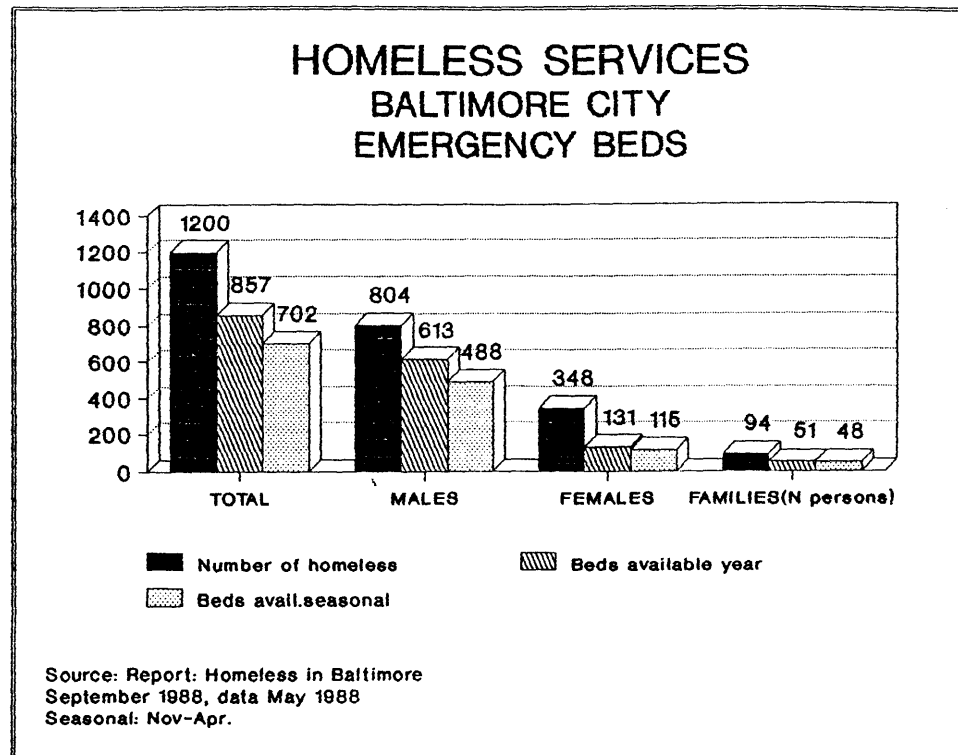
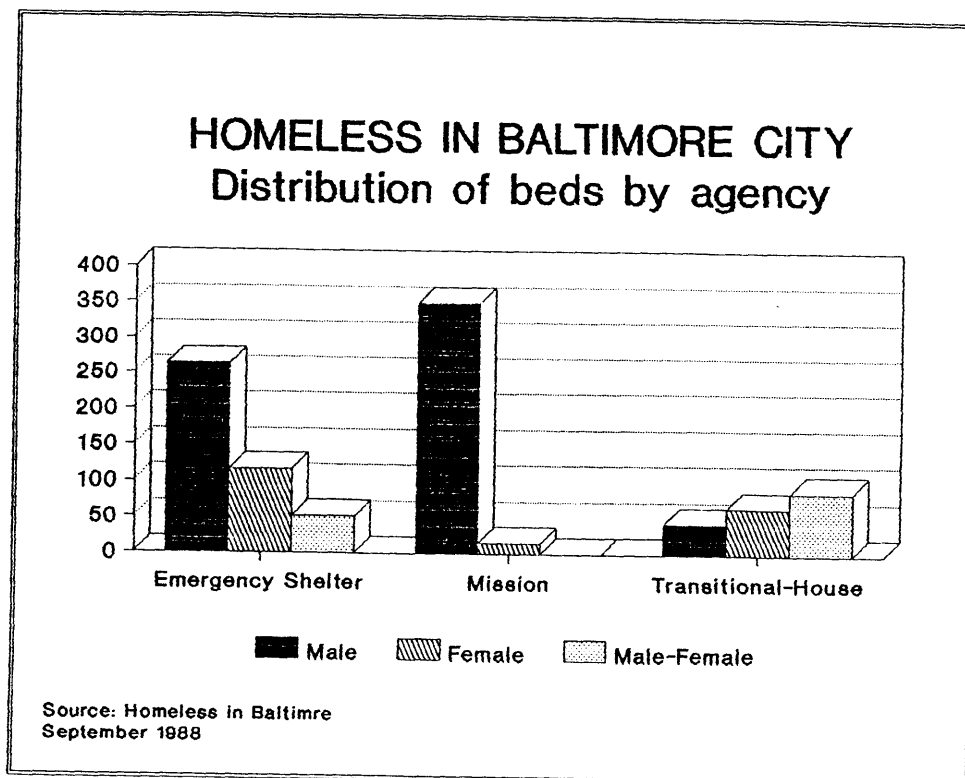
Photo: Rudyard N. Propst, A normal life for the Mental ill, form the Conference in Boston 1986. pg 39.

². Information from the Mayor's Office of Homeless Services.



Another example of a mission in this case New York.

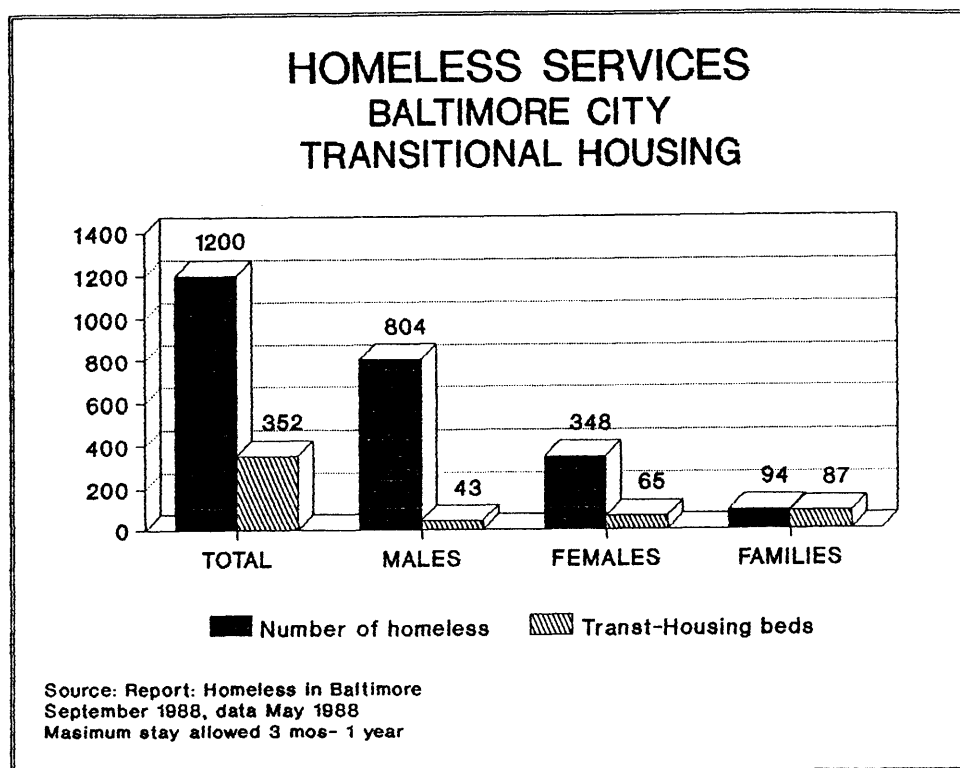
Photo: Newsweek January 2, 1984. p 29.

GRAPHICGRAPHIC

They city have 24 emergency shelters, tree of them are missions with large-capacity, and six of them are only for winter time. They are privately-run what implicate that *there is need for more public participation in this kind of services. The local authorities have to play a biggest role that they have been doing till now.*

The fact of living in a mission or in a shelter implicate other problems. One of the biggest obstacle is when a homeless individual is going to look for jobs. He/she need to have address and frequently a telephone. If they give the address of the mission or the shelter hardly are going to get that job. Primary because among the public opinion there is a preconception about the homeless and the personal failure that mean to be homeless. Infrequently a manager higher in a job a person which address are a shelter or a mission.

One possible alternative to solve this problem is the transitional housing project. However as we can see in the graphic is a very small project basically orientate to families. When families homeless are a minority in Baltimore.



If homelessness is expected to increase rather than decrease (as DHR's Homeless Survey show),and if unemployment is the primary reason for the homelessness³, people homeless for that reasons are improbable going to find housing and jobs in the short period of time that most people are permitted to stay in emergency shelter. *Consequently there is a need for longer term shelter.*

One possible alternative is the transitional housing facilities, today in 1990 there are 20 transitional facilities, that means 418 beds in transitional facilities⁴. How ever the majority 277 are for families and only 84 are for single men⁵. *There is a need to improve the number of transitional housing beds for individuals.*

Basically because is the best way to give them back their personal estimation, new address, a place for his/her intimacy, the sense of own something, new energy to start again a normal life. They allow them to have their personal belongings and they can stay for a longer period of time till through training programs they prepare theirselves for finding a job and new house. Two of those transitional facilities are old school that have been renovated and provide not only shelter but many services⁶, as counselling, job training, etc. These are two of the best program that the City is running at this moment there is a need for more facilities like this one. We have to admit that Baltimore City Homeless Advisory Board is working at this moment very hard trying to improve this services. The city is working with private and non profit groups to serve more men and chronically mentally ill, trying to involved in this project more and more found resources groups and agencies.

The most important part of this project is the services included. In our study trough the answer to the request we have observe that day shelter services is one of the biggest gap in the services to the homeless at this moment. Only 33% of the agencies provide it. The rest of the shelter run from

³ In 1985 the 31% of homeless were in that situation because unemployment. DHR study.

⁴ With capacity to serve the 56% of the population in shelters.

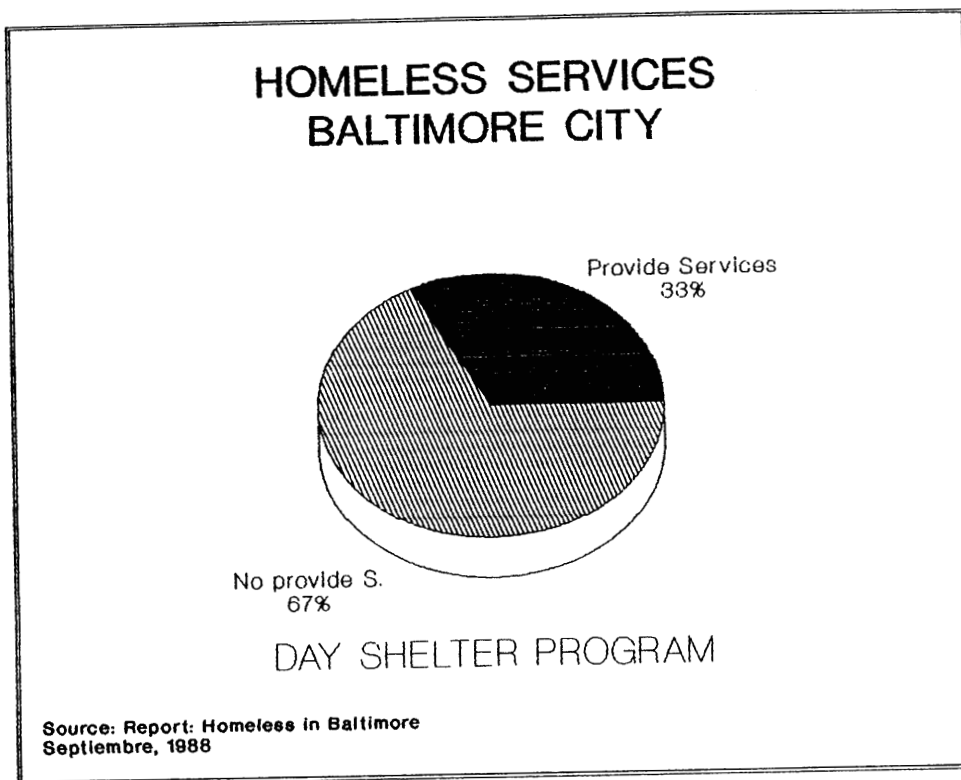
⁵ And 57 beds are for single women.

⁶ Under the City's transitional Housing Program

7:00PM to 7:00 AM and are close during the day⁷. The homeless person have to spend the day in the streets fulling around. Normally as they have no resources for transportation the use to stay close to the shelter or mission. Aspect of the problem that budder the neighborhood and create a lot of tension among the public opinion again the shelters or mission.

There is a big need for day shelter services in Baltimore City.

GRAPHIC



⁷ Primary for lack of resources or staff.

We can not forget too that some of the homeless are unemployable, primary because they are handicapped, for that reason is essential strategies in permanent housing for the handicapped homeless. There are in fact only three shelters with facilities for handicapped and two of them are only for winter time. If there is a estimation that 30 handicapped persons per night are turned away from shelters. There is evidently a big gap in this services. *There is a need for adaptation and improvement in the services for handicapped homeless among the existent facilities.*

In fact the only program that assist chronically mental ill, disabled or AIDS patients, with secures foster-care housing and social services⁸ is Project Home.

Another of the best program at this moment in Baltimore is the Rental Allowance Program⁹ that provider one year months of rental supplements to the homeless and to those with emergency housing needs¹⁰.

⁸ It a State agency.

⁹ Financed by the State of Maryland, administrated by Baltimore City.

¹⁰ It has been running since December 1988, and has assisted 367 persons or families.

FOUNDING AND SUGGESTIONS

Founding.

.- Contrary to the general public opinion and even if homelessness among families have growing in the last five years¹, the biggest problem of Baltimore City still is the middle-age untouch individual, primary male.

.- The increment in welfare policies in this last decade and the improvement in the supply of public housing and low-income housing have been direct to families, individuals have been forgotten.

.- The majority of the beds for homeless in Baltimore are for individuals men. However they are in missions. In transitional housing is only 84 beds are for men alone.

.- There is a big need for increasing the number of beds, specially orientated to transitional facilities with longer term permanence.

.- There is a enormous gap in the following service:

- .- Job training program.
- .- Day shelter program.
- .- Transportation facilities.

.- There is few or none coordination among the different agencies. There is not any one identify as the central coordinator office for all the services for homeless in Baltimore.

.- The shelter, mission, housing and other facilities and services for the homeless are fundamentally running by private sector. The 80% of the founding came from private sector. It is essential more participation from public authorities in founding and in the role that they must to play in this issue.

¹ It is only 17% of the homeless population in Baltimore City..

Suggestions

.- The Mayor's office could play the role of coordinator central office of all the services for homeless in Baltimore. They must to inventory all the existent services and distribute this information among all the agencies in Baltimore. So that they can exactly know what exist and what need to be improve. In this way the different agencies with this information can send the homeless person to the better places for he/her needs if they can not provide that services. This inventory must to be review every year sending application to the agencies that they could fill and return to the Mayor's office with all the new data if the improve or change their services. So that no persons could be rejected from any public or private agency without information of a place to stay or a plan and provisional income for housing and after care.

.- The Mayor's Office must to convoke periodical reunions with all the director of the different agencies to coordinate their services and their efforts in this matter. At least one per year. In order to listen their needs and their recommendations and create new strategies with the fresh ideas from those meetings.

.- Job training and day shelter program must to be improve immediately if Baltimore want really to solve the problem of Homeless, in a realistic way.

.- Public transportation have to be provide. At least to those homeless employable looking for jobs opportunities. A possible way could be a special agreement with AMTRAK, so that they can provide -ID- to the homeless that allow them to travel in the State, for a period of time.

.- There is a need for more beds in shelters but specially in transitional housing for men alone. With the money that some of the agencies spend in renting rooms cheapest hotels, all the agencies together can coordinate with the professional help of the Mayor's office houses as hotels with individuals rooms per person and commons facilities, as kitchen, TV room, etc, and supporting staff. Staff resources that could be provide for the governmental agencies. They could run training programs too in the same facilities for

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their tenant. An opportunity for those programs are all the vacant housing that the city-owned and all the abandon buildings that exist in Baltimore. Transforming the building for this use. The renovation even if is costly could be an human investment in the future if could solve part of the homeless issue that Baltimore suffer. It could be the first step in a normal life for so many employable homeless. The source to found the cost of the renovation and transformation can be obtain by founds from the Moderate Rehabilitation Section 8, the Supplemental Assistance Programs, the Emergency Shelter Grant Program and the Housing Transitional Program. In this porpoise resources from FEMA program and private non profit sector could be use too. Those houses must to be running as transitional facilities for homeless by the Mayor's Office primary, and the information and eligible conditions have to be available for all the agencies that provide services for the homeless in Baltimore. So that they can send their clients and cooperate with founds in their maintain and voluntary staff. Those houses could be located all along the town, were one house vacant or owner by the city were located. In this way there can reduce the actual concentration of homeless in the downtown area because all the services and the facilities for homeless are located there. There is a special need for federal founds in this project because local and state government can not afford the cost of this services² alone.

.- Emergency shelter is not a permanent solution and should not be seen as a permanent solution to homeless. The local sources are inadequate to serve the increasing homeless population in Baltimore. There is a need to increase the Founding for the Homeless Service Program. If the 80% came from the private sector is time for governmental financial help and special emphasis to any initiative to improve the number of transitional housing or new shelters. There is a need for a variety of supportive housing options, and a cooperation between the DHR and the Department of Housing and Community Development.

.- There is a need for cooperation among the different publics department. The homeless population usually have complex needs and require services from different departments. The Mayor's Office can play this role of coordination

² It is estimated that the operating cost for services for job training, day care and transportation for a family is \$70,00 per year,

of services among public departments.

.- There is necessary to create some kind of welfare benefits in the State for the homeless that can not get any other source of funds from welfare programs because they are not so sick or so elderly to be found eligible for them.

.- It is essential to provide support services for up to a year while they try to obtain a job and after they stop to be homeless, to prevent they became homeless again. As permanent housing, benefits and counseling.

CONCLUSION.

At this moment in America homelessness is the big issue of the decade. It include individuals and families without shelter for a complex variety of reason. There are so many definition as we examined.

After the highest and dramatic grow of the homeless, in december 1982 was the first time in the American history that was a national forum in a Congressional hearing about this issue. In january 1984 in the United State Conferences of Mayor's Task Force, they reported that the demand for shelter had increased 38% in 18 different cities, recognizing that unemployment was one of the first and fundamental cause of homelessness. In the last year M.E.Hombs and M.Snyder published: Homelessness in America: A force march too where. Those are only examples of the growing preoccupation among the media and the public agencies about this reality. The homeless phenomena has been receiving increasing attention in the media, as we saw. HUD publish in 1984 a report estimated that between 1983-1984 there was about 250,000 to 350,000 homeless in America. However statistics not always count the big amount of people sleeping in parks or in abandoned building or under bridges. As they do not include too the families doubled up with friends unable to afford a places of their own, or in overcrowded apartments. For that reason at the same time other specialist criticized them, arguing that there was about two or tree millions person homeless. Nevertheless homeless are not only the ones count by official statistic. There is an uncouneted number of invisible homeless people. .

The problem of homelessness is closely linked with poverty and unemployment but housing is the most important fact in this reality. Homeless are individuals with long work histories who have lost their permanent housing because their jobs have disappeared and/ or their benefits have expired. When they lost their jobs they are unable to pay the rent and have to go with friends to overcrowded apartment. They frequently end up in an emergency shelter carrying all their stuff in plastic bags from one to another shelter.

Homeless have been growing extraordinary in this decade. The group is today more diverse than in the past. The prototype of homeless as a vagrant is not any more. The racial minorities are disproportionately represented among them. There are not mental ill all of them, in fact the mental ill are a very small group.

As we observed among this report to understand the actual situation is essential comprehend what have been the dynamic of the labor and housing market. Both, housing and labor market are intimately related with the social and economic policies adopted by the different government. The evolution of the public policies along the last five decades have created the conditions that origin this situation.

In the general context of Maryland¹ the case of Baltimore is particularly special. The old problem of homeless that suffer the town has reached dramatic proportions in the last decade. Baltimore City have the largest concentration of poor people in all the state. Almost half of the Maryland's poor people live in Baltimore and because of this reason have too the more problematic slum areas problem and the largest concentration of homeless². The gentrification process in the downtown area has exacerbate the problem, as the reduction of the number of cheapest hotels and rooming houses available to the poor people.

This increase in number is caused too for other reason. However the situation in Maryland is ironic when is one of the wealthiest state³. The change in the labor market from the supply the unskill jobs to the demand of professional and training workers are the causes of this situation. The unemployment and the desinstitutionalization of hundred of homeless⁴ has created the circumstance that we suffer today.

¹ In 1985 more than 400,000 marylanders were living in poverty.

² The 40% in 1985.

³ Ranking 6th in percapita income in 1985, in America.

⁴ Since the middle of the 1950s Maryland has been releasing long term mental patient from long-term state hospitals, reducing the number of admission.

Primary because among the homeless population in Baltimore the majority are middle-age men without disabilities. Their principal problem, origin of their status is that they can not get a job and they can not obtain any welfare benefits too. They are underemployment frequently. The minimum wage does not allow them to rent even the cheapest room in town and force them to live in the shelter. In fact the housing problem is the most important factor in this reality. In the shelters they can stay only few weeks, not enough time to deal with the multiple problems that they face.

The reality today in Baltimore is that the number of beds in shelter have increased in the last years but many homeless are still turned away from services. There is an estimation that at least there are the double who never apply. Exist a big gap of services not only in beds but in transitional services, in job training program, day shelter and transportation services. Services that are the key of the rehabilitation of the homeless at this moment. Without adequate housing and necessary support services they can not start again a normal life. Emergency shelter are not a permanent solution and have not to be seen as that. Emergency shelter must be linked with the availability of transitional and long term housing, and with appropriate employment opportunities and accessible community-based support system. It is impossible to do anything like that without accurate public policies, integrated in correct levels of the government.

It is responsibility of the government to maintain a supply of affordable housing for low-income single persons in the city, as healthy and secure living environment, as a liaison with the neighborhood and community support services. If it can not because of the lack of resources, at least must provide adequate shelter for those who can not compete in the market prices. The shelters must to be integrated in the area with access to community services. The disconnection and the lack of other services are the normal reason that made the attitudes of the residents from that area to be again the shelter⁵. It determined their attitudes toward the shelter and the desire of move it away from their houses. One very close example in Baltimore was the

⁵ Cangle and Deutscher 1970.

case of the shelter in South Baltimore, with the opposition of a big proportion of the neighbors, whose they only accepted it for this year.

Baltimore must to affront seriously this problem. The existent actual solutions are only bandage for a big problem. Without adequate strategies the situation is going to get worst in the nest ten years. The lack of services as training programs, day shelters, transportation and long-term housing are the gate of the solutions to the issue. Without other kind of perspective from the public agencies to the problem and enough coordination among the agencies the problem is going to rise desproportionatly in the next decade. It is time for solutions and the solutions can not be address only for one agency there is a need for cooperation among agencies. Especially when the homeless population have needs over so many different services. It is not enough with good feelings there is need for action.

APPENDICES

1.- The RFC power were extended to permit federal loans to state for relief the needy people resulting for unemployment. The need for relief was indicated by the findings of the National Federation of Settlements.

2.- The Economy Act of March 11, 1933 was a opportunity for a major spending in an effort to balance the budget, and the budget deficit was keep small. Production started to show real signs of recovery, in 1937 and government spending was cut and taxes increased. In the other hand the National Industrial Recovery Act was more than the New Deal's hope for industrial recovery, it was a solution to social welfare problems of thee single most important component of the labor force: industrial workers. The production in 1937 finally reached 1929 level for the first time since the stock market crash, but dropped precipitously in 1938 and unemployment raise again.

3.- Other economic indicator that show the national situation that suffered US during the 1930s was the gross national product that dropped yearly from 103\$.1 billion in 1929 to 55,2 billion in 1933. The reaction of the federal government to this new situation was continued with private methods such as charity campaigns in the first years of the crisis period. With the time they recognize the government responsibility in this phenomena.

4.- Politically at 1932 not even the democratic party use the word depression in their political platform, at all, did not refer the economic and social situation of the American families and the consequences of this distress. On the other hand the republicans saw the situation as responsibility of the states and the local government.

5.- The Transient Division of Federal Relief Act in 1934 provided shelter and relief to a lot of homeless, even the Work Progress Administration was a federal public works program that eventually employed so many people, but it was abolished as soon as the war industries reduced the number of the unemployed . (Hoch 1987).

The most important and categorical aid to the poor was the Social Security Act in 1935 and made different between those who had earned this benefits and those who received aid based solely on need. In the other hand the administration debated the logistic of federal intervention into the social welfare system intensively between 1933 and 1935. Unemployment represented the most important part of this discussion.

6.- For the reason that many of the social welfare issues of the war and postwar years involved a battle between businessman and bureaucrats over the control of the system.

7.- The Full Employment Bill expanded on New Deal welfare proceeded by allowing for a clear and continuous federal presence in management of the industrial economy, was other of those programs. Businessmen failed to support this proposed extension in welfare responsibility at that time.

8.- During much of 1930 During much of Hoover's administration operating within a free market, individuals companies accepted to recuperate productivity and profits through coordinated welfare procedures such as those welfare initiatives that granted most to overall economic well- being.

9.- The circumstances during this period were not only difficult for the industries, the restriction of output contributed to a decline in the number of farms. Roosevelt consolidate all federal agricultural credit, and authorized loans to save farmer from immediate danger, designed to help farmer through easy credit, supported not only farm ownership but also the introduction of farm machinery. In general government promotion was for large farmer in Spain and in US, the repercussion was a process of migration of the small farmers to the industrial areas, looking for jobs opportunities.

10.- The basic limits of those were different types of financial aids as, the exaction of the 90% of the property tax during twenty years, credits without interest for 40% of the projects(during twenty years), financial aids of the 20% of the bill to housing association (if the members worked at the construction of those houses). All the apartments building under those financial conditions had to be rented to low-income families.

The - viviendas protegidas- program was very limited project for the reason of the deficit of money and insufficiency of construction materials in the autarky Franco's system. Only were building 16,000 units with this strategy.

11.- Only the 4% for long period of time, because of the devaluation of the peseta they gve back a small amount of the money that they got from the governement in the beginning.

A Decree of July 1, 1955 approved the first National Housing Plan, a five years plan, to build 550,000 housing units at the rate or 110,000 units year, 77% of the plan's establishing goals were reached,(a estimable percentage). At this time the biggest impetus was given to the so-called Social Urgency Plan of Madrid, building subside housing troughout the country.

A new second 16-years National Plan (1961-1976) was approved too, but was broken down for budgeting purposes into 4 years period.

In US at the same period, federal policies for housing the urban poor were expose as a succession of programs and a variety of strategies employed by federal housing procedures ever the years.

BALTIMORE CITY

1. Baltimore City DSS
1510 Guilford Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21201-2882

361-2222

DSS Emergency Services Unit
1500 Greenmount Avenue
Baltimore, Maryland 21202
David Tabler
361-2412
361-2172 (shelter)
361-2235 (after hours)

2. American Rescue Workers
11 W. Clement Street
Baltimore, MD 21230
Rev. Michael Carr, Dir.
566-3300

3. Antioch Church Shelter
and Home
2926 Harford Road
Baltimore, MD 21218
Pastor Joyce Galloway, Dir.
467-8334

4. Baltimore American Indian
Center
113 S. Broadway
Baltimore, MD 21231
Barry Richardson, Director
675-3535

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

5. Cross House
c/o Episcopal Social
Ministries
105 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
Sally Robinson, Ex. Dir.
837-0300

6. Bethany Project
c/o Episcopal Social
Ministries
105 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
Sally Robinson, Ex. Dir.
837-0300

7. Phoenix Place
c/o Episcopal Social
Ministries
105 W. Monument Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
Sally Robinson, Ex. Dir.
837-0300

8. Wenceslaus House
c/o Associated Catholic
Charities
709 E. Eager Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
Tammy Johnson, Director
327-6603

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

9. Family & Children's
Services of Central MD
204 W. Lanvale St.
Baltimore, MD 21217
Stanley Levi, Director
669-9000

Transitional Housing
Program
303 W. Chesapeake Avenue
Towson, MD 21204
Patricia Kammer, Director

10. Christopher Place
c/o Associated Catholic
Charities
709 E. Eager Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
Angelo Boer, Director
576-0066

11. Harris House
c/o Fellowship of Lights
1300 N. Calvert Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
Ross Pologe, Director
837-8155

12. Peggy's Place
c/o Fellowship of Lights
117 S. Broadway
Baltimore, MD 21231
Ross Pologe, Director
522-9605

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

13. Patrick Allison House
210 W. Madison Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
Larry Green, Director
728-5664
-

14. Helping Up Mission
1029 E. Baltimore Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
Rev. Louis Redd, Director
675-5003
-

15. House of the Holy Redeemer
1401 Battery Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21230
Father John Beattie, Dir.
576-9565
-

16. House of Ruth
2202 Argonne Drive
Baltimore, MD 21218
Carol Alexander, Director
889-0840
-

17. Karis Hospice
4 N. Central Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21203
Muriel Moore, Director
342-2533
-

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

18. Baltimore Rescue Mission
4 N. Central Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21202
Rev. Raleigh Holt, Director
342-2533
-

19. Transitional Housing
Program/Housing
Assistance Corp.
3701 Cottage Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21215
Steve Cleghorn, Director
664-3636
-

20. Lumina House
1836 Druid Hill Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21217
Margo Clayton
523-0719
-

21. Marian House
949 Gorsuch Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21218
Sis. Augusta Reilly, Dir.
467-4121
-

22. My Sister's Place
123 W. Mulberry Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
Mary Ellen Vanni, Dir.
727-3523
-

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

23. Park Avenue Lodge
123 W. Mulberry St.
Baltimore, MD 21202
Mary Ellen Vanni, Dir.
727-3523
-

24. Noah's Ark
4509 Schley Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21206
Reverend Debra Williams
325-9409
-

25. Prisoner's Aid Association
of Maryland
1 East Mt. Royal Avenue
Baltimore, MD 21202
Jack Pierce, Director
727-8130
-

26. Project PLASE
2029 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Mary Slicher, Director
837-1400
-

27. Salvation Army-Baltimore
(Women's & Children's
Residence)
1114 N. Calvert Street
Baltimore, MD 21202
Connie Wise, Director
685-8878
-

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

Travelers Aid Society of
Baltimore
204 N. Liberty Street
Suite 200
Baltimore, MD 21201
Nancy Freeman, Director
685-3569

9. MD Citizens for Housing
for the Disabled
6305 A Sherwood Road
Baltimore, MD 21239
Kathy Snyder
377-5900

South Baltimore Homeless
Shelter
c/o Coalition of Peninsular
Organizations (COP0)
1211 Wall Street
Baltimore, MD 21230
Jim Higginbotham
385-1738

Baltimore Housing Ministry
433 Millington Ave.
Baltimore, MD 21223
Paul Sullivan
362-2728

YWCA Corner House
128 W. Franklin Street
Baltimore, MD 21201
Stephanie Camilleri, Dir.
685-1460

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

33. United Brethren for Christ
"Project We Can"
2112-18 McCulloh Street
Baltimore, MD 21217
Elder Wm. Gaines, Jr., Dir.
669-4121 or 462-6757

34. Howell House
c/o Women's Housing
Coalition
111 E. 25th Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Carol Melvin, Director
235-5782

35. Lombard House
c/o Women's Housing
Coalition
111 E. 25th Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Carol Melvin, Director
235-5782

36. Upton House
c/o Women's Housing
Coalition
111 E. 25th Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Carol Melvin, Director
235-5782

37. At Jacobs Well
1931 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Margo Thomas, Director
332-0066

BALTIMORE CITY (cont'd)

38. Cromwell House
c/o Midtown Churches
1900 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Esther Reeves, Ex. Dir.
752-4618

39. Brown Memorial Baptist
c/o Midtown Churches
1900 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Esther Reeves, Ex. Dir.
752-4618

35. St. Mark's Church
c/o Midtown Churches
1900 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Esther Reeves, Ex. Dir.
752-4618

41. Transitional Housing/
Motel Shelter Program
c/o Midtown Churches
1900 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Esther Reeves, Ex. Dir.
752-4618

42. St. Anne's Church
c/o Midtown Churches
1900 St. Paul Street
Baltimore, MD 21218
Esther Reeves, Ex. Dir.
752-4618



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Individual responses will be held confidential. This information will be used only for the purpose of the research.

Section 1.

1.- When did you start to provide services for the homeless? (mark with an X).

1980 _____ 1981 _____ 1982 _____ 1983 _____ 1984 _____ 1985 _____ 1986 _____
1987 _____ 1988 _____ 1989 _____

2.- Are you (please mark with ah X):

- .- A state service _____
- .- A religious association _____
- .- A private non-religious association _____

Section 2.

1.- What kind of services do you provide?

A.- Beds _____ (Yes or NO).

If is Yes:

- .- How many male beds? _____ (number)
- .- How many female beds? _____ (number)

B.- Health Services? _____ (Yes or No).

C.- Mental Health Services? _____ (Yes or No).

D.- Day Shelter program? _____ (Yes or No).



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E.- Job training programs? _____ (Yes or No).

If is Yes, please describe the program: _____

F.- Educational programs? _____ (Yes os No).

If is Yes please describe de program: _____

G.- Meals? _____ (Yes or No).

If is Yes; which ones? (mark with an X the ones you provide).

.- Breakfast _____

.- Lunch _____

.- Dinner _____

H.- Legal services? _____ (Yes or No).

I.- Transportation Services? _____ (Yes or No).

J.- Counseling Manager? _____ (Yes or No).



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Section 3.

1.- What was the average number of people served per day in:

1980 _____ 1981 _____ 1982 _____ 1983 _____ 1984 _____
1985 _____ 1986 _____ 1987 _____ 1988 _____ 1989 _____

If you did not collect data for the years above, please give the approximate average number of people per day that you serviced last year, or the total for the whole year:

.- Average day _____

.- Approximate total for year _____

2.- Do you follow up the persons served to see if they continue to be homeless?

(Yes or No). _____

3.- How do you measure your success? (Mark with an X the correct).

.- By an increase in the number of persons serviced? _____

.- By the % improvement in your funding? _____

.- By the number of clients that are not longer homeless? _____

Section 4.

1.- Do you depend on any parent organization, or coordination agency? _____ (Yes or NO).

If is Yes, which one _____

2.- Do you coordinate with other agencies that provide services for the homeless?
(Yes or No) _____

3.- Do you have information about services provided by other agencies that work
with the homeless? _____ (Yes or NO).



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If is Yes : How did you get that information? (Please
mark with an X).

.- Informed by the various agencies (private)_____

.- Research by own organization _____

.- Informed through government agencies _____

4.- Is there any central agency in Baltimore which coordinates all the services
for the homeless? (mark with an X).

.- Don't know_____

.- None _____

.- Yes (Please give name)_____

5.- Please give your oppinion and suggestions about the homelessnæssuïssue?

This study has been made possible by the Institute for Policy Studies at Johns
Hopkins University.

A prompt response will be greatly appreciated. Thak you for your help in this
investigation.