TRANSITIONAL HOUSING FOR FAMILIES

Billings, Montana

"You gotta do somethin' - you gotta do what you gotta do."

James

Craig Bjorgum
Thesis
Fall 1992
OUTLINE OF PROJECT

1 - Introduction to Project
   - Introduction to Problem (General)
   - General Causes of Homelessness
   - Describe Targeted user group - Families
     - Causes
     - Problems Physical, Psychological, Mental, Social
     - Needs

2 - Architectural Implications

3 - Project Goals

4 - Proposal
   - Introduction : Abstract
   - Site Implications
     - Vicinity Map
   - Project Theory
     - Social Structure
     - Organizational Structure
   - Spatial Program
   - Important Spatial Considerations

5 - Bibliography

6 - Appendix
   1 - Statistics
   2 - Examples of Projects
   3 - Building Codes
   4 - Miscellaneous Information and Articles
INTRODUCTION

Most Americans can only imagine what it is like to wake up in a cold, dark alley feeling sick and lonely. This nightmare is reality for an estimated half a million people across the United States (White 3). Homelessness is like a disease, it can find its way into cities and towns of all sizes and be the result of a variety of misfortunes. Mental illness, loss of job, eviction, and substance abuse are just a few of the reasons for this growing problem. The homeless population today is not the drunk bums or hobos we saw years ago, but kids, adults, and families of all ages and ethnic backgrounds. Every human being is deserving of food, shelter, and a sense of belonging. Without these basic necessities, an individual or family can find themselves lost in life and become invisible to society. Once these unfortunate people have entered into this miserable state, many of them, over time, also lose the skills needed to live self-sufficiently. The length of the fight in gaining ones self-esteem, dignity, and place back into society can vary a great deal depending on the specific problems and needs of the family or individual.

Not all people who are homeless need special care or services, they only need a place to stay temporarily. For this reason, there are different types of shelters to serve either long or short term stays. Some of the different shelter types are as follows:

Emergency Shelters: These shelters provide only food and shelter for short periods of time. A guests stay can range from one day to a month depending on the individual and on the shelters regulations and guidelines. For the most part, there are no special services at these shelters and often times they lack any sense of privacy for the guests.

Transitional Housing: This is probably the most beneficial type of facility that an individual or family can stay. Transitional housing provides families, or individuals, with temporary housing while helping them get the services they need to regain permanent housing. A broad range of programs fall into this category, from programs which require participation in school or work, to programs that subsidize rents while families save money for permanent housing. Maximum stays vary from six months to two years or more. The living arrangements can vary from congregate facilities to
scattered-site apartments to homes that families may eventually buy. (Homeless Family Report-Minneapolis, 3)

**SRO (Single Room Occupancy) Hotels:** These hotels are considered permanent housing for the once homeless or those suffering from extreme poverty. There is little, if any, help available for those with any social, mental, or physical problems. Because of high cost development projects and costly renovations, the number of SRO Hotels is decreasing and the homeless population is increasing. Even though this type of housing is often permanent, it is an ugly alternative for a place to call home.

Even though Montana's population is considerably small (800,000) in relation to the large area of land, the homeless population make up a portion of this figure (CHAS 13). According to the 1992 CHAS Report, homeless shelters across the state are reporting an increase in the number of homeless persons. The biggest contributors tend to be the larger cities, such as Billings and Great Falls. In Yellowstone County alone there is an estimated 4000 homeless individuals for some time during the year. See Appendix 1 for more detailed statistics.
4 BASIC CAUSES OF HOMELESSNESS

According to "Sociology-An Introduction"
Michael Bassis, Richard Gekkes, Ann Levine

1.) Decline in demand for low-skilled workers

2.) Cutbacks in welfare programs for the poor
   i.e. GA (General Assistance)
   AFDC (Aid to Families with Dependent Children)

3.) Cutbacks in subsidies for disabled-reduction in number of
   people eligible for disability support, reduction in the amount of
   support and deinstitutionalization.

4.) Reduction in the supply of low-income housing.
   Cutbacks in federal spending for low-income housing.
   Gentrification

Alcohol and drugs often become an escape of one's problems (Self-
Medication) for depression, pain, coldness, and suffering.
HOMELESS FAMILIES

"In sum, members of homeless families constitute a significantly large fraction of the homeless population compromising approximately one-quarter of the total, nearly half of whom are homeless children (Wright 59). When speaking of the homeless family, this usually refers to a single mother with one or more children that are living on the street or in a shelter (Wright 57). In order to get these people back into society as self-sufficient families, much more is required than just a roof over their heads and a hot meal now and then. The independent parent as well as the children need plenty of moral support, physical care, and assistance with the basic skills of daily activities and personal hygiene. A large percentage of the homeless single mother's problems can be traced back to their growing up years (Bassuk -Who are Homeless Families?- 429). Some of the early problems that have be brought up include: physical and/or sexual abuse, alcoholic or drug using parents, and poverty stricken childhoods. The average age of single homeless mothers in the United States was found to be 27 years of age (Bassuk 426).

Family homelessness can be the result of several misfortunes such as: eviction because of high rent, loss of jobs and social benefits (Welfare, AFDC), divorce, drug and alcohol addictions, lack of low income housing and gentrification. A large portion of single homeless mothers have fled abusive husbands and turned to the streets with the idea that they will be safer there than at home. Many of the families have lost the support of their families, friends, and relatives so the end result is turning to the streets and living in temporary shelters where few, if any, social services are available (White 14). Even though most single mothers have finished high school or have obtained a GED (Wright 67), they lack work experience and social skills to get and maintain a steady job. The worst part of family homelessness is the children who grow up on the streets with their mothers or fathers who are unable to escape the nightmare. Growing up on the streets has proven to have only negative effects on a child's life including physical, mental, and social problems. Some of these effects on homeless children according to studies by Ellen Bassuk include: depression, anger, anxiety, low self-esteem, uncertainty of life, inadequate nutrition,
dangerous living conditions, violence and abuse, lack of parental
authority, lack of quiet study areas, and the absence of positive role
models (Wright 58). Ellen Bassuk also reminds us that the "large
numbers of homeless children being seen in the shelters and soup
kitchens means that the homeless of the twenty-first century are
already being created" (Wright 58).
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GOALS

- Create a pleasant atmosphere and provide the appropriate services necessary for the guests to return and be self-sufficient within society.

- Design a building that enhances maintenance and hygiene and that is simple but pleasant and secure environment, one that can be run by a small staff (Greer 7).

- Provide services for all types of social groups:
  - Gender
  - Ethnic Background
  - Age
  - Handicapped

- Use generous open spaces to avoid crowding the guests during their times of hardship and insecurity.

- Use natural lighting whenever possible because of its warm qualities (Greer 7).

- Families should be placed in separate apartments, to normalize the family situation (Greer 7).

- Give the families a place where they feel important.

- Design qualitatively, not quantitatively.

- Do NOT institutionalize.
HAMLET FOR THE HOMELESS

Even though homeless families are the result of a variety of misfortunes, they all have one thing in common, a lost sense of belonging within society. They have been labeled as social outcasts and have become invisible to the world around them. Without a given chance, these human beings may never be accepted back into the society that put them in this nightmare to begin with. I would like to provide these people with a place that will give them this second chance.

I intend to create a hamlet (a small village) where families may go to receive the help they need and a place that they can associate or call home during times of hardship. Not only do these people need food, shelter, and social services, they need plenty of positive support and social interaction. I believe the level of social interaction within a particular society as well as the development of a supportive community can be enhanced by the environment that surrounds them. By using the idea of a small village-like atmosphere and neighborhoods, I feel a close, warm, and hospitable place can be achieved while maintaining a high level of security for the users. A good example of this concept is the Federal City Shelter renovation in Washington D.C. which uses sensitive and economical design to transform a 1400 person emergency shelter into a nationally known, one of a kind, homeless shelter (Design Aid: See Appendix 2).

Some of the more general areas I intend to emphasize in creating this small "village" include: 1-Natural lighting primarily for its warm qualities, and artificial primarily for security purposes and spatial definition, 2-color for a cheerful and bright atmosphere as well as an organizational element, 3-various levels of privacy so the families can slowly take their initial steps back into society, 4-sensitiveness to scale depending on public (within village) or private use to enhance the idea of individuality, 5-provision of both interior and exterior for individual families to give the responsibilities and to enhance the idea of the different levels of privacy, and 6-several social areas that will encourage spontaneous social interaction. The main entry shall be inviting to the guests to comfort them and give them an immediate sense of belonging and importance within the village. Circulation shall be
carried through in a simple and orderly manner, interior streets, to prevent further confusion to their times of hardship and disorientation in their lives. In a rehabilitation facility for children in Amsterdam by Aldo Van Eyck, this idea of "interior streets" was used for the circulation and also serves as a gathering space and play area for the children (See Appendix 2).

By using a combination of these general design considerations, I feel that a highly respected and beneficial place can evolve and give families a chance to gain back what every human being is deserving of.
SITE IMPLICATIONS

Site Location: 29th Street and 1st Avenue South
Billings, Montana

The site I have chosen for my transitional housing project is located in the Southeast portion of Billings. The old Labor Temple (11,000 sq. ft.) currently resides on the site with an adjoining open lot (138' x 90') to the north. This is the low-income area of Billings where several buildings stand vacant including warehouses, homes, and retail stores. Most of the abandoned buildings in the area that I also looked at as possible sites, are in strictly commercial zoning areas (Tom Paulson-Floberg Realtors). The Labor Temple however falls in a combined residential-commercial zoning area. After visiting the site on several occasions, one can conclude that the majority of the homeless population of Billings reside in this part of town. With the Women and Family Shelter and the Montana Rescue Mission within a few blocks, this site would be ideal and convenient for a transitional housing facility. A common problem that could be avoided by choosing this site over one closer to the downtown area is neighborhood or social disruption. This occurred with a shelter in Washington D.C. in a subtle way (See Appendix 2). Middle and upper class neighborhoods do not want these people who are stereotyped as "worthless bums" wandering through "their" streets, just as the homeless do not want to feel degraded or be in a place where they are always looked down upon.
PROJECT THEORY

I feel that there is a strong relationship between the social structure of society and the way that the environment is structured and/or organized around the people within that have specific common needs.

Social Structure: The relatively stable and enduring patterns that organize social relationships and provide the basic framework for what we call society.

4 key elements of social structure:
1.) Coordinates individual activities
2.) Provides continuity
3.) Allows for spontaneity
4.) Transforms a collection of people into a coordinated unit - a society

* The above is taken from "Sociology-An Introduction."

Organizational Structure: The way in which the different elements and functions within a building are related to one another to promote the highest level of social interaction and positive social impact for a specific group of users.

Organizational Elements:

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Positive Aspects</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1 - Village</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>- Collection or groups of people</td>
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<td>- Spontaneous activities and social interaction (all ages)</td>
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<td>- Security for the guests</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Small Scale</td>
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<td>2 - Neighborhoods</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Sense of belonging</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Simplistic Identification</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Realistic Lifestyle</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Individuality</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Security</td>
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<tr>
<td>- Spontaneous social interaction</td>
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<td>- Community Support</td>
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</tbody>
</table>
- Various levels of privacy
  - Outside Public
  - Inside Public
  - Inside Park
  - Individual Neighborhoods
  - "Front Porch"
  - Apartment-Home

3 - Streets
- Recognized within society
  - "Safe Streets"
- Organized
- Spontaneous activities and social interaction
- Lively

4 - Home
- Offers a sense of privacy
- Realistic Lifestyle

Things associated with Organizational Elements:

Village: Square, Park, Neighborhoods, Small Scale, Kiosk, Lights, Sidewalks, Mixed use buildings

Park: Play areas, Sand Box, Lights, Pathways, Trees-Greenery, Benches, Tables, Kiosks, Water (ponds, fountains, streams)

Street: Street Lights, Benches, Storefronts, Sidewalks, Signs, Mixed use buildings, Trees

Neighborhood: Community center, Groups of homes, Playgrounds,

Home: Front porch & light, Doorbell, Mailbox, Individual character, Swinging bench

Calming Elements Within Organizational Structure:

Trees: Soften the environment, Relaxing to the users

Colors: Brighter and more cheerful atmosphere
Water: Calming and soothing to the ear, Visually pleasing

Light (natural & artificial): Warm qualities, Security, Tranquil

Interior Park: Comforting, Softens the environment, Soothing, Animated space (playful), Relaxing
SPACIAL PROGRAM

Residential
Live-in Staff Apartment 695 sq. ft.
Dorm Type Apartment
Common Baths
Studio Type Apartments
1 Bedroom Apartments
2 Bedroom Apartments

Social Areas
Visitor/Waiting Lounge 300 sq. ft.
Dining Room 370 sq. ft.
Multipurpose Room 460 sq. ft.
Laundry Room 200 sq. ft.
Chapel 500 sq. ft.
Children’s Gameroom 155 sq. ft.
Total 2015 sq. ft.

Guest Services
Money Management Office 145 sq. ft.
Infant and Child Care Office 300 sq. ft.
Education and Employment Office
Counseling Offices 2 @ 100 = 200 sq. ft.
Housing Office 240 sq. ft.
Drug and Alcohol Assistance 220 sq. ft.
Medical Office 515 sq. ft.
Conference Room 220 sq. ft.
Kiosk 35 sq. ft.
Kitchen 545 sq. ft.
Daycare Room 520 sq. ft.
Staff Offices (Total) 600 sq. ft.
Staff Meeting Room 220 sq. ft.
Receptionist Office 160 sq. ft.
Total 4065 sq. ft.
Building Service
Custodial/Mechanical
Public Restrooms
Storage Units
- Large
- Small

630 sq. ft.
4 @ 35 = 140 sq. ft.
3 @ 45 = 135 sq. ft.
18 @ 21 = 380 sq. ft.
Total 1285 sq. ft.
## IMPORTANT SPATIAL CONSIDERATIONS

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Greer, Nora R. "Architects and the Homeless." Presented at Montana State University, School of Architecture: Fall 1987.


"Architects can solve many problems, but they'll never change the fact that the best shelter for the homeless . . . is a home."

(Alder 39)
It is estimated that approximately 4,000 homeless individuals reside in Yellowstone County for some time during the year.

The Montana Rescue Mission has provided over 37,000 nights of temporary lodging during the past year at the Montana Rescue Mission and at the Women's and Family Shelter.

RESCUE MISSION DAILY AVERAGE IN 1991 = 59.5 SINGLE INDIVIDUALS
WOMEN'S AND FAMILY SHELTER DAILY AVERAGE IN 1991 = 46.5 INDIVIDUALS

The Gateway House has provided over 6,500 days of shelter to abused women and children.

GATEWAY HOUSE DAILY AVERAGE IN 1991 = 22 WOMEN AND CHILDREN
EQUAL SERVICES PROVIDED FOR OVER 650 HOMELESS/HALF NATIVE AMERICAN

Based on a detailed and comprehensive review of available data sources our best estimate of homeless individuals residing in Yellowstone County for some part of each year for all ages is 4,000. This number includes 300 adolescents living apart from family, 800 single individuals, and 2,800 individuals and families. We estimate that 1,600 of the 2,800 are children. We can assume that seven out of eight single individuals are male, rough projections would assume approximately equal distribution of the sexes in the other categories. A majority of the individuals would be expected to be homeless for only part of the year.

(from pages 2, 5 and 6 of the Grant)

Marion Dozier, Homeless/Emergency Coordinator
May 14, 1992
ABSTRACT

of the

1992 MONTANA

COMPREHENSIVE HOUSING AFFORDABILITY STRATEGY

"AN EQUAL OPPORTUNITY EMPLOYER"
Montana has not escaped the effects of national housing problems. An analysis of the number of low-rent units and the number of households earning less than $10,000 per year indicates that there may be as much as a 30% gap in the provision of affordable rental housing to those households. This has particularly affected families who make up 51% of all households, whose children constitute the largest single age group in the state’s population, and who are well represented on waiting lists for assisted units.

There are no signs that the void is being filled. There has been little new construction of multifamily units for low and moderate income Montanans. Shortages in the state’s major cities are driving up monthly rental payments. The cost burden to lower income renters in the major cities is on the average eight points higher than it is for rural Montana renters, and can be as much as eighteen points higher.

Single family units are also in short supply in Montana’s major cities while few new units have been constructed in recent years. The shortage has driven up the cost of the existing stock, placing homeownership out of reach for many low and moderate income Montanans living in the major cities. Average monthly mortgage and down payments are approximately 23% higher in the major cities than in rural areas of the state. The rural portions of the western region, which are more densely populated than other rural areas, also exhibit high rental and homeownership costs.

Rehabilitation of the existing housing stock is a pressing issue for Montana. Many occupied units across the state are in poor condition because their owners cannot afford the costs of maintenance. Elderly Montanans, in particular, who constitute the largest group of home owners in the state, often lack the resources to maintain their homes. For potential home buyers in many areas, most notably the eastern region of the state and in Butte-Silver Bow, units which stand vacant for long periods of time constitute a rehabilitation problem. Often the cost of bringing the units to a liveable standard is prohibitive. The poor condition of the units can also preclude the use of mortgage insurance programs, without which the units are not easily financed.

Beyond the issue of rehabilitation as it relates to maintenance and improvements, there is a also need for modification to existing units. Modification to units is required in order to make housing handicapped-accessible to Montana’s physically disabled population, some of whom currently live in units which are not adequately equipped. In addition, energy inefficient units are placing an unnecessary cost burden on Montan’s renters and home owners. Energy conservation modifications are needed to address the overall issue of affordable housing across the state.

There are a number of groups in Montana who have special needs linked to the provision of affordable housing. For homeless people, families headed by single parents, and elderly, there is a need for supportive services which facilitate independence. Homeless people in Montana, while not as prevalent in this state as in other areas of the country, are finding fewer available units in local shelters. Many facilities are simply not able to meet the need for emergency and transitional housing.

Single parents head 17% of Montana’s families. Where there is a high rate of single-parent families in public housing facilities—a situation more common to Montana’s major cities—the provision of daycare and job training services is needed both to facilitate the family’s move toward self-sufficiency and maintain a stable public living environment. Whereas the elderly make up 24.4% of Montana’s adult population and represent the largest group of home owners in the state, congregant care housing for this group which fosters independent living while providing supportive services is a compelling need.

There are more than 50,000 mobile homes in Montana. Whereas mobile homes represent an affordable housing alternative to many Montanans, they are not a good long-term solution to the affordability issue. Mobile home owners do not realize a return on their investment and face exclusionary zoning laws in many cities. The challenge to the policy makers in Montana is to present an affordable housing alternative which is more equitable to low income Montanans.

While the majority of Montana’s population is homogeneous, American Indians are the state’s largest minority and constitute nearly 6% of our state’s total population. Although reservations are not currently part of the CHAS process, it is important to consider that 22.1% of Montana’s Indians, or 8,849 are urban dwellers, living primarily in Great Falls and Billings. The affordable housing needs of this population are therefore concentrated in those two communities.
A. ONE-YEAR IMPLEMENTATION PLAN

A.1 GOALS AND OBJECTIVES FOR FISCAL YEAR 1992

The following represent goals for CHAS related activities to be initiated in Fiscal Year 1992. These goals are based on needs identified during the preparation of the CHAS, including oral and written testimony received on the draft CHAS document during the sixty-day review and comment period. These goals are as follows:

a. The Department of Commerce, as the state 'Participating Jurisdiction,' will administer the new HUD HOME housing assistance program to increase housing opportunities in Montana. For Fiscal Year 1992, Montana has been allocated $3,981,000 in funds for the HOME program.

b. Analyze additional 1990 housing related information expected to be released by the U.S. Census during the early spring of 1992. After review of this information, the Department of Commerce will determine whether it will be necessary to design and conduct a detailed housing affordability needs study for the entire state during 1992.

c. Conduct additional analysis of housing needs for groups in the state which have been identified as having special needs, including homeless, disabled, elderly, large families, etc. This analysis would include needs of those requiring special types of supportive housing, including either mentally or physically handicapped people.

d. Encourage local governments to evaluate local plans, policies, and ordinances to determine whether they contain unnecessary or discriminatory provisions that may establish regulatory barriers to the siting and construction of affordable housing. This could include evaluation of community comprehensive plans, subdivision and zoning regulations, development permit systems, and impact fees. Amendments and modifications to existing local plans, policies, and ordinances may be necessary to remove barriers, thereby increasing the availability of decent and affordable housing.

e. Cooperate in research efforts regarding the housing affordability needs of Montana's off-reservation Indian population. During 1992, the Governor's Office on Aging will sponsor a survey of the socioeconomic characteristics of Montana's Indian population, both on and off-reservation, including housing characteristics. During the next two years, the Coordinator of Indian Affairs of the Department of Commerce will compile a profile of Native Americans in the state. Information from these efforts will be available for the Fiscal Year 1993 and 1994 CHAS documents.

f. Cooperate with the Montana Human Rights Commission to encourage public education regarding federal and state fair housing laws affecting provision of affordable housing for minorities, disabled people, and other special groups historically experiencing housing discrimination.

g. Explore the idea of establishing a state housing coordinating committee to aid communication and coordination among housing providers and the persons they serve.

CONTACT:

GEORGE WARN, Chief
Housing Assistance Bureau
Department of Commerce
1424 9th Avenue
Helena, MT. 59620
(406) 444-2804
A. MARKET AND INVENTORY CONDITIONS

The state of Montana is the fourth largest state in land area and yet has a sparse, rural population. With just less than 800,000 people, the state has only two entitlement areas (areas with populations of 50,000 or more). They are Billings and Great Falls. While the entitlement areas are required under the National Affordable Housing Act of 1990 to submit separate CHAS reports, Billings and Great Falls have also been integrated into both the tabular presentation of data and the narrative of this report. The city of Missoula, which is expected to reach a population of 50,000 in the coming years, may become the state’s third entitlement area.

The following discussion of the state’s market and inventory conditions seeks to establish the adequacy of decent and affordable housing in Montana. Beyond the descriptive value of the information, the analysis has provided the necessary background for identifying the state’s housing needs. By presenting demographic, household, and income information, as well as a general assessment of the availability and affordability of housing in the state, a data base has been established for assessing the needs of specific demographic groups and household types. The analysis takes into account the differences in housing issues among geographic areas of the state by comparing cities and rural areas as well as five different geographic regions. The five regions include the east, north central, south central, southwest, and the west. (See age 55 for a map illustrating the five Montana regions.)

Because of the time constraints associated with the development of this report, there are informational gaps with regard to some issues, most notably condition of housing, affordability of housing, and the number of disabled and homeless persons in Montana. Future CHAS updates will have the benefit of current, detailed census data which will satisfy some of the gaps in this report.

A.1 DEMOGRAPHICS

Montana’s Population. Montana is essentially a homogeneous state. Out of the 799,065 people residing in the state, almost 92% are white, followed in number by the American Indians who make up approximately 6% of the population. The majority of Montana’s American Indians live on Montana’s seven Indian reservations including:

1. the Blackfeet Reservation located in north central Montana;
2. the Rocky Boy Reservation located in north central Montana;
3. the Fort Belknap Reservation located in north central Montana;
4. the Fort Peck Reservation located in eastern Montana;
5. the Northern Cheyenne Reservation located in parts of both the eastern and south central regions of Montana;
6. the Crow Reservation located in south central Montana; and
7. the Flathead Reservation located in western Montana.

American Indians represent higher proportions of the population in those regions containing Indian reservations. The north central region has the highest proportion of American Indians—34%. Although Indian reservations are not part of the CHAS process at this time, it is important to note that 22% (8,849) of Montana’s Indian population reside in Montana’s major cities, the highest concentration being in Great Falls.

Montana is a gender-balanced state with essentially a one-to-one ratio of females to males. Although the major cities tend to have slightly more females than males, rural areas are quite evenly balanced.
Just as the elderly represent a significant portion of the population, they represent a significant portion of Montana's households. Of all households in the state, 30.4% (92,976) are elderly households — 12.4% are elderly individuals and 18% are elderly families. Accordingly, elderly families occupy over half of the two-person households in the state and just under half of all one-person households. Individual households (these households contain one person who is under the age of 65) represent 14% of all households.

State Household Distributions. Fifty-eight percent of Montana’s households are located in rural Montana even though 60% of the population is located there. The proportion of households is lower because family and household sizes are larger in rural portions of the state. The rural areas are characterized by large concentrations of family households as well as elderly family households.

The major Montana cities are characterized by more individual households than rural Montana. The concentrations of individual elderly households is fairly constant in cities and rural areas. However, just as Butte-Silver Bow and Kalispell have higher concentrations of elderly, they also have higher concentrations of elderly households, particularly elderly family households.

Because Bozeman exhibits some unique household patterns, its circumstance is worth isolating. This area is truly characterized by its young adult population, individual households and the most intense demand for homes. The proportion of young adults and individuals is inordinately high. Bozeman also has an inordinately low concentration of elderly and elderly households.

**A.3 FAMILIES**

Of the 211,650 families in Montana, the majority are rural—61.5%. Montana families are generally headed by married couples, although the number of households headed by single people is significant and is of particular importance with regard to a discussion of affordable housing. Married couples represent 83.4% of the state’s family types. Of the married couples, 48.6% have children, while 51.4% have no children. Elderly families, which generally consist of only a husband and wife will comprise a large portion of the married couples with no children. The concentrations of couples is higher in rural areas of the state. Conversely, there are higher concentrations of households headed by single persons in the major cities.

Currently in Montana, there are 35,139 family households which are headed by single persons. This represents nearly 17% of the family households. Seventy-one percent of these households have children present. Furthermore, 75% of these households are headed by single women who are more likely to have children than a single male headed
because the term ‘disabled’ is not adequately defined. Further, data is often collected in connection with a particular programmatic requirement rather than in a more comprehensive manner. For example, 25,000 disabled persons are currently receiving social security-disability payments in Montana. The 1980 census information indicates that there are 40,515 Montanans whose disability prevents them from working, and 4,879 Montanans who have transportation disabilities. This second number corresponds fairly closely with the estimated 5,000 persons issued state handicapped parking permits annually. There are also an additional 2,000-5,000 persons living in Montana who are severely mentally disabled. It is important to note that according to the Rural Institute on Disabilities, in rural areas of the country, there are higher prevalence and incidence rates for persons with disabilities than in urban areas. It is, therefore, difficult to use overall national projections to estimate the number of disabled persons living in Montana.

Montana’s Homeless. Homeless shelters across the state are reporting increased numbers of homeless persons. A survey of homeless shelters conducted in 1990 by the Montana Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services indicated that 48,490 total nights lodging were provided by shelters statewide in 1989. Of the total clients receiving shelter assistance, 69% were men, 25% were women, and 6% were children. The Poverello Center in Missoula served 7,360 persons during 1990 as compared with a total of 23,914 for the five years from 1984 to 1988; an average of 4,782 persons served per year. Accurate figures on the number of homeless in Montana are not available at this time. Further research is required to quantify the actual numbers of homeless.

AIDS Afflicted Montanans. Montana has had 107 documented cases of AIDS according to the Montana Department of Health and Environmental Sciences. As of June 30, 1991, 302 persons have tested HIV positive of the 27,279 tested since 1985. Given that the entire state has not been tested, projections have been made regarding the likely number of HIV positive persons in the state. The Center for Disease Control projects that there are an estimated 600 HIV positive persons in Montana. According to the Coolfont Model, the number may be as high as 895.

A.6 HOUSING UNITS

Single family units are the predominant unit type in Montana. They comprise 68.1% of the state’s total units. Multifamily units represent the second largest group at 15.7%. Mobile homes comprise 15% of the total units. Rural Montana has a higher concentration of single family units than the major cities, while multifamily units are more common in the major cities. Rural areas of the state have more mobile homes than the major cities. The concentration of mobile homes is particularly high in the western region of the state.

A.7 CONDITION OF HOUSING

Recent data which depicts the condition of housing in Montana was not available for the formation of this document. For the purposes of the next CHAS document, the detailed 1990 census data will be available. The information contained in this section has been based on 1980 census data and the perceptions of housing officials across the state.
AFFORDABILITY FOR RENTERS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Rural</th>
<th>Median Rent Including Utilities</th>
<th>Cost Burden $10,000 Household Income</th>
<th>Cost Burden $15,000 Household Income</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>East</td>
<td>$267</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Central</td>
<td>267</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Central</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. West</td>
<td>272</td>
<td>33%</td>
<td>22%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>302</td>
<td>36%</td>
<td>24%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Major Cities</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Billings</td>
<td>$344</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>28%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bozeman</td>
<td>338</td>
<td>41%</td>
<td>27%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Butte-Silver Bow</td>
<td>318</td>
<td>38%</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Great Falls</td>
<td>452</td>
<td>54%</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Helena</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Kalispell</td>
<td>357</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Missoula</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>23%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Housing Affordability Analysis; CDS of Montana, 1991

this level of cost burden. The situation for that income group is of particular concern in Great Falls where the renter cost burden is highest at 54%. Bozeman, Billings, and Kalispell also show high cost burden figures in the 40% range.

Results of the telephone survey suggest that, while the 1990 census figures depicting the median rent for Missoula are relatively low, the supply of rental units has become so scarce that monthly rental costs are skyrocketing as this document is being prepared. The same is true for Bozeman as both areas are experiencing an influx of students in the Universities. Respondents to the telephone survey from smaller communities adjacent to Bozeman and Missoula reported that their communities are absorbing the housing demand from those cities and, consequently, housing shortages and rent increases.

Rural renters with annual household incomes of $10,000 or less appear to be spending more than 30% of their income on housing as well. The cost burden to rural renters tends to be between 32% and 36%. If the number of households in this income group is proportional to the number of households overall, rural Montana contains approximately 35,000 households experiencing this level of cost burden.

For those households earning $15,000 annually, the cost burden in rural Montana is between 21% and 24%. In the major cities, the same income group spends between 23% and 29%. Because rental costs in Great Falls are high, even households earning $15,000 annually are paying more than 30% of their income on housing.

Home Buyers. What holds true for renters is generally true for first time home buyers in Montana. That is, the cost of buying a home in rural Montana is less than it is in the major cities, although there is some disparity among rural areas in the average asking price of vacant-for sale homes. In the rural regions of eastern and north central Montana where the vacancy rates are high, the average asking price for a vacant-for sale home is under $26,000. At this rate, a household income of approximately $14,000 would make a home in those areas affordable. In the rural regions of south central and south western Montana which have relatively high vacancy rates as well, a home is currently selling for around $50,000. An annual household income of approximately $23,000 would generally make a home affordable in these regions. The average asking price of a vacant-for sale home in rural western Montana is substantially higher than the rest of the rural areas. At the current average asking price, a household income of approximately $29,000 would be required. Aside from the city of Bozeman, this region exhibits the highest home acquisition costs in the state.

In most of the major cities, average asking prices are between $49,000 and $54,000. Butte-Silver Bow exhibits the lowest cost of home acquisition, while Bozeman exhibits the highest requiring an approximate annual income of $33,500. Montana’s major cities have comparatively low vacancy rates ranging from 4% to 10.2% as opposed...
E. INVENTORY OF HOUSING PROGRAMS, FACILITIES, AND ASSISTED UNITS

E.1 PROGRAMS

E.1a CHAS COVERED PROGRAMS

Applications for the following HUD funded programs will require certification through the newly mandated state Comprehensive Housing Affordability Strategy (the CHAS). In addition, applications submitted for these programs by entitlement communities will have to be certified as to their compliance with a local CHAS document. In Montana this will pertain to Billings and Great Falls.

■ CDBG Entitlement Program

General: This program funds activities which benefit low and moderate income persons in the areas of neighborhood revitalization, economic development, and public works.

Objectives: Priority is given to projects which benefit those persons in the low and moderate income categories, aid in the elimination of slums and blight, and which address other urgent community development needs for health and welfare for which there are no other financial resources available.

Activities:
- acquisition of property
- relocation and demolition
- rehabilitation of residential and non-residential property
- construction of public facilities
- conversion of schools for eligible purposes
- public services
- activities related to energy conservation and renewable energy
- assistance to profit businesses for economic development activities

Ineligible Activities:
- government buildings
- political activities
- income payments
- new housing and other facilities offering 24 hour care

Eligible Applicants:
- standard metropolitan statistical areas (SMSA’s)
- urban counties (200,000) excluding entitlement cities
- cities with populations of at least 50,000

Contact: HUD Office of Community Development and Planning
Denver, Colorado (303) 844-5278

■ CDBG State Program

General: Each state has the opportunity to administer non-entitlement CDBG funds. States electing to participate in the CDBG program make grants only to units of general local government that carry out development activities. Each state must develop funding priorities and criteria for selecting projects and have three major responsibilities: developing Community Development objectives; deciding how to distribute funds among communities in non-entitlement areas; and ensuring that recipient communities comply with applicable state and federal laws/requirements.

Objectives: The primary objective of the CDBG program is to develop viable urban communities by providing decent housing and a suitable living environment and by expanding economic oppor-
opportunities, principally for persons of low and moderate income. Sixty percent of the funds must be used for activities which benefit low/moderate income people.

Activities:
- acquisition of property for public purposes
- construction of public works projects
- demolition
- rehabilitation of public and private buildings
- public services
- planning activities
- assistance to non-profits for community development activities
- assistance to for-profit business for economic development activities

Ineligible Activities (same as for entitlement communities)

Eligible Applicants:
- states (re-granting to local governments)

Contact: Montana Department of Commerce
CDBG Program Office, Gus Byrom (406) 444-3757

■ HOME Investment Partnership Act

General Purpose and Objectives: The Home program seeks to expand the supply of decent, affordable housing for low and very low income families with emphasis on rental housing, to build state and local capacity to carry out affordable housing programs, and provide for coordinated assistance to participants in the development of affordable low income housing. Montana’s allocation for Fiscal Year 1992 is $3,981,000.

Activities:
- rehabilitation
- substantial rehabilitation
- new Construction (some for large families, single room occupancy units (SRO’s), handicapped units, etc. based on formula allocations)
- acquisition
- tenant based rental assistance

Ineligible Activities:
- administrative costs
- non-federal match
- tenant-based assistance in conjunction with other programs

Targeted groups:
Rental Units
- 90% of funds to families not exceeding 60% of median
- Remaining funds to families not exceeding 80 percent of median
- 20% of the units must go to very low income families paying no more than 30% of adjusted income or paying no more than the gross rent as determined by the Low Income Tax Credit Program
- Rents may not exceed the lesser of:
  - fair market rent (FMR), or
  - 30% of adjusted family income of a family at 65% of median
- Units to remain affordable for the life of property or as HUD deems feasible

Homeownership
- 100% of funds to families below 80% of median
- Funds are available to only first time home buyers
- The home must constitute the family’s principal residence

41
C. SAFAH (Supplemental Assistance for Facilities to Assist the Homeless)
General Objectives: SAFAH encourages innovative approaches for those currently living in transitional housing to obtain permanent housing with supportive services.

Activities:
- interest free advances to defray costs of acquisition, substantial rehabilitation, and conversion
- grants for moderate rehabilitation
- grants for supportive services
- grants for operating costs
  (maximum grant: $1,000,000 grant/3 years)

Targeted Populations:
- homeless families with children
- elderly currently residing in transitional housing

Applicants:
- states
- metropolitan cities
- urban counties
- Indians tribes
- private, non-profit organizations

Contact: Montana Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services, Jim Nolan (406) 444-4545

D. ESG (Emergency Shelter Grants) Program
General Objectives: This program provides grants to help improve the quality of existing emergency shelters for the homeless, to make available additional shelters, to meet the costs of operating shelters and of providing essential social services to homeless individuals and to help prevent homelessness.

Activities:
- renovation
- major rehabilitation
- building conversion
- homeless preservation
- operational costs excluding payroll expenses

Targeted Population:
- homeless persons

Applicants:
- states
- metropolitan cities
- urban counties
- territories
- units of local government and non-profits (apply to states)

Contacts: HUD, Denver Regional Office
Linda Williams (303) 844-4666
Montana Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services
Jim Nolan (406) 444-4545
• development methods
  • new construction
  • rehabilitation
  • acquisition of housing for group homes
  • acquisition of housing from the Resolution Trust Corporation (RTC) for group homes and
    independent living facilities
• types of housing
  • group homes
  • independent living facilities
  • immediate care facility

Targeted Population:
• a household composed of one or more persons, at least one of whom has a physical disability, development disability or chronic mental illness which:
  • is expected to be of long and indefinite duration
  • substantially impedes the person's ability to live independently, and
  • is of such a nature that such ability could be improved by more suitable housing conditions

Applicants:
• Private, non-profit organizations

Contact: HUD, Denver Regional Office
Carolyn Sperry (303) 844-6261

### Supportive Housing for Elderly Persons (Section 202)

General Objectives: Section 202 Provides funding to expand the supply of housing with supportive services for elderly persons.

Activities:
• types of financing
  • capital advances
  • project rental assistance
• development Methods
  • new construction
  • rehabilitation
  • acquisition of housing from the RTC

Targeted Population:
• very low income persons, 62 years of age or older

Applicants:
• private, non-profit organizations
• consumer cooperatives

Contact: HUD, Denver Regional Office
Carolyn Sperry, (303) 844-6261

### HOPE Program:

General Objectives: The HOPE program has been created to increase homeownership for low income and working poor families in three areas:

A. HOPE I - Public Housing Homeownership and Resident Management. HUD will provide $1 billion in grants over 3 years to fund activities needed to develop and implement a successful homeownership program for public housing residents.
Activities:
• grants will be made available to non-profit organizations or public agencies in cooperation with non-profits to purchase:
  • single-family property owned by HUD, VA, FMHA, the RTC, state or local governments, or public housing authorities
  • multifamily property owned by any of these entities except HUD or a PHA
• grants will be used for acquisition, rehabilitation, counseling and replacement reserves

Applicants must provide $1 for every $2 in Federal HOPE funds.

Contact: HUD, Regional Office of Community Planning & Development
Denver, CO
Ramona Elizalde (303) 844-4666

Low Income Housing Preservation
General Objectives:
HUD will provide $1.074 billion in grants over 3 years to resident groups in federally insured and subsidized multifamily projects to help them purchase their buildings and become homeowners when an existing owner chooses to prepay the mortgage. Non-profit neighborhood groups working on behalf of resident councils are also eligible. Prepayment of mortgages can potentially eliminate the low income use restrictions on these properties. Tenants can be protected from losing their household be being afforded the opportunity to purchase the property.

Contact: HUD, Denver Regional Office
Dave Jacops (303) 844-5121

Housing Opportunities for People with AIDS
(additional information pending)

E.1b PROGRAMS EMPLOYED IN MONTANA

The June, 1991 HUD Report entitled A HUD Perspective of Montana noted that importation of capital into Montana via conventional sources is difficult. No survey of conventional lenders, pension funds, or other potential sources of private capital has been undertaken.

While Montana does make good use of its limited resources as indicated by the following programs, the willingness of lenders to commit to housing development depends upon the availability of public funds. Specific commitments of local dollars for housing development are unlikely to occur or predict without substantial state and federal participation.

STATE OF MONTANA PROGRAMS

The Montana Department of Commerce Housing Programs

I. The Community Development Block Grant Program (CDBG) is located within the Local Government Assistance Division of the Department of Commerce. The program is active in assisting local governments in applying for CDBG funds primarily for the rehabilitation of existing units to house low and moderate income persons. In December 1991 the CDBG program awarded $1,500,000 in grants for four communities ($375,000 each) for having rehabilitation projects, a generally consistent level of funding from year to year within the program.

II. The Section 8 Housing Bureau of the Department of Commerce administers 3,800 Section 8 certificates, vouchers, and moderate rehabilitation units statewide, for a total budget of $18,000,000. Distribution of these units was described in the previous sections.
• Home Repair and Remodeling
• Graduate Builders Institute
• Home Energy Conservation Simulator Program
• Energy Information Project

Montana Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services Housing Programs

Two McKinney Act Programs are administered through the Human Services Bureau of the Department of Social and Rehabilitation Services (SRS). The two programs include the Emergency Shelter Grant program (ESG) and the Emergency Community Services Homeless Grant Program. The Bureau will also be active in those programs under the National Affordable Housing Act of 1990 which deal with persons with special needs, mentally and physically disabled persons, homeless persons, and persons needing transitional housing.

The Governor’s Office on Aging

This Office brings together persons concerned about housing for elderly persons in Montana. While they do not administer a particular housing program, they undertake needs assessments on behalf of elderly Montanans in the area of housing in addition to other concerns (medical issues, nutrition and public policy generally). During 1992, the Office will sponsor a survey of the socioeconomic characteristics of Montana’s Indian population, including housing characteristics.

LOCAL AGENCIES AND AUTHORITIES ASSISTING HOUSING

Local Governments

Many local governments are actively involved in housing development in their counties and communities. Local governments, community development agencies, and planning offices work with the Montana Department of Commerce to bring federal housing funds to their communities, notably CDBG funds.

The Montana Urban Renewal law provides for the use of tax increment financing (TIF) by local governments to assist in community redevelopment activities. While this financing mechanism has been used primarily for economic and public infrastructure development, its use can be extended to the development of housing. Tax increment districts are typically located in downtown areas and surrounding neighborhoods where land use regulations tend to allow multifamily housing development.

TIF makes use of new tax dollars which accrue from new development within a designated area after a certain date and for a specified period of time. This mechanism has raised millions of dollars for redevelopment in Kalispell, Butte-Silver Bow, Billings, Great Falls, Helena, and Missoula. It is not particularly useful, however, in rural communities which have not experienced large developments in their downtown areas. Given Montana’s method of determining taxable value of real property (3.86% of appraised value), one million dollars of investment would produce only $11,580 of new taxes using a mill rate of .300. Personal property is taxed somewhat higher at 9%, but significant amounts of investment in equipment would be required before a sizable increment was realized.

In those cities where tax increment financing dollars are still available, some funds could be committed to housing development. However, rural areas cannot typically take advantage of this self-funding mechanism.

Rural areas are experiencing significant problems due to stagnant and decreasing markets. Non-governmental funding mechanisms are limited and where new housing is required, substantial governmental assistance will be necessary.
A number of Montana communities have used CDBG funds to leverage private lender and private developer participation, thereby stretching limited federal dollars. Further, lenders that participate in such programs are credited under the Community Reinvestment Act (CRA) for assisting in revitalization activities. CDBG project income has also been used in a number of Montana communities to leverage private dollars for housing development. Specific dollar amounts are not available.

**Private Developers**

The rehabilitation and new construction of housing units depends in large measure on the ability of private developers to invest in the development of these units. There are only a few active developers in the state, however, and Montana often finds itself in the position of having to rely on the importation of private development capital from other states in the region.

**OTHER ISSUES AND PROGRAMS**

Little research has been done in the State of Montana regarding the ability to use the programs which were established under the federal Financial Institutions Reform, Recovery and Enforcement Act of 1989. The Act, which was a direct outcome of the Savings and Loan crisis, has three important housing components. The first component is the development of the Resolution Trust Corporation or RTC. The RTC is responsible for the disposition of assets, including houses and multifamily apartments which were held by now defunct thrift organizations. Secondly, the Act mandates an Affordable Housing Program for the Federal Home Loan Bank system to provide housing for low income persons. Under this second provision, Federal Home Loan Banks are required to set aside a portion of their net earnings over the next few years in a special fund to be used for low income housing. Finally, the Act mandates that the Federal Home Loan Banks participate in the Community Investment Program. This program requires the Banks to provide advances to member thrift organizations to provide lower interest financing for housing. This program may provide a viable, alternative means of financing for projects which cannot be financed with tax-exempt obligations.

It has been suggested that the state foster better coordination among the various federal agencies which provide housing. There may be additional opportunities for the formation of capital for affordable housing through the coordinated efforts of federal, state, and local housing officials, working with private lenders. In particular, it would be useful to explore whether the Community Reinvestment Act can expand the role of lenders in providing affordable housing in Montana.

### E.2 HOMELESS FACILITIES

There are numerous organizations involved in assisting the needs of the homeless. The following information is taken from the Comprehensive Homeless Assistance Plan prepared by the State of Montana in the fall of 1990 as mandated by the Stewart B. McKinney Homeless Act of 1988. Information on the number of units of shelter housing is not available by locale.

- Residential Shelters for Youth (Runaway Shelters) .................................................... 9
- Residential Shelters for Women and Youth (Domestic Violence Shelters) .............. 14
- Residential Shelters for Individuals (Rescue Missions, Religious Centers) .......... 7
- Agencies Providing Meals or Shelter by Voucher Payment (e.g. Salvation Army) .... 25
- Agencies Providing Meals on Site (Various) .......................................................... 12
- Agencies Providing Meals to All Persons 60+ Years (Area Agencies on Aging) ...... 82
- Agencies Providing Referral Services for Food, Shelter, Social Concerns, Employment and Health Needs (Welfare, Offices, Shelters, etc.) ......................... 207
- Food Banks Providing Emergency Supplies of Food ................................................. 43
- Transitional Housing for the Mentally Ill ......................................................... 20
Billings HUD Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation Units (State administered)
23 efficiency units
36 1 bedroom units
27 2 bedroom units
1 3 bedroom unit
2 4 bedroom units

Billings HUD Section 8 Vouchers (State administered)
8 2 bedroom units
4 3 bedroom units
2 4 bedroom units

All other HUD Section 8 Certificates (State administered)
65 1 bedroom units
66 2 bedroom units
28 3 bedroom units
8 4 bedroom units

All other HUD Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation Units (State administered)
3 efficiency units
23 1 bedroom units
5 2 bedroom units
1 3 bedroom unit

All other HUD Section 8 Vouchers (State administered)
6 1 bedroom units
20 2 bedroom units
16 3 bedroom units
1 4 bedroom unit

Community Development Block Grants
No. of Units Assisted: 145 (new and rehabilitated)

Farmers Home Administration Assisted Units
281 elderly units
63 family units
4 congregant units

North Central Region:

Great Falls Public Housing Authority
490 family/elderly units
73 family/elderly Section 8 certificates
56 family/elderly Section 8 vouchers

Great Falls HUD Section 8 Certificates (State administered)
115 1 bedroom units
115 2 bedroom units
53 3 bedroom units
12 4 bedroom units

Great Falls HUD Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation Units (State administered)
2 efficiency units
94 1 bedroom units
105 2 bedroom units
71 3 bedroom units
5 4 bedroom units
Helena HUD Section 8 Vouchers (State administered)
  8 1 bedroom units
  14 2 bedroom units
  11 3 bedroom units
  3 4 bedroom units

All Other HUD Section 8 Certificates (State administered)
  145 1 bedroom units
  171 2 bedroom units
  74 3 bedroom units
  14 4 bedroom units

All Other HUD Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation Units (State administered)
  6 efficiency units
  102 1 bedroom units
  44 2 bedroom units
  9 3 bedroom units
  1 4 bedroom unit

All Other HUD Section 8 Vouchers (State administered)
  14 1 bedroom units
  31 2 bedroom units
  25 3 bedroom units
  6 4 bedroom units

Community Development Block Grants
  No. of Units Assisted: 338 (rehabilitated)

Farmers Home Administration Assisted Units
  60 elderly units
  101 family units
  20 elderly/family combinations

Western Region:
Missoula Public Housing Authority no vacancies
  167 family units
  38 elderly units
  252 Section 8 Vouchers
Whitefish Public Housing Authority no vacancies
  50 elderly/handicapped units

HUD Section 8 Certificates (inc. Missoula) (State administered)
  128 1 bedroom units
  122 2 bedroom units
  48 3 bedroom units
  8 4 bedroom units

HUD Section 8 Moderate Rehabilitation Units (inc. Missoula) (State administered)
  34 efficiency units
  92 1 bedroom units
  13 2 bedroom units
  10 3 bedroom units
  2 4 bedroom units
### GENDER

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<th>Male</th>
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<th>Female</th>
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<td>Percent of Population</td>
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Source: 1990 Census Data; Summary Tape File 1A for Counties, Cities, and Census Designated Places.

### AGE DISTRIBUTION

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Source: 1990 Census Data; Summary Tape File 1A for Counties, Cities, and Census Designated Places.
# HOUSEHOLDS

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<th></th>
<th>*Number of Households</th>
<th>Percent of Households</th>
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Source: 1990 Census Data; Summary Tape File 1A for Counties, Cities, and Census Designated Places.
* These numbers exclude Yellowstone Park.

# HOUSEHOLD TYPES

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<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Individual</th>
<th>Percent of</th>
<th>Percent of</th>
<th>Percent of</th>
<th>Percent of</th>
<th>Percent of</th>
<th>Percent of</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
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<td>Individual</td>
<td>of Households</td>
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<td>Families</td>
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Source: 1990 Census Data; Summary Tape File 1A for Counties, Cities, and Census Designated Places.
## FAMILY TYPES

**(211,650 Families)**

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<tr>
<th>MARRIED COUPLES</th>
<th>MALE HEADED HOUSEHOLD NO WIFE PRESENT</th>
<th>FEMALE HEADED HOUSEHOLD NO HUSBAND PRESENT</th>
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<td></td>
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**Total Rural Families:** 130,072 — **61.5%**  **Total Major City Families:** 81,578 — **38.5%**

Source: 1990 Census Data; Summary Tape File 1A for Counties, Cities, and Census Designated Places.

### TENURE BY AGE OF HOUSEHOLDER

**Summary**

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<th>MAJOR CITIES</th>
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<td>Percent Owning</td>
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<td>35 - 44</td>
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<td>45 - 54</td>
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Source: 1990 Census Data; Summary Tape File 1A for Counties, Cities, and Census Designated Places.
## HOUSING STOCK BUILT PRIOR TO 1940

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<th>Percentage of Units Built in 1939 or Earlier</th>
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Source: 1980 Census of Population and Housing; Summary Characteristics of Governmental Units and Standard Metropolitan Statistical Areas; Montana
### Affordability for Renters

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<th>Region</th>
<th>Medium Rent Including Utilities</th>
<th>Cost Burden $10,000 Household Income</th>
<th>Cost Burden $15,000 Household Income</th>
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<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>N. Central</td>
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<td>21%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S. Central</td>
<td>263</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. West</td>
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<td>Missoula</td>
<td>292</td>
<td>35%</td>
<td>23%</td>
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</table>

Sources: • 1990 Census Data; Summary Tape File 1A for Counties, Cities, and Census Designated Places. • Sourcebook on County Demographics; CACI Marketing Systems; Fifth Edition; 1990. • United States Department of Housing and Urban Development; Section 8 Existing Allowances for Tenant Furnished Utilities and Other Services; December 26, 1990.

### Availability of Low-Rent Units

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Regions</th>
<th>Number of Low-Rent Units</th>
<th>Number of Households Earning Less Than $10,000/Year</th>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>N. Central</td>
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<tr>
<td>S. Central</td>
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<td>S. West</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>West</td>
<td>10,696</td>
<td>16,419</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td>40,989</td>
<td>59,217</td>
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</table>

Difference 18,228 Gap 30.1 percent

Who Are the Homeless Families? 
Characteristics of Sheltered Mothers and Children

Ellen L. Bassuk, M.D.

INTRODUCTION

Since the early 1980s, alarming numbers of families have lost their homes and have turned to emergency shelters for refuge. Because of the overflow, many families have also been housed in dilapidated welfare hotels and motels. Based on a 29 city survey, the U.S. Conference of Mayors (1987) reported in 1987 that families comprise 34% of the overall homeless population, are the fastest growing subgroup, and are predominantly headed by women.

We may well be witnessing the "feminization of homelessness" (Bassuk, 1987a). Reflecting the remarkable increase of female-headed families in the general population—now estimated at one out of seven American families (Wilson, 1987)—70% to 90% of homeless families are headed by women (Bassuk, 1988b). The figures vary regionally, with the lower percentage in the mid-west and west and the higher in the east. The remaining families are headed by couples who generally become homeless after the man has lost his blue-collar job (Bassuk, 1988b).

The numbers of homeless families do not at first glance reflect the enormity of the tragedy since the figures do not account for individual

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family members as well as the life-long impact of homelessness. Homeless mothers are defined as those women who are pregnant or are on the streets with their children. Usually they have 2 to 3 children, the majority of whom are 5 years or less. The preschoolers are growing up in shelters or on the streets during their formative years without the emotional, social, or economic resources they need for basic development. Based on data from a descriptive study that we completed of 80 families and 156 children residing in 14 Massachusetts family shelters (Bassuk, 1986; Bassuk, 1987b) as well as relevant literature, this paper reviews what is known about homeless mothers and children.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE MOTHERS**

**Demographics**

The average age of most homeless mothers, regardless of the locale, is approximately 27 years (Bassuk, 1986; Dumpson, 1987; McChesney, 1986). Despite a widespread belief that homeless persons are overwhelmingly from minority groups, the distribution of families mirrors the percentage of poor persons in a given location; no group is spared the degradation of becoming homeless. In the overall Massachusetts sample, for example, most mothers are white. However, when the distribution of minorities was looked at regionally, the majority of those in Boston are black, while most suburban families are white (Bassuk, 1986). Information about rural homeless families is lacking.

Marital status also varies according to location, but this too most likely reflects the general ethnic composition of the region. The marital status of homeless mothers reflects the tendency for black women to never marry and for whites to marry, but to have high divorce rates (Bassuk, 1986; Garfinkel, 1986; Wilson, 1987).

Contrary to the common assumption that homeless persons are poorly educated, the Massachusetts data show that almost two-thirds of the mothers have at least a GED or high school education with more than one-fifth completing several years of technical school or college (Bassuk, 1986). Unfortunately, for these women, educational achievement did not translate into occupational skills, suggesting that other factors such as economic or emotional problems may be interfering with their capacity to work. Most homeless women had not worked for more than a month at a time or had never worked.

Given this profile, it has been assumed that homelessness is primarily a problem of teen mothers and that many are unable to work because of the real mothers with special three decades from 27 years; only six n study, and the aver. Because of the co hunters, when con chusetts study, had worked, and had mo lar (Bassuk, 1986).

Another small gro homeless and pregn who were pregnant they were terrified shelter, support, an child for adoption.

**Housing History**

Generally, homeless the shelter or welfare times in the year be in the previous 5 ye Where had these mothers had been over crowded aparth families often exha turn except the she dren living together respite from child re members to feel stres but occasionally rela In addition to doubt the mothers had p hotels, indicating the problem for some. A also lived in aband coming to the shelte families had also pre friends or family (B. Some mothers ha
because of the real burdens of childcare. Although there are teen mothers with special needs in our study, the mothers' ages spanned three decades from adolescence to midlife. Overall, the average age is 27 years; only six mothers were less than 20 years at the time of the study, and the average age at the birth of the first child was 19 years. Because of the combined burdens of child-care and poverty, teen mothers, when compared to their older counterparts in the Massachusetts study, had completed fewer years of high school, had rarely worked, and had more children. Otherwise their experiences were similar (Bassuk, 1986).

Another small group of mothers with special needs are those who are homeless and pregnant. Most of the women in the Massachusetts study who were pregnant were becoming mothers for the first time. Although they were terrified about bringing a newborn into a world without shelter, support, and security, only one mother planned to place her child for adoption.

**Housing History**

Generally, homeless mothers had moved many times prior to coming to the shelter or welfare hotel. In our study they had moved more than 3 times in the year before becoming homeless and an average of 6 times in the previous 5 years.

Where had these families been living? Eighty-five percent of the mothers had been doubled or tripled up with relatives or friends in overcrowded apartments. Unable to find affordable housing quickly, families often exhausted all potential supports and then had no place to turn except the shelters. With several families and many young children living together, little personal space or privacy, and infrequent respite from child care responsibilities, it was not unusual for family members to feel stressed and to fight. Sometimes, they parted amicably, but occasionally relationships were permanently disrupted.

In addition to doubling up in overcrowded apartments, more than half the mothers had previously lived in emergency shelters or welfare hotels, indicating that homelessness has become an episodic or chronic problem for some. A smaller group of mothers and their children had also lived in abandoned buildings, in cars, or on the streets before coming to the shelter. Representing a fifth of the sample, most of these families had also previously lived in emergency shelters as well as with friends or family (Bassuk, 1986).

Some mothers had moved from other cities and states to Massa-
shusetts, but the vast majority had not. Most mothers tended to reside and move within the area where they grew up—often within a 5 mile radius—and to be sheltered in emergency facilities in that community.

**Income Maintenance**

How do these mothers survive? Ninety percent of the Massachusetts homeless families were receiving Aid to Families with Dependent Children (AFDC). Many were receiving other entitlements as well, such as food stamps and WIC. However, these combined benefits had not helped to prevent homelessness. In general, AFDC benefits, which vary considerably from state to state, have failed to keep pace with the inflation rate. When the poverty level for a family of three in 1985 was defined as $8,850 in Massachusetts, the AFDC cash benefits combined with the value of food stamps fell well below this level, amounting to only $7,000 (Bassuk, 1987a). If it is estimated that the median monthly rent for a one bedroom apartment in a city such as Boston is $500, then this family has only approximately $83 a month left for all other expenses. Even if this family could find decent housing, they would be spending 86% of their income for rent—far above the estimated 30% to 40% that is considered reasonable (Bassuk, 1984).

In general, most poor families use AFDC intermittently and briefly to survive acute personal or situational crises or to supplement inadequate income, but usually for not longer than 2 to 3 years (Bane, 1983). In contrast, a majority of the homeless mothers were chronically dependent on AFDC. Although 30% of Massachusetts AFDC recipients have been receiving AFDC for more than two years, 56% of shelter mothers had been AFDC recipients for at least this long (Bassuk, 1986). According to Bane: "Almost 50 percent of all spells end within two years. Of those who remain for at least two years, 60 percent will have spells lasting at least six years, and one third will have spells of over eight years" (Bane, 1983, p. 13). The data suggest that homeless mothers are likely to become part of the small percentage of welfare mothers in this country who will remain persistently poor.

**Inadequate Supports**

In its strictest sense, homelessness can be equated with lack of shelter, but lacking shelter is only one dimension of homelessness; a home implies connectedness with supportive persons and institutions as well as with community networks. Only a small percentage of AFDC mothers turn to the emergency shelter system or are on the streets despite the invidious crisis. Many turn to example, many fa tended kin and non- that prevents homel wrote in her book, necessity for this exc living at bare subsist income that it is im fixed expenses and de order to survive. The kinfolk who will help tion of family to in providing domestic (p. 31).

Although many fa definition are home having to turn to the alarming increase in the growing number of j getting the help the Homeless mothers name three persons only a third were al depend on. Twenty-f the remainder named on a recent shelter frie fourth named their personal stress (Bassu have few supports, have 8 to 15 person.

However, even for persons, these individu Most often, they offer strumental help, su most importantly, s Why did so many lessness stressed or ports. Many mothers as children and com able to depend on pa
In addition to the invidious effects of poverty and the depth of the housing crisis, many turn to other persons to help them through crises. For example, many families who are precariously housed depend on extended kin and non-kin domestic networks to provide the safety net that prevents homelessness (Stack, 1974; Susser, 1982). Stack (1974) wrote in her book, "All Our Kin": "I learned that poverty creates a necessity for this exchange of goods and services. The needs of families living at bare subsistence are so large compared to their average daily income that it is impossible for families to provide independently for fixed expenses and daily needs... The poor adapt a variety of tactics in order to survive. They immerse themselves in a domestic circle of kinfolk who will help them." (p. 29) Stack (1974) broadened her definition of family to include both "kin and non-kin who interact daily, providing domestic needs of children and assuring their survival." (p. 31).

Although many families may remain doubled up for years, and by definition are homeless, they are spared the further degradation of having to turn to the emergency shelters. Unfortunately, the recent alarming increase in homeless families nationwide indicate that a growing number of people lack adequate supports and have difficulty getting the help they need.

Homeless mothers generally are isolated and alone. When asked to name three persons they can turn to during times of personal crises, only a third were able to name at least three people who they could depend on. Twenty-two percent were unable to name any supports. The remainder named one or two persons and many in this group mentioned a recent shelter friend or professional contact. In addition, over one-fourth named their minor child as a primary support during times of personal stress (Bassuk, 1986). In contrast to the homeless mothers who have few supports, adults in the general population report that they have 8 to 15 persons in their network (Shulz, 1985).

However, even for mothers who were able to describe 3 or more persons, these individuals were unable to rescue them from the streets. Most often, they offered emotional support, but could not provide instrumental help, such as financial aid, child-care, transportation or most importantly, shelter.

Why did so many mothers lack adequate supports? For some, homelessness stressed or weakened existing, but already fragmented supports. Many mothers who are now homeless had been severely deprived as children and come from disrupted families. As adults they are less able to depend on parents, siblings, or extended family. The reasons for
the family disruption and later estrangement ranged from severe conflict to divorce, illness and death of a parent (Bassuk, 1986).

The existence of an intact family, however, in no way ensures that the now homeless mothers had received adequate parenting when they were children. Almost a third of the homeless mothers stated that they had been physically abused, generally by their own mothers. Not surprisingly, some homeless mothers now have difficulty parenting their own children. A small minority of homeless mothers suffered from a drug or alcohol problem or a psychiatric disability, but the numbers in this group were small (Bassuk, 1988a).

McChesney (1986), in a study of 80 homeless families in Los Angeles County family shelters, described the families' lack of support in similar ways: "In the process of trying to stave off their slide into homelessness, families tried many varied and creative means to shelter themselves and their children. Where possible, families routinely turned to their own parents and brothers and sisters first. However, what was most striking about the families in the sample was the fact that in the main, they could not call on their own parents and brothers and sisters as resources. There were three major reasons . . . : either their parents were dead, their parents and siblings didn't live in the Los Angeles area, or their parents and siblings were estranged (p. 6)." McChesney (1986) commented on the "surprisingly high number of deceased parents" and the percentage of homeless mothers who had been orphaned (16%).

Another possible source of support for homeless mothers was in their relationships with men (Bassuk, 1986). When asked how many meaningful relationships they had with men, most described one longstanding boyfriend. They reported, however, that the men they had been involved with had many problems including joblessness and drug and alcohol problems. Forty percent of the sheltered homeless women had also been involved in at least one relationship in which they had been battered. Most of the violence was drug-related. As the man's alcoholism spiraled out-of-control, he tended to become abusive, precipitating the break-up of the relationship and the mother's slide into homelessness.

*Mental Health Status*

Overall about a fourth of the homeless mothers suffered from a major psychiatric clinical syndrome (e.g., schizophrenia, major affective disorder, alcoholism), but these did not cluster into a single diagnostic category (Bassuk, 1986, 1988a). In contrast to many adult individual homeless persons psychoses, such as presented among adult individual women have problems referral are not chronic.

However, more Axis II diagnoses scale random sameness and disorder ir (Bassuk, 1986). A diagnosis indicates emotional difficulties paired capacity to function in m and maintaining is certainly not a nurturance of a chaos during the tions, or who lack deprivation by de.

Although these or hotel living, to their homeless e our study was not on the degree while they were had to predate the early adolescent emotional distress forming and ma feature of this d tenuous, often tr stress.

*Pregnancy-Related*

In the only sys Chavkin et al. (1986) housing projects hotels were the babies of low bi.
homeless persons who have been reinstitutionalized and suffer from psychoses, such as schizophrenia, these illnesses were not overrepresented among homeless mothers. Unlike the many homeless adult individual women with major mental disorders, these women do not have problems reality testing, do not require medication, and in general are not chronically mentally ill.

However, more than two-thirds of the mothers suffer from DSM-III Axis II diagnoses of personality disorders. In contrast, based on large scale random sampling, estimates of the prevalence of serious personality disorders in the adult population range from 5 to 15 percent (Bassuk, 1986). What does this label mean? A personality disorder diagnosis indicates the presence of a chronic pervasive pattern of emotional difficulties, usually evident by adolescence. It reflects an impaired capacity to respond adaptively to stress, as well as difficulty functioning in multiple areas of one's life—such as working, forming and maintaining relationships, parenting, and living independently. It is certainly not surprising that parents who lack the essential early nurturance of a mothering figure, have been abused, have lived in chaos during their formative years, have suffered major family disruptions, or who lack positive role models, often manifest this profound deprivation by developing behavioral disorders later in life.

Although these disorders, in general, have not been caused by shelter or hotel living, the mothers' problems are invariably exacerbated by their homeless experience. The diagnosis of personality disorder in our study was made on the basis of a careful developmental history—not on the degree of depression and anxiety manifested by the mothers while they were living in the shelter or hotel. The mothers' difficulties had to predate the current homelessness episode, to be evident during early adolescence, and to indicate a long-term enduring pattern of emotional distress and difficulty functioning (Widiger, 1985). Problems forming and maintaining supportive relationships were often a major feature of this disorder. Generally, attachments to others tended to be tenuous, often troubled, and were more easily disrupted during times of stress.

Pregnancy-Related Problems

In the only systematic study of homeless pregnant women to date, Chavkin et al. (1987) concluded that, in comparison to women living in housing projects, homeless mothers residing in New York City welfare hotels were more likely to have higher infant mortality rates, to have babies of low birth weight, and to receive less prenatal care.
**Physical Health**

Using data from the 16-city Health Care for the Homeless Project, Wright (1987) described the health problems of homeless adult family members (15% of overall sample) who presented at their clinics for treatment. He found that, compared to a group of ambulatory patients from the general population (National Ambulatory Medical Survey - MAMCS), they tended to have more acute and chronic physical illnesses. However, compared to homeless adult individuals, they had fewer visible health care problems.

**CHARACTERISTICS OF THE CHILDREN**

In the Massachusetts study of sheltered homeless families, 156 children were interviewed (Bassuk, 1987b). Approximately two-thirds of the children were preschoolers, five years or less. Almost half of the homeless preschoolers manifested severe developmental lags (using the Denver Developmental Screening Test), often in multiple areas tested. In addition to language development, this included gross motor skills, fine motor coordination and personal/social development. Lenore Rubin, a child psychologist who interviewed many of these children, explained that these severe impairments were related to their mother’s difficulties: “The greatest issue for them is their mother’s depression. They don’t get played with, or talked to, and as a result, they get left behind” (Hirsch, 1986, p.10). Although these children require greater stimulation and more opportunity for interaction, very few were in infant stimulation, daycare, or headstart programs.

Using various standardized instruments, the school-age children manifested high levels of anxiety and depression. Overall, approximately half of these children required psychiatric referral and evaluation. Not surprisingly, their school performance reflected these difficulties. Forty-three percent were currently failing or doing below average work. Twenty-five percent were in special classes and 43% had already repeated a grade (Bassuk, 1987b).

“School is a living purgatory for homeless kids. Deeply ashamed of their circumstances, they invent addresses. If their homelessness becomes known, they are bullied, taunted and often beaten up by other children. Teachers treat them harshly, according to officials of the Department of Public Welfare, either because no one has warned them that these children may express their insecurities by being too aggressive or withdrawn, or because the homeless child, having become the target of playmates' ridicule, is often too shy to explain to an adult. Until very recently, few agencies thought to inquire about a child's childhood, whose family had moved from city to city, whose parents have spent years in prison, whose grandparents are alcoholics, or whose house had been burned down. Perhaps with more information, we can offer them the one service they need most: support of a person who believes in them” (Hirsch, 1986, p. 10).

As the Massachusetts study of the 156 children indicate, the health and education needs of homeless children are severe. The social services community needs to be educated about the special needs of homeless children and be more proactive in providing them with the care they require.

Off the Record: In addition to the Health Care for the Homeless Project, which has provided medical care to over 2 million homeless people, various states and cities have created systems of care for homeless people, often referred to as the "Homeless Continuum of Care". These systems attempt to provide a range of services from shelter to employment assistance, education, and mental health treatment. It is estimated that there are over 700,000 homeless youths in the United States, many of whom are in need of specialized services. The federal government has increased funding for homeless youth programs in recent years, but many experts believe much more needs to be done. Acker, P.J., Freeman, A.B., Ellwood, D.E., & Weinberger, D.J. (1987). "Homelessness among children in the United States. A national profile". Washington D.C.: National Alliance to End Homelessness.
r the Homeless Project, of homeless adult families and at their clinics for part of ambulatory patients. In a survey of medically underserved individuals, they had chronic physical illness. Although they had no prenatal care, most women had addressed their health concerns. It is not surprising that children attend school erratically, if at all. To date, few communities have successfully reduced the barriers to education faced by homeless children.

In addition to their emotional and learning problems, homeless children also suffer from various health problems. Using data from the Health Care for the Homeless Project, Wright (1987) observed that "the rate of chronic physical disorders among the homeless children is nearly twice that observed among ambulatory (NAMCS) children in general" (p. 4). Other researchers have reported immunization delays (Acker, 1987), lead poisoning (Gallagher, 1986), and poor nutritional status (Acker, 1987; Gallagher, 1986) among homeless children.

DISCUSSION

As the Massachusetts study indicates, homeless mothers are generally young, currently single, have had a high school education, have poor job histories, and have been on welfare for a long time. Although each family has a unique history, a mother's extreme isolation and disconnectedness from supportive relationships and caretaking institutions has contributed to her need to seek refuge in emergency shelters. Regardless of the reasons, most sheltered homeless mothers have been unable to depend on their supports to help prevent the slide into homelessness. There is no doubt that being doubled-up stresses or weakens a person's supports, but the data suggest that for many homeless mothers their supportive relationships with friends and family were already fragmented by interpersonal conflict, substance abuse, illness, or divorce. Although economic factors, including the severity of the low income housing crisis and inadequate welfare benefits, are enough to explain homelessness, we must also be attuned to the social and psychological needs of the families. Otherwise, once housed, the quality of life of these families will remain severely compromised.

REFERENCES


Educating oneself about the homeless is risky business. No longer will you be able to ignore a ragged woman hunched in a doorway or dismiss a young man with a tattered knapsack, a sign that reads "I'm hungry," and a paper cup set out for contributions. No longer will you, as a student or an architect, be able to dispassionately design a skyscraper or luxury condominiums on a site where a dilapidated apartment building once stood. Say that apartment building housed 90 people, many barely able to subsist. Surely you will at least wonder where these displaced folks will find a decent, affordable place to live. If those 90 individuals can't quickly find a new place to live, they are relegated to wandering the streets. Some may seek temporary help from the city. They are shunted off to emergency shelters, which can be a frightening experience.—A few examples:

A seemingly well managed and clean emergency shelter in Seattle houses up to 230 people each night. Located downtown in an old hotel, the shelter is reached via a dark alley. Access was purposely placed there so the lines of people entering the shelter would not disturb other occupants of the neighborhood—mainly well-heeled professionals who work in nearby offices. The entrance is protected by a steel gate—reportedly, to keep people out when the shelter is full, rather than in.

I entered this shelter one pleasant May night. It was the first shelter I had visited when the "guests" would be present. There was a relaxed atmosphere in the half-full shelter, but unpleasantness lurked beneath. As my group toured the shelter, I began to notice with horror the numbers stamped on the floor where sleeping mats are placed. So when the shelter was full, 240 men and women would sleep just inches apart.—More like warehoused commodities than human beings. We talked at length with some shelter guests—a young Hispanic who recently had arrived in Seattle and was looking for work as a plumber, a disoriented Vietnam Vet, an alcoholic "bum" who was going through detox, or so he said, a psychotic woman with a wig placed crookedly on her head who tried to convince us that she was going to Alaska the next day to see her daughter.

Later that evening in my comfortable hotel room, I could not easily dismiss those homeless people who seemed most like young children waiting to be taken care of. They were simply unfortunate individuals who had fallen through the safety net and had no one or no place to turn to. I knew they would have to fight against tremendous odds to pull themselves out of homelessness. That shelter barely prepared me for the craziness, absurdity, and horror the homeless experience in New York City.

Our destination one rainy, spring night was the city's Fort Washington emergency shelter located in upper Manhattan. Of this shelter, I had read, "chaos prevailed." There up to 1,000 men a night slept on iron cots set in rows on the drill floor. When we walked onto that floor, we quickly turned around. There was something that terrified us, some brute force, some nightmare, that none of us—man or woman—wanted to confront.

Basically, I think the situation is hard to fathom. It's hard to comprehend the wasted lives of those men. It's hard to comprehend the reality of their existence. It's hard to believe that we allow this atrocity to occur—that in one part of Manhattan 1,000 survive in a public shelter that more closely resembles a concentration camp than a warm haven. In other parts of Manhattan the opulence of the wealthy becomes ordinary in its profuseness.

Who are the homeless—the country's nomads—who sleep by night in doorways, under highway bridges, in tents, on steaming grates, in bus stations? Why, by all accounts, does their number keep growing? First, numbers: There is no precise, agreed upon estimate of the extent of homelessness in this country. In 1982, Mitch Snyder's homeless advocacy group in Washington, D.C., reported up to four million homeless. Two years later the U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development countered with an estimate of 250,000. But in the end, arriving at a precise count does not seem as crucial as acknowledging the gravity of each homeless person's situation.

Perhaps the first step in understanding the homeless is to dispel the myth that the homeless are on the streets by choice. There is just no evidence to back up that assertion. In the past the homeless have been thought of as bums—drifters, alcoholics, drug addicts. Now, the homeless population is more similar to that of the Great Depression of the '30s. In its ranks are the young and old.
individuals and families, the mentally and physically disab-
bled, and the able-bodied. The most dramatic change in
the last 10 years has been a sharp increase in the number
of women, children, young men, and families.

The immediate causes of homelessness are as diverse
as the homeless themselves: loss of a job, physical or men-
tal disability, loss of government benefits, or divorce. Say
a person or a family is suddenly without a place to live
or enough money to feed themselves and also pay the
monthly rent. Their choice is not an easy one. They can
be uprooted quickly. That pace has of late accelerated due
to what some are calling the most severe housing crisis
in this country since the Great Depression.

In 1985, *Engineering News Record* asked: "Affordable
housing? Even for those with moderate means, it is fast
becoming a contradictory term. As demand grows and
supply dwindles, the situation deteriorates. For many poor
people it is desperate." The problem extends to every
region in the country—cities, rural areas, even suburbs.

A major contributor to the dwindling supply of affordable
housing is urban gentrification—the displacement of low-
and middle-income people from their homes. Those units
are then renovated and put back on the market at much
higher prices. As many as 2.5 million people are believed
to be displaced involuntarily from their homes each year.

Other reasons for the decline in low-income housing are
greater profits available to developers from other types of
construction, rent control, neighborhood opposition to
public housing, income tax provisions and high property
taxes that encourage owner abandonment of housing, and
arson.

In short, the country is losing more low-income hous-
ing than it is building. For the homeless and the nearly
homeless, the greatest loss is the destruction of residenti-

tal hotels. Now more commonly called single-room-occupancy hotels or SROs, they provide separate sleep-
ing rooms but shared bathrooms, common rooms, and kit-
chens. Seen as a symbol of urban decay during the '60s,
these hotels are often located on the fringes of commer-
cial or industrial districts.

However, during the 1970s, SROs toppled like bowling
pins. Over a million units were lost—half the country's
supply. New York City lost 87 percent of its stock. Boston,
85 percent. Chicago has lost over half of its units. Now
there is deep concern that the remaining SROs will disap-
ppear fast. Said an advocate for the homeless in Chicago:
"If someone doesn't do something soon, the cost will be
much greater. More and more people will become
homeless. It makes sense to keep the sturdy SRO housing
stock and preserve it for the current residents."

What has housing experts most concerned is the
impending confluence of trends in federal housing: the
virtual halt of federally funded, low-income housing con-
struction; the aging and decay of federally subsidized hous-
ing projects; and the expiration of 20-year contracts with
private sponsors of low-income housing.

A drop in production of new units, which actually began
during the Carter Administration's reign and has ac-
celerated under Reagan, has caused long waiting lists for
public housing. For example, in Baltimore, 13,000 families
wait for openings in 17,000 units. In Chicago, 44,000
families wait for vacancies in 49,000 units. In addition,
70,000 units of public housing are abandoned or
demolished each year because there is no money for
repairs. The biggest crunch is expected in the coming
decade, as contracts the federal government made with
private owners of subsidized low-income housing will start
to expire. As many as 900,000 low-income units may be
lost by 1995.

It should come as no surprise that the first hurt by the
housing crunch are the most vulnerable. One group is the
chronically mentally ill. Theirs is a tragic story. Until the
mid-'50s, a large percentage of the long-term mentally ill
found total asylum in state hospitals. The introduction of
psychoactive drugs led to the release of patients—the
theory being that it was more humane for the chronically
mentally ill to return to their communities. There they
could obtain outpatient care at community mental health
centers. In the first wave, approximately 200,000 patients
were released.

The '60s brought continued public outrages over the
deplorable conditions at state hospitals—perhaps most
widely characterized by Ken Kesey's *One Flew Over the
Cuckoo's Nest.* Hundreds of thousands more patients
were released. By 1985 there were less than 150,000
psychiatric patients in hospitals nationwide. In 1955 there
were 550,000.

Few of those community support centers ever materi-

alized. The once-hospitalized, chronically mentally ill and
those never under care have suffered. Few are able to keep
jobs and, consequently, their lodgings. They remain
isolated from the rest of society. They end up on the streets
with no alternative, no assistance.

Again, it is difficult to offer precise numbers of how
many of the homeless are mentally ill. Experts say 20 to
50 percent, maybe substantially more. As Dr. Irene Levine
of the National Institute of Mental Health suggests: "The
very state of homelessness can cause varying degrees of
mental illness in relatively short periods."

There are other population groups:

- The so-called "new poor," industrial workers whose
  skills are no longer useful in the new, high-tech society.
  In the 1970s at least 38 million jobs in basic industry were
  permanently lost. Without retraining, these workers must
take low-paid, unskilled service jobs. So, even if working, they are often susceptible to homelessness. Joining them are immigrant workers who traverse the continent looking for employment.

- Women and their children who are victims of domestic violence. Their situation is bleak. Sometimes, the only safe and affordable refuge is a women's shelter. But because of the high demand, shelters feel obligated to restrict the length of one's stay. A battered woman may then have no option but to return to an intolerable situation.

- Children. Once homeless, families are often forced to split up. The children are placed in the homes of friends or with extended family members. Others are turned over for foster care. Tales of their plight are chilling. In Binghamton, N.Y., seven children aged 14 to 17 were discovered living in a parking garage downtown. The police were called, but the kids disappeared, never to be heard of again. The coalition for the homeless in Chicago reports as many as 10,000 homeless youths on that city's streets at any given time.

Regardless of a person's background, once the threshold of homelessness has been crossed, the nightmarish quest becomes universal: Where to find a safe haven for the night and a secure home for the future? Take the case of Jane. The Welfare Department in New York City referred her to a hotel on the Upper West Side. But she left there even with a week’s rent paid. She couldn’t bear the filth, the strange noises, and people running down the hallways all through the night. She decided “no place is better than that place” and went at first to sleep in the train station sitting up. She said she distrusted any housing referrals and is awaiting a job so that she can secure a decent place to live on her own, preferably outside the city. In the meantime, she found a cardboard box in which to sleep. It was located in an alleyway along with 10 to 15 others.

Basically, there are three shelter types—emergency, transitional, and longer term. More often than not, shelters are located in depressed neighborhoods or in isolated, abandoned, and dangerous sections of a city. The largest emergency shelters are the public ones. They simply offer a temporary respite from inclement weather and the danger of the street. There is no sense of permanency, no privacy, inadequate bathroom facilities, no place to store belongings, little or no help in finding more permanent housing or psychiatric counseling. There are incidences of widespread disease—from scabies and lice to leg ulcers—status. There is minimal medical care. Usually the buildings are run down and exceedingly unattractive. Conditions are often in gross violation of building codes.

The cleaner, smaller, better-run, and safer private shelters strive to offer a sense of caring, respect, and dignity to their guests. Sizes range from five to 300 beds. But, again, there is little privacy, little or no place to store possessions, few opportunities to establish social connections. The normal duration of a “guest’s” visit is a few days to a few weeks. The optimum capacity is a point of contention: Some say as many as 300 guests are satisfactory; others consider that much too large for any personal attention to be given.

Transitional housing is the second tier. Temporary housing is usually provided for three to six months, while the guest hunts for more permanent housing and a source of income. There is more differentiation by population group and housing types. For example, the Seattle Emergency Housing Service provides up to four months of shelter for homeless families. Its “fourplex” units have four, two-bedroom apartments. In Memphis, 10 houses owned by HUD are used as temporary housing.

As mentioned before, the most popular type of permanent housing is the SRO hotel. The communal nature of an SRO can be highly beneficial to certain populations, compared to what could be an isolated and lonely existence for apartment dwellers. And, the economics are considerable. In Portland, Oregon, and Los Angeles, dilapidated residential hotels have been rehabilitated into baseline SROs for as little as $6,000 to $12,000 a unit. Rents are low—from $100 to $225 a month. Additional income can come from leasing part of the first floor to commercial enterprises. To understand the economics, compare SRO renovation to the construction of federally assisted housing units. That SRO renovation price of $6,000 to $12,000 a unit compares, roughly, to $36,000 to $40,000 for federally assisted housing units. Rents are twice as much or more for the federally assisted housing.

As dreadful as some of these shelters may be, they aren't close to meeting the demand. On bitter cold winter nights, they fill up rapidly. Again, precise figures are hard to come by. Newsweek reported in December 1985: ‘A 1984 report issued by HUD found that there are only 91,000 beds nationwide. By the most conservative estimates of total homelessness, that would mean one bed for every three homeless people. If, as some studies suggest, there are more than a million people homeless, the ratio would be one bed for every 10 or more.’

When designing for the homeless, it is most important to create a sense of dignity. Involving the homeless in the design process is crucial. Said a professor of architecture at Arizona State University: “Statistics don't tell us what we need to know to design a shelter. We need to know about life on the streets—about constantly waiting in line for meals, waiting for health care, waiting for employment, waiting to go to the bathroom or to bed, about dirty clothes and a dirty body and hours of time with nothing to do.”
Following is a selection of shelter musts offered by architects, housing experts, and advocates for the homeless.

• Use natural light whenever possible, because of its warm quality.
• Provide adequate room for an infirmary and counseling services.
• Find me an architect who has thought about crowd control and an architect who understands psychiatric design.
• Totally separate men and women at the points of entry and within the facility (except, of course, in the case of families).
• Design a building that enhances maintenance and hygiene and that is a simple but pleasant and secure environment, one that can be run by a small staff.
• Quality of life often doesn’t get talked about in the shelter world. Ask yourself—How much space is needed between beds? How much space is needed to sit and talk with a counselor?
• Small environments are the way to go.
• Families should be placed in separate apartments, to normalize the family situation.

While striving to make shelters as comfortable for their occupants as possible, a fundamental ethical question. Are we institutionalizing homeless? This ethical dilemma can be profound for architects involved in shelter design. As Blake Chambliss, a Denver architect and a leader in AIA’s efforts to help the homeless, said of that Seattle emergency shelter I mentioned earlier: “There the discussion among the architects was how we could divide this into cubicles and make it more pleasant. And it occurred to me that at one level that’s a great response from architects. But on another level it is terribly frightening to suggest that we might make these shelters nice enough that they become an accepted standard of long-term housing for the poor.” There is a fine line to tread.

Let me now offer you six exemplary shelter designs, all of which were conceived by architects. First, two emergency shelters: The Pine Street Inn is a highly regarded emergency shelter in Boston that was founded in 1916. In the mid-'70s it moved into a tower structure with three adjacent warehouses in the city’s South End. Those buildings were completely renovated and interconnected to provide 70,000 square feet of space for roughly 300 men and 50 women, plus staff. On frigid winter nights, the numbers often exceed 350. Then, guests sleep in the lobbies, or sometimes wherever space is found. Basically, the two kitchens are the only spaces shared by males and females. Beyond that, the sexes are segregated. There are even separate, fenced-in parks. The ground floor houses the most public and communal spaces—lounges, dining areas, clothing room. The upper three floors are predominately dormitory space. Staff, however, have separate rooms, most of which are located in the tower.

Economics most often dictates renovation instead of new construction for shelters. But exceptions exist. One is the New Samaritan House in Denver, which is owned and operated by the Catholic Archdiocese of Denver. The shelter offers 30- to 60-day shelter for single men and women, families and children. Job and psychological counseling, information on community resources, day care, food and clothing are available. The major request by the Archdiocese was to make the shelter as noninstitutional an environment as possible. In the three-story, 42,443-square-foot building, individuals sleep in dorms on the first floor. Also on that level are separate men’s and women's receiving areas, a clinic, laundry, kitchen, and room to process donations—mostly food and clothing. The families, teenagers, and children are housed on the third floor—the families and teenagers in SRO-type units and the children in dorms. The second floor is the community gathering place with the main kitchen, dining room and lounge that overlooks an outdoor courtyard.

For the homeless mentally ill, housing can take the form of quarterway or halfway houses, board-and-care homes, satellite housing, foster, or family care. The El Rey in Seattle is unique in its approach to providing graded care, where the level of supervision decreases and the guests’ independence increases the higher up in the building one goes. The second floor offers round-the-clock supervision. There are private and shared rooms. On the third floor the nurses’ station has been replaced by a more casual lounge and two private consultation rooms. The top floor offers apartment-type living. There is no supervision on the third floor, though residents can tap the support system found elsewhere. When residents graduate they become members of the El Rey Club, which provides supportive services.

Homeless youths aged 18 to 20 have a particularly difficult time finding help. In many places, they are too old to qualify for traditional foster care. If such care is available, the odds are it will prove unsuccessful, due mainly to the youths’ troubled backgrounds. Shelters for homeless adults, more often than not, fail to address the youths’ special needs. Covenant House, headquartered in New York City, has aided this special population since 1977. It has additional shelters in Toronto, Houston, Fort Lauderdale, and New Orleans. While all vary in design, some basic concepts are evident: Covenant Houses are located near places where homeless youths congregate and also near public transportation. The new or renovated facilities are visually pleasing and consistent with local architectural styles. The overall goal is to create small, personal, living spaces that are homey and easily managed.

Another population with special needs are women and their children, many of whom are victims of domestic violence. The Women’s Center and Shelter in Pittsburgh provides 32 beds in semi-private bedrooms. The living spaces are supplemented by a playroom, nursery, and offices for counseling and other services. Special touches include dressers built into bedroom walls for safety purposes, bedrooms specifically designed to accommodate a child’s and mother’s needs, and an entrance designed for maximum security.
And, the SRO as a shelter type. In Los Angeles the renovation of SROs is supported by the city. Most are located in the skid row area. One of the city’s first projects was the renovation of the 18,000-square-foot Florence Hotel, a 60-unit SRO. When the architects began, the building was filthy, ridden with vermin and rodents. Virtually every door was broken. Inadequate toilets were scattered throughout. A total gut job was needed to bring the building up to local codes and seismic standards. Special to the Florence was its former cocktail lounge on the first floor. It was turned into the community lounge, kitchen, and dining space. A room of equal size was retained as commercial space, rent from which is used to offset the SRO’s operating costs. On the upper floors six light wells admit natural daylight and breezes into the bedrooms. Renovation costs averaged $11,000 per unit. Rents at the Florence range from $143 to $185 a month.

The most complicated tasks in designing shelter for the homeless often takes place off the drafting board. Community resistance tops the list. The anti-homeless tenor ranges from a neighborhood resisting a small group home for the mentally ill to an entire city banning the homeless from its streets. Other potential stumbling blocks are building codes and zoning regulations. Any type of non-traditional shelter, from emergency to group home, often does not comply with local building codes—for things like minimal floor area, spatial arrangements, essential support facilities, number of exits, fire protection. Few cities have developed building codes for emergency and transitional shelters and SROs. As a housing expert in Portland, Ore., once explained: “When we started our SRO renovations, nobody could issue a building permit because SROs were not defined in the code. There were prescription requirements for conventional housing and for hotels, but nothing in between.” In Illinois, for example, regulations for tax-exempt housing revenue bonds require that each SRO unit have separate cooking and bath facilities. But most SRO units don’t have stoves. Most share baths. So, financing can’t be secured to rehab the SROs unless the units are upgraded. But then, the renovation costs likewise increase. In turn, rents have to be increased. In the end, the units are no longer affordable to the low-income people they were built for.

What is beginning to occur across the country is a reevaluation of building codes and standards. What are suitable standards for housing that is not the typical one- or two-family dwelling? Are the current housing standards counterproductive and inhibiting the production of affordable, low-income housing? Are they necessary to maintain a decent standard of living? Or, in other words, can current codes be changed without sacrificing quality?

Zoning regulations are also problematic. Changes may be needed to allow for the transfer of development rights or the reclassification of building types allowed in specific neighborhoods. Inclusionary zoning may be adopted to slow the rapid loss of SROs. For example, In San Francisco in 1989, a moratorium was placed on SRO demolitions and conversions. Now a one-for-one replacement by the developer of any SRO units lost is required, or a financial contribution equal to the cost of replacing the units.

The underlying question is whether people in this country have a basic right to shelter. But while the right to shelter is being debated in courts around the nation, no one wants to assume full responsibility for solving the problem. The federal government likes to pin most of the responsibility on state government, who, the feds say, dumped mental patients out of hospitals without bringing resources into the community. State governments say homelessness is not a function of pathology but of poverty. City governments will invariably find state government to blame. But they will also blame the federal government for insufficient housing policies.

It is fair to say that the Reagan Administration has done little, if nothing, to help the homeless. At least Congress has passed the Homeless Survival Act that increases federal monies for emergency shelter and food. Other federal dollars are offered through the Community Development Block Grants, the Urban Development Action Grants, and other HUD programs. And it seems unlikely that federal contribution will increase in the near future, given the federal budget deficit problems facing this country. Lacking federal support, resources are scarcer for state and city efforts to house the homeless. Meanwhile, nonprofit organizations continue feeding and sheltering the poor. Perhaps the biggest growth has been in groups sponsoring low-income housing. Putting together a financing can be extremely complex.

What looms ahead? One prediction suggests that if New York State continues providing shelter to the homeless at the level it did in the mid-80s, it would take 20 years to meet the needs of its homeless. One indicator of potential homelessness is a rise in doubling up—one family or individual moving in with others, as a last resort. The Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation recently warned that by the year 2003, unless some drastic steps are taken, 18.7 million people could be homeless, burdened with excessive rents, or forced to live in slums. Yes, I said 18.7 million.

Architects, because of their sensitivity to the built environment, should be at the forefront in the fight against homelessness. Says New York City Architect Conrad Levenson: “In city after city, the homeless are gathered in the streets, bussed to gymnasiums, armories, and church basements for a night’s sleep in spaces jammed with cots. In the morning they return to the streets again to wander in search of warmth, food, or a public bathroom until evening comes. It is now clear that the homeless population is rapidly growing and that the long-term housing situation will not come next winter or the winters that will soon follow. Quality shelter must be provided. Who more than architects should be concerned and involved in the creation of shelter?”

A new, housing-the-homeless effort is proving that architects can be effective coalition builders at the communi-
The program, called The Search for Shelter, brings together architects, architecture students, and educators with local housing and governmental officials, community residents, and social service providers. The task is to engage public debate on housing the homeless and design a shelter. One of the program's goals is the actual construction of a shelter. But a more important outcome will be a greater awareness among design professions and the general public as to the plight of the homeless in their community.

This program was conceived in August 1986. It is sponsored by the American Institute of Architects, the American Institute of Architecture Students, and Neighborhood Reinvestment Corporation. Back then, we set our goal at engaging architects, students, and educators to be coalition builders in 15 cities. To our surprise, people in 34 cities responded, sprinkled from coast to coast. Through this program we are not advocating shelters as a permanent solution. But while the debate continues over who should provide low-income housing in this country and what form it should take, we believe interim measures are essential. We are responding to an emergency of great magnitude. And there is no doubt in our minds that architects can affect social change. They can be the movers and shakers, so to speak, in their communities. The apparent success of the Search for Shelter program only confirms our theory.

But what does all this have to do with students of architecture at Montana State or architects that have been educated here? I will wager that each of you, during your professional career, will confront the issue of housing the homeless or others with little means. It may be through a program like The Search for Shelter. Or maybe your speciality will be housing, and between designing housing for middle and upper incomes you might design housing for the lower-end. Your contact may be much more indirect. Will that new office building you are proposing for downtown replace an older building that some people call home? Where will the displaced persons go? Is there enough alternative housing available? If not, what might be a solution to the lack of enough affordable housing?

In conclusion, I want to once more mention the individual homeless man, woman, or child—the human being that has had to endure mental and physical anguish in a desperate search for shelter. They are wasted lives in a sea of plenty. We do not heed their anguished cry. One wonders if George Bernard Shaw was correct when he wrote in 1901: "The worst sin towards our fellow creatures is not to hate them, but to be indifferent to them: That's the essence of inhumanity."

Nora Richter Greer is author of The Search for Shelter, AIA's recourse guide on housing the homeless. This paper was given at Montana State University, School of Architecture, in fall 1987.
Hope for the Homeless

In Washington, D.C., an emergency shelter for the homeless provides a case study in sensitive, economical design.

With estimates of their numbers ranging from a conservative 250,000 to an alarmist three million, the problem of the homeless in America has gotten a great deal of lip service lately. President Bush recently labeled the "ragged and pathetic figures" on the nation's streets a "national shame." But reducing the plight of the homeless to an image of "ragged and pathetic figures" ignores the fact that the homeless are first and foremost individual citizens with specific needs. Clearly, the larger issues of homelessness await a concerted federal response. Until this long-overdue commitment is made, however, activist groups around the country are organizing to meet the challenge through municipal and private initiatives.

Working within these groups, architects and designers can make unique contributions to the process of creating shelter. Beyond simply erecting walls and roofs, sensitive design can play a pivotal role in reaffirming an individual's dignity, self-esteem and sense of belonging, factors crucial to reversing the downward spiral sparked by the loss of one's home. Incorporating these qualities into facilities for the homeless need not involve increased costs. It does, however, call for additional effort and care on the part of designers.

In Washington, D.C., impeccable design can be controversial. Witness the battle waged over the renovation of the Federal City Shelter, a fourteen hundred-person emergency facility for the homeless operated by the Community for Creative Nonviolence (CCNV). In the face of enormous odds and rampant antagonism toward the project, CCNV's leader Mitch Snyder and the New York architectural firm of Levenson Meltzer Neuringer forged a unique alliance that transformed a dismal facility into what is now hailed as a national model.

The goal was to transform a bare-bones facility into a "home" for the homeless. Even in Washington, however, such a goal cannot be legislated, mandated or decreed: a "home" must spring from the built environment and from the human contacts within it. Environment and interactions alike begin with a vision of space, with a design. And no one recognized this better than Snyder, a long-time activist on behalf of the homeless, who found in Conrad Levenson and Clark Neuringer the people he needed to transform his vision into a reality.
"I don't believe that we brought to the project any preconceived notions," Neuringer says, "except that whatever we did, should recognize and support the dignity of the person." With this as their starting point, Neuringer and his partners began work in 1985 on the redesign of the existing shelter, a forty-three-year old "temporary" government building only three blocks from the Capitol. The shelter's prominent location, combined with Snyder's notoriety, insured that considerable public pressures were brought to bear on the project.

Formulation of the design concept began with a month of intensive involvement in daily life at the shelter. Levenson and five of his students from the City College Architectural Center in New York set up an office in Washington and began to document the 185,000 square-foot structure. During the course of this documentation, valuable insight was gained into how the shelter would be used by its staff and residents. "Our final design," says Neuringer, "evolved out of a process that was collaborative and participatory."

The first challenge facing the architects was the problem of scale: how to organize the structure's massive interior spaces into areas that would foster among the residents a sense of privacy and dignity. Conceptually, the group turned to the model of a village for their redesign. They began by dividing the shelter into five subshelters or "neighborhoods," each equipped with its own pantry, laundry facilities, dining room and commons area. The public spaces were then connected to the living areas by means of "avenues" that serve as paths of major circulation within the building. Intersecting the avenues perpendicularly are "streets," or smaller corridors that house the semi-private living. These smaller spaces mitigate the oppressive and often terrifying experience of exposure common to open, armory-style shelters. The subshelter approach also enhances the support services provided by CCNV's staff by allowing a segregation of the residents according to their needs. One subshelter now houses women, one houses elderly or physically disabled men, and another houses alcohol- and drug-dependent men.

On the other hand, the building's large size did allow for an economy of scale, reducing the renovation's per capita cost and permitting the construction of exceptional facilities. Today, the shelter includes a full-service medical clinic, a dental clinic, job and vocational training centers, substance abuse counseling and a large commercial kitchen.
Neuringer and his team gave considerable attention to the design of the living areas, where the effects of their design would be felt most personally. Semi-private spaces for three residents were placed on each side of the “streets” to form clusters of six residents separated by six-foot-high partitions. These partitions are high enough to permit visual privacy, yet they are open enough to offer a sense of space. Recognizing that residents of each cluster would be performing different tasks at different times, Neuringer also devised a flexible lighting system. Instead of using overhead lights, the designer recessed simple fluorescent tubes into the top of the wall partitions. Light thus bounces off the ceiling to create a soft, ambient effect. “Did this cost any more to do?” Neuringer asks. “No. Did it require anything special? No. We used the simplest lighting fixture possible. It was just a question of a little extra imagination.”

Because conditions in the shelter before the renovation had fostered vandalism, Snyder was concerned that the redesign be constructed in such a way as to be nearly indestructible. Neuringer and his associates therefore built sample wall sections at the shelter and invited the CCNV staff members to have at them. A variety of materials were tested, some exotic and some less so, before a solution was found. As it turned out, sheetrock faced with plywood—a combination of two of the humblest and least expensive materials—proved to be the strongest. With a little more imagination and some plexitone paint, the plywood was given a subtle textural quality that vaguely resembles masonry or stones and hides blemishes and seams.

More often than not, attention to details did not result in increased renovation costs, but rather improved the quality of the environment; the treatment of the bathroom facilities serves as an excellent example of this. Instead of installing acres of institutional grey tiling, the designers created an abstract design for each subshelter using colored two-by-two tiles. It is a personal gesture: when residents enter their bathroom, they can see that somebody cared about its design.

This is an impression that is maintained throughout the renovated shelter and it is reflected, in turn, in the attitude of its residents. What was once the focus of rage and vandalism is now maintained and protected. In fact, much of the money and effort that went into making the facility resistant to vandalism could have been put to other uses. According to Snyder, the shelter’s design exerts an obvious influence upon the residents: it has a calming effect.
Local artists contributed their work, which now hangs throughout the shelter.

"That's delightful for us to hear as architects," says Neuringer, "but it only reinforces something that we feel passionately about: that design does influence people's attitudes about themselves. Before, the shelter's residents were living in a real hellhole and so they vented their anger on the environment. Now, they are active in maintaining it." The transformation, Snyder agrees, has been radical and complete.

Funding for the $14 million project was hard won and required intense lobbying, advocacy and even a fifty-one-day hunger strike by Snyder. Now recognized as the largest and most comprehensive facility of its type in the country, the shelter's final renovation costs of about ten thousand dollars a bed also make it among the most economical. Nonetheless, by the time the new shelter opened its doors in January of 1987, it had attracted a small but vocal group of critics. Many of the attacks centered around Mitch Snyder's uncompromising bravura and his high visibility as an advocate for the homeless. But the shelter's location across the street from a Hyatt Hotel also fueled accusations that CCNV was creating a "Holiday Inn for the homeless." As the renovation evolved, there began to be complaints that the designers were, in fact, going too far. "We were accused of coddling the homeless. Some people said, 'Don't make it too nice, it's for the homeless,'" Neuringer remembers. "People feared that if we made it too 'nice,' then the residents wouldn't want to leave." In essence, the shelter's detractors were vindicating the power of thoughtful design.

Overall, however, the renovation has been warmly praised for its success in providing humane shelter and comprehensive services at greatly reduced costs. Recognized in a recent design competition sponsored by Architectural Record, it was cited as a "hearteningly prototypical effort." But Neuringer is quick to stress that the Federal City Shelter is not a model to be replicated. "People should not even want to replicate it," he says. "An emergency shelter is the result of a dreadful compromise. Shelters mean that you're literally taking people off the street and finding a temporary place for them. I would hope that someday soon we will move beyond that approach. But working on this project," the architect concludes, "has certainly confirmed our own belief in the impact that design can have on people's lives."
"There is a garden in her face." Thomas Campion

Space has no room, time not a moment for man. He is excluded.

In order to include him—help his homecoming—he must be gathered into their meaning (man is the subject as well as the object of architecture).

Whatever space and time mean, place and occasion mean more.

For space in the image of man is place, and time in the image of man is occasion.

Today, space and what it should coincide with in order to become "space"—man at home with himself—are lost. Both search for the same place, but cannot find it.

Provide that place.

Is man able to penetrate the material he organizes into hard shape between one man and another, between what is here and what is there, between this and a following moment? Is he able to find the right place for the right occasion? Is he able to linger?

No—so start with this: articulate the inbetween. Make a welcome of each door, a countenance of each window.

Make of each a place; a bunch of places of each house and each city (a house is a tiny city, a city a huge house).

Get closer to the shifting center of human reality and build its contraform—for each man and all men, since they no longer do it themselves (if society has no form, who can build the city-counterform?).

Senmut, the Egyptian, made what he was commanded to make: a habitable house of granite for a single dead queen. Are the sons of Senmut today unable to make what they are requested to make: habitable places for the millions that live, but are no longer able to fashion their own houses with mud, no longer forced to drag granite.

Architects and urbanists have become true specialists in the art of organizing the meager. The result draws very close to crime.

The time has come for another sort.

City implies "the people that live there"—not "population."

Whoever attempts to solve the riddle of space in the abstract will construct the outline of emptiness and call it space.

Whoever attempts to meet man in the abstract will speak with his echo and call this a dialogue.

Man still breathes in and out. When is architecture going to do the same?

The above thoughts were written by Dutch architect Aldo Van Eyck. They are a capsuled credo of Van Eyck's philosophy and help to explain his latest work: a home for homeless children near Amsterdam, which houses 125 children and a staff of 30 to 40, 12 of whom live on the premises. In the design of the building, Van Eyck attempted to reconcile the positive qualities of both a centralized scheme and a decentralized one ("twin phenomenon of the collective and the individual") and to avoid their pitfalls ("concentrated institutionalism and loosely knit additive sprawl"); he also made an attempt at reconciling the idea unity with the idea diversity and to achieve one by means of the other. The method he employed was to create a dispersed complex pattern drawn together by interior streets ("a device with an unquestionably human content") and by use of a consistent construction principle. All of the eight different age-group departments (each marked by a large cast-in-place concrete cupola, 366 smaller precast cupolas roofing most other areas), and also the activity rooms and service spaces, open onto the interior street. The children can play here, mix, and move from area to area; they are supposed to feel as vigorous as on the outside. The materials used are the same as those on the exterior, and the lighting is similar to streetlighting in the sense that one moves from illuminated place to illuminated place via comparative darkness. Van Eyck calls the interior street an "intermediary place." Other "intermediary places" are the courtyards, which he calls "exterior rooms strung along the interior street." As Van Eyck explains, "The building was conceived as a configuration of intermediary
1 Department for boys 14-20 years old; bedrooms above
2 Department for girls 14-20 years old; bedrooms above
3 Department for boys 10-14 years old; bedrooms above
4 Department for girls 10-14 years old; bedrooms above
5 Department for children 6-10 years old
6 Department for children 4-6 years old
7 Department for children 2-4 years old
8 Department for babies
9 Small hospital
10 Festive hall
11 Gym with stage, and space for pingpong
12 Staff
13 Administration and archives
14 Staff sitting room; meeting room above
15 Service hall, store, bath, laundry, and stair to cellar
16 Garage for small bus
17 Central linen room and storage
18 Central kitchen
19 Apartment for head of home
20 Apartment for head of departments
21 Bicycle ramp; apartments for staff above
22 Proposed metal sculpture with encircling trees
23 Paved areas with encircling trees

New Shapes in Shelters

Architects learn what works for the homeless

If you have the misfortune to be homeless in America this winter, the best place to be is the St. Vincent de Paul/Joan Kroc Center in San Diego. The dormitory-style rooms are pleasant and spacious. The people who built it thought of everything, down to underground parking for volunteer workers and a kennel—not in use, since it turns out that most of the homeless are facing their ordeal petless. It is built in Spanish-mission style, around a grassy courtyard and portico. Of course, nobody with a home would choose to live in a shelter, but one could do a lot worse. In a place like New York, where people routinely choose a cardboard box over such shelters as exist, the only problem would be keeping the really homeless from camping out under the portico.

Once, the country had "bums" who were given cots in dreary shelters or missions reminiscent of a work camp, which was all that society assumed they deserved. Now cities are filled with the "homeless," and the semantic shift that word embodies has given rise to a new theory about their needs: not just for "shelter," but a home. Architects and planners are rising to the challenge. At UCLA, associate professor Jackie Leavitt had her class in low-income housing construct (and spend the night in) makeshift shelters out of materials they found on campus—an exercise primarily in consciousness-raising, since they didn't come up with anything (shopping carts, plastic sheeting, empty cartons) that homeless people haven't thought of themselves. Inspired by the shopping cart, a New York artist, Krzysztof Wodiczko, has designed a combination pedestrian mobile home and hand truck for the collection of deposit cans and bottles—a common occupation of New York's homeless. And at the other end of the scale, a group headed by Andrew Cuomo, son and close adviser of the New York governor, has built 300 units of "transitional" housing indistinguishable (except for the social workers and the four-page list of rules) from ordinary middle-class apartments.

Between those extremes, there is a growing body of knowledge about how to design and equip a shelter in order to avoid the
demoralizing bus-station atmosphere of the old-fashioned Salvation Army mission. "It does no good to give someone counseling, then put him in a dark bunk in a smelly room," says Kansas City architect Mike Swann, who is completing a study of that city's emergency housing. The rise of a homeless class of women and children has added to the demands for a modicum of space and privacy. Women, says Kip Tiernan of the Boston women's shelter Rosie's Place, require a lot more space than men: "Men have a sense of fraternity. They were all in jail or the military together."

But the effort is complicated by the fact that very few shelters are built from the ground up like the $12 million Kroc Center. More often, they are adaptations of existing buildings whose only useful attributes are four walls and (sometimes) a roof—like the Pine Street Inn, on Harrison Avenue in Boston, occupying the former headquarters of the Boston Fire Department.

Architectural tricks: How much space, how much privacy can society provide for free? The Washington, D.C., shelter of the Community for Creative Non-Violence, said to be the largest in the country with 1,400 beds, has partitions of varying sizes, with six to 12 beds each. CCNV's Mitch Snyder considers this a model for large urban shelters. The Kroc Center has only four beds in each room, and the room sizes are graduated depending on the expected length of stay: from 100 square feet for overnight visits to 320 square feet for longer stays. Even in barracks-style shelters, though, there are architectural tricks that can convey an impression of privacy, without some of the drawbacks of the reality. Often beds are separated by four-foot-high partitions, which provide visual screening from neighbors but allow supervisors to keep an eye out for fights or contraband. In the Long Island Shelter's Woods-Mullen facility, in Boston's South End, architect Dan Meus used lighting to create the illusion of separate spaces, leaving strips of shadow between the highlighted bays.

A wide range of materials and furniture has been used in search of the right balance of homeliness and indestructibility. Carpets are rarely used because of the difficulty in washing and disinfecting them. (The Pine Street Inn has a unique sanitary feature, a closet that is heated to more than 200 degrees Fahrenheit to kill vermin in residents' clothes.) Snyder tested the molded-plastic chairs he chose for the Washington-shelter by throwing them off the roof. The opposite approach was taken at the Pine Street Inn, whose lounges are furnished with tubular steel and butcher-block tables and benches, too heavy to be tossed around.

The same principle applies to landscaping. The grounds of the Washington shelter are planted with dwarf holly and firethorn, in which even the most hardened homeless would not choose to tramp. Snyder is a vocal advocate of the homeless, but he is realistic about their weaknesses. The men's areas have lockable windows; so the men can't throw things out; the ones on the women's side open only six inches, so the men can't crawl in.

But even the best-laid plans fall short—including Snyder's, which boast all sorts of state-of-the-art amenities such as donated art, curtains, a Christmas tree, exercise room and job-training facilities. Architects can solve many problems, but they'll never change the fact that the best shelter for the homeless... is a home.

Jerry Adler with Lynn Davenport in Boston, Jeanne Gordon in San Diego, Daniel Glick in Washington and Roxie Hammill in Kansas City
Chapter 12

REQUIREMENTS FOR GROUP R OCCUPANCIES

Group R Occupancies Defined

Sec. 1201. Group R Occupancies shall be:

Division 1. Hotels and apartment houses.

Division 2. Not used.

Division 3. Dwellings and lodging houses.

Congregate residences (each accommodating 10 persons or less).

For occupancy separations, see Table No. 5-B.

A complete code for construction of detached one- and two-family dwellings is in Appendix Chapter 12 of this code. When adopted, as set forth in Section 103, it will take precedence over the requirements set forth in Parts I through X and Chapter 60 of this code.

Construction, Height and Allowable Area

Sec. 1202. (a) General. Buildings or parts of buildings classified in Group R because of the use or character of the occupancy shall be limited to the types of construction set forth in Tables Nos. 5-C and 5-D and shall not exceed, in area or height, the limits specified in Sections 505, 506 and 507.

(b) Special Provisions. Walls and floors separating dwelling units in the same building shall not be of less than one-hour fire-resistive construction.

Group R, Division 1 Occupancies more than two stories in height or having more than 3,000 square feet of floor area above the first story shall not be of less than one-hour fire-resistive construction throughout except as provided in Section 1705 (b) 2.

Storage or laundry rooms that are within Group R, Division 1 Occupancies that are used in common by tenants shall be separated from the rest of the building by not less than one-hour fire-resistive occupancy separation.

For Group R, Division 1 Occupancies with a Group B, Division 1 parking garage in the basement or first floor, see Section 702 (b) 1.

For attic space partitions and draft stops, see Section 2516 (f).

Location on Property

Sec. 1203. For fire-resistant protection of exterior walls and openings, as determined by location on property, see Section 504 and Part IV.

Access and Exit Facilities and Emergency Escapes

Sec. 1204. Exits shall be provided as specified in Chapter 33. (See also Section 3317 for special requirements and Section 3314 for exit markings.)

Access to, and egress from, buildings required to be accessible shall be provided as specified in Chapter 31.
Basements in dwelling units and every sleeping room below the fourth story shall have at least one operable window or door approved for emergency escape or rescue which shall open directly into a public street, public alley, yard or exit court. The units shall be operable from the inside to provide a full clear opening without the use of separate tools.

All escape or rescue windows shall have a minimum net clear openable area of 5.7 square feet. The minimum net clear openable height dimension shall be 24 inches. The minimum net clear openable width dimension shall be 20 inches. When windows are provided as a means of escape or rescue they shall have a finished sill height not more than 44 inches above the floor.

Bars, grilles, grates or similar devices may be installed on emergency escape or rescue windows or doors, provided:

1. The devices are equipped with approved release mechanisms which are operable from the inside without the use of a key or special knowledge or effort; and
2. The building is equipped with smoke detectors installed in accordance with Section 1210.

Light, Ventilation and Sanitation

Sec. 1205. (a) General. For the purpose of determining the light or ventilation required by this section, any room may be considered as a portion of an adjoining room when one half of the area of the common wall is open and unobstructed and provides an opening of not less than one tenth of the floor area of the interior room or 25 square feet, whichever is greater.

Exterior openings for natural light or ventilation required by this section shall open directly onto a public way or a yard or court located on the same lot as the building.

EXCEPTIONS: 1. Required windows may open into a roofed porch where the porch:
   A. Abuts a public way, yard or court; and
   B. Has a ceiling height of not less than 7 feet; and
   C. Has a longer side at least 65 percent open and unobstructed.
2. Skylights.

(b) Light. Guest rooms and habitable rooms within a dwelling unit or congregate residence shall be provided with natural light by means of exterior glazed openings with an area not less than one tenth of the floor area of such rooms with a minimum of 10 square feet.

(c) Ventilation. Guest rooms and habitable rooms within a dwelling unit or congregate residence shall be provided with natural ventilation by means of operable exterior openings with an area not less than one twentieth of the floor area of such rooms with a minimum of 5 square feet.

In lieu of required exterior openings for natural ventilation, a mechanical ventilating system may be provided. Such system shall be capable of providing two air changes per hour in all guest rooms, dormitories, habitable rooms and in public corridors. One fifth of the air supply shall be taken from the outside.

Bathrooms, water closet compartments, laundries, toilet rooms or combination rooms, shall be provided with natural ventilation by means of an area not less than one twentieth of the floor area of 1 1/2 square feet.

In lieu of required exterior openings for maintaining a bathtub or shower or combination rooms, a mechanical ventilation system consisting of providing five air changes per hour shall be at least 3 feet from any opening on opposite sides of the room which contain only a water closet or lavatory. Such bathroom or combination rooms may be ventilated with an approved mechanical device designed to remove odors from the air.

(d) Sanitation. Every building shall be provided with washbasins, water closets, lavatories, bathtubs or showers. Each sink, lavatory and water closet shall have at least oneaniaihe of providing five air changes per hour shall be at least 3 feet from any opening on opposite sides of the room which contain only a water closet or lavatory. Such bathroom or combination rooms may be ventilated with an approved mechanical device designed to remove odors from the air.

EXCEPTION: Hotel guest rooms may have less ventilation.

Additional water closets shall be provided on one for every additional 10 guests, or fraction thereof.

Dwelling units shall be provided with a kitchen, a bath or shower and a component of a mechanical ventilation system capable of providing five air changes per hour. In lieu of required exterior openings for natural ventilation, a mechanical ventilation system may be provided. Such system shall be capable of providing two air changes per hour in all other rooms, dormitories, habitable rooms and in public corridors. One fifth of the air supply shall be taken from the outside.

Yards and Courts

Sec. 1206. (a) Scope. This section shall apply to required windows opening therein.

(b) Yards. Yards shall not be less than 3 feet wide for buildings more than two stories in height except buildings more than two stories in height shall be increased at the rate of 1 foot for each additional story. For buildings exceeding 14 stories in height, the required yard shall be increased at the rate of 1 foot for each additional 10 stories.

(c) Courts. Courts shall not be less than 3 feet wide for buildings more than two stories in height. For buildings exceeding 14 stories in height, the court shall be increased at the rate of 1 foot for each additional story. For buildings exceeding 14 stories in height, the court shall be increased at the rate of 1 foot for each additional 10 stories.

In lieu of required exterior openings for natural ventilation, a mechanical ventilating system may be provided. Such system shall be capable of providing two air changes per hour in all guest rooms, dormitories, habitable rooms and in public corridors. One fifth of the air supply shall be taken from the outside.

Adequate access shall be provided to the building. Entry court or other area adjacent to the building shall have a minimum net clear openable area of 10 square feet in all guest rooms, dormitories, habitable rooms and in public corridors. One fifth of the air supply shall be taken from the outside.
the air intake shall be as required for the court walls of the building, but in no case shall be less than one-hour fire resistive.

**Room Dimensions**

Sec. 1207. (a) Ceiling Heights. Habitable space shall have a ceiling height of not less than 7 feet 6 inches except as otherwise permitted in this section. Kitchens, halls, bathrooms and toilet compartments may have a ceiling height of not less than 7 feet measured to the lowest projection from the ceiling. Where exposed beam ceiling members are spaced at less than 48 inches on center, ceiling height shall be measured to the bottom of these members. Where exposed beam ceiling members are spaced at 48 inches or more on center, ceiling height shall be measured to the bottom of the deck supported by these members, provided that the bottom of the members is not less than 7 feet above the floor.

If any room in a building has a sloping ceiling, the prescribed ceiling height for the room is required in only one half the area thereof. No portion of the room measuring less than 5 feet from the finished floor to the finished ceiling shall be included in any computation of the minimum area thereof.

If any room has a furred ceiling, the prescribed ceiling height is required in two thirds the area thereof, but in no case shall the height of the furred ceiling be less than 7 feet.

(b) Floor Area. Dwelling units and congregate residences shall have at least one room which shall have not less than 120 square feet of floor area. Other habitable rooms except kitchens shall have an area of not less than 70 square feet. Efficiency dwelling units shall comply with the requirements of Section 1208.

(c) Width. Habitable rooms other than a kitchen shall not be less than 7 feet in any dimension.

**Efficiency Dwelling Units**

Sec. 1208. An efficiency dwelling unit shall conform to the requirements of the code except as herein provided:

1. The unit shall have a living room of not less than 220 square feet of superficial floor area. An additional 100 square feet of superficial floor area shall be provided for each occupant of such unit in excess of two.
2. The unit shall be provided with a separate closet.
3. The unit shall be provided with a kitchen sink, cooking appliance and refrigeration facilities, each having a clear working space of not less than 30 inches in front. Light and ventilation conforming to this code shall be provided.
4. The unit shall be provided with a separate bathroom containing a water closet, lavatory and bathtub or shower.

**Shaft and Exit Enclosures**

Sec. 1209. Exits shall be enclosed as specified in Chapter 33.

Elevator shafts, vent shafts, dumbwaiter shafts, clothes chutes and other vertical openings shall be enclosed and the enclosure shall be as specified in Section 1706.
TABLE NO. 17-B—ATRIUM OPENING AND AREA

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>HEIGHT IN STORIES</th>
<th>MINIMUM CLEAR OPENING (Ft.)</th>
<th>MINIMUM AREA (Sq. Ft.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>3-4</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5-7</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>900</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8 or more</td>
<td>40</td>
<td>1600</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The specified dimensions are the diameters of inscribed circles whose centers fall on a common axis for the full height of the atrium.

Definition

Sec. 1801. The structural elements in Type I fire-resistive construction shall be steel, iron, concrete or masonry.

Walls and permanent partitions shall be of two-hour fire-resistive construction, which are not fire-retardant-treated wood (see Section 40-9-C).

Materials of construction and fire-resistive construction shall be in compliance with Section 40-9-C.

Structural Framework

Sec. 1802. Structural framework shall be of two-hour fire-resistive noncombustible construction, except for wood sleepers in Type I fire-resistive construction, which are not fire-retardant-treated wood (see Section 40-9-C).

Exterior Walls and Openings

Sec. 1803. (a) Exterior Walls. Exterior walls shall comply with the requirements specified in Table No. 17-A. For Group 9-C, noncombustible materials of construction are permitted and two-hour fire-resistive construction of openings is required.

EXCEPTIONS: 1. Nonbearing walls with widths of at least 40 feet may be of unprocessed wood.
2. In Group R, Division 1 and Group 1, exterior walls shall be of two-hour fire-resistive noncombustible construction.
3. In other than Group H Occupancies, one-hour fire-resistive noncombustible materials of construction are permitted and two-hour fire-resistive construction of openings is required.

(b) Openings in Walls. All openings in exterior walls shall comply with the requirements of Section 504 (b) and shall be three-fourths-hour fire-protection rating with respect to the adjacent property line or the center line of the atrium.

No openings shall be permitted in exterior walls with widths less than 5 feet in Groups B, Division 4, R and M Occupancies, except that exterior walls in Group H Occupancies are permitted to have openings in accordance with Paragraphs 2 and 3.

For Group H Occupancies, see Chapter 17.

Floors

Sec. 1804. Where wood sleepers are used or concrete fire-resistive floors, the space b
TABLE NO. 33-A—MINIMUM EGRESS REQUIREMENTS

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>USE²</th>
<th>MINIMUM OF TWO EXITS OTHER THAN ELEVATORS ARE REQUIRED WHERE NUMBER OF OCCUPANTS IS AT LEAST</th>
<th>OCCUPANT LOAD FACTOR² (EQ. 8.)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Aircraft hangars (no repair)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. Auction rooms</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. Assembly areas, concentrated use (without fixed seats)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Auditoriums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Churches and chapels</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dance floors</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lobby accessory to assembly occupancy</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lodge rooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Reviewing stands</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stadiums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Waiting Area</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Assembly areas, less-concentrated use</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Conference rooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dining rooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Drinking establishments</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Exhibit rooms</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gymnasiums</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Lounges</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Stages</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. Bowling alley (assume no occupant load for bowling lanes)</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. Children’s homes and homes for the aged</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. Classrooms</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Congregate residences (accommodating 10 or less persons and having an area of 3,000 square feet or less)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Congregate residences (accommodating more than 10 persons or having an area of more than 3,000 square feet)</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>9. Courtrooms</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>10. Dormitories</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>11. Dwellings</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>12. Exercising rooms</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Continued)
Family Housing
Flatlands, Brooklyn

While the singles projects serve particular populations and are managed by nonprofit organizations, the family facilities house a wider array of people in distress and are run by the city’s Human Resources Administration. Because residents live here only for a few months—until permanent housing is found for them—and include children, these buildings must be able to handle a higher level of wear and tear. Durability was a major concern with all of the buildings in the transitional housing program, says SOM’s Michael McCarthy. As a result, tough materials—such as brick and concrete block—were specified rather than stucco. One of the first two family projects completed—in November 1989—the Flatlands facility reaches out to its neighbors.
with a gracious forecourt (below right) and a scale that is more residential than institutional. A more active rear court (below left) serves as a playground. Apartments in the three-story residential wings cluster around social cores with glazed lightwells (right). The cores were designed so each would have two shared lounges, a caseworker’s office, and a laundry, but sadly the lounges and offices have been converted into apartments due to overcrowding. Apartments range from studios to two-bedroom units and all include kitchens and dining areas (bottom right). Larger apartments occupy the ends of each wing, while studios are placed back-to-back in the center. A connecting door between studios allows them to be used as a larger apartment if necessary.

Credits
Architect: SOM/New Y. Michael McCarthy, design partner; Carolina Woo, administrative partner; Moos, project manager; Killian, senior designer; Stephen Weinryb, technical coordinator; Richard L., structural engineer; Sc. McIntyre, civil engineer
General Contractor: Kr. Borg, Florman
GATEWAY TO PARK
FRONT PORCH
SAND BOX
INTERIOR STREET
GATEWAY TO PARK
INTERIOR STREET