STRIVING FOR THE SOCIALLY SUSTAINABLE IDEAL:

HOW HOMELESSNESS IS ADDRESSED IN

ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

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by

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Abstract

In the ideal socially sustainable city, no one would go without. Social problems like poverty and its most visible form – homelessness – would not exist. In the real present-day city, however, homelessness does exist. This thesis examines how homelessness, one symptom of a lack of social sustainability, is addressed in the City of St. John's, based on an interpretation of data from 28 agencies that form a part of the system of supports for the homeless. It also examines the effects of social policy on the emergence of homelessness and on the system of supports that has evolved to address it.

Although there are a number of issues, specific to St. John's, that remain challenges to addressing homelessness, the results of this study reveal that homelessness in St. John's is similar to homelessness elsewhere. In this case study, St. John's is making socially sustainable gains at the front-line, agency level. It is working towards the ideal.

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CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

This thesis presents a discussion of the ideal socially sustainable city together with a field study of St. John's, Newfoundland, in order to examine one aspect of urban social sustainability: the phenomenon of homelessness.

...we could do more to extend the study of homelessness to the study of the vast network of service providers, a network ... at times sardonically referred to as "the shelter industry". It is the people of this network who daily influence the quality and life of the homeless and who are looked upon by the public at large as the main source of knowledge about homelessness (Glasser and Bridgeman 1999:114).

1.1 Introduction

Sustainable development was defined in 1987 by the UN World Commission on Environment and Development as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs". The world-renowned report of this Commission, commonly known as the Brundtland Report,

brought the concept of sustainable development into the limelight, popularized the concept and influenced how we think and feel about our environment.

Sustainable development has taken on a variety of meanings and has been interpreted in various ways, and on different scales. It can be narrowly defined as purely concerned with environmental or economic issues, or more broadly defined, encompassing a variety of concepts from the environment to social justice. Sustainable development can also be implemented on a variety of levels. With increasing urbanization, it is thought that extremes of environmental, economic and social degradation may occur in cities. It is for this reason that sustainable urban development has become an increasingly popular topic for discussion in the mass media and for academic study.

Experts and academics have identified three main aspects of sustainable development: environmental, economic and social. Social sustainability is concerned with people. Fairness in distribution of goods and services such as housing, food and clothing are implicit to social sustainability. Furthermore, each citizen in a socially sustainable society has equal access to civic participation and decision-making.

Sustainable development does not exist in any true form. It is a concept, an ideal that is worthy of considerable attention. However it cannot and therefore will not be achieved on any real level, given the tendencies of modern society. Socially sustainable development, therefore, is also an ideal that will likely never be fully realized. However, the socially sustainable city is a concept worth striving for while recognizing the inherent limitations.

In the ideal socially sustainable city, no one would go without. Social problems like poverty and its most visible form – homelessness – would not exist. In the real present-day city, however, homelessness does exist. Due to a combination of social, cultural, economic and political factors, many people live without proper nutrition, clothing and, in the specific case of the homeless, shelter. The true socially sustainable city is therefore one in which real efforts are being made to address the issue of homelessness. It is not a city where everyone is happy, well clothed, fed, and sheltered. It cannot be the ideal.

Homelessness is a dynamic phenomenon. Its definitions are constantly evolving – changing with the very population they represent. Research into homelessness comes from a variety of academic disciplines. Social workers, sociologists, political scientists, psychologists and geographers have all contributed to the growing field that studies the roots, extent, and solutions to present-day homelessness worldwide.

Contemporary homelessness is a phenomenon with many faces which has become increasingly visible in North America since the 1980s. It is quite different from that experienced during the early and mid-twentieth century. Today's homeless include both men and women, young and old, single and two-parent families, members of racial minorities, those with addictions and people suffering from a variety of illnesses from AIDS to persistent mental illness.

Ironically, some of the terms used to categorize and classify the homeless are also used to describe the causes and effects of homelessness. Others are not. Mental illness, for example, is often cited as a factor that contributes to and is a result of contemporary

homelessness. Thus, the mentally ill are members of the contemporary homeless population. They are mentally ill and then become homeless or, they are homeless and then become mentally ill.

Homelessness in St. John's is relatively 'hidden' when compared with some larger Canadian cities,. Many of the homeless in St. John's are not living on the streets. Rather, they rely on non-profit shelter services or transitional housing. They live in substandard apartments or boarding houses, some spending their days panhandling on the streets having been barred from their accommodations during the daytime hours. Some homeless youth are perpetually moving – couch surfing – depending on different relatives and friends for sleeping quarters – changing locations from night to night. These circumstances are also prevalent in other Canadian cities and across North America, but are often compounded by a population of 'visible' homeless who live on the streets or in places unfit for human habitation.

Homelessness is a visible indicator of social exclusion. Social exclusion is, in turn, one symptom of the socially unsustainable city. What systems of support are available for the homeless in any given city and how effective are these systems?

This thesis will outline the elements of the ideal socially sustainable city. It will concentrate on how one element of social sustainability, the phenomenon of homelessness, is addressed in the City of St. John's. Data from social policy, the 28 agencies that form a part of the system of supports for the homeless, and the location of homeless space in St. John's, will be interpreted in an attempt to link the reality of homelessness to the vague and disjointed concept of the socially sustainable city.

One aim of this study is to provide relevant information with respect to the system of supports that has evolved to deal with homelessness in St. John's. This information can then be used elsewhere.

1.2 Methodology

A detailed literature review examining four main theoretical contexts (Socially Sustainable Cities, Third Space/Geographies of Exclusion/Marginality/Social Justice, Housing, and Homelessness) was undertaken (Chapter Two). This review established a focus on social policy review and the agencies that comprise the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's and the need to examine the linkages between the two. A national policy review was therefore conducted (Chapter Three), followed by an examination of provincial and municipal social policy (Chapter Four) to examine past and present social policy affecting the emergence and evolution of homelessness and the establishment of agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's. In-depth field interviews with 28 agencies providing services for the homeless in the City of St. John's were undertaken and analyzed (Chapters Five, Six, and Seven). And finally, the locations of the 28 agencies, their perception of poor space, and the overlapping Heritage Conservation Area in St. John's were mapped and assessed in terms of social sustainability.

Agencies were identified first with the help of the National Homelessness Initiative-sponsored document entitled *Community Plan for Addressing Homelessness in*

St. John's (IHRD 2001). This document outlines the key actors involved in addressing homelessness in the city. Secondly the agencies were identified upon the advice of experts in the community. The Institute for Human Resource Development (IHRD), under the direction of Rick Morris, and Goss Gilroy Incorporated, both consulting firms specializing in social issues, were commissioned by the Government of Canada's National Homelessness Initiative to prepare and write the Community Plan. In addition, a Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness was established under the National Homelessness Initiative to oversee both the writing and implementation of the plan. The plan provides a detailed list of agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's.

The agency contribution to this study was immensely important. However, it must be noted that access was not provided to the clients of the agencies involved. Therefore one significant limitation to this study is the lack of the homeless person's point of view. The homeless themselves were not studied. Instead, this thesis focuses on the agencies providing services. These are the agencies with the most direct involvement with the homeless and their point of view as to the issues affecting the homeless and their ability to deliver proper services to alleviate the problems of the homeless were studied in detail. For ethical reasons, the identity of those individuals interviewed at the 28 agencies has not been disclosed.

1.3 Study Area

St. John's, the capital city of Newfoundland and Labrador, is North America's most easterly city. It is Newfoundland's largest urban centre and is home to one third of the provincial population[1]. St. John's is the economic and political centre (site of the Provincial Government headquarters and head offices for most government services) for the province of Newfoundland.

Although Newfoundland recorded its biggest net loss in twenty years to inter-provincial out-migration in Statistics Canada's last Census (2001), the city of St. John's is a locus for significant *intra*-provincial in-migration. Between 1996 and 2001, 9775 people migrated from non-Census metropolitan areas within Newfoundland to the St. John's Census metropolitan area.

Because of the concentration of population, government services, and economic activity in St. John's, it is important to consider the social sustainability of the community. If social assistance recipients and case loads are decreasing (social assistance cases fell from an annual average of 32,046 in 1998 to 28,146 in 2002 and social assistance recipients decreased from an annual average of 63,868 in 1998 to 51,364 in 2002 (Department of Human Resources and Employment 2003)), provincially, then why does there seem to be increasing homelessness in the province's capital city? What does this increase mean in terms of social sustainability?

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[1] Population of Newfoundland and Labrador: 531,595, Population of St. John's Census Metropolitan Area: 177,235 (Statistics Canada 2001)

- "Ten years ago we had one home, now we have seven… we are always full – we add a program almost every year and we can never meet the need." (St. Francis Foundation, personal communication 2001)

- "… in the last three years, especially, homelessness has become more of an issue." (Mental Health Crisis Centre, personal communication 2001)

- "… all of a sudden now you have a lot of people in the community that have been somewhat dependent and institutionalized – there *was* a sort of network of supports that provided them with something. A lot of people right now don't fit that bill and as a result they slip through the cracks." (Department of Corrections, personal communication 2002)

CHAPTER TWO: SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY AND HOMELESSNESS – AN OVERVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter reviews the literature on sustainable development and, in particular, socially sustainable urban development. Specifically, homelessness is identified as being a challenge to the socially sustainable city. And social housing policy is examined as part of this story. Curiously, urban homelessness in Canada has increased during the very same period that human rights, with their emphasis on social inclusion and social justice, have been a driving force in social legislation.

2.2 Sustainable Development

The concept of Sustainable Development was introduced and defined in Chapter One as "development which meets the needs of the present without compromising the ability of future generations to meet their own needs" (WCED 1987). The influential Brundtland Report, entitled *Our Common Future* (credited with crystalizing and disseminating the concept), is based on the assumption that, first, there can be sustainable development, and second, that humankind *can* meet the demands of sustainable development. It stresses the need to integrate environmental protection with social and economic development and to bridge the "institutional gaps" formed between and within

governmental and non-governmental agencies because of the compartmentalized concerns addressed by each.

Sustainable Development is based on the premise that the environment should be protected from the harmful influences of humankind. The roots of environmental protection and conservation can be traced back to the early nineteenth century. Writers like Henry David Thoreau (1817 – 1862) advocated the coexistence of civilized society and a protected environment (Sax 1998). Thoreau did not believe that development should be arrested in the name of preservation. He preferred a more moderate approach that would conserve natural resources alongside the evolution of civilized society. John Muir (1838 – 1914), one of America's most well known naturalists and national park advocates, wrote of the importance of environmental protection not only for humankind's enjoyment and appreciation but also to assure the perpetuation of life itself (Snow 1992), and, in 1864, George Perkins Marsh documented humankind's effect on the environment for the first time in such detail in his influential text *Man and Nature* (Goudie 2000).

Less than a century later, in 1962, Rachel Carson, an American Bureau of Fisheries biologist and writer, released a series of articles in the *New Yorker Magazine* that documented the devastating effects of industrial pollution on the natural environment. The series was then released as a book entitled *Silent Spring* (Carson 1962) and it quickly became a bestseller. The publication of *Silent Spring* was a milestone in the history of the environmental movement. It brought concern over environmental pollution into the mainstream. For this reason, Carson is often credited as being the mother of modern environmentalism.

The popularity of *Silent Spring* prompted many in the western world to consider the future of humankind and the natural environment. So, in 1972 the UN Stockholm Conference on the Human Environment was held with the objective of stimulating "international awareness and understanding of global, international and common national environmental problems and, based on this understanding, to evolve agreements in substance or in principle to deal with these problems (Environment Canada 1972:1)". The Conference brought together world leaders for the first time to discuss the links between economic development and the environment. Although specifics were not addressed, the Stockholm Conference represented a first step towards international cooperation in the complex matters of economic development and the natural environment. Thus, the concept of sustainable development was born.

Another important step along the road to sustainable development came in 1987 with the formal definition and dissemination of the concept of sustainable development in the Brundtland Report entitled *Our Common Future*. Then came the United Nations' Conference on Environment and Development (UNCED) in Rio de Janeiro in 1992. This meeting brought together an unprecedented number of heads of state and leaders. Five global agreements were signed. One of these, 'Agenda 21', signed by 179 countries, was officially "intended to set out an international programme of action for achieving sustainable development in the 21st Century" (United Nations Conference on Environment and Development 1993:98). Agenda 21 reaffirmed many of the priorities for sustainable development outlined in the Brundtland Report. It formalized social and economic elements as essential to achieving sustainable development. It explicitly

addressed issues such as poverty, healthcare, and human settlement issues for the first time in the context of sustainable development.

Since the 1987 publication of *Our Common Future* and the signing of Agenda 21 in 1992, the focus of academics and policy-makers has been on establishing criteria for responsible and sustainable development. In 2002, ten years after the Rio Summit, the UN Earth Summit was held in Johannesburg, South Africa with objectives of strengthening commitments made and conventions signed at the earlier Rio Summit and also of building on a number of key issues. Concern over the effects of large-scale globalization was highlighted and increased accountability, equity and justice for meeting sustainable goals were emphasized. Moreover, the importance of 'Agenda 21' was reiterated.

Sustainable development is a dynamic process. It has taken on a variety of meanings. It has been discussed, researched, and interpreted in various ways, and on different scales. It has grown from concerns over the impact of humankind on the environment to encompass social and economic factors. The quest for sustainable development has therefore become more holistic. Source books and texts outlining specific methodologies have been published in addition to journal articles that focus on one sustainable development project in particular or one area of sustainable development, such as sustainable *urban* development.

Source texts and manuals outlining important principles and practices of sustainable development have been published on international, national and regional levels (for example, United Nations 2001, Projet de Société 1993, British Columbia

Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1994). Issues of governance in sustainable communities are addressed and partnerships between public, private and non-governmental organizations are suggested as a means of providing leadership while undertaking sustainable development (Maser et al. 1998, Tennyson and Wilde 2000).

Initiatives concerning sustainable development in several different countries since the 1992 Earth Summit in Rio are examined and compared in *Implementing Sustainable Development* (Lafferty and Meadowcroft 2000). Political scientists Lafferty and Meadowcroft assess the integration of sustainable development into official central government policies and the differing interpretations of and commitment to sustainable development (Lafferty and Meadowcroft 2000).

Many techniques and methods for the examination and evaluation of sustainable development have been outlined (for example, United Nations 2001, Roseland 1998, British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1994). One of them, "sustainability reporting", involves the measurement of a series of "sustainability indicators" over time. These include: "floor area per person" as a social indicator of housing or living conditions, "adult literacy rate" as an indicator of education, and "distance traveled per capita by mode of transport" as an indicator of consumption and production patterns (United Nations 2001). Although such indicators are neither definitive nor exhaustive, they provide starting points for further research and elaboration.

The priorities for sustainable development are characterized in different ways (Harris 2001, Badshah 1996, Brebbia et al. 2000). Some suggest that the definition needs

to be more rigid, more practical and rendered less confusing (Perks and Tyler 1991, Middleton and O'Keefe 2001). Several concentrate on one key element of sustainability – the environment, the economy or the social aspect of sustainable development. And even within these specific elements of sustainable development there is an ongoing debate over the practical definitions implied by sustainable development.

The global economy has become increasingly urban and our towns and cities provide the "backbone for national development" (WCED 1987:235). Even the fate of rural areas now depends on urban economics. Industries such as agriculture, mining, and the fishery are often controlled from large cities that also provide a main source of demand for their output (MacDonald 2002). Despite this, cities possess very few capital powers, autonomy or control over where and how provincial and federal monies are spent in urban centres. Community-focussed governance, whereby municipalities have increased decision-making, capital powers, and autonomy, can therefore be seen as a key feature of sustainable development (Maser et al. 1998, Middleton and O'Keefe 2001, Polèse 2002). Moreover, it has been suggested that partnerships between municipalities and private enterprises could provide a larger revenue-base from which cities could maintain infrastructure and provide a decent quality of life (MacDonald 2002). The community can be considered the logical locus for the practice of sustainable development.

If the community *is* the logical locus for discourse on sustainable development and over 60% of the world's population lives in urban centres then it can be assumed that

one very important aspect of sustainable development is *sustainable urban development* (Badshah 1996).

2.3 Sustainable Urban Development

The "urban challenge" identified in *Our Common Future* has been seized upon by several groups of researchers concerned with sustainable development. For example, how to "contain" development, control sprawl and decrease automobile dependence has been thoroughly examined (Newman and Kenworthy 1999, Ewing 1997, Anderson et al. 1996, British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1994). However, the very first allusion to the concept of the sustainable city (although the term was not used) came well before the publication of *Our Common Future*.

The roots of sustainable urban development can be traced back to late nineteenth century community planning (Yanarella and Levine 1992). For example, the Garden City Movement, founded on the ideas of social reformer Sir Ebenezer Howard, sought to relieve the over-crowded conditions in English cities and to facilitate social interaction between inhabitants (Jacobs 1961). Although Howard suggested an integration of the best of both town and country, the end result of the Garden City Movement was the creation of small satellite communities with plenty of open, green space and a 'rural atmosphere' (Lucey 1973).

The development of regionalism and regional governance in community planning is often attributed to Patrick Geddes, a nineteenth century social evolutionist and city

planner. While Howard's ideas influenced the establishment of new Garden Cities, Geddes believed the blight of inner cities could be relieved through a combination of social reform and physical planning. He emphasized the relationship between humankind and nature (Geddes 1949) and developed a system of regional surveying - a technique stressing "the significance of knowing and understanding a place through survey before trying to plan" (Meller 1990:193). This had a great impact on the evolution of twentieth century urban planning. His consideration of 'all things social' in city planning has much in common with sustainable urban development today.

Lewis Mumford, social philosopher, educator, and one of the twentieth century's most preeminent urban critics, further developed the concept of regional planning through the establishment of the Regional Planning Association of America. This association "linked planning of towns and cities to an empathetic understanding of the complex natural region" (Luccarelli 1995:1) and attempted to integrate regionalism into American urban development. Mumford argued for a return to moral values, feelings and sensitivities as a means of conquering the "dehumanizing tendencies of modern technological civilization" (Highbeam Research 2002:1). These are also elements commonly attributed to sustainable urban development.

The elements of sustainable urban development were further developed by Jane Jacobs in her 1961 milestone book *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*. Jacobs wrote her seminal text as "an attack on the current city planning and rebuilding" (Jacobs 1961:1). As exemplified by the American urban redevelopment schemes of the 1950s, she proposed to examine the underlying 'order' (within the context of complexity) of

cities before proposing changes to planning practices with respect to housing, traffic, administration, etc... Many of the solutions proposed are very similar to the defining elements of the sustainable city as they have appeared in more recent research. Jacobs was particularly concerned with the blighted inner cities of the United States and the location and concentration of inner-city slums. She suggested a number of solutions for "unslumming" the slums by ending transience among the slum-dwelling population. She wrote:

> ...cities need not "bring back" a middle class, and carefully protect it like an artificial growth. Cities grow the middle class. But to keep it as it grows, to keep it as a stabilizing force in the form of a self-diversified population, means considering the city's people valuable and worth retaining, right where they are, before they become middle class (Jacobs 1961:282).

Mixed uses for and proper integration of neighbourhoods or districts, the encouragement of social and cultural diversity, subsidized housing and a decreased reliance on automobile use were just some of the other solutions proposed by Jacobs in 1961.

During the 1980s, the concepts of "healthy" and "green" cities and sustainable urban development seem to have evolved concurrently and incorporated many of the same principles. These include an emphasis on social wellbeing, environmental responsibility, and economic stability (Berlin 1989).

In 1986, Health and Welfare Canada published an outline for a new national health framework entitled *Achieving Health for All* (Epp 1986). The recommendations

put forth in *Achieving Health for All* were implemented in the *Canadian Healthy Community Project*. Project coordinator, Susan Berlin, discussed the elements of the project in an article in the journal *Plan Canada* in 1989 (Berlin 1989). Berlin's text did not explicitly state a goal of community sustainability - perhaps because *Achieving Health for All* was published one year before the Brundtland Report popularized the term. Sustainability, however, was clearly implied in a variety of ways. Primarily, the publication sought to change the definition of health to encourage increased awareness of its social facets. The concept of health grew to encompass social well-being and economic status as important factors in achieving and maintaining a healthy lifestyle. *Achieving Health for All*, Berlin writes, encouraged work at the local level to address issues identified as health concerns. These included: violence, the environment, employment prospects and the aging population. It is important to note here that these very issues have been identified by other researchers as indicators or key themes of sustainable development (United Nations 2001, Roseland 1998).

Much of the post-Brundtland material concerning sustainable urban development has been presented in the form of collections of best-practice case studies (Singh 2001, OECD 1999, Moffat 1996, Rees and Roseland 1991). Several include international comparisons (Singh 2001, OECD 1999), and many focus on planning strategies for sustainable urban development (Tomalty and Hendler 1991, Rees and Roseland 1991).

The majority of the published material on sustainable urban development deals with policy-oriented solutions organized according to specific geographic examples of

sustainable development practices at work. Some of the factors which contribute to the present crises facing cities throughout the world have been identified as:

- rapid urbanization and industrialization accompanied by major changes in the social, economic, environmental and technological arenas (Singh 2001:1)

- social and economic change, such as suburbanization, rising car use, the regeneration of previously developed land, and the demands of global competition (OCED 1999:11)

Geographer Mark Roseland asserts that most of the world's "critical… environmental issues are rooted in local, day-to-day problems" (Roseland 1998:VIII).

Higher urban density, urban infill, sustainable transportation, and "community livability" are just some of the characteristics of sustainable urban development (CMHC 2001). Sprawl, lack of housing options, energy and water use, waste management, automobile dependency, urban economy, urban health and poverty are examples of the issues that need to be dealt with in order to improve the sustainability of urban centres (British Columbia Round Table on the Environment and the Economy 1994).

Although the social element of sustainable development is highlighted in many publications concerned with sustainability (United Nations 2001, Maser et al. 1998, Tennyson and Wilde 2000, Singh 2001, OECD 1999, Moffat 1996, Rees and Roseland 1991) it is absent from others (Fowler and Siegel 2002). The Brundtland Report, for example, does not explicitly examine the social components of sustainable development.

It has been suggested that the Commission made a deliberate choice to omit social concerns from the ecological and economic concerns entailed in sustainable development. It was feared that "destructive objections" by UN member countries would result if stringent criteria for socially sustainable development were outlined (Middleton and O'Keefe 2001). The Report does say, however, that poverty (one social element of sustainable development) is a "major cause and effect of global environmental problems" (WCED 1987:3). Moreover it asserts that it would be counterproductive to deal only with environmental concerns - ignoring the larger global context of poverty and "inequality" (WCED 1987:3). Poverty is not only an evil in itself, but sustainable development requires meeting the basic needs of all and extending to all the opportunity to fulfill their aspirations for a better life (WCED 1987:8).

2.4 Socially Sustainable Urban Development

What is a socially sustainable city? It has been described as one which:

> Foster(s) development (and/or growth) that is compatible with the harmonious evolution of civil society, fostering an environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups while at the same time encouraging social integration, with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population (Polèse and Stren 2000:15).

Some defining elements of a sustainable city include, in the case of Montreal:

- ...inhabitants should be assured a basic level of financial resources as well as access to public goods and services in areas such as education, health and culture; the socially sustainable city would also stimulate social integration by providing dynamic arenas for social and community interaction (Séguin and Germain 2000:40).

In the case of Toronto:

- Economic vitality and social well-being of its downtown business and residential districts; a public transit system that has performed more effectively and efficiently than all others in North America; and the relatively uniform quality of public goods and services provided in all parts of the metropolitan region (Frisken et al. 2000:68).

The literature suggests that social sustainability is characterized by three primary elements: *social integration* of culturally and economically diverse groups; *equal access* to products and services such as education, housing (having a home), health and culture and the assurance of basic financial resources to all members of the community; and *equal rights* with respect to participation in civic governance and the municipal decision-making process.

What is meant by each of these in practice? *Social integration* implies the cohabitation and interaction of socially and culturally diverse groups (Polèse and Stren 2000). It is the opposite of *social exclusion*, which can create a "dynamic process of

being shut out… from any of the social, economic, political and cultural systems which determine the social integration of a person in a society" (Walker and Walker 1997:8). Social exclusion, a result of the process of marginalization, is a multi-faceted phenomenon that, like social sustainability, has many and varied indicators and causes. In *Geographies of Exclusion*, geographer David Sibley (1995) focuses on some of the processes that exclude groups and individuals from mainstream society. He examines the design of space and how this influences inclusion/exclusion and the resultant social polarization of groups or individuals. He refers to this as reading the cultural landscape. Sibley also discusses the role of identity formation and sense of self in creating divisions or boundaries between the individual self and "other".

The process of social exclusion has been studied from a variety of vantage-points, but many studies focus on poverty (Mohan 2002, Powell et al. 2001, Jordan 1996, Sibley 1995, Badcock 1984). Newfoundland geographer Susan Williams examines social exclusion and inclusion in Newfoundland and Labrador in a policy discussion paper entitled *Social Inclusion: On the Path to Social Development in Newfoundland and Labrador* (2000). She explores the bi-directional nature of social exclusion and the role that individual "choice" plays in determining social status. Williams writes of the cyclical nature of poverty and social exclusion:

…social exclusion occurs when people lack access to education, employment, decent housing, healthcare, and other conditions necessary for full participation in society… inadequate education and healthcare in childhood have long-term effects into adulthood

where they create employment barriers. The effects of one barrier... become the causes of further exclusion (Williams 2000).

In *Geographies of welfare and social exclusion: dimensions, consequences and methods*, John Mohan states that "the rise of homelessness has been the most visible index of social polarization" (Mohan 2002:69).

Economic changes, restructuring of the welfare state, and a decreasing availability of public housing, themselves a reflection of fundamental changes in the underlying structure of society, have been cited as causes for the rise in homelessness (Wolch and Dear 1993). The resulting housing options are limited and the homeless are relegated to staying primarily in shelters, hostels, or on the street (Mohan 2002). Exclusion here is obvious and visible.

Equal access implies 'equality' which can be considered to mean 'just' or 'fair'. It must be distinguished, however, from the concept of equity. Equity is an idea based on fairness while equality implies equal distribution (Badcock 1984). These concepts, by definition, also fall beneath the umbrella of '*social justice*' – "a vision of society that is *equitable* and all members are physically and pathologically safe and secure" (Adams, Bell and Griffin 1997). It has already been established that the concept of social exclusion lacks any clear, concrete definition. Social justice is an equally ill-defined concept. Moreover, when comparing definitions of "equity" and "justice", two important notions of social justice, some notable distinctions become apparent. The most pressing of these can be demonstrated from the definitions that follow.

The Oxford English Dictionary (Simpson and Weiner 1989) defines justice as "the quality of being (morally) just or righteous; the principle of just dealing; the exhibition of this quality or principle in action; just conduct; integrity, rectitude... conformity (of an action or thing) to moral right, or to reason, truth, or fact; rightfulness; fairness; correctness; propriety"; and equity as "the quality of being equal or fair; fairness, impartiality; evenhanded dealing".

So, if we adhere to the definition of social justice provided in Adams, Bell and Griffin (1997) – social justice and social equity are essentially the same. In fact, perhaps the moral "right" or "truth" implied in Oxford's definition of justice is that of being "equal or fair". Therefore social justice can mean social equity.

A *right* can be defined as "that which is consonant with equity or the light of nature; that which is morally just or due"(Simpson and Weiner 1989). In North America, we value our rights. Each individual possesses the same rights as another. The "human rights revolution" can be traced back to the nine provisions of Magna Carta. One of these provisions concerned land rights. It is argued that space can give a person or a group power, and lack of space or place can take it away (Ignatieff 2000, Blomley and Pratt 2001, Klodawsky 2001). This statement is particularly important when considering the plight of the homeless. Having no home means no 'place' to live. No space to call your own.

Canada has its own unique rights culture. The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was enacted in April of 1982. Our peculiar social and political histories (particularly bilingualism and Aboriginal Culture) have combined to produce a unique

way of expressing human rights. Geographers Nicholas Blomley and Geraldine Pratt (2001: 153) explain:

> we can perhaps identify a specifically Canadian model of rights, rooted, for some, in a distinctive liberalism [which recognizes individual liberties in a society stressing equal rights], a tradition of legislative supremacy and a provisional acceptance of a communitarian model of rights [emphasizing the balance between rights and responsibilities].

The context of rights in Canada, however, does not always serve to protect vulnerable groups from 'risks' (Blomley and Pratt 2001, Kobayashi and Ray 2000). "Civil risk is defined as a failure of human rights, brought about by institutional means, and creating disadvantages for marginalized social groups" (such as the homeless) (Kobayashi and Ray 2000:402). German sociologist Ulrich Beck introduced the concept of 'risk societies'. He described contemporary risk societies as societies structured around 'environmental hazards' or 'risks' rather than market goods or wealth. Moreover, he asserted that risks could not be effectively controlled by institutions because risks are not limited by time or space. Beck suggested a "reflexive" means by which to deal with such societal risks whereby individuals could influence the very institutional policies and the underlying conditions of the policies that affect them (Lash and Wynne 1992).

Kobayashi and Ray believe that rights are formed by dominant groups with dominant ideologies and are thus an expression of power. They further stress that many traditional definitions of social justice consider human rights to be an important element.

They suggest that this is a weakness and instead propose that civil "risk, rather than rights, must motivate social justice" (2000:401). Like David Harvey (1996), Kobayashi and Ray (2000) assert that a "family of meanings" would be more suitable than a rigid definition of social justice.

Socially sustainable urban development would, ideally, take all of the above into account. However, while social elements of sustainable urban development (such as rights, social justice and integration) are often addressed in texts concerned with sustainable development in general (Rees and Roseland 1989, Tomalty and Hendler 1991, Perks and Tyler 1991), very few publications have provided a clear picture of what socially sustainable *urban* development and the ideal socially sustainable *city* really are. Some important works do not even recognize the terms. For example, Bourne and Ley's *The Changing Social Geography of Canadian Cities* (1993), discusses elements of the socially sustainable city without specifically acknowledging them. Topics such as social planning and welfare provision, urban 'health', homelessness, housing markets and a chapter entitled "Cities as a social Responsibility" all relate directly to the implications of socially sustainable urban development. It appears that sustainable development, because it draws from a variety of academic disciplines and ideologies, results in literature that is highly fragmented across many disciplines.

The history of Canadian urban planning shows that "authority for planning [in Canadian cities] is highly fragmented, geographically and politically" (Smith and Moore 1993:344). In the past, during much of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, welfare provision and social planning were provided for at local level and in the charitable, non-

profit sectors (Lemon 1993). During the middle of the twentieth century, Canadian public policy began to reflect the growing consensus that there was a need for universality in welfare provision and that this was to be the responsibility of the central, or federal, government. As a result, a system of 'unemployment insurance' was introduced by the Canadian Federal Government in 1941(Lewis and Shrimpton 1984, Bacher 1993) and the National Housing Act was enacted in 1944.

Since the 1940s the federal and provincial governments have held the purse strings to social programming and welfare provision (Lemon 1993). However in recent years, because of financial cutbacks and processes such as privatization, municipal governments have been under considerable strain as a result of continual downloading of social programs from the federal and provincial governments. For example, in 1993 the federal government announced that it would no longer provide funding for new social housing construction (Harris 2000). Then, in 1996 came the decision to end most of its commitments to existing social housing in Canada (aside from that on Native reserves and for the elderly). Devolution agreements were signed with each province whereby the provinces assumed financial and managerial duties that had previously been a federal responsibility (Harris 2000). In return, the provinces were promised increased flexibility in program delivery. The aims of devolution included: eliminating overlap in service provision, improving service delivery and "maximiz[ing] the impact of taxpayers' dollars in managing social housing" (Department of Municipal and Provincial Affairs, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 1997).

2.5 Homelessness

2.5.1 What is a Home?

Alex Murray (Fallis and Murray 1990), citing the work of psychologist Jerome Tognoli, examined the concept of "homefulness" – what it means to have a home. He outlined the six elements of home. First he described home as a central location. A home allows a person to root themselves in their community and attaches that person to place. Murray then explained that home provides a sense of order and unity, that it can be a place for escape, protection, privacy and ownership. Furthermore, home plays a essential role in establishing identity and gender differences. It is a place for family and social life and it acts as a "socio-cultural context" (Murray 1990:16-17). Quite simply, home is not just a roof overhead. It represents a number of psychological and socio-cultural elements that are essential to identity, positionality and social life.

2.5.2 Who Are the Homeless?

Homelessness has been growing in North America and Britain since the early 1980s (Blau 1992, Stoner 1989, Glasser and Bridgeman 1999, Watson and Austerberry 1986). No longer the hobos of skid row, the homeless have become an increasingly heterogeneous group of individuals (Daly 1998). They have demographically diversified (Crane and Takahashi 1998) and now include single men and women, runaways and

abused youth, low-income elderly adults, substance abusers, seasonal workers, the mentally ill, the physically disabled, ex-prisoners, Aboriginals, and many more (Daly 1998, Wolch and Dear 1993, Takahashi 1996).

The homeless are low-income earners and non-earners (those who do not earn a living because of illness, disability, or other personal issues). Moreover, they include individuals who will *never* be able to gain employment and will always depend on the government for financial support.

2.5.3 Are There Different Types of Homelessness?

A number of experts and academics have identified and described different types of homelessness. Some reject the dichotomous concepts of **absolute homelessness** (those living on the streets, in shelters or in places unfit for human habitation) and **relative homelessness** (those living in substandard, inadequate or unsuitable accommodations) (Government of Canada 2001, Hulchanski 1987) in favour of a more fluid "**continuum of deprivation**" (Takahashi 1996, Crane and Takahashi 1998) or "**continuum of homelessness**" (Fallis and Murray 1990). Others see the homeless as a series of smaller subgroups with specific needs (Peressini and McDonald 2000). The duration of homelessness is taken into account by those who differentiate between **chronic** (long periods of time), **episodic** (numerous shorter periods of time), and **situational homelessness** (one time as a result of circumstance) (Fallis and Murray 1990, Crane and Takahashi 1998, Dear and Wolch 1993, Peressini and McDonald 2000). **Place**

is highlighted in the definitions of rural and suburban homelessness (Crane and Takahashi 1998, Cloke et al. 2000(b)). Some researchers focus on the **transient, elusive** and **nomadic** nature of homelessness (Fallis and Murray 1990, Peressini and McDonald 2000). Others outline the specific plight of homeless youth or 'couch-surfers' (Kraus, Eberle, Serge 2001, Murray 1990). It has also been suggested that many homeless people live in unsuitable or unsafe housing, in places unfit for human habitation or on the streets simply because they have chosen to do so (Peressini and McDonald 2000). In fact, former U.S. President Ronald Regan was said to believe that many American homeless simply *choose* this lifestyle (Peressini and McDonald 2000).

2.5.4 Why are People Homeless?

Homelessness is the result of a variety of systematic (structural) and personal (individualistic) influences. Personal factors such as mental or physical illness and disability, substance abuse, physical violence, the loss of a job, eviction, criminal history, or any combination of adverse events can lead to homelessness (Crane and Takahashi 1998, Dear and Wolch 1993, Takahashi 1996, Peressini and McDonald 2000). Moreover, social disaffiliation (for example *choosing* to live on the streets or in non-traditional shelters) and human capital deficits (such as a lack of life skills or education) are seen as important individualistic influences (Peressini and McDonald 2000). Systematic causes such as a shrinking affordable housing supply, increasing costs of housing, gentrification, changing demographics, inadequate welfare provision, decreasing

incomes relative to standard of living, and, more generally, unstable economics have led to increasing homelessness in North America (Crane and Takahashi 1998, Glasser and Bridgeman 1999, Peressini and McDonald 2000). The rise in homelessness in North America and Britain since the early 1980s is commonly attributed to shortages in adequate, affordable housing in urban centres. However, it is also a problem of access to resources: it is a problem of economics and poverty (Blau 1992, Stoner 1989, Glasser and Bridgeman 1999, Daly 1996, Takahaski 1996, Watson and Austerberry 1986 etc…); it is the result of discrimination, an issue of power (Glasser and Bridgeman 1999).

Several academics have outlined specific issues that warrant attention in the Canadian housing sector such as declining governmental involvement in social housing (Banting 1990, Bacher 1993, Hulchanski et al. 1991, Dear and Wolch 1987) and increasing urban renewal and gentrification (Bacher 1993, Hulchanski et al. 1991, O'Reilly-Fleming 1993). So in a housing market where many individuals are unable to pay for housing, there has been a decrease in the number of units available. Moreover, the provision of housing for those with no income (social housing) has been a challenge in many provinces across Canada because of the downloading of social housing from the federal government to the provinces in 1996. Overall, there is consensus among researchers as to the general causes of homelessness in Canada and other countries within the western world (while recognizing regional differences). In Canada these include: the housing crisis, unemployment, alcoholism and drug addiction issues, mental health problems, immigration and deinstitutionalization (Edmonton Coalition on Homelessness 1987).

One main stumbling block to addressing homelessness is the fact that a complete enumeration has not been carried out. Such an enumeration would be extremely difficult (Lang 1989, Takahashi 1996, Crane and Takahashi 1998, Wolch and Rowe 1992, Hutson and Clapham 1999, Cloke et al. 2000(a), Cloke et al. 2000(b), Peressini et al. 1996). Statistics Canada has been attempting to estimate the size of Canada's homeless population since its 1991 Census (Peressini and McDonald 2001). For the latest (2001) Census, Statistics Canada implemented a number of improved methods including coding for homeless shelters. In addition, a 'homeless check' was introduced as a means of estimating the number of homeless spending their time outside of shelters and hostels. Although these new methods represent a significant improvement, Statistics Canada realizes that "it is extremely difficult to count people who do not have a permanent address" (Weiss and Parenteau 2001:5). Because of the lack of complete enumeration data, the design of effective public policy is difficult, as the scope of homelessness cannot be clearly identified.

2.6 Overview

Both sustainable development and homelessness have been discussed, researched and interpreted in a variety of ways and on many different scales. With roots in the environmental conservation movement, the concept of sustainable development has grown to include environmental, economic and social concerns. Goals for future sustainable development include the elimination of institutional gaps created as a result of

compartmentalized concerns within government and non-government agencies, increasing public, non-profit and private partnerships in addressing issues of sustainable development, and increasing municipal control over sustainable urban development concerns.

Socially sustainable urban development is characterized by three main aspects: social inclusion, equal access to goods and services and equal rights for all. However, there is inconsistency in the terminology used in discussions of social sustainability. Social integration, equality, social justice, and human rights are highly debated concepts. Outcomes and examples of each, like the failure of social justice and human rights for the homeless, are easily identified. The underlying criteria are not. Much like definitions of the socially sustainable city, these terms are often explained in terms of what they are *not* rather than what they *are*. Moreover, there are different social and cultural perspectives on each of the terms relevant to social sustainability (for example, justice implies a 'truth' or 'moral right' that can vary immensely depending on the values embedded in different societies). The 'family of meanings' for social justice proposed by David Harvey (1996) and supported by Kobayashi and Ray (2000) would help to alleviate the difficulties associated with cultural differences. Keeping this in mind, social sustainability must be considered a concept rather than concrete documented process or event. Researchers have suggested that definitions involving sustainable development should be made more practical and rendered less confusing and that future research should focus on the roles of governance and policy formulation in the implementation of sustainable development.

Homelessness, like social sustainability, is also difficult to define. Categorizing types of homelessness and characterizing the homeless has proved a significant challenge to academics and experts worldwide. Since the early 1980s, the homeless population in North America and Britain has become increasingly demographically diverse and experts have identified a wide variety of types of homelessness. However, they remain unable to attain any accurate measure of the number of homeless people in any given locale. They have suggested a number of important structural and individualistic causes – some of which are unique to Canada and others more universal. Furthermore, they have described the essential elements of a 'home'. Further studies on homelessness should address the lack of attention paid to eliminating homelessness, the spatial distribution of the homeless and the variety among policies and community agencies that work with the homeless.

Who is responsible for these social elements of urban life? Political scientist Andrew Sanction argues: nobody. There is, therefore, an urgent need for an examination of governance in Canadian cities (Sancton 2000, Frisken et al. in Polèse and Stren 2000). Organizations such as the Federation of Canadian Municipalities are calling for increased autonomy for Canadian cities (FCM 2002). The federal government responded to increased pressure from advocacy groups by establishing a 'task force on urban issues'. The task force was charged with addressing a variety of issues from public transit to settlement issues for immigrants and refugees to homelessness, all of which are important elements of socially sustainable urban development (PMO Press Release 2001). In its final report entitled *Canada's Urban Strategy: A Blueprint for Action*, released in November of 2002, the task force outlined three "priority programs" that would be the

"major pillars of Canada's urban strategy" (Sgro 2002:10). These pillars: affordable

housing, transit/transportation, and sustainable infrastructure, are intended to lessen

municipal responsibility for these large capital expenditures. The Government of Canada

incorporated a number of recommendations made by the Task Force into the 2003 federal

budget. Three billion dollars was added to the municipal infrastructure plan. 320 million

was committed for affordable housing, and the Supporting Communities Partnership

Initiative and Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's Residential Rehabilitation

Assistance Program were continued. At present, therefore, the government is looking

into improving these elements of social sustainability in Canadian cities.

Are all aspects of social responsibility highly fragmented? Who holds the social

responsibility for Canada's cities? Who is responsible for the increasing number of

Canadian urban homeless? These are questions that must be addressed in order to assess

the social sustainability of Canada's urban centres (Lemon 1993, Polèse and Stren 2000,

Sancton 2000). The present strain on affordable housing and rising homelessness in

Canada are challenges for socially sustainable urban development. Increasing

homelessness and the devolution of social housing from the federal to the provincial

governments seem to have coincided. What other societal changes have resulted in this

visible form of urban poverty? The following chapter presents a review of national social

housing policy in Canada and examines homelessness at home, in St. John's.

CHAPTER THREE: NATIONAL POLICY AND PERSPECTIVES ON

HOMELESSNESS

3.1 Introduction

Homelessness is the result of a number of related personal and societal phenomena. It is attributed to a lack of housing and inadequate income with which to pay for housing (Glasser et al. 1999). Personal factors such as mental illness, addictions issues, and physical disability (among others) also play a role (Daly 1998). There is a growing consensus among social agencies, academics and policy-makers that homelessness in Canada is on the rise:

- "Since the 1980s, newspaper accounts have documented a tale of growing human misery and deprivation" (Dear and Wolch 1993:298)

- "Clearly, the magnitude and nature of this social problem have undergone substantial shifts during the 1980s..." (Burt 1994:1)

- "... in part as a result of these changes, the pool of households at risk of homelessness has increased, along with the number of people actually experiencing homelessness" (Hulchanski 2002:13)

However, there has been no effective enumeration of the homeless in Canada to date. Therefore it is possible that increasing media attention to the plight of the homeless has resulted in both an increased awareness of homelessness, and the public perception that it is on the rise. Nevertheless, the present strain on affordable housing and the occurrence

of homelessness nation-wide are challenges for socially sustainable urban development. How does the history of social housing policy relate to apparent rising incidences of homelessness in Canadian cities? Who are the homeless in Canada? Who are the homeless in St. John's? This chapter will review social housing policy in Canada and homelessness in Canada and in the city of St. John's.

3.2 Social Housing in Canada

Social or non-market housing can be defined as "housing that is intended for low to moderate income households that, for a variety of reasons, are unable to find suitable accommodation in the private rental market" (Office of the Auditor General of British Columbia 1999/2000: Section 1).

Social housing has rarely been the focus of Canadian housing policy. Even after the establishment of Canada's housing agency, Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation (CMHC), in 1946, the federal government's involvement in the provision of subsidized housing can be characterized as reactive, inconsistent and impulsive at best (Banting 1990).

Before World War II, social welfare concerns were addressed by the provincial governments. The British North America Act of 1867 outlined general roles and responsibilities for the provinces. However, the Act did not provide specific guidelines for the administration of social welfare. Moreover, social welfare was not a topic of high priority at the provincial level in the late nineteenth century. Therefore, Canadian

municipalities were often left struggling, unable to provide their residents with adequate social services. During the 1930s, many Canadian municipalities, feeling the effects of the Depression, filed for bankruptcy and as a result many citizens dependent on municipal aid were left without food, shelter or clothing. Following this period, the federal government was under increased pressure to provide centralized social welfare (Banting 1990, Rose 1977, Bettison 1975).

The first piece of federal legislation in the housing field was The Dominion Housing Act in 1935. The housing programs that resulted from this legislation were administered by the federal government's Department of Finance. W.C. Clark, a real estate investment broker in the U.S. during the 1920s, and Canadian Deputy Minister of Finance from 1932 to 1952, was an influential player in Canadian housing policy development. Clark recommended the establishment of a national housing agency or a "central housing corporation". Clark used the housing industry as a stimulant for economic recovery from the Great Depression and to absorb some of the unemployment resulting from the economic downturn (Oberlander and Fallick 1992). He was opposed to subsidized housing, favoring private market control.

The Dominion Housing Act of 1935 allowed for the provision of loans to home-builders to encourage new housing starts. These loans, however, required a twenty-percent down payment - too much for the average individual in the 1930s. The Dominion Housing Act did not include any provisions for social housing (Dominion Housing Act, Chapter 49, 1938).

Constitutional changes in 1941 called for increased federal involvement in social policy. Provisions for unemployment insurance marked the beginnings of Canada's social safety net, which in 1951 grew to include pensions and in 1964 incorporated disability benefits. But in other social policy arenas (such as the provision of social assistance or welfare) the distribution of power and money (as opposed to constitutional amendment) dictated the levels of federal vs. provincial involvement (Banting 1990).

The first federal ventures into direct housing provision came during the Second World War. The government responded to pressure from C.D. Howe (Canadian Minister of Finance), who asserted that the lack of affordable accommodations in many of Canada's largest cities was discouraging workers from migrating to the cities for work. The war effort, he proclaimed, would suffer if the government did not intervene in the provision of housing for the desperately needed workers (Choko et al. 1986). So the federal government created Wartime Housing Limited in 1941 – a crown corporation established under the Wartime Measures Act that was to build temporary housing for urban workers. By 1945 Wartime Housing Limited had constructed over 19 000 temporary, 'efficient' units (Banting 1990, Oberlander and Fallick 1992). The goal was to produce as many units as possible for the least amount of financial, human, and physical resources. What resulted was "des logements homogenes pour une clientele percue comme homogene" (Choko et al. 1986:133).

The history of social housing in Canada since the Second World War can be divided into three distinct periods based on wavering levels of federal support and direct intervention into the provision of social housing. Period One, from 1944 to 1973, was

characterized by decentralized social housing provision with provincial and municipal

control and a clear focus on family housing. Period Two, from 1973 to 1985 was

characterized by centralized federal and third sector social housing provision and a

concentration on providing housing for single subgroups such as women and the elderly.

Finally, Period Three, which started in 1985 and continues today, has been characterized

by decentralized social housing provision with provincial control.

3.2.1 Period One: Decentralized Control and Family Values (1944 – 1973)

In the decade that followed World War II there was an increased faith in the

federal government's ability to provide social assistance (Banting 1990). The National

Housing Act (NHA) had been established in 1938, with few changes made to the original

Dominion Housing Act. Amendments to the NHA in 1944 had the effect of

consolidating the policies and programs of the national housing legislation. The 1944

Act brought together "the existing variation in legislation" (Bettison 1975:82).

Furthermore, Part II of the Act introduced the concept of community planning in program

development. This meant that institutions with federal jurisdiction could buy land (or

clear blighted residential areas through the process of 'urban renewal') for the purposes

of constructing low or medium cost housing projects. These projects could include

provisions for retail shops, offices and "other community services". However - before

approval, an official community plan had to be agreed upon by the institution and the

Minister (Bettison 1975). Urban Planner Stanley Pickett argues that social concerns, and indeed social justice, motivated *this* part of the housing legislation, if little else: "The motivation of the federal government was clearly concern over the social consequences of slum housing, under the spur of the recommendations of the Curtis Committee which estimated a rehousing need of 125 000 units in the major cities, plus another 50 000 in smaller cities and towns (Pickett 1984:233)."

In 1946 a newly formed Central Mortgage and Housing Agency, CMHC, took over management of Wartime Housing's portfolio and gradually sold off its units (Banting 1990).

Canada made its first direct attempt to provide social housing through the 1949 NHA. This Act provided for the sale or rental of housing units at significant financial cost to the provincial and federal governments. The Act called for a 75%/25% split of financial responsibilities between the federal government and the provinces (Banting 1990).

The federal government made it known that it was an open and willing contributor with its 'taps open' financial approach. However, this had the effect of transferring decision-making powers concerning social housing to the provincial and municipal governments (Banting 1990) and many provinces were reluctant participants in the provision of social housing. Therefore, construction was limited until 1964 (Bettison 1975). Newfoundland, an exception, was the first province to take advantage of the federal government's 75%/25% offer. 'Westmount' was the first Federal-Provincial

project (St. John's F.P. 1/50). It consisted of 140 low-rental family housing units and was located on a 13-acre plot of land in western St. John's (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984).

In 1949, CMHC president David Mansur knew that the cost-sharing approach (75% federal/25% provincial) would prove difficult for the provinces and many would transfer responsibility for public housing to their municipalities. He believed that the creation of municipal housing authorities would surely encourage the "further socialization of housing" (Bacher 1993:183). However he knew that these communities, already suffering from lack of funding, would react negatively to the added administrative strain and consequently few public housing developments would be undertaken. Mansur wanted to avoid "long term vested interests and rights in local authorities" (Bacher 1993:183). Consequently only twelve thousand new units of social housing were constructed in Canada between 1949 and 1964 (Hulchanski 2002).

Amendments to the NHA in 1964 encouraged increased provincial spending on housing for low-income groups through loans and grants for public housing projects owned by the municipalities and subject to provincial approval. They also removed significant restraints on "the form and content of [urban] renewal projects" and thus encouraged a wider range of urban renewal activities such as clearing substandard housing areas and replacing these with other land uses to give added value and context to the urban core (Pickett 1984). The federal government would also help alleviate the burden of annual subsidies or losses. Plans were to be the responsibilities of the provinces, and start-up costs were to be assumed by the provinces. In addition the federal government provided 90% loans for low-income housing projects developed by non-

profit companies (Bettison 1975). Again, the provinces gained increased responsibility in terms of management and initiation of social housing projects in Canada.

Both public housing and urban renewal, ventures encouraged in the 1964 NHA, were condemned by a 1968 Task Force on Housing and Urban Development appointed by Prime Minister Trudeau (Dennis and Fish 1972, Bacher 1993). The Task Force felt that the larger public housing projects were becoming "ghettos of the poor" and that there were intense social stigmas attached to residents of public housing in Canada. In addition, they suggested that many public housing developments, such as Toronto's Regent Park, were more costly than comparable schemes in the private market (Task Force on Housing and Urban Development 1969). The Task Force called for a suspension of the "wholesale destruction of older housing under urban renewal schemes" until it was confirmed that alternate, appropriate accommodations could be found for residents (Task Force on Housing and Urban Development 1969:65).

It seems ironic that the urban redevelopment schemes of the 1950s and 1960s, aimed at alleviating the hardships and stigmas attached to slum-dwellers, perpetuated the very same cycle of social exclusion and social injustice. Perhaps the recommendations made by the Task Force were influenced by the growing national concern over human rights. The United Nations Declaration on Human Rights was signed in 1948 and Canada's first Bill of Rights was introduced in 1960. Both reflected an emphasis on social inclusion and social justice and both influenced all aspects of federal social policy designed in the decades following their creation.

3.2.2 Period Two: Changing Values & Reassertion of Federal Influence (1973-1985)

By 1970 there was an obvious shift in housing policy from a focus on families to concern for single subgroups such as the elderly. There was also a growing consensus among policy-makers that most Canadians wanted home-ownership. The result was a conscious shift in housing policy from the rental sector to ownership. In the NHA amendments of 1973, "third sector" involvement was encouraged. This included boosting the involvement of the municipalities, and non-profit groups and encouraging the formation of housing cooperatives (Bacher 1993, Oberlander and Fallick 1992). These amendments emphasized the need for social housing and incorporated a more holistic view whereby links between neighbourhoods, urban services and housing were acknowledged (Banting 1990, Oberlander and Fallick 1992).

However, support for third sector involvement in social housing was short-lived. In 1978, further substantial amendments to the NHA shifted capital provision from the federal government, directly, to a new system whereby public and non-profit social housing agencies would make arrangements for private mortgages. The federal government would then assume insurance for the mortgages and provide an interest-reducing subsidy at 2% (Oberlander and Fallick 1992). This change in the NHA triggered a rapid decrease in the amount of public housing starts. Private non-profit housing, however, was still funded by the federal government. As a result, the majority of social housing starts following 1978 were in the private non-profit sector. They were

operated by community agencies, such as The Stella Burry Corporation in St. John's, a social agency operated by the United Church (Banting 1990).

The 1978 NHA amendments continued to have the effect of transferring responsibility for social housing provision from the federal government to the provinces; but from 1978 to 1981 provincial financial contributions fell to 9% of federal contributions (Bacher 1993). Moreover, in several provinces, such as Alberta and Ontario, conservative governments reduced social spending, making it increasingly difficult to develop social housing for low-income families (Bacher 1993).

3.2.3 Period Three: Global Agreements and Federal Downloading (1985 – Present)

Global agreements were negotiated between the provinces and the federal government in 1985. Under these agreements, distribution of federal funds would be based on provincial need. Like the Federal/Provincial projects mentioned earlier, to initiate a program, provinces were to contribute 25% of the capital. Rules of allocation were to be set jointly by the federal government and provinces and joint planning and monitoring committees were to be established (Oberlander and Fallick 1992). Banting (1993:137) writes: "The basic trade-off in the 1985 negotiations is clear. The federal government was prepared to surrender its unilateral role in social housing and to decentralize program delivery. In return, it wanted to retain considerable control over the basic parameters of housing policy."

Before any joint programs were agreed upon, the federal government would have to approve the conditions and parameters. In other words, since they were controlling 75% of the necessary funds, they also wanted to control the conditions of program development. The federal government was intent on protecting non-profit groups from competition with the more wealthy provincial housing corporations, on re-introducing the family unit as a priority in social housing provision, and on maintaining a focus on low-income housing (Banting 1990). These efforts were, however, ineffective in many instances.

The 1980s saw decreasing federal commitment to long-term social housing, increased pressures on provinces and municipalities, decreasing third sector involvement in housing, and a continuation of the intergovernmental struggle for capital, roles, and responsibilities (Oberlander and Fallick 1992). Canada had become more divided in its welfare provision with income-security remaining centralized and social services provided by the provinces. In addition, fiscal restraint policies diminished the effectiveness of social programming (Banting 1990).

In 1993 the federal government announced that it would withdraw entirely from construction and subsidization of new social housing in Canada, reverting to its original preference for involvement in the mortgage market and research (CMHC 1994). Then, in 1995, the federal government ended the Canada Assistance Plan, which had been in operation since 1966 and provided valuable financial support for provincially administered social programming. Instead of the CAP, the federal government combined funding for health care, social assistance and education into the Canada Health and Social

Transfer. Under this new form of federal funding, the provinces were given more control over education, health care and social services. In particular, they were no longer constrained by the defined "rights" set out in the CAP legislation (these included rights to adequate incomes and income assistance). Because of these changes and severe financial difficulties, many provinces had the flexibility to cut social services. These cuts made life difficult for low-income (and no-income) Canadians who relied heavily on social programs for food, shelter, and clothing (Hulchanski 2002).

In 1996 CMHC signed devolution agreements with all provinces, effectively downloading social housing responsibilities to provincial or municipal control (CMHC 1997). To date there is no national strategy that would respond to the lack of financial or administrative support for social housing in Canada. Although some new federal-provincial housing agreements have been signed, amid promises of increased federal support and under increased fiscal restraint and declining federal transfers, each province is attempting to find ways of coping with their increased responsibilities in this area of the housing sector.

3.3 Social Housing in Newfoundland and Labrador

The province of Newfoundland and Labrador maintains a social housing portfolio of more than 13 000 units, approximately one-half of which are located in the capital city of St. John's (Department of Municipal and Provincial Affairs, Government of Newfoundland 1997). Between 1996 and 2003 Newfoundland and Labrador, like the rest

of Canada, struggled to find ways to respond to increased responsibility regarding the provision of social housing in the province and it's capital city, St. John's. However, in May of 2003, Steven Mahoney, Secretary of State responsible for Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation, Gerry Byrne, Minister of State (Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency), Oliver Langdon, Newfoundland's Minister of Municipal and Provincial Affairs and minister responsible for housing, and Tom Lush, provincial Minister of Intergovernmental Affairs, announced the signing of a $30.28 million Canada-Newfoundland and Labrador Affordable Housing Agreement. This agreement will provide 600 affordable housing units throughout Newfoundland and Labrador by the year 2007. It will allow for the construction of new units and for the repair of dilapidated already existing housing (Department of Municipal and Provincial Affairs, Government of Newfoundland 2003).

3.3.1 Social Housing in St. John's

Social housing in St. John's is administered for the most part by the province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Before World War II, however, responsibility for social housing was not held with any one level of government or non-government agency. In 1919, modest efforts were made by the Municipal Council of St. John's and a local building cooperative to provide the blighted inner city with its first social housing. Twenty-two units of housing were constructed on Quidi Vidi Road in the east end of St. John's for the "working poor" as a result of efforts by the municipal government.

However, because of expensive building materials and labour costs, the accommodations were too costly for the intended residents. In 1920, another 30 units were constructed on Merrymeeting Road in northern St. John's, this time by a builders cooperative that managed to keep costs somewhat lower. Both developments, however, provided little relief to families dwelling in inner city tenements and public health remained a primary concern (Baker 1982). Historian Stuart R. Godfrey writes about early twentieth century St. John's: "housing in St. John's was in a very backward state, and town-planning, as a municipal responsibility, was non-existent" (Godfrey 1985:202).

Civic leaders and planners in Britain, the United States, and Canada became deeply concerned with public health in the early 1900s (Baker 1982) and as mentioned earlier, planning developed a distinctly social flavour (Yanarella and Levine 1992, Lucey 1973, Highbeam Research 2002:1). Moreover, a broad call for what we could now consider to be social sustainability was gaining momentum. In his "Lenten pastoral" of 1941, Archbishop E. P. Roche of St. John's stated: "expenditure on public health and education will never yield commensurate results until the people are properly clothed, properly housed, and properly fed. This is the essence of what is called social justice, and on no other foundation can a solid social structure be raised in any community (Roche 1941:5)."

The St. John's Municipal Council, like the Canadian Federal Government, did not support municipal provision of public housing, "for both financial and ideological reasons" (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984:212). Moreover, the St. John's municipal government did not assume financial responsibility for social reform. City councillors

during the inter-war years stated their "primary task to be that of keeping taxes as low as possible" (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984:214). But in 1942 a survey of housing conditions in St. John's was undertaken nonetheless by a Commission of Enquiry, appointed by the Newfoundland Commission of Government. [2].

The Commission of Enquiry was chaired by Mr. Justice Brian Dunfield, of the Newfoundland Supreme Court - an advocate for adequate and decent housing (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984). The Commission released several "interim reports", the third of which contained the results of a survey of 71% of the City's dwellings. It found over 25% of the housing stock in St. John's to be substandard and expressed the need for substantial re-housing of slum residents. The report called for the building of a new garden suburb accompanied by the formation of a housing corporation to raise the necessary funds, to plan and to acquire land. It did not, however, suggest direct slum clearance. Rather, a process known as "filtering up" was recommended whereby the working poor who could afford to purchase properties in the new Churchill Park area would do so, leaving more space for the lower-income residents of the inner city. Eventually the most 'unfit' dwellings would be abandoned and the overall housing stock would gradually improve (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984, Sharpe 2000).

In 1944 the non-profit 'St. John's Housing Corporation' was established (Sharpe 2000). The corporation's first task was the creation of the Churchill Park Garden Suburb located in Northern St. John's. The housing survey undertaken by the Commission of

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[2] The Commission of Government was appointed in response to The Newfoundland Royal Commission 1933 Report ('Amulree Report') which investigated governance and accountability in Newfoundland. Responsible Government was suspended and six commissioners were appointed in Britain, three British and three

Enquiry, mentioned above, had established that there was a need for 1000 new homes in St. John's, but by 1947 the Corporation had only built 68 units - not enough to alleviate the need. By 1950 the Corporation had built more units (92 apartments and 239 houses) but costs remained too high for the low-income residents of St. John's. Moreover, "the filtering up process did not materialize" (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984:238).

Although the creation of the garden suburb did not directly relieve conditions in the inner city slums of St. John's, the active debates leading up to the creation of the suburb set the stage for the future urban planning and development of social housing in St. John's and mirrored the events leading up to the beginnings of the Canadian welfare state or 'social safety net' in 1941 with the introduction of unemployment insurance (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984).

In addition to Churchill Park, the St. John's Municipal Council acquired and provided services to 13 acres of land in western St. John's during the late 1940s to accommodate widows and children. This was a joint project of the Government of Newfoundland and the Municipal Council (Lewis and Shrimpton 1984). Originally intended to relieve slum conditions in St. John's, the 'Widows Mansions' soon fell into a state of disrepair. Moreover, the apartments provided were not intended for use in the long-term. Rather, they were designed to be a short-term refuge for widows while they looked for gainful employment and more stable and long-term housing. Filtering up, again, did not occur.

Newfoundlanders, to improve the efficiency and accountability in government. The Commission governed Newfoundland for 15 years until Confederation with Canada in 1949 (Webb 2001).

After Confederation in 1949, Newfoundland was quick to take advantage of the newly assented National Housing Act. Alongside the Widow's Mansions, 140 of the first joint Federal-Provincial housing units in Canada were built (St. John's F/P 1:50) and construction was completed by 1951 (Bacher 1993).

These were modest beginnings for the joint federal-provincial system of social housing provision. In 1967 the province established its own housing agency, The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation. This provided operational management and administered funding for all of the social housing in Newfoundland provided through the National Housing Act (excluding a small portion that is administered through the City of St. John's' Non-profit Housing Division) (Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC) 1998). Since its establishment, NLHC, like other provincial housing agencies in Quebec and Prince Edward Island, has increasingly depended on the private rent supplement program as their primary form of social housing provision. In this program the government pays a private landlord a portion of the rent - the difference between market value and what a tenant can afford to pay (Carroll 2002).

There is still unmet demand for social housing in St. John's. Although the city has continually highlighted the importance of municipal involvement in the provision of "suitable and affordable housing for all groups in the population" (City of St. John's 1984:II-12, 1992:II-2, 1995) and continues to administer its municipal non-profit housing division (responsible for the operation of 424 units), it has not provided the public with meaningful information on the city's non-profit housing in its revised Municipal Plans

since 1984. Waiting lists, particularly for singles units, have been growing in St. John's since the 1970s (Urban Living, personal communication 2001).

Since the 1930s there has been a demonstrable national need for low-cost, subsidized housing. This hasn't changed. In fact, need has increased because of a decline in the amounts of affordable housing made available both nationally and provincially. The supply of social housing in Canada fell from approximately 25,000 new units a year in 1983 to zero in 1993. Of today's 11 million Canadian households, 10 to 15% are faced with a variety of housing problems and more than 10,000 are homeless (Hulchanski 2002). The mounting housing crisis has been affected by gentrification and other kinds of urban renewal and upgrading schemes. Resulting from these factors has been the rise in homelessness in Canada since the 1980s (Bacher 1993). The "dwindling supply of low-income housing" (Timmer et al. 1994:17) has combined with other social and economic elements such as increasing poverty to create an expanding level of urban homelessness.

Sociologists Doug A. Timmer, D. Stanley Eitzen, and Kathryn D. Talley (1994:18) highlight the link between housing and homelessness: "in truth, the homeless are not distinct persons, nor do they have a completely distinct problem. They happen to be at the extreme end of a shelter continuum – ranging from those who are sufficiently housed, through those who are ill-housed, to those who have no housing at all. Thus, the urban homeless problem is fundamentally a housing problem."

However, homelessness is not only a housing problem. It is also a problem of economics and the result of poverty. The following is an examination of public policy concerning homelessness in Canada and in the city of St. John's, Newfoundland.

3.4 Canadian Public Policy and Homelessness

Policies have been directed towards alleviating homelessness in several developed countries. Britain released the first of several amended Homeless Persons Acts in 1977. Ten years later, the United States passed the Stewart B. McKinney Act, America's first attempt to provide programs and support for the homeless (Blau 1992). In *Homelessness: Public Policies and Private Troubles*, Hutson and Clapham (1999) examine the changing scope of this British legislation. They write that the Homeless Persons Act was heavily influenced by political discourse and media representations and subsequently was reduced in efficacy because of pressure from conservative politicians during the 1980s. They assert that homelessness is contested on the political stage because of ideological differences from one government to another and that policies are therefore affected. So, the definition of homelessness, like social justice and social sustainability, is also contested (Watson and Austerberry 1986, Hulchanski 1987, Hutson and Clapham 1999, Cloke et al. 2000(a)). Hulchanski, 1987:3, writes about the importance of definition:

Any attempt to understand and then address homelessness must start by defining it. If the definition accepts homelessness as a housing problem, the response will focus largely on

housing issues. If homelessness is perceived as a temporary problem, then the response will focus on assisting the individual. These assumptions are found, either explicitly or implicitly, in any definition of homelessness.

What has Canada done to recognize the issue of homelessness on the national stage? Critics would answer that, compared to the other industrialized nations, very little. The Canadian government announced a three-year, 753 million-dollar *National Homelessness Initiative* in December of 1999 aimed at providing funding for the construction of low-income housing and homeless shelters. Focusing around the 305 million-dollar *Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative* (known as SCPI), administered by Canada's housing agency, CMHC, this program will attempt to alleviate homelessness by providing new alternate accommodations or funding renovations to older, more dilapidated shelters (McHardie 1999). Two definitions of homelessness are identified by SCPI:

- *Absolute homelessness*: refers to those living on the street, in temporary shelters or in locations not meant for human habitation.

and,

- *Relative homelessness*: refers to the situation faced by individuals who pay too high a proportion of their income for housing (affordability is an issue) or those living in

unsuitable accommodations (e.g., poor sanitation, inadequate shelter from the elements).[sometimes referred to as "at-risk"] (Government of Canada 2001:93)

Although the SCPI funds will address "absolute homelessness", little has been planned to address the more long-term issue of who will provide further social housing in Canada. This initiative, rather than addressing the causes of homelessness, is treating the symptoms while the plight of the inadequately housed "relative homeless" is effectively ignored. Moreover, possible solutions that would tackle issues of unemployment and education are also ignored. And in its definition of homelessness, SCPI, because it is an off-shoot of Canada's Housing Agency, CMHC, has confined policy and program solutions to the housing sector. Moreover, due to the transience of the population in question, information on the economic status of Canada's homeless and the reasons why they are homeless is unavailable. Thus SCPI's concentration on a temporary housing solution to a problem that, in reality, is in need of more holistic public policy.

The City of Toronto's 'Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force' (1999) has highlighted a number of "visible" and "hidden" subgroups of homeless who depend on shelters and hostels in that city on a nightly basis. In a report entitled 'Taking Responsibility for Homelessness: An Action Plan for Toronto', the Task Force stated that the major barrier to alleviating homelessness was "political impasse" or "jurisdictional gridlock". It suggested that responsibility for homelessness is not held by one level of government, within one department, or addressed by any one policy or program. The Mayor's Task Force writes:

Homelessness straddles all levels of government and many departments within governments. The federal government is devolving social housing to the provinces but, in Ontario, the federal and provincial governments have not yet agreed on how devolution should take place meanwhile, the Province has downloaded social housing to municipalities (The Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force 1999:V).

3.5 Homelessness in St. John's, Newfoundland

Until January of 2001 no overall assessment of homelessness in St. John's had been published. Aside from two MA theses in social work and anthropology – one focussing on homeless women and their use of one particular facility in the city (Burt 1994), the other on the inadequacy of boarding homes during the mid-1980s (Walsh 1985) – there was no literature available on homelessness in St. John's. The extent of homelessness had not been studied and a documented characterization of the homeless in St. John's was notably absent. This changed in 2001 with the infusion of national Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI) money into a project designed for the city of St. John's.

The Stella Burry Corporation, a local charitable organization run by the United Church of Canada, and the SCPI commissioned a study that resulted in a publication entitled *Community Plan for Addressing Homelessness* (IHRD 2001). The report examined how best to administer SCPI's contributing funds for alleviating absolute

homelessness in St. John's and contributed significantly to the documented characterization of the homeless in the city.

IHRD discussed the "hidden" nature of homelessness in St. John's. By this is meant a situation whereby individuals are not sleeping on the streets or in recognized homeless shelters. Rather, they rely on friends and family members for accommodation and change addresses from week to week or night to night. Thus, "it is generally understood that there is not a street population in St. John's in the sense that a few if any individuals sleep on the street on a regular basis" (IHRD 2001:3).

However, a variety of people have been identified as experiencing homelessness in the city (IHRD 2001). These include: young men leaving home, persons with disabilities, Aboriginals, people with alcohol or drug addictions, mental health consumers, persons living in "substandard accommodations, victims of domestic violence, seniors and the "hard to house"". But no official enumeration of the homeless in St. John's has been conducted and therefore the scope and extent of the problem remains unknown (IHRD 2001).

There have been no studies undertaken concerning the agencies attempting to address the issue of homelessness in St. John's. Moreover, there has been no overall examination of social sustainability in the city of St. John's. Are the homeless in St. John's being helped? Or, are the programs in place merely "placebos" giving "psychic satisfaction to the patrons of the poor... convincing outsiders – especially the media – that something is being done?" (Sternlieb 1971).

3.6 Overview

Academics and housing experts have documented the considerable changes in national social housing policy since its modest beginnings in the early 20th Century. Since its heyday in the 1970s, the federal government's commitment to and motivation behind the provision of social housing has changed.

The first piece of federal legislation aimed at housing, The Dominion Housing Act, was motivated by economic recovery. However, throughout the 1940s, 1950s and 1960s, with the development of the Canadian Bill of Rights and the social safety net, equal rights and the concept of social justice began to influence social housing policy. However, in 1968 the Task Force on Housing and Urban Development expressed concern over the construction of large public housing developments, stating that these developments, intended to relieve poverty, were instead perpetuating the cycle of social exclusion and social injustice. The federal government responded to the recommendations of this task force and put an end to such large public housing developments. It seems ironic that the human rights movement, with politically-correct intentions, had influenced the end of a program that had produced unprecedented number of large public housing developments – developments which had offered a substantial amount social housing for those in need.

The supply of social housing fell dramatically during the 1980s and 1990s throughout Canada. Under pressure from continual federal social housing downloading, Canadian provinces have been experiencing increased financial and administrative strain.

This has resulted in a housing crisis that has been exacerbated in many cities by other factors such as urban renewal and gentrification. One result of this crisis has been increasing numbers of persons experiencing housing crises or homelessness.

Aside from public policy, most attempts to alleviate homelessness have been conceived and implemented at a local, non-profit level (Blau 1992, Fallis and Murray 1990, Hambrick and Rog 2000, Campbell and McCarthy 2000). It is perhaps for this reason that academics have criticized service agencies for lack of coordination and cooperation in their efforts (IHRD Group 2001, Hambrick and Rog 2000, The Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force 1999, Glasser et al. 1999, Serge 1999, Stark 1994, Weinreb and Rossi 1995, Burt 1994).

There is a documented need for further research into the service agencies who interact daily with the homeless and are perhaps the most qualified to implement long-term solutions to the phenomenon of homelessness (Glasser and Bridgeman 1999). Moreover, by investigating the agencies that provide services to the homeless, their "philosophies of service provision" and the specific communities in which the homeless live, we can become familiar with the day-to-day lives of the homeless and the strategies they employ for survival on the streets (Wolch and Rowe 1992:116)

Experts, academics and advocates have criticized government and non-government initiatives aimed at alleviating homelessness. Some denounce the process of policy-formulation. They assert that the homeless are voiceless in policy development and in making decisions that directly affect their lives (Daly 1998). Others believe that existing legislation is inadequate to meet the needs of certain segments of the population

such as children and the elderly (Burt 1994). Furthermore, many suggest that there is a concentration on short-term fixes as opposed to long-term solutions to homelessness (Dear and Wolch 1993). As a result, in Canada we often see 're-institutionalization' or 'trans-institutionalization' whereby individuals with histories of mental illness or in the justice system are released from institutions (deinstitutionalized) only to be institutionalized again after a period of time (Dear and Wolch 1993). There are gaps or fragments in services for the homeless and, in many instances, services are stretched thin (Hambrick and Rog 2000). Outreach and follow-up programs are often inadequate (Burt 1994). Some state that services for the homeless are underutilized because of limitations on assistance offered and often because of locations. Moreover, the NIMBY (not in my backyard) syndrome often excludes facility development for the homeless in North American cities (Takahashi 1996).

Who are the homeless in St. John's? Who is responsible for the homeless in St. John's? And is the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's socially sustainable? These questions have not been asked, nor have they been answered. This thesis will address them by providing an assessment of social sustainability in the city of St. John's through an analysis of local, provincial and national social policy and the agencies that make up the system of supports for the homeless.

CHAPTER FOUR: PROVINCIAL AND MUNICIPAL POLICY AND PERSPECTIVES ON HOMELESSNESS

4.1 Introduction

Homelessness is a challenge for socially sustainable cities. However, social concerns (like homelessness) are primarily a provincial responsibility in Canada. Very few aspects of social policy are administered or managed by Canadian municipalities. For example, in St. John's the municipal role in the provision of social housing is primarily limited to the functions of its Non-Profit Housing Division, called 'Urban Living'. The province, through the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC), funds the programs of Urban Living and the city provides necessary land for construction of new units, administrative and maintenance staff and supportive materials (computers, office staff etc.). Urban Living is responsible for 424 units of social housing in St. John's. However, NLHC administers a much more significant amount of social housing – in the city, more than 6000 units.

During the 1940s, both the Commission of Government and the municipal government were under increased pressure from the public to relieve the inner city slums. However, they could not decide how the slum issue should be addressed or by whom. The Commission of Government considered slum clearance to be the responsibility of the municipality and the city vice versa. This issue was never really resolved. So, when Newfoundland joined Confederation in 1949, it was still looking for ways to resolve the

slum-housing problem in St. John's. Perhaps this is why Newfoundland was the first province to take advantage of the Federal Government's joint housing agreements (FP 1/50), described in Chapter 3.

Although the city may not play a large role in the provision of social housing, it certainly influences several other aspects of socially sustainable urban development. St. John's, for example, is responsible for the development and maintenance of parks and other recreational venues. It sponsors cultural events that encourage social interaction and it finances the city's public transportation line, 'Metrobus'. Moreover, the municipality's contribution to the housing sector is very important. It is responsible for safety codes, inspection and city planning. Commercial, industrial and residential zoning can directly influence social interaction and cohabitation, one important element of the socially sustainable urban development and the socially sustainable city.

So, although the province holds the bulk of responsibility for social concerns such as low-income housing and social assistance, the city is the stage upon which the effects of many provincially administered public policies are played out.

This chapter examines the main themes in provincial and municipal social policy and how they have affected the evolution and emergence of homelessness and the agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's, Newfoundland. Acts of provincial social legislation are examined from the time of Confederation with Canada to 2003. This legislative review sets a policy context for Chapters Five, Six and Seven in which social sustainability and the social phenomenon of homelessness in St. John's, Newfoundland will be examined together with the agencies who provide services to address it.

4.1.1 The Process of Legislative Change

The process of the creation of social legislation, although administered by each individual province, is nevertheless fairly uniform across Canada. Legislative change can be determined by a variety of factors (See Figure 1) (Boswell, personal communication 2002). These include federal-provincial-territorial relations, regional decision-making, judicial rulings, individual political underpinnings (per politician), and public pressure. Factors that determine legislative change can influence decision-makers by either supporting a policy or rejecting it. Changes can happen in three ways. A new bill can be introduced, amendments to current legislation can be made, or regulations can be altered.

It is the Newfoundland House of Assembly which passes both new legislation and amendments to legislation already in existence. The Lieutenant Governor signs the amendments or new bill to make them law and the cabinet proclaims them in force. Changes to regulations are not required to come before the House of Assembly. Nor are they required to pass through the Cabinet system. Rather, preparation of changes to regulations is undertaken by the Legislative Council (a division of the Department of Justice) and the department concerned (Boswell, personal communication 2002). This process clearly demonstrates the difference between statutes (proclaimed bills) and regulations. A statute is an act of the legislature – a law – proclaimed into force by the legislative council. Regulations, sometimes referred to as subordinate legislation, set out the duties, rights and responsibilities of the persons affected by any given statute. While

Federal/Provincial/
Territorial Relations   Demands   New Bill
Regional Decision-Making   Decision-   Amendment
Judicial Rulings   Supports   makers   Changes to
Political Underpinnings   regulations
Public Pressure
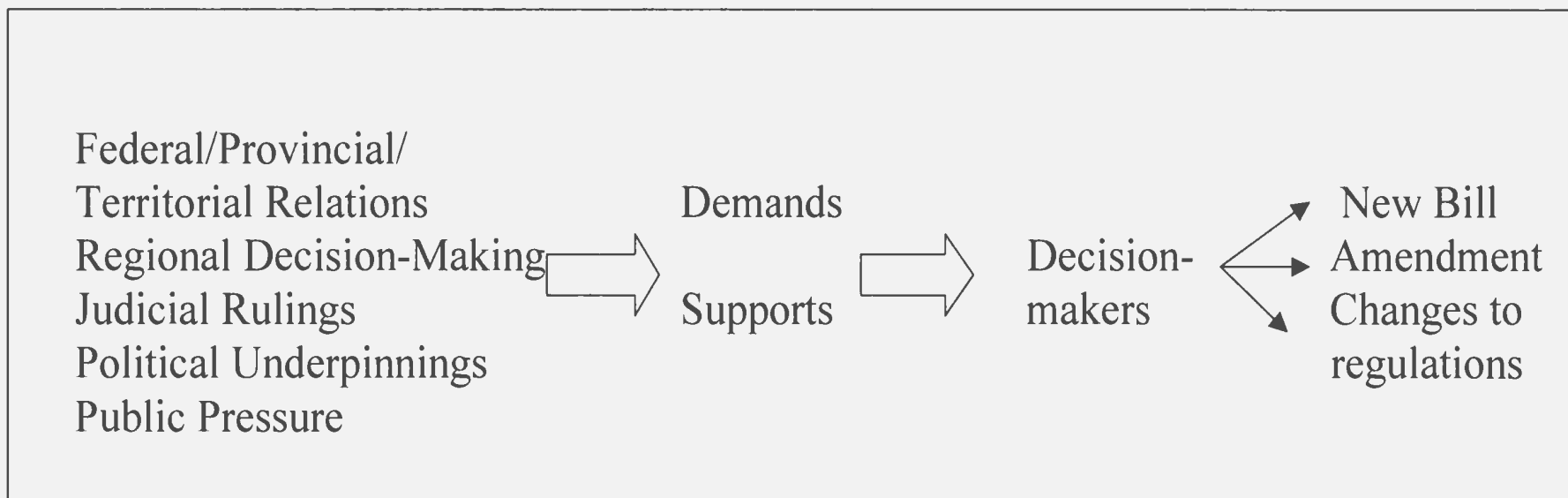
Figure 1: The Political System and Legislative Change (Modified: Boswell, personal communication 2002)

both statutes and its regulations are legally binding, only regulations can be made by bodies other than the Legislative Council (including a Minister responsible for the administration of a statute, a government agency, or, for example, the Lieutenant-Governor) (Office of the Legislative Council, Nova Scotia House of Assembly 2002).

Depending on the degree of policy shift or the scale of legislative change there could be a consultation paper produced, based on policy discussions with various interest groups. In Newfoundland at present, consultations are occurring more frequently as the visions of government departments are changing (Boswell, personal communication 2002).

Once legislative change has occurred, communication of relevant changes (either new Acts, amendments or changes to regulations) is formally undertaken by the placement of changes in the Newfoundland Gazette. Dissemination of changes to the affected agencies and the general public is *formal* through news conferences, speeches, information sessions, and the internet and is *informal* through conversations, meetings and contacts in the course of a day's work. Each agency is therefore most familiar only with the pieces of legislation within which they must operate (Boswell, personal communication 2002).

4.2 Social Policy in Newfoundland

Social assistance in Newfoundland was first provided by religious communities in the eighteenth century and then by non-denominational charities such as the Society for

Improving the Conditions of the Poor and the Benevolent Irish Society in the early nineteenth century. Orphanages represented the first form of poor relief directly aimed at alleviating homelessness. The first orphanages were established by the Church of England, the Methodist Church Conference and the Roman Catholic Church during the mid-nineteenth century, and attained government supportive funds in the early twentieth century. Newfoundland introduced its first Social Assistance legislation: The Health and Public Welfare Act, in 1931. A 'Health and Public Charities Division' was established by the Commission of Government in 1934 (Power 1973).

After Confederation with Canada in 1949, the scope and extent of social assistance in Newfoundland was greatly expanded. A separate Department of Public Welfare was established to administer social assistance to the people of Canada's newest province (Power 1973).

At present, social policy in Newfoundland is principally the responsibility of the Departments of Justice, Human Resources and Employment, Health and Community Services and The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation. There is no legislation directly aimed at alleviating homelessness in Newfoundland. However, each department is responsible for a variety of Acts of legislation (Table 1) which, directly or indirectly, influence the lives of homeless persons through the provision and regulation of services such as rehabilitation, income support, social supports and/or housing programs, among others.

Three phases of Post-Confederation Newfoundland social policy development can be recognized: Post-Confederation Adjustments 1950 – 1962, Responding to Human

Table 1: Current Newfoundland Social Legislation and Responsible Government Departments

Department of Justice	Department of Health and Community Services	Department of Human Resources and Employment	Department of Municipal and Provincial Affairs
Young Persons Offences Act, (Chapter Y-1, RSNL 1990)	Young Persons Offences Act, (Chapter Y-1, RSNL 1990)	Social Assistance Act (Chapter S-17, RSNL 1990 repealed by Chapter I-.01 s62, 2002 – to be proclaimed)	Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation Act (Chapter H-13, RSNL 1990)
Adult Corrections Act (Chapter A-4, RSNL 1990)	Child, Youth and Family Services Act (Chapter 12.1, 1998)		Housing Act (Chapter H-11, RSNL 1990)
	Child and Youth Advocate Act (Chapter C-12.01, 2001)		Residential Tenancies Act (Chapter R-14.1, 2000)
	Homes for Special Care Act (Chapter H-5, RSNL 1990)		City of St. John's Act (Chapter C-12, RSNL 1990)
	Private Homes for Special Care Allowances Act (Chapter P-23, RSNL 1990)		
	Neglected Adults Welfare Act (Chapter N-3, RSNL 1990)		
	Mental Health Act (Chapter M-9, RSNL 1990)		

Rights 1962 – 1981, and Public Participation in Social Policy 1981 – Present (See Table 2).

4.2.1 Social Legislation from 1950 – 1962: Post- Confederation Adjustments

Post-Confederation social policy reflected an increased sense of social responsibility. Now that it was a part of Canada, Newfoundland's legislation had to conform to, re-orient to and link in with national standards. The destitution of pre-confederation Newfoundland had to be relieved. Expanded social policy in welfare, corrections and housing were attempts to address this situation.

Upon union with Canada in 1949, the province's new Lieutenant Governor, Sir Albert Walsh, appointed Joseph R. Smallwood interim leader of the province. Smallwood held his position as Premier of the Province of Newfoundland until 1972. During his years as leader of the provincial Liberal Party and as Premier, Smallwood oversaw dramatic changes in Newfoundland society. During the 1950s, in an effort to overcome the problems associated with a small tax-base and inconsistent federal transfers, Smallwood set out to create an industrial economy. He encouraged foreign investment in the development of new industries (Letto 1998). Smallwood also increased spending on infrastructure and developed a controversial resettlement program whereby people from small, remote communities were moved to larger centres where large-scale employment opportunities were promised in the new industrial economy (Webb 2001).

Table 2: Phases of Newfoundland Social Policy

Date	Act
1950–1962: Post-Confederation Adjustments	
1950	The Slum Clearance Act, Chapter 3
1952	The Rent Restrictions Act, Chapter 158
1952	The Health and Public Welfare Act, Chapter 51
1952	The Child Welfare Act, Chapter 60
1953	The Corrections Act, Chapter 62
1954	The Social Assistance Act, Chapter 37
1959	The Housing Act, Chapter 48
1962-1981: Responding to Human Rights	
1962	The Social Assistance Act, Chapter 4
1964	The Child Welfare Act, Chapter 45
1965	The Home for the Aged and Infirm Act, Chapter 17
1966	The Housing Act, Chapter 87
1966-67	The Welfare Institutions Licensing Act, Chapter 61
1966-67	The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation Act, Chapter 47
1968	The Corrections (Amendment) Act, Chapter 4
1968	The Child Welfare (Amendment) Act, Chapter 5
1969	The Human Rights Code
1971	The Social Assistance Act, Chapter 71
1971	The Mental Health Act, Chapter 80
1972	The Child Welfare (Amendment) Act, Chapter 37
1973	The Neglected Adults Welfare Act, Chapter 81
1973	The Homes for Special Care Act, Chapter 26
1973	The Homes for Special Care (Allowances) Act, Chapter 57
1975	The Adult Corrections Act, Chapter 12
1977	The Social Assistance Act, Chapter 102
1981-2004: Public Participation	
1981	The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (Amendment) Act, Chapter 11
1984	The Young Persons Offences Act, Chapter 2
1988	The Residential Tenancies Act, Chapter 44
1988	The Human Rights Code
1998	The Child, Youth and family Services Act, Chapter 12.1
2001	The Child and Youth Advocate Act, Chapter C-12.01

As mentioned earlier, social assistance in Newfoundland after Confederation with Canada was expanded in scope and extent. Specifically, transfers to individuals from federal programs such as child benefits and old age pensions were made available for the first time to residents of Newfoundland. But the administration and regulation of social services, under the Terms of Union, remained a responsibility of the Government of Newfoundland (Smallwood 1981).

The Health and Public Welfare Act (Chapter 51, RSN 1952)

The Health and Public Welfare Act was responsible for outlining the duties of the Department of Health and the Department of Public Welfare. It was a huge omnibus act, answerable for all social and health-related concerns in the province of Newfoundland. Duties of the Departments of Health and Public Welfare in addition to provisions for "insane persons" (which would later become legislation on its own in the Mental Health Act, 1971) were specified in the Act. In fact, the only major aspect of social policy *not* included in the Health and Public Welfare Act was child welfare which was accommodated in a separate Act - the Welfare of Children Act (Chapter 60, RSN 1952). This Act was administered by the Department of Public Welfare and outlined provisions for "neglected children" in the form of foster homes, orphanages, training schools and other kinds of institutional care.

Under the Health and Public Welfare Act, the Department of Health was responsible for general concerns such as: investigating the causes of disease and death in the province, advising government officials on public health issues, vaccination provision, distribution of literature concerning public health, ambulance service provision

and disinfectant provision to medical officers as appointed by the Department. The Department of Health was also charged with inspection of public jails, prisons, orphanages, sanatoria, places of refuge, hospitals, asylums, charitable institutions and "other public or private institutions for the safekeeping, custody or care of any person confined therein..." (Chapter 51, RSN 1952). In addition, it was to fund all medical services for the "indigent".

The Department of Public Welfare was entrusted with the "care and supervision" of the poor in Newfoundland in addition to administering social assistance to seniors (Old Age Assistance) and to the blind (Blind Persons Allowances). It was also liable for yearly inspections of all public institutions as specified or assigned by the Health and Public Welfare Act in addition to licensing institutions for the care of children. The department had "supervisory authority" over charitable and penal public institutions. These included jails, "homes for delinquents", homes for the aged and infirm, etc...

Conditions for the admission of 'certified' persons to the Hospital for Mental and Nervous Diseases in St. John's were specified under Part XVI, entitled "Insane Persons". This part of the Act allowed for the declaration of an individual as "insane" by a medical practitioner or a Magistrate. It provided for the involuntary commitment of persons suffering from 'mental or nervous diseases' to the Hospital in St. John's. Persons could also be voluntarily admitted. Part XVI of the Act was to be administered by the Department of Health.

The Welfare of Children Act (Chapter 60, RSN 1952)

The Welfare of Children Act provided for the encouragement and promotion of "child life in Newfoundland" (Section 4). Acting under the Department of Public Welfare, an appointed Director of Child Welfare was responsible for a variety of duties. These included the formation of child welfare associations, societies and committees, the care of "neglected, dependent and delinquent children", and the creation and maintenance of a system of homes including foster homes, boarding homes, and probation homes for children in need. The Director was also charged with the inspection of all homes and institutions for the care of children except orphanages; these were the responsibility of the Minister of Health. In this Act, a child was defined as any "unmarried boy or girl… under the age of seventeen years" (Section 2, Subsection (a)).

Foster homes were regulated by this Act. However, although they were considered to be a preferable form of care as early as 1952, it was not until the 1960s that foster care became a viable option for many children. "For children lacking a home life the answer to their needs was looked for in good substitute or foster homes" (Godfrey 1985:174). In the 1950s, there were two substantial stumbling blocks to the provision of widespread foster care. The first was in accepting the idea that foster care was a more preferable choice than denominational orphanages for the care and development of children. In addition, employees of the Department of Welfare had difficulties finding enough foster homes to accommodate children in need (Godfrey 1985).

The Welfare of Children Act was divided into seven parts, each one pertaining to a specific aspect of child welfare. Part one dealt with Neglected Children, two with

Juvenile Offenders, and three with the establishment and operation of training schools for neglected or delinquent children. Part four provided for the children of "unmarried parents", part five with adoption, part six with "mentally defective children", and finally, part seven with child welfare societies and organizations. This Act was lengthy and included 180 different sections and covered many different aspects of child welfare.

The Corrections Act (Chapter 62, 1953)

The Corrections Act introduced a Division of Corrections within the Department of Public Welfare. A 'Director of Corrections' was appointed by the Lieutenant Governor to "administer the affairs of the division" (Section 4). Part I of the Act dealt with administration, while Part II addressed provisions for the custody and discipline of juvenile delinquents. The responsibilities for juvenile offenders outlined in the Child Welfare Act (Chapter 60, RSN 1952) were transferred to the Division of Corrections under the Corrections Act of 1953 (Chapter 62) and a Youth Guidance Authority was established to "examine and supervise the treatment of every juvenile admitted to a [training] school" – voluntarily or involuntarily. The Corrections Act also designated probation officers to help juvenile delinquents in correction or avoidance of "delinquent behavior". In addition, power was given to the Minister of Public Welfare to establish training schools for juvenile delinquents and to implement regulations for the operation of these schools. Responsibility for juvenile delinquents under the Division of Corrections was short-lived. It was discontinued in 1955 and transferred back to the Division of Child Welfare.

Part III of the Corrections Act provided for the custody and discipline of Adult Offenders. It prescribed the establishment of an Adult Guidance Authority and the appointment of Adult probation officers within the Department of Public Welfare. The Attorney General, under this Act, could decide to which institution adult offenders would be committed. Superintendents were appointed as administrators of provincial correctional institutions. Administration of such institutions involved direction, program coordination, and management.

The Slum Clearance Act (Chapter 3, 1950)

Responsibility for social housing in the 1950s was provided for under the Slum Clearance Act and the St. John's Housing Corporation Act (Chapter 36, 1944). The Slum Clearance Act authorized the development of joint housing projects between the Minister responsible for slum clearance (appointed under the Act) and the Minister of Resources and Development of Canada (or any other Minister designated on behalf of Her Majesty in right of Canada) as specified in the National Housing Act of 1944, Section 35. The Act also authorized the Minister responsible for slum clearance to develop joint housing projects with any registered cooperative society. In addition, it allowed for the constitution of Housing Authorities or Corporations for such housing developments. The Slum Clearance Act gave the Minister power to acquire and expropriate land required for housing projects as specified in the Act and provided for compensation of affected parties. Boards would be appointed to assess the compensation due to these parties under the Act.

The St. John's Housing Corporation Act (Chapter 36, 1944)

The St. John's Housing Corporation Act introduced and established the St. John's Housing Corporation and laid out the powers and duties of the corporation. Duties such as the power to purchase or acquire land in any lawful manner, to develop streets, bridges, sewers or other necessary infrastructure for the development of housing projects, to receive land for public use, to lend funding for the purchase or upgrading of buildings and to receive loans from public or private sources were outlined. The Act also identified a "housing area" specified in the St. John's Housing Corporation (Lands) Act (Chapter 37, 1944) upon which a housing project would be developed.

The St. John's Housing Corporation (Lands) Act (Chapter 37, 1944)

The St. John's Housing Corporation (Lands) Act gave the St. John's Housing Corporation the power to expropriate land and buildings within the defined 'housing area' and specified the methods and means whereby land could be acquired. A description of the "housing area" appeared in an attached schedule. An additional schedule outlined compensation for owners of land or buildings to be expropriated under the Act.

The St. John's Housing Corporation Act and the St. John's Housing Corporation (Lands) Act gave the Corporation the power to develop an area of St. John's that would become known as 'Churchill Park'. As described in Chapter 2, Churchill Park was intentionally meant to relieve the density in the St. John's inner-city slum in a process known as "filtering up". As no direct slum clearance was called for under the Acts, they supplied little in the way of social housing in the City of St. John's.

The Rent Restrictions Act (Chapter 158, 1952)

The Rent Restrictions Act of 1952 regulated another aspect of housing in Government of Newfoundland legislation. This bill "respecting restriction upon the increase of rent and recovery of possession of property in certain cases" protected both the landlord and tenant from financial and property losses. These included implementation of limits on rents charged to tenants for particular properties. It also allowed for eviction of tenants in certain extenuating circumstances. For example, tenants could be evicted if they hadn't paid their rent in full in a specified amount of time. Provisions were also made for rental increases. The landlord would then notify the tenant of any increases in rent within a specified period of time.

The St. John's Municipal Act (Chapter 13, 1921)

The remaining aspects of housing policy were addressed in The St. John's Municipal Act. Although social concerns were absent from the first St. John's Municipal Act, the municipality was responsible for inspecting and regulating buildings. In addition, it was charged with declaring, where necessary, properties as "unfit" or "unhealthy". Its role with respect to housing was regulatory only.

The Social Assistance Act (Chapter 37, 1954)

The Social Assistance Act of 1954 was the first Post-Confederation Act of legislation directly providing for the administration of social assistance – that is: financial assistance, assistance "in kind", emergency assistance and institutional care. The Social Assistance Act outlined the responsibilities of the appointed Director of Social Assistance. These involved receiving, assessing, and determining the eligibility of

applications for social assistance. The Act described the eligibility criteria for social assistance. Criteria included the granting of assistance to individuals who were incapacitated due to mental or physical disability, to widows who had no means to provide for their children, and to unwed mothers where the fathers were unable to provide financial support. Furthermore, assistance would be provided to incapacitated fathers living at home with their children, or a number of other individuals who required social assistance for "proper maintenance or rehabilitation of that person or his family". However, this Act clearly stated that aid would not be granted to able-bodied persons whose only claim was due to unemployment. The Act also allowed for "counselling services by welfare officers". The Mothers' Allowances Act (Chapter 63, RSN 1952) and the Dependents' Allowances Act (Chapter 64, RSN 1952) were repealed by the Social Assistance Act (Chapter 37, 1954).

Overview

Immediately following Confederation with Canada, Newfoundland adjusted its legislation to come into line with Canadian standards and practices. The Acts of legislation created during this period were lengthy, all-encompassing and, for the most part, reflected the general themes and intent of the legislation already in place prior to Confederation. In 1952, for example, the Health and Public Welfare Act represented legislation that would later be segmented into separate Acts of legislation: the Social Assistance Act (Chapter 102, 1977), the Mental Health Act (Chapter 80, 1971), the Homes for Special Care Act (Chapter 26, 1973), the Private Homes for Special Care Allowances Act (Chapter 57, 1973), and the Neglected Adults Act (Chapter 81, 1973).

Social legislation during this period was discriminatory and not directed to 'able-bodied individuals'. Aside from the Corrections Act of 1953 (Chapter 62) and the Social Assistance Act of 1954 (Chapter 37), little new in the way of provincial social legislation was enacted until the 1960s.

4.2.2 Social Legislation from 1962 - 1981: Responding to Human Rights

Social policy from 1962 to 1981 was characterized by a wavering commitment on the part of government to non-discriminatory assistance. This change in attitude was driven, in part, by new and expanded legislation increasingly influenced by the human rights movement of the 1960s. And, as discussed in Chapter Two, Canada was developing its own unique rights culture rooted in liberalism, equal rights, legislative supremacy and a balance between individual and community rights and responsibilities (communitarianism). Having signed the international United Nations Declaration of Human Rights in 1948, Canada proclaimed its own Bill of Rights in 1960. The Canadian Human Rights Act was introduced in 1977, while The Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was enacted in 1982. Newfoundland introduced its Human Rights Code (Chapter 75) in 1969. The present Newfoundland Human Rights Code was proclaimed in 1988 (Chapter 62).

Deinstitutionalization of mental health patients, the plight of children and criminal offenders were closely linked with the human rights movement. The right to choose a lifestyle, a place to live, to attend school, and to refuse medical treatment was now, in the

1960s, an important legislative theme - expected and legislated for every citizen of Canada.

This new attitude brought about profound changes. During the 1960s legislation allowed for the mentally ill to be released from sanatoriums, children to be accommodated in foster homes rather than orphanages, and convicts to be rehabilitated and conditionally released into their communities. This legislated release of youth, the mentally ill and former convicts into the community created a situation of **potential homelessness**. Unfortunately, concomitant with this new legislation, few broad government initiatives were introduced to care for these individuals once they were deinstitutionalized or to provide the supports necessary for maintaining a day-to-day existence.

By the early 1960s many of the Government of Newfoundland's post-confederation industrial ventures were encountering financial troubles. Lifetime provincial civil servant turned author Stuart Godfrey (1985) asserted that the new 'industrial economy' encouraged by the Smallwood government was failing and many Newfoundlanders found themselves resettled from their small out-port communities and unemployed in the larger centres of the province. This 'resettlement' combined with other societal changes – important themes such as the human rights movement and deinstitutionalization - resulted in changes to and an expansion of Newfoundland social policy. The bulk of new social legislation and major changes to existing social legislation were enacted between 1962 and 1981 (See Table 2).

The Social Assistance Act (Chapter 4, 1962)

The amended Social Assistance Act of 1962 marked the beginning of this period of expanded and amended social policy. Under this Act, provisions for a Social Assistance Board were made. The Board was responsible for the administration of the Act under the Minister of Public Welfare. This Act repealed the first Social Assistance Act of 1954 (Chapter 37) and made several significant changes to the administration of social assistance in Newfoundland. In the 1962 Act, counselling services were no longer addressed and the definition of a "child" was changed from under seventeen years of age to under sixteen years of age (the definition of a 'child' varies between departments, depending on the Acts, as well as individual Sections within the Acts in question). Finally, Section 9 of the 1954 Act had specified that social assistance would not be granted for those whose only claim was due to unemployment. This section was absent from the amended Act of 1962 as the government leaned toward non-discriminatory practice.

Provincial initiatives in the 1950s such as the "works-relief program" and an end to the provision of "able-bodied relief" were defeated later in that same decade. Critics argued that works relief programs were too expensive. Furthermore, the federal contribution of fifty percent was based on the provision of social assistance, not works–relief (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 19/02/62). Changes in the Social Assistance Act of 1962 reflected an acceptance of the principle of non-discriminatory relief. This trend, an important theme in the development of social policy in Newfoundland, would be reversed in the legislative changes of the 1970s when policy

began to focus on the creation of employment alongside the provision of social and financial assistance.

The Child Welfare Act (Chapter 45, 1964)

The Child Welfare Act of 1964 was mainly a consolidation of previous Acts. It was "an attempt to make the law more readable and in a different format" (Hon. M.P. Murray, Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 08/05/64). It repealed several sections of the 'Welfare of Children Act' (Chapter 60, RSN 1952). These included changes to the "interpretation section" (Section 2), duties of the Director of Child Welfare (Section 4), duties of the Child Welfare Board, all of Part I pertaining to Neglected Children, and both parts pertaining to Mentally Defective Children and Child Welfare Organizations. Sections concerning Juvenile Offenders, Training Schools, Children of Unmarried Parents, and Adoption were not altered significantly.

The interpretation section provided operational definitions of relevant terms used in the Child Welfare Act. The Child Welfare Act of 1964 changed the organization of the sections and re-worded a number of definitions. More significant changes were made to the definition of a child. A child, according to the 1952 Act was "an unmarried boy or girl actually or apparently under the age of seventeen years", whereas 1964's Act defined a child as "an unmarried boy or girl actually or apparently under the age of sixteen years". Also, many terms that could be considered 'dated' had been omitted in the 1964 Child Welfare Act. For example, the 1952 Act stated that a neglected child is one who "is found associating or dwelling with a thief, drunkard or vagrant" (The Welfare of Children Act, Chapter 60, 1952, Section 12, Subsection (c)(vi)). This language was not

used in the 1964 Act. Rather, a similar subsection stated that a neglected child is one who "by reason of neglect, intemperance or other vices of her parents or guardians is suffered to grow up without proper education and control, or in circumstances conducing to an idle and dissolute life"(The Child Welfare Act, Chapter 45, 1964, Section 2, Subsection (m) (vii)).

Under the provisions for "neglected children" (Part 1) in the Child Welfare Act of 1964 there was no longer any reference made to "children's aid societies" or "child welfare associations". Rather, reference was made to "a foster home, training school or other institution which has been approved by the Minister for the care of delinquent or neglected children" (Section 15, Subsection 1(c)). This was an indication of the increased emphasis on child-care in the form of foster homes rather than orphanages - a form of deinstitutionalization. Orphanages in Newfoundland began to close their doors and sell off existing properties in 1965 (Smallwood 1981).

A section entitled "Prolongation of care and custody in certain cases" (Section 15, Subsection 10) was added to the 1964 Act. This part specified that custody of a child could be maintained until the age of 18 at the Director of Child Welfare's discretion and until the age of 21 depending on the Minister's approval. This prolongation was only until the age of 17 years in the 1952 Welfare of Children Act. Again, it must be reiterated that the ages attributed to children have varied between departments and even between provisions of the same Act of legislation. Depending on the provision, therefore, the definition of a "child" is subject to change.

Under Part II – "Mentally Defective Children" - the "classes" of mentally defective children referred to in the 1952 Welfare of Children Act were omitted. Instead, definitions remained and the following statement was added: "This section shall cover defectiveness induced by disease or injury as well as defectiveness arising from inherent causes (Section 22, Subsection 2)". Moreover, in a section entitled "Enquiry as to defective child" (Section 26), a new subsection stipulated: "Nothing herein shall warrant the removal of a defective child from his parents or from a home where he lives with persons of his own blood, unless he is also a neglected child".

Although intended only as a consolidation, the amended Child Welfare Act of 1964 reflected the changing values of the society for which it was created. An increased awareness of human rights, in particular the rights of children - an acknowledgement of the need for child protection, became apparent. Much of the terminology used in the 1952 Welfare of Children Act (for example, "drunkard" and "vagrant") was absent from or replaced in the 1964 Act. In addition, legislation was increasingly focused on child-care in the form of foster homes and adoption rather than in orphanages or other 'institutional' settings (Power 1973) – children were being deinstitutionalized.

In 1965 arrangements were made between the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches and the Government of Newfoundland for the transfer of all child wards in their Orphanages into the Director of Child Welfare's custody. This meant that the Government of Newfoundland would pay foster care rates instead of yearly operational grants to the orphanages. Subsequent to this change, there was an increase in the number of children in care of the Director of Child Welfare (Godfrey 1985).

The Home for the Aged and Infirm Act (Chapter 17, 1965)

The Home for the Aged and Infirm Act provided legislative authority for the administration and control of the newly renovated 'home for the aged and infirm' - "Hoyles Home". Premier Smallwood, during the second reading of this Act in the House of Assembly, stated:

> …[what] we are carrying out here in this legislation part of a process upon which we have determined as a policy, of separating the acts, of taking out the big act, as it now reads various sections, and putting them into separate acts, this being one of them… the purposes of this bill are to take away from the Department of Health and the Minister of Health and to put it instead under the Minister of Public Welfare, and , that being so, the reason for the bill becomes entirely intelligible and not requiring very much explanation (Hon. J.R. Smallwood, Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 22/02/65).

Therefore, the mandate for Hoyles Home was outlined and power was given to the Minister of Public Welfare to make regulations for the management of the home. This new Act had formerly been a part of the Health and Public Welfare Act of 1952 but now stood independently as an Act of legislation in and of itself. The Home for the Aged and Infirm Act was symbolic of a commitment, on behalf of the Government of Newfoundland, to provide seniors with adequate care. Honorable M.P. Murray, Minister of Welfare in 1965, stated that what the Government intended to highlight was the aspect of a "home" for the aged in Newfoundland. He described the newly renovated home as a

pleasant place, "like a hotel", with most of the amenities of a hotel (Hon. M.P. Murray, Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 25/02/65). Concern from other members of Government was expressed regarding the fact that this Act was dealing only with one residence and that others run either privately or by charities would be left unregulated. These homes, however, would be provided for in legislation to be introduced in the following session (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 25/02/65).

The Welfare Institutions Licensing Act (Chapter 61, 1966-67)

The Welfare Institutions Licensing Act of 1966-67 allowed for the creation of a Welfare Institutions Board that would oversee the establishment, licensing and operation of welfare institutions not provided for under the Home for the Aged and Infirm Act of 1965. The Act was introduced in response to an increased need for facilities for the Aged as well as a growing concern for care of the aged and infirm in the Province (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 17/04/67). The Act defined welfare institutions as boarding homes, orphanages, foster homes, maternity homes, receiving homes, hostels, shelters or day nurseries in section (2) – "interpretation". Section (7) outlined a set of criteria that had to be met by the operators of potential welfare institutions before licenses could be granted by the Board and that would achieve uniformity in institutions and set standards. These criteria included that the applicant be considered "fit and proper" by the Board and that the premises be kept clean and operational. Specifications for the inspection of welfare institutions were also outlined in the Act and prohibited practices were indicated. This Act represented an entirely new

piece of legislation. The provisions made therein had been present in part under the Health and Public Welfare Act of 1952. Responsibilities for inspection of orphanages had previously been held by the Department of Health, while other "charitable institutions" had been inspected by the Department of Public Welfare.

The Welfare Institutions Licensing Act highlighted and emphasized "boarding houses" for the care of the infirm or the elderly for the second time in welfare legislation. It must be noted that the introduction of this legislation coincided with the deinstitutionalization movement, an important theme discussed earlier (the introduction of psychotropic drugs and community care for the mentally ill, probation for criminal offenders, and an increased emphasis on foster homes rather than orphanages for child-care). It followed the introduction of the first municipal Lodging (Boarding) House By-Law, which was gazetted on December 17, 1963. The introduction of this Act also occurred just as public outcry against the conditions of many private boarding houses (those not considered to be Welfare Institutions) in the City of St. John's was growing (Evening Telegram 1963, 1964, 1965). Boarding, receiving and foster homes were increasing in number during this important period of ideological and legislative change as demand for improved conditions in those already in existence was increasing. Certainly, by the year 1971 more than 200 people, previously long-term patients of the Waterford Hospital, had been placed in community care homes (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 06/05/1971). This theme of concern over boarding homes will be further examined in later sections.

The Housing Act (Chapter 87, 1966)

The Housing Act of 1966 expanded the scope of Newfoundland housing legislation and reflected significant changes to the National Housing Act in 1964 such as an emphasis on the provision of public housing and urban renewal schemes. In Section 2 of the provincial Housing Act definitions included "housing project", "urban renewal area" and "renewal scheme". Section 3 allowed for "joint projects" between the provincial and federal governments and also gave the provincial government the power to undertake projects alone.

The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation Act (Chapter 47, 1966-67)

The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC) was officially established and given powers under the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation Act. The Act stated that the Corporation "may exercise all the powers that may be exercised by the Minister under Sections 3, 4, 5 and 14 of The Housing Act (Chapter 87, 1966)". Provisions for the acquisition, expropriation and development of land in cooperation with other bodies or independently for "housing purposes" were outlined. In undertaking "urban renewal" projects, for example, The Housing Act allowed for "the re-location of any part of the population of the province". In preparing an "urban renewal scheme" the costs could be shared between partners (the Canadian Government, a Municipal Authority, or a Cooperative Society) for economic, social and engineering research as required. The Act also permitted NLHC to borrow money for the development or servicing of housing developed in accordance with the Act. Under Section (25) entitled "Powers, functions, and duties of Corporation", specifications as to

the degree of power to be held by the corporation were specified. Research initiatives and statistical analysis of housing in Newfoundland, community development for housing projects, and operation as "a public housing agency, a non profit corporation, and a limited dividend housing company" were just a few of these duties.

In general, the establishment of NLHC in the Act of 1966-67 meant that the Government of Newfoundland gained increased responsibility in terms of management and initiation of social housing projects in the province. Existing housing bodies were to be incorporated under the new Corporation and NLHC would now gain responsibility for housing cooperatives. This was a trend occurring all across Canada in response to amendments to the National Housing Act in 1964. As noted in Chapter 3, the 1964 NHA encouraged increased provincial spending on housing for low-income groups and a wide range of urban renewal activities.

The Corrections (Amendment) Act (Chapter 4, 1968) and The Corrections Act (Chapter 67, RSN 1970)

In 1968, several significant changes were made to The Corrections Act. The Corrections (Amendment) Act deleted all references to juveniles in the Corrections Act of 1953. Furthermore, The Welfare of Children (Amendment) Act of 1968 allowed for the transfer of responsibility for Juvenile Offenders to the Director of Child Welfare, Department of Public Welfare. These amendments represented the first step in the separation of adult and juvenile corrections. The Corrections Act of 1970 transferred responsibility for Corrections to the new Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation. A Division of Corrections was established under the new Department and

the Act was to be administered by the Division. No more significant changes were made to the provisions of the Corrections Act other than those made in 1968.

The Social Assistance Act (Chapter 77, 1971)

In 1971, a new Social Assistance Act was introduced. Primarily, this Act outlined the establishment of a new Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation (The Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation Act, Chapter 45, 1971). In Section 2, Subsection (f), the definition of a child was changed from under 21 years of age to less than 18 years of age. Administration of social assistance was also altered. Regional administrators were appointed for different areas of the province. Administrators held similar duties to the Social Assistance Board in 1962 legislation. Social services, therefore, became somewhat decentralized. New sections were added directly pertaining to the appeals process whereby an individual could contest their rejection or allocated rates of social assistance. Increased powers to make regulations were also added, mostly regarding the appeals process. Overall, the Social Assistance Act of 1971 was more specific and sophisticated than previous Acts (Chapter 4, 1962, Chapter 37, 1954). Its emphasis on the appeals process was also a reflection of the increasing concern over human rights in social policy.

The Mental Health Act (Chapter 80, 1971)

In 1971 the first Mental Health Act was introduced. It was one of the first new Acts of provincial legislation to come into force following the introduction of the Government of Newfoundland's first Human Rights Code in 1969. This mental health legislation was a reflection of widespread discontent concerning the state of mental health

care institutions and the treatment of the mentally ill in Canada (Rowe 1974). Following the publication of 'More for the Mind' by the Canadian Mental Health Association in 1963 and the report of the Royal Commission on Health Services in 1964, several Canadian provinces revised their legislation concerned with mental health (O'Brien 1989:282). Newfoundland was among the last provinces to do so. Admittedly the government was reluctant to have the new Mental Health Act proclaimed due to the inadequacy of the "number and quality of services available" to care for those who would be released from the mental hospital into the community upon the introduction of the legislation (Rowe 1974). While debating the Act, one opposition member of the House of Assembly (Mr. John Crosbie) suggested that the province of Newfoundland would be better informed if it would wait until the effects of other similar legislative changes played out in other provinces. Another representative (Mr. Noel) suggested that it was quite simply a debate over "mental health" versus "liberty" and that he, for one, would choose liberty (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 06/05/1971). Clearly, potential homelessness was feared but nonetheless the new Act was proclaimed in 1971. The Mental Health Act was concerned with protecting the rights of individuals suffering from mental illness. It took into account considerable advances made in psychiatric pharmacology and was a "more enlightened" Act with several "advanced civil liberties protections" (Rowe 1974). The new Mental Health Act (previously provided for under a section entitled 'Insane Persons' (Health and Public Welfare Act, Chapter 51, 1952)) made certification a medical rather than judiciary procedure. Section (6) stated that "in the opinion of a physician" a person could be held "without consent" and

"detained within and treated at a treatment facility". Under the provisions of the 1952 Health and Public Welfare Act, Section (284) stated that a "Stipendiary Magistrate" could commit an individual when two physicians were not available. In addition, the 1971 Mental Health Act made early treatment more readily available. The signature of one physician (rather than two) was enough to convey a mentally ill individual to "a safe and comfortable place" (Section 6, Subsection 3). Finally, individual human rights were protected under the Act. Three conditions were specified that must be met before a certificate of commitment could be issued: the individual must have refused hospitalization, must be a danger to himself or others, and must be deemed 'sufficiently ill' to warrant hospitalization. The effect of these conditions was that fewer people were admitted to the Hospital for Mental and Nervous Diseases in St. John's. Moreover, those patients admitted had significantly shorter stays in the hospital. Deinstitutionalization was occurring (O'Brien 1989).

Clearly, new legislation in the 1960s and 1970s pertaining to Child Welfare and the treatment of persons with Mental Illness was motivated by the human rights movement, which had been gaining momentum since Canada signed the United Nations Universal Declaration of Human Rights in 1948. This 'modern' human rights movement was characterized by a rejection of political ideology and partisanship. It called for universal rights and dignity for all (Human Rights Web: www.hrweb.org).

In 1971, the Church of England sold off its remaining Orphanage properties and the Belvedere Orphanage for Girls, a Roman Catholic institution operated by the Sisters of Mercy, closed its doors. In 1973, foster care gained increased recognition as a

preferable choice for child-care with the formation of the St. John's and Metropolitan Area Foster Parents Association. Moreover, in 1977 a team of foster-home finders was employed by the Department of Social Services (Godfrey 1985). Children were increasingly placed in foster homes and thus, increasingly deinstitutionalized.

In addition to increased awareness and concern for the welfare of children and persons with mental illness, there was a call for the protection of 'neglected adults' in the 1960s (Godfrey 1985). Also, the introduction of the Canada Assistance Plan in 1966 (Chapter 45) (Godfrey 1985) meant that costs for the administration of social services could be shared between the federal and provincial governments.

The Welfare of Children (Amendment) Act (Chapter 37, 1972)

Amendments to the Child Welfare Act were legislated in the 1972 Welfare of Children (Amendment) Act. The new Department of Social Services and Rehabilitation was now responsible for administration of Child Welfare. Also, more elaborate and clear directions were outlined for the removal of neglected children from environments of ill-treatment and placement of these children into non-institutional 'care'.

The Neglected Adults Welfare Act (Chapter 81, 1973)

The Neglected Adults Welfare Act of 1973 provided for the care of "neglected adults" who were incapable of caring for themselves for either physical or mental reasons and who were not suitable to be treated under the provisions of the Mental Health Act. This Act specified the procedure to be followed in cases where mentally or physically incapacitated adults were not receiving proper care or who refused or were unable to arrange for care themselves. Procedures for "reporting of ill-treatment" (Section 4), for

"investigation as to neglected adult" (Section 5), for the removal of neglected adults from their places of residence and for visits to these adults in care were provided in the Act.

During the second reading of the Neglected Adults Welfare Act in the House of Assembly, a debate arose concerning the removal of adults from certain homes and the protection of their human rights. Furthermore, an ensuing discussion about the housing of 'neglected adults' in boarding homes in the St. John's area revealed a controversy surrounding the issue of such residences in the city. It was suggested that the government should provide a system of hostels or that the government support religious groups in setting up such a system. The response to these comments, however, was that the Act did not purport to address the issue of proper accommodations in the city of St. John's (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 26/04/73). Concern was also raised, during these debates, about individuals sleeping outside or in places unfit for human habitation. Evidently homelessness had become an issue – an issue recognized by members of the Newfoundland House of Assembly in 1973. Ironically, while the mentally ill of Newfoundland were in the process of being taken out of institutions, seniors and the disabled were being admitted (Findlay, personal communication 2002). Individuals who had been typically neglected were in need of care. On the other hand, it was thought that the mentally ill had been kept under lock and key unnecessarily and would receive better care and rehabilitation in the community.

The struggle to balance human rights while protecting vulnerable members of society from harm had become an important theme in social legislation. Every person deserves the right to freedom but also the right to protection. It seems the decision to

protect seniors and the disabled and to free the mentally ill was based on a measurement

of relative vulnerability. The elderly and the handicapped were perceived, perhaps, to be

more at risk (more vulnerable) than those suffering from the effects of mental illness.

The Homes for Special Care Act (Chapter 26, 1973) and The Private Homes for Special

Care Allowances Act (Chapter 57, 1973)

In 1973, two new Acts entitled "The Homes for Special Care Act" and "The

Private Homes for Special Care Allowances Act" were introduced. The Homes for

Special Care Act replaced and repealed The Home for the Aged and Infirm Act (Chapter

17, 1965) – increasing the scope and extent of 'homes' provided for in the Act. Section

(2), 'interpretation', defined a 'home for special care'. These homes now included

Hoyles Home, located in St. John's, Harbour Lodge, located in Carbonear, Exon House,

located in St.John's, Children's Home, located in St. John's, and any other institution in

Newfoundland established for the disabled or infirm

The Landlord and Tenant Act (Chapter 54, 1973)

Also in 1973, the first Landlord and Tenant Act was introduced. This Act

amended and improved many of the provisions outlined in the Rent Restrictions Act of

1952 and, like many of the previously mentioned Acts, was concerned with the protection

of human rights. In general, this Act was more descriptive and clear. Provisions for

"security deposits" were supplied and both the landlord and the tenant were more

specifically defined. The Act allowed for the establishment of Regional Tenancies

Boards, therefore expanding and decentralizing the complaints process for landlords and

tenants. Section (5) of the Act clarified confusion with respect to leases held by residents

of public housing. It stated that Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation policies and procedures would prevail if conflicts were to arise between the Landlord and Tenant Act and leases held with the Corporation. The Act also stipulated that copies of the Landlord and Tenant Act and the lease would have to be provided to the tenant by the landlord. In general, an increased emphasis on the rights of tenants was notable in the Landlord and Tenant Act (Chapter 54, 1973).

The Adult Corrections Act (Chapter 12, 1975)

The Adult Corrections Act of 1975 changed the procedures and administration of corrections in the province of Newfoundland. It established a 'Division of Adult Corrections' within the Department of Justice. Corrections, therefore, was no longer a concern of the Department of Public Welfare (or Social Services as it was now called). Duties of the division were listed in Section (5) of the Act. These included providing courts with reports as to the character and history of convicted or charged individuals, the supervision of probation, the supervision and encouragement of incarcerated offenders, and the promotion of welfare programs aimed at crime prevention. Powers of probation officers were also outlined in the Act and the Minister was given permission to enter into agreements with Federal Corrections for custody of offenders or other organizations providing correctional services. The Adult Corrections Act repealed The Corrections Act (Chapter 67, RSN 1970) and appointed a Director of Juvenile Corrections under the Welfare of Children Act (Chapter 190, RSN 1970). The Adult Corrections Act of 1975 represented the second step towards the overt separation of Adult and Juvenile

Corrections (the first step was discussed earlier). The final step in this division would come in 1984 with the Young Persons Offences Act (Chapter 2, 1984).

The Adult Corrections Act of 1975, similar to the Mental Health Act, the Welfare Institutions Licensing Act and the Child Welfare Act, also represented a form of de-institutionalization and contributed to potential homelessness. Although probation and parole services were legislated under the Corrections Acts of 1953 and 1968, they were increasingly emphasized in the Adult Corrections Act (Chapter 67, 1975). Newly appointed probation officers were to "supervise and offer guidance" to probationers "with a view of their ultimate rehabilitation to society" (Chapter 67, 1975, Section 5). The prevention of crime received equal attention to punishment for offenders under this new Adult Corrections Act. The Division of Corrections was to "promote and help in public and private welfare programs designed to prevent and diminish the commission of crimes and offences within the province" (Chapter 67, 1975, Section 5). Increasingly, the Government of Newfoundland was introducing social policy aimed at crime prevention and re-integration into the community as opposed to punishment of criminal offenders and exclusion from the community. These were socially sustainable aims. Less time in institutions, however, meant more time in the community for offenders. And having been convicted of crimes, these individuals often found it difficult to re-enter the work force, re-integrate into family life and maintain the long-term life skills necessary for complete rehabilitation. Thus, this form of deinstitutionalization also resulted in potential homelessness.

The long tenure of the Liberal Party of Newfoundland came to an end in the provincial elections of 1972. The Progressive Conservatives, under the direction of leader Frank Moores, came into power. By 1977 this 'new' provincial government had made significant changes to social legislation (The Social Assistance Act, Chapter 102, 1977). It was pulling back from universality – restricting elegibility for social assistance and reverting to a discriminatory approach to social aid.

The Department of Social Services Act (Chapter 31, 1973) and The Social Assistance Act (Chapter 102, 1977)

By 1977, the name of the department responsible for social services had changed to The Department of Social Services (The Department of Social Services Act, Chapter 31, 1973) so that the word "rehabilitation" no longer appeared in the title and therefore the duties of the department were decreased. The system of regional administrators established in 1971 was also disbanded. Duties attributed to the administrators were transferred to departmental officers. Five regional review committees were to administer reviews of decisions made by officers of the Department of Social Services. Appeals would be undertaken under the authority of the Appeal Board.

The changing social legislation of the 1970s was a reflection more so of an evolving political landscape than human rights. Human rights were still at the heart of federal social policy. However, because the province addressed most social concerns, and the Progressive Conservative Party was in power, provincial Conservative ideology began to override the human rights centred approach of the federal government. Changes made in 1977s Social Assistance Act and its regulations restricted eligibility for common

law unions, provided less assistance to able-bodied individuals, and allocated lower rates

of social assistance to people without children. Demographic and eligibility criteria

became increasingly narrow and work training was encouraged (and even necessary) for

many social assistance recipients. The Employment Opportunities Program of 1972 was

the first large-scale project aimed at providing work training in many Newfoundland

communities. This provincial program was intended "solely for recipients of social

assistance" (Godfrey 1985:77). It took ideas put forth in the Canada Assistance Plan,

1966, one step further from practice work projects to actual job creation (Godfrey 1985)

and signaled a reversion to discriminatory social assistance.

The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (Amendment) Act (Chapter 11,
1981)

The final piece of legislation to appear in this period of change and expansion of

social policy was the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (Amendment)

Act of 1981. Its longer title, 'An Act to Amend the Newfoundland and Labrador

Housing Corporation Act for the Purpose of Integrating the Newfoundland and Labrador

Housing Corporation and the St. John's Housing Corporation', explains the rationale

behind the amendments. The Act transferred the title to all of the property and assets of

the St. John's Housing Corporation to NLHC. NLHC, therefore, assumed all mortgages

held by the St. John's Housing Corporation and also all liabilities and obligations of that

corporation. Employees of the St. John's Housing Corporation were directly transferred

to NLHC. The St. John's Housing Corporation Act in its most recent form (Chapter 358,

RSN 1970) and the Corner Brook Housing Corporation Act (Chapter 66, RSN 1970)

were repealed. NLHC thereby became the only provincial corporation responsible for public housing in Newfoundland.

Overview

The year 1962 marked the beginnings of a period characterized by frequent and important legislative change. The generalized Acts of the 1950s were no more. Rather, these were replaced by legislation aimed at specific groups. Mental health, neglected adults, social assistance and institutional care were teased out of the previous "public welfare" legislation and provided for under separate Acts of legislation. Children, mental health patients, and criminal offenders were deinstitutionalized, increasing the potential for homelessness, and children were separated from adults in Corrections legislation. This was driven by human rights ideology, embedded in federal (The Canadian Bill of Rights 1960, The Canadian Human Rights Act 1977) and provincial (The Newfoundland Human Rights Code (Chapter 75, 1969) legislation. Also apparent during the 1960s and 1970s was increased emphasis on statistical analysis, studies, research, and cooperation with other agencies or government departments.

4.2.3 Social Legislation from 1981 – Present: Public Participation in Social Policy

Social legislation from 1981 to 2002 was introduced and amended at a slower pace than legislation emerging from the previous period (1962-1981). Provisions for youth and human rights retained their high-ranking importance in social policy. In

addition, public consultation emerged as common practice for legislative reform and 'strategic plans' were released for social and health concerns.

The Progressive Conservatives retained power in Newfoundland until 1989. Amid promises of a better deal in Confederation with Canada and greater control over Newfoundland's natural resources, few changes were made to social legislation. Nonetheless, several key Acts were introduced and/or amended, changing the way social services were administered in Newfoundland.

The Young Persons Offences Act (Chapter 2, 1984)

The first of these Acts was the Young Persons Offences Act. This piece of legislation was important for a variety of reasons, one of which was that for the first time in Newfoundland provincial social policy a "declaration of principles" was presented (Section 3). These principles included recognition of responsibility and culpability *in* young persons, responsibility of society *for* young persons, and that young people require special care and guidance. This 'rationale' for the legislation included, also for the first time, overt and obvious reference made to the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms (1982) and the Canadian Bill of Rights (1960). Human Rights were to be abided by in prosecuting, disciplining and controlling young persons in accordance with the Young Persons Offences Act. Finally, this Act was the first Act directly pertaining to young offenders. Young Persons Offences were no longer provided for under the provisions of the Welfare of Children Act or the Corrections Act. In fact, the Welfare of Children Act (Chapter 190, RSN 1970) was repealed by the Young Persons Offences Act of 1984. (The Young Persons Offences Act of 1984 consolidated elements of the Family Courts

Act (Chapter 122, RSN 1970) and the Welfare of Children Act (Chapter 190, RSN 1970)). Furthermore, it amended the Adult Corrections Act (Chapter 12, 1975), The Child Welfare Act (Chapter 37, 1972), and The Department of Social Services Act (Chapter 31, 1973).)

This new Young Persons Offences Act (Chapter 2, 1984) was introduced to complement the Federal 'Young Offenders Act' (1984), proclaimed by Parliament on April 2, 1984. The Minister of Social Services at the time, Mr. Hickey, stated that his government was not completely in favour of the Federal Government's new policies concerning juveniles. These policies involved the construction of new 'closed custody' facilities for young persons and the incarceration of offenders for "less than serious criminal offences". However he re-iterated government's ongoing concern for the well being of the youth of the Province of Newfoundland and promised to provide programs and services rather than prison time in most instances involving young offenders (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 03/04/84). Yet again, youth deinstitutionalization was apparent.

The Human Rights Code (Chapter 62, 1988)

Newfoundland's first official Human Rights Code (The Newfoundland Human Rights Code) was introduced in 1969 (Chapter 75). Major amendments to this code were made official in a new "Human Rights Code" in 1988 (Chapter 62). The Code was revamped to include more detailed and specific inquiry provisions. These allowed for more efficient and effective processing of complaints to the Human Rights Commission.

An inquiry board would, under the provisions of the 1988 Code, be entitled to enter the premises of those convicted of human rights violations in order to investigate complaints.

The Residential Tenancies Act (Chapter 44, 1988) and (Chapter R-14, 2000)

Revisions to the Landlord and Tenant Act (Chapter 54, 1973) came in the form of the Residential Tenancies Act. This Act contained a larger, more elaborate and detailed "definitions" section but, generally, resembled much of the 1973 Landlord and Tenant Act. Following an Ontario Court ruling concerning provisions that allowed the Regional Tenancies Boards to make rulings on conflicts involving the Act; however, the powers of the Residential Tenancies Boards were deemed 'unconstitutional' and Residential Tenancies Boards were done away with. Problems arising between landlords and tenants would be dealt with in a formal court session, not by Residential Tenancies Boards (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 07/07/88). This Act was again revised in the form of the Residential Tenancies Act (Chapter R-14, 2000) with similar changes to improve overall clarity of the Act. However, a number of significant amendments were made in this most recent version. Rent periods were fixed and landlords were only given permission to increase the rent within the first twelve months of a month-to-month tenancy (protection for students whose term was often for only eight months at a time). Term leases from six months to a year were permitted and the maximum security deposit was increased from one-half a month's rent to three-quarters of a months rent (this allowed for landlords of basement apartments to recuperate some of the damages common in basement apartments specifically) (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard), 04/05/2000).

In Section 3, Subsection 4, entitled "Application of the Act", a list of accommodations, exceptions to which the Residential Tenancies Act would not apply, was provided. These included shelters, hostels, penal institutions, therapeutic homes, cooperatives and boarding homes - accommodations often frequented by the homeless. Therefore, the rights of those individuals who find themselves in the highest category of housing need – those absolutely homeless or at risk of becoming homeless - are not protected under the provisions of this act. Although boarding home residents might pay similar amounts of 'rent' to their 'landlord' as a renting tenant might pay, they are not granted the same protection under provincial law. This increases the vulnerability of such homeless individuals because of the possibility that they could be forced out of their boarding home and would not be protected by any specific Act of legislation. Again, in the situation of boarders, the theme of potential homelessness is evident.

The Liberal Party of Newfoundland regained power in 1989 under Premier Clyde Wells. Very few new Acts of social legislation were introduced during the late 1980s or early 1990s in part because the country was suffering from the effects of economic recession. If new social legislation had been created in a manner similar to the previous period (from 1962 to 1981), it could have resulted in increased social spending at a time when provincial governments across Canada were doing quite the opposite: making cuts to social programs. For example, during the mid 1990s there were deep nation-wide cuts to provincially administered social assistance in a drive to reduce program costs (Lee 2000, Jackson 2001). In addition, the federal system of Unemployment Insurance was changed to a new Employment Insurance program with restricted eligibility and

decreased rates. Many Canadians who had relied on the previous system of Unemployment Insurance (a federal responsibility) then turned to their provincial systems of social assistance, thereby increasing provincial social responsibility (Jackson 2001). But as the end of the twentieth century approached and Canada began its economic recovery, many government departments began conducting legislative reviews. Most importantly, the Social Assistance Act (which hadn't been reviewed in detail since 1977) and the Mental Health Act (which hadn't been reviewed since 1971) were under scrutiny. In addition, these two Government of Newfoundland departments were undergoing reorganization.

In 1996-97 the Departments of Health and Social Services announced changes to their structures and responsibilities. The Department of Social Services was discontinued and replaced with the Department of Human Resources and Employment. This new department, stated Minister Joan Marie Aylward in a 1997 news release, would now focus on "Active human resource development rather than passive income support" (Aylward 1997). It seems the Liberal provincial government of the late 1990s was continuing the trend initiated by the Progressive Conservatives during the 1970s whereby eligibility for social assistance was restricted and a discriminatory approach to social aid was reintroduced.

Changes to the former Department of Social Services were made in an attempt strengthen the link between social policy and economic development. A new Department of Health and Community Services would replace the defunct Department of Health and services would be administered under the direction of Health Boards. The creation of

Health Boards would bring decisions with regards to change in policy or program delivery closer to clients (Coates, personal communication 2002). These changes followed some federal trends established during the late 1980s. As noted earlier (Chapter Two), in 1986 Health and Welfare Canada published an outline for a new national health framework entitled *Achieving Health for All* (Epp 1986) whereby social well-being and economic status were introduced as important factors in achieving and maintaining a healthy lifestyle. This new, more holistic, definition of health included maintaining a home as an important element of health. Moreover, it was characterized by many of the same elements which also now characterize social sustainability. So, it seems that changes to the administration of healthcare in Newfoundland were intended to increase social sustainability.

The Executive Council Act (Chapter E-16.1, 1995)

The above changes to the Departments of Health and Social Services were made official by the Legislature in the Executive Council Act of 1995. Herein, the Department of Social Services and Department of Health Acts were repealed and subsequent regulations outlined the duties and responsibilities of the new Departments: Human Resources and Employment, and Health and Community Services. Although these changes were not explicitly "policy-directed", this transfer of responsibility had some deep repercussions with respect to service and program delivery (Coates, personal communication 2002), which, ironically (considering the aims of these changes were well-intentioned), resulted in increased potential for homelessness.

The Strategic Social Plan: Newfoundland and Labrador (1998)

The Government of Newfoundland released its Strategic Social Plan in 1998 to address the basic social and economic challenges facing the province. The plan, described as an "action framework", focuses on a new form of social policy development that is more integrated, proactive, and concentrated on forming alliances between government agencies, non-government agencies and private enterprises. In 2002, the Department of Health and Community Services released its own Strategic Health Plan.

The Strategic Health Plan stipulates a number of goals, similar to those highlighted in the Strategic Social Plan including improving government accountability and developing partnerships between government and community. Furthermore, it outlines a new approach aimed at improving accessibility and sustainability of health and community services in Newfoundland. This new approach focuses on a number of elements of health care including long-term and supportive services for mental health consumers (Department of Health and Community Services, Strategic Health Plan 2002).

The Child, Youth and Family Services Act (Chapter 12.1, 1998)

The Child, Youth and Family Services Act was introduced in 1998. A Director of Child, Youth and Family Services was established under this Act and a Minister of Health and Community Services was appointed to administer it (this occurred following the departmental reorganizations of 1996-97). Provincial and Regional Directors of Child, Youth and Family Services were also to be appointed. Part 2 of the Act outlined the guiding "Principles" of the policy. One such principle stipulated that all actions taken under the Child, Youth, and Family Services Act must be in the best interests of the child.

Part 3 of the Child, Youth and Family Services Act, entitled "Services and Agreements", changed the way youth would be accommodated 'in care'. It included provisions for agreements of six months in duration between the Director of Child, Youth and Family Services and a social worker with respect to custody and living arrangements of youth. Youth over the age of 16 but under the age of 18 would no longer be confined to accommodation with other youth in care. Rather, they were now able to live in apartments, independent of one another and were again deinstitutionalized. The Child Welfare Act was repealed in the Child, Youth and Family Services Act but many aspects of the previous Act were retained. In general, the new Child, Youth and Family Services Act was reorganized and the importance of family contact (between children 'in care' and their families) was emphasized throughout. The rights of the child were also accented. In addition, no reference was made to detention homes, foster homes or receiving homes. Instead, youth in care were considered to be in the custody of the director and were granted increased independence. And again there was an increased potential for youth homelessness. Finally, the Child, Youth and Family Services Act of 1998 introduced specific Accountability Provisions for the first time. These provisions established an advisory committee that would conduct a review of the Act every two years to establish the effectiveness of the "principles and purpose" of the Act (Child Youth and Family Services Act, Chapter C-12.1, 1998, Section 75, Subsection 1).

The Child and Youth Advocate Act (Chapter C-12.01, 2001)

No new social legislation was introduced between 1998 and 2002. However, on May 13th, 2002, Premier Grimes appointed the first Child and Youth Advocate for the

province of Newfoundland. An accompanying Child and Youth Advocate Act was also proclaimed to outline the duties and responsibilities of the newly appointed Advocate. Duties include, generally, representing the best interests of the children and youth of Newfoundland in all matters that might concern them while at the same time upholding child and youth rights and liberties (Grimes 2002).

Also in 2002, Human Resources and Employment completed an important public consultation phase of its Social Assistance Act legislative review. This consultation process involved the preparation of a discussion paper and feedback from the general public, social assistance recipients, community groups, advocacy groups, strategic social plan steering committees, and departmental staff in the form of a questionnaire and focus groups. Policy-makers wanted to know what the public and interest groups thought about social assistance delivery in Newfoundland. In a statement given by Minister of Human Resources and Employment Julie Betteney in 1999, it was made clear that the Department intended to redesign its income support and employment programs "to provide easier access to our services and programs for the entire population of Newfoundland". Reference was made to the need for "dignified support" and human rights were seen as one of the most important aspects of service delivery to those in financial need (Betteney 1999). So, contrary to the effects of the departmental reorganizations of 1996, the new legislation concerning social assistance would include more universal and non-discriminatory provisions. This is another example of the provincial government's wavering, and sometimes contradictory, commitment to discriminatory versus non-discriminatory social assistance.

Specific feedback from each of the community groups, social assistance recipients, advocacy groups, strategic social plan steering committees and departmental staff were not released independently of one another. Rather public feedback from the consultation process (from questionnaires and focus groups) was released in an aggregate manner and revealed several important inadequacies of the social assistance program. Respondents stressed the need for more money for expenditures such as laundry, furniture, "personal and social" expenditures, nutritional food, and, finally, housing. Moreover they suggested that Human Resources and Employment was ignoring many of the housing concerns of social assistance recipients. They stressed the need for "safe, adequate housing" and favoured "a broad, long-term vision for the delivery of income support" and a "collaborative approach to addressing issues that transcend departmental boundaries, such as poverty, violence, youth at risk and unemployment". Furthermore, a more seamless system of service provision was called for so individuals would not be lost through cracks in the system. A continuum of supports was suggested between the services provided by Health and Community Services, The Department of Justice, The Department of Education, the Newfoundland Housing Corporation, Youth Services and Post-Secondary Education and Human Resources and Employment (Government of Newfoundland 2002).

Respondents to the social assistance survey emphasized the need to re-consider mental illness in social assistance legislation. They suggested that mental illness should be considered a disability and that benefits to those suffering from it should reflect this.

Terms such as "equality" and "inclusion" were used when discussing individuals with disabilities.

Respondents also worried about confusion resulting from the departmental re-organizations of 1996-97, stressing the need for clear public notification of the changing responsibilities of the Departments of Human Resources and Employment and Health and Community Services (Government of Newfoundland 2002).

Participants believed that housing should be further emphasized in social policy; indeed, that housing should be a right of social assistance recipients. They put forth ideas for several 'housing initiatives'. These included funding for single adults accommodations, increased partnering and communication with NLHC and, generally, an overall increase in financing for shelter (Government of Newfoundland 2002).

Overview

By the middle of the 1980s, the fast-paced amendments to and creation of legislation of the previous two decades had slowed. A troubled economy coupled with a Conservative government had affected policy-making throughout Canada and social spending was significantly reduced. Aside from the Young Persons Offences Act of 1984 (Chapter 2), which changed the delivery and administration of correctional services to children and youth, there was little social policy innovation in Newfoundland until the end of the 1990s.

By the early 1990s, there had been significant social and cultural changes in Newfoundland. The collapse of the cod fishery and the economic recession of 1990-91 led to important changes in the demographics of both rural and urban areas. Although

during the mid-1990s throughout Canada, cuts to provincial social assistance were made in an effort to reduce program costs (Jackson 2001, Lee 2000), nonetheless, employment and training programs were implemented by the Liberal government to address the rise in unemployment caused by the cod moratorium which was put in place in 1992.

During this period the provincial government continued to waver in its commitment to non-discriminatory social assistance. Ottawa's 1992 policy initiative, the Northern Cod Adjustment and Recovery Program (NCARP) – known locally as "the package" - included provisions for natural resource management and educational programs for re-training of former fisher persons in Newfoundland (Hardy, Cox and Hawkins 1993). The NCARP was a perfect example of self-help oriented, discriminatory policy. If fisher persons were to take advantage of the economic assistance provided under the program, they would have to participate in some form of training or work-related venture provided by the government. But this program was short-lived and administered entirely by the federal government. In 1994 the federal Department of Fisheries and Oceans and Human Resources and Development Canada announced the introduction of The Atlantic Groundfish Strategy (or TAGS), which replaced NCARP. Although TAGS was developed and implemented by the federal government, several aspects of its administration were shared with the Atlantic Canada Opportunities Agency (ACOA) and the Province of Newfoundland. Again, one main element of the TAGS program was obligatory participation in work-related ventures. Perhaps this emphasis on re-training influenced the establishment of the new Department of Human Resources and

Employment in 1996/97 and the accompanying lurch toward discriminatory social assistance provision, as mentioned earlier.

Social policy continues to evolve. The release of the Strategic Social Plan in 1998 and the Strategic Health Plan in 2002 and the introduction of the Child, Youth and Family Services Act in 1998 (Chapter 12.1) represented a new direction of provincial social policy. This new policy is guided by a series of 'principles' with a continued emphasis on human rights and a new emphasis on public accountability. In addition, in 2002 a Child and Youth Advocate was appointed by the Premier and a Child and Youth Advocate Act (Chapter C-12.01, 2001) was proclaimed. However, it remains too early to tell what effects that the resulting amended legislation might have.So far, this chapter has examined federal and provincial social policy as they relate to homelessness. The focus will now turn to the main themes of municipal social policy and the services provided by government and non-government agencies to address homelessness in St. John's.

4.2.4 Municipal Social Policy and Homelessness in St. John's

Homelessness in St. John's, as in the rest of Canada, has been attributed to a wide variety of factors (IHRD Group 2001, Edmonton Coalition on Homelessness 1987). However, the particular economic history of Newfoundland since Confederation has led to high levels of unemployment throughout the province. The Newfoundland Heritage Web Site Project (Memorial University of Newfoundland and The C.R.B. Foundation 1997) writes:

...in spite of heavy dependence on transfer payments from Ottawa, throughout the last half-century Newfoundland's economy has been characterized by low average incomes and high levels of unemployment. The fish that attracted Europeans here in the first place have been shipped to the United States after only minimal processing, and the vast resources of the Grand Banks have been exploited by a highly mechanized foreign industry.

The cod moratorium which was imposed in 1992, and which remains in place today has had detrimental effects on the population of rural Newfoundland and on the unemployment rate. A record number of Newfoundlanders moved to other provinces in the mid 1990s. Newfoundland lost 23,000 people to inter-provincial out-migration between 1991 and 1996 (Statistics Canada 2000). Even in 2002, approximately 3000 people, many young, well-educated and skilled, left Newfoundland in search of employment opportunities, increased wages and better benefits in other Canadian provinces (Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour 2003). Dramatic rural-urban migration has led to an increasing urbanization of the Newfoundland population. In 1981, 27% of the population of the province of Newfoundland resided in its capital city, St. John's. By 2003 this figure had grown to 35% - an increase in urban population of 8% in 22 years.

Rural-urban migration "puts enormous pressure on the urban areas to which [people] are migrating, in terms of education, social housing, health care, and other services" (Newfoundland and Labrador Federation of Labour 2003:7). A decreasing supply of affordable rental units and boarding homes has led to a decrease in the vacancy

rate for rental properties in Newfoundland from 15.4% in 1997 to 3.2% in 2001 and in St.

John's from 8.8% in 1993 to 2.0% in 2003. A stay on funding for the construction of

new social housing by Canada's housing agency, CMHC, in 1993 has affected the city of

St. John's (CMHC 2002, NLHC, personal communication 2001).

The City of St. John's does not play a large role in the provision of social housing.

Nor does it administer any other aspects of social policy. Rather, the municipality is

mainly responsible for the regulation of housing standards. As stated in the introduction

of this chapter, the city of St. John's represents the planning stage upon which the effects

of a number of federal and provincially administered policies and programs are played

out. The following discussion examines municipal social policy as it relates to

homelessness.

All municipalities in Newfoundland are regulated under the provincial Urban and

Rural Planning Act, 2000 (Chapter U-8, SNL 2000). This Act dictates the power of

Newfoundland municipalities to design their own municipal plans. It stipulates the

breadth and legislative limits of such plans. The City of St. John's is regulated

specifically by the City of St. John's Act (Chapter C-17, RSNL 1990). This legislation

outlines the operational guidelines for the municipality and gives Council permission to

regulate a large number of activities in the city. The aspects of these two municipally-

centred provincial Acts of legislation most relevant to homelessness are limited to the

planning, inspection and regulation of housing in St. John's. However, more specific

reference to housing is made in the St. John's Municipal Plan. In addition, by-laws

directed at regulating a number of different aspects of housing in St. John's are enforced by the city.

The first St. John's Municipal Plan was adopted on January 18th, 1984. Before the plan was introduced, the control of development in the city was governed by zoning by-laws and subdivision regulations. There was no explicit documentation of the long-term goals for development within St. John's. The current St. John's Municipal Plan (revised in 1990 and consolidated in 1994) outlines formal policy objectives concerning land-use, physical development, and design. It is the legal framework for development within the city. The Plan is designed in accordance with the provisions of the Urban and Rural Planning Act. Although it must take into account studies on communication needs, public services, and social services, the Plan does not specifically administer or regulate social services.

The City's responsibility for housing its residents is outlined in Part 2 of the Plan, entitled "Community Development – Objectives and Policies". Part 2 consists of the general policy objectives that relate to development regulations and the general land-use plan. Social concerns addressed in this section include: housing, public areas, recreational facilities and transportation – all of which are important elements to socially sustainable cities. Section 1 of Part 2, entitled "Housing", outlines the importance of housing to the quality of life of city residents. The city's policies relating to housing include the provision of adequate land, increasing the supply of city housing, social housing, infill housing, residential rehabilitation and proper zoning to meet the city's housing needs. In addition, the Plan highlights the city's commitment to working with

both the federal and provincial governments to improve the overall quality and availability of social housing. Moreover, it stipulates the implementation of zoning control strategies that will protect residents from the effects of non-residential activities such as traffic and industry and states the city's duty to conduct regular property inspections in an attempt to improve the overall quality of the city's housing stock.

Several aspects of regulation are relevant to the presence of homelessness in St. John's. According to a number of experts – representatives of agencies which provide services to the homeless such as the Department of Human Resources and Employment, Carew Lodge, Status of Women's Council – many of those at risk of becoming homeless reside in boarding houses (sometimes referred to as lodging houses). Often, these boarding houses are unsuitable or unsafe. The City of St. John's is responsible for licensing and regulating the operation of these boarding houses under its Lodging House By-Law (No. 1351). This by-law regulates the number of persons permitted to board in such an establishment (between 5 and 16). It states that no one can operate a boarding house without a licence granted by the city. Furthermore, it states that in order to obtain such a licence, that safety, building, sanitary and a number of other standards must be strictly adhered to under the provisions of the City of St. John's Act and its accompanying by-laws.

If such by-laws exist, why are there claims of the existence of unfit, unsafe and unregulated boarding houses in the City of St. John's? Many believe that boarders often fear eviction. Others state that upon notice of inspection, some boarding house operators ask a number of residents to vacate the property while the inspection takes place, after

which point they are free to return (upon the granting of a licence or until nuisances are abated). The municipal regulatory process is thereby by-passed. The situation of boarding house regulation, a long-standing issue in the City, will be examined in greater detail in the following Chapters.

An additional by-law that relates to homelessness in St. John's deals with heritage conservation. The Heritage By-Law (No. 622) is indirectly linked to the issue of homelessness in St. John's because it defines a "Heritage Conservation Area"(HCA) located in a central area traditionally considered to be an area of low-income (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming) – where a number of boarding houses are concentrated and where it is thought that many people at risk of becoming homeless can be found. An HCA designation often has the effect of increasing housing prices in such an area. Has this occurred in St. John's? What effect might the presence of this HCA have on the availability of affordable housing and therefore homelessness in the central part of the city? This will also be examined in the following chapters.

4.2.5 Profile of Homelessness in St. John's

At any point in their lives, individual homeless persons can be affected by a variety of government policies through the services they depend on for support. In St. John's, services such as mental health community care programs, social housing, employment and counselling services, and probation are all regulated by provincial (and some limited municipal) legislation. As noted earlier, critics argue that it could be of

benefit to these individuals if there was in existence a continuum of supports and a more coordinated series of policies under which various supports could operate. Another solution could be through the *delivery* of programs and services. By making access to services and programs more open and transparent, all levels of government could avoid duplication of services and clients could bypass unnecessary confusion regarding policy and procedure. For example, all St. John's Municipal Government services can now be accessed online or by a 24-hour call centre called 'Access St. John's'. Although there are no services provided specifically for the homeless by the city, the mandate of this service is to provide the citizens of St. John's with "simple, easy access to any department, division or information" that they require (City of St. John's 2002). Persons in need of social housing in the city, for example, would be quite simply referred to the city's non-profit housing agency, Urban Living. Access St. John's is a model of service delivery that could possibly be applied to the network of agencies providing services to the homeless in St. John's.

The Establishment of Agencies Providing Services for the Homeless

As stated earlier, between 1962 and 1981 there was a boom in provincial legislation creation and change. Immediately following this period there was a similar increase in the number of new agencies established to address homelessness in the City of St. John's (and in some cases, throughout the province) and a decrease in the introduction of new legislation (See Table 3 - timeline of agency establishment). Only four of the 28 agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis were established before 1978. Twenty-four were established between 1978 and 2001. It is important to note that this period

Table 3: Timeline of Agency Establishment

Time period	Date of Establishment	Agency	Mandate/Function	Government/Non-Government/Para-Government	Funding	Acts under legislation
Pre-'64	Late 50s – Early 60s	CCP	Accommodation	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
65-69	1967	NLHC	Accommodation	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
70-74	1972	SWC	Advocacy/Education	Para-governmental	Provincial/Charity	No
75-79	1975	DOC	Deinstitutionalization	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
	1978	SFF	Accommodation	Para-governmental	Provincial	Yes
	1979	EH	Accommodation	Non-governmental	Charity	No
80-84	1981	IKH	Accommodation	Para-governmental	Provincial/Charity	No
	1982	UL	Accommodation	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
	Early '80s	SAFB	Food Aid	Non-governmental	Charity	No
	1982	UCFA	Food Aid	Non-governmental	Charity	No
	1983	NFC	Advocacy/Education	Non-governmental	Provincial/Federal/Charity	No
	1984	FCP	Accommodation	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
	1984	ANC	Advocacy/Education	Para-governmental	Provincial/Federal/Charity	No
85-89	1986	SAWC	Accommodation	Non-governmental	Provincial/Charity	No
	1986	BMC	Advocacy/Education	Non-governmental	Provincial/Federal	Yes
	1988	ACNL	Advocacy/Education	Non-governmental	Federal/Charity	No
	1989	SRC	Advocacy/Education	Non-governmental	Provincial/Federal/Charity	No
90-94	1990	CFY	Accommodation	Para-governmental	Provincial/Charity	Yes
	1991	CHANNAL	Deinstitutionalization	Non-governmental	Provincial/Charity	No
	1992	CSC	Deinstitutionalization	Governmental	Federal	Yes
	1994	CHH	Accommodation	Non-governmental	Charity	No
	1994	VJH	Advocacy/Education	Non-governmental	Charity	No
	1994	MHAS	Deinstitutionalization	Governmental	Provincial/Federal	Yes
95-99	1996	MHCC	Deinstitutionalization	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
	1997	HCS	Deinstitutionalization	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
	1997	HRE	Income Support	Governmental	Provincial	Yes
	1999	CACH	Advocacy/Education	Para-governmental	Federal	No
2000 -	2001	CL	Accommodation	Para-governmental	Provincial/Federal/Charity	No

coincides with the reported 'rise' in homelessness in Newfoundland and Labrador. Could the increase in agency establishment be in recognition of, or in response to, the phenomenon of homelessness in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador? Had the burst of 'new' legislation somehow encouraged the establishment of agencies? These questions will be addressed in the following chapter.

Figures 2 through 5 illustrate the complexity of the web of provincial legislation and social agencies that homeless persons in St. John's must navigate to obtain sufficient support so that they might exit the state of homelessness and maintain safe, adequate, affordable housing. In Figure 2, legislation and agencies that could affect the life of a seventeen-year-old homeless youth are illustrated. This youth, unwilling to return home to his family, has been released from a Juvenile Correctional Institution and has been put on probation according to the provisions of the Young Offenders Act. In his search for adequate accommodations, he has found help with 'Choices for Youth', a community agency facilitating independent living (mostly in apartments or bed-sitters) for youth between the ages of sixteen and eighteen. Choices for Youth is governed in part by the Child, Youth and Family Services Act and is funded by the provincial Department of Health and Community Services. This organization often acts as the first step towards independent living for youth. Many youth walk in off the street inquiring about its services having heard about Choices by word of mouth. In order to attain his new apartment, the youth signed a lease with his new landlord. His rights, in addition to the rights of the landlord, are governed by the Residential Tenancies Act. Finally, the youth has decided to attend the Brother T.I. Murphy Centre to complete his high school

Education Act (Attends high school at BMC)   Social Assistance Act

                                                   ▼

                                                   financial assistance

                        ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                        │   17-Year Old Homeless Youth   │
                        │   │
Young Offenders Act (probation)   │
                        └─────────────────────────────────┘
                                            ▲   ◄─── Residential Tenancies Act

                                                              ▼

                           Governs 'CFY'   rents housing with CFY

                                ▲

                    Child, Youth and Family Services Act

                                ▲

                    Health and Community Services Act
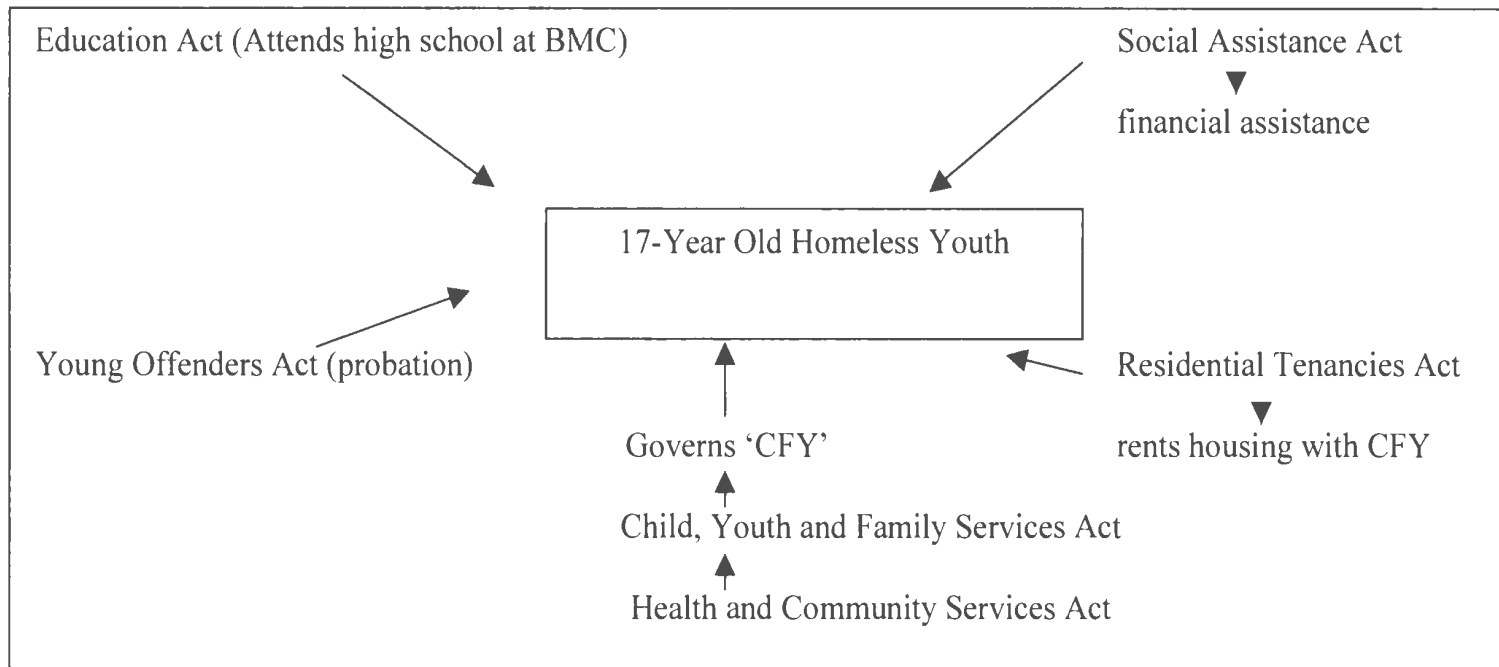
Figure 2: Possible Legislation Affecting a 17-Year-Old Homeless Youth
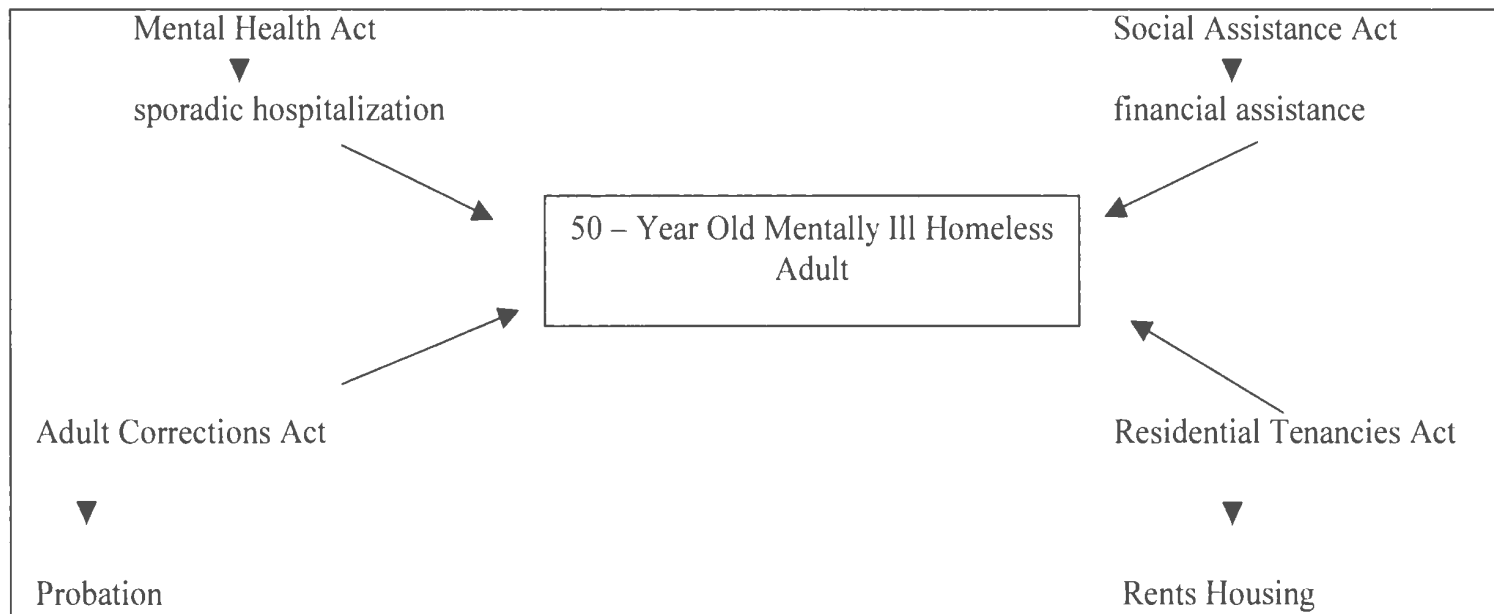
Figure 3: Possible Legislation Affecting a 50-Year-Old Mentally Ill Homeless Adult

Health and Community Services Act   Social Assistance Act
        ▼   ▼
    drug rehab services   financial assistance & emergency services

                        ┌─────────────────────────────────┐
                        │   75 – Year Old Homeless Senior with   │
                        │   Addictions Issues   │
                        └─────────────────────────────────┘
                                        ▲
                                        │

                                    NLHC Act
                                        ▼
                            resides in public housing
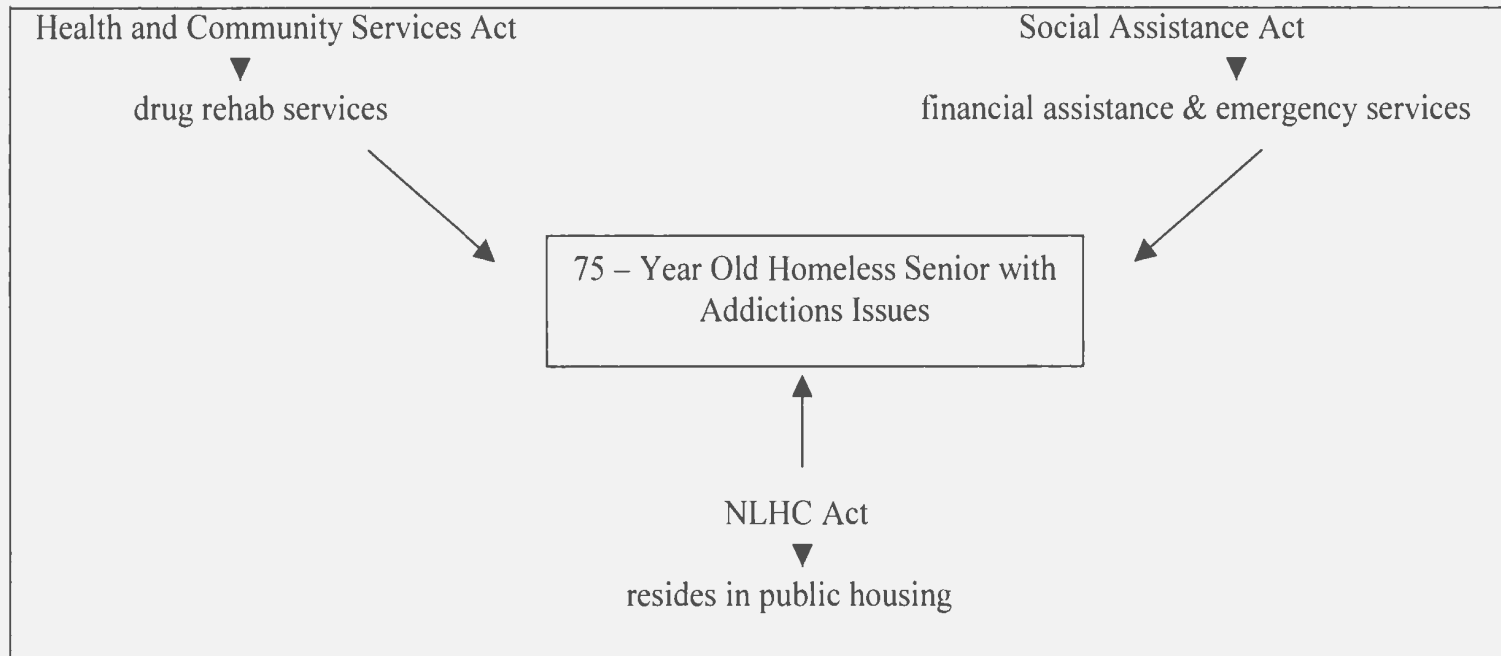
Figure 4: Possible Legislation Affecting a 75 -Year Old Homeless Senior with Addictions Issues

Health and Community Services Act
▼
Child, Youth and Family Services Act
▼
child 'in care'

Social Assistance Act
▼
financial assistance & emergency services

35 – Year Old Homeless Single Mother

Young Offenders Act
▼
child on probation

Residential Tenancies Act
▼
tenant in rental housing
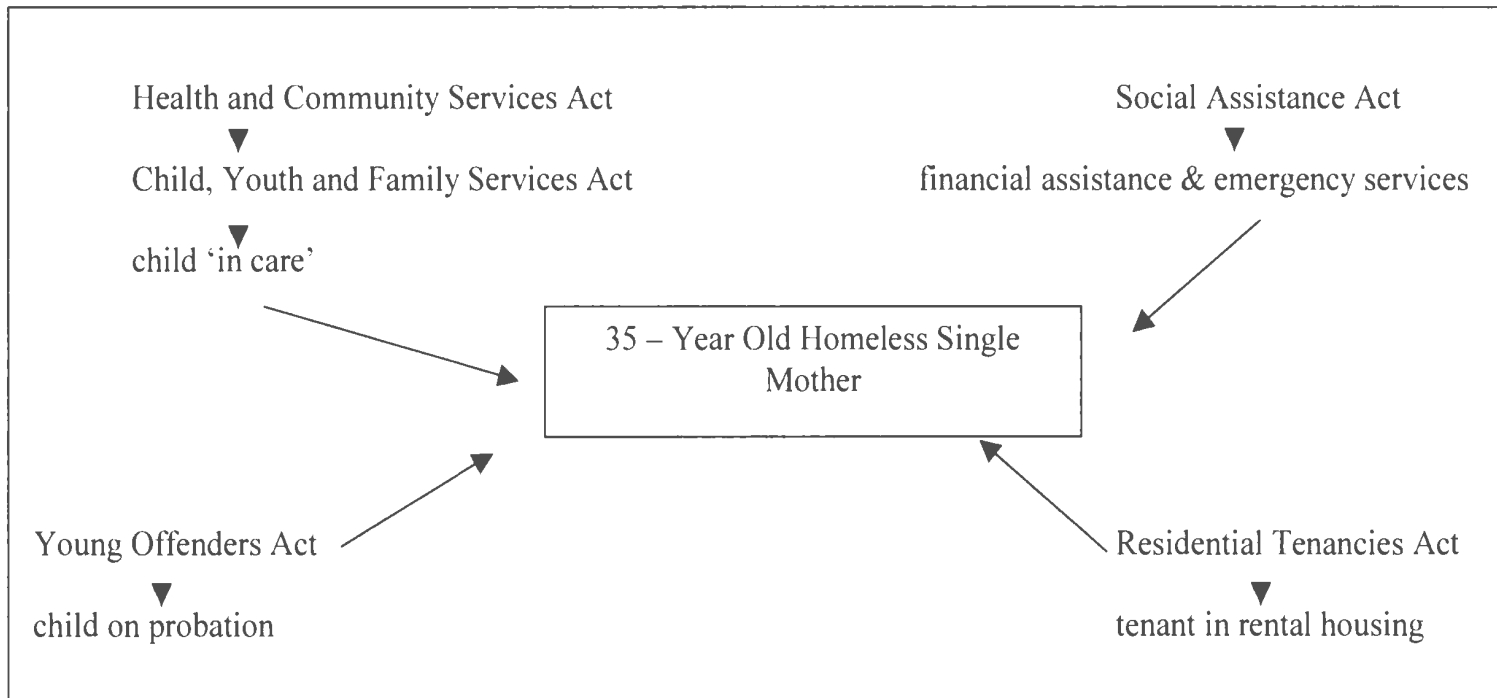
Figure 5: Possible Legislation Affecting a 35 – Year Old Homeless Single Mother

education. The high school education program offered by the Brother T.I. Murphy Centre is governed by the Education Act.

In total, the youth in Figure 2 is influenced by six Acts of provincial legislation through the work of three agencies. The individuals described in Figures 3-5 are also influenced by this variety in agencies and legislation. Because their lives are completely different from the life of the youth described above (different gender, sexual orientation, family life, age, and accommodations available), the Acts pertaining to these specific individuals are dissimilar and fall under different government departments. The complexity of legislation and of agencies providing services to the homeless in St. John's is clearly apparent. If indeed there is a lack of cooperation and coordination between departments and agencies of the Government of Newfoundland, does this makes the lives of the homeless or those 'at risk' of becoming homeless increasingly difficult? Moreover, have organizations like Choices for Youth arisen to fill an identified need – the gap in services and access to services between government policies and the public?

4.3 Overview: Social Policy and Homelessness in St. John's

4.3.1 Federal Social Policy and Homelessness in St. John's

Homelessness in Canada is attributed to a number of factors including deinstitutionalization, which occurred for the most part during the 1960s and 1970s, and

was driven first by federal legislation. Canada's Bill of Rights was introduced in 1960 and the current Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms was enacted in 1982. Canada's National Housing Act is another important piece of Federal legislation concerned with homelessness (national housing policy was discussed in detail in Chapter 3). Many academics and housing experts believe that a decreasing availability of social housing has created an increased potential for homelessness in Canadian cities. In 1996 CMHC signed devolution agreements with all provinces, downloading social housing responsibilities to provincial or municipal control (CMHC 1997). Section 28.1 of the CMHC Act provided for this funding termination in subsection (2) entitled "agreements". Under this subsection, CMHC was given the power to transfer any "powers" or "liabilities" to other provincial housing corporations. This was another policy-related link to the theme of potential homelessness. Under fiscal restraint and declining federal transfers, Newfoundland is attempting to find ways of coping with their increased responsibilities for social housing. What will this mean for individuals who are at risk of becoming homeless? What will it mean for those who are already experiencing homelessness?

What, if any, effect has the evolution of *provincial* legislation had on the emergence of homelessness in St. John's?

4.3.2 Provincial Social Policy and Homelessness in St. John's

There is no consolidated social policy directly aimed at alleviating homelessness in Newfoundland, nor is there any direct reference to homelessness in any of the Acts of legislation reviewed above. Even the provision of shelter is included in Newfoundland social policy in a fragmented fashion.

When considering the legislative periods characterized in this chapter, it is important to note the approximate time period of the rise in homelessness in St. John's. This increase is commonly thought to have occurred within the last 10 to 20 years (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001). However, homelessness in Newfoundland was not unheard of before this period, having been mentioned by a concerned member of the House of Assembly during the second reading of the Neglected Adults Welfare Act (Chapter 81, 1973) (Province of Newfoundland Verbatim Report (Hansard). 26/04/73).

One important element in the relationship between social policy and homelessness in Newfoundland is the wavering sense of social responsibility within and between government departments and agencies. Social assistance legislation, which hadn't undergone any complete revision since 1977, is still focused on employment, as opposed to social aid. Moreover, there is no longer a Department of 'Social' Services. Instead, the newly formed Human Resources and Employment has been given the responsibility of administering the provisions outlined in the Social Assistance Act (Chapter 102, 1977)

and encouraging and implementing a variety of human resources and employment programming. The Social Assistance Act (Chapter 102, 1977) has endured scrutiny by the public. Criticisms include inadequate rates of social assistance and lack of concern for housing issues. Some members of the public criticized the Government's attempts to link social assistance with employment initiatives, while others did not. Clearly, it is important to recognize that both the public and government are equally divided concerning discriminatory versus non-discriminatory assistance.

In addition, the Mental Health Act (Chapter 80, 1971), which hasn't undergone a complete review in more than 30 years and has which an immense impact on many homeless individuals in St. John's, is currently under review. Both the departmental reorganizations and legislative changes were in part expressions of changing levels of government commitment. However, it must be recognized that the departmental reorganizations and their accompanying evolving mandates were well intentioned. The roles and responsibilities of government departments were changed in order to focus on those particular subgroups of society who were in greatest need.

We have seen the proliferation of legislation over time. This was an evolution from the huge omnibus Acts of the 1950s to the small, specific Acts of the present. The fallout from this evolution has been confusing and often the information regarding the changes has often been inadequately disseminated. Furthermore, there has been a lack of assessment of the impact of policy change. For example, homelessness has become a defined issue in Newfoundland within the past 20 years, yet provincial social legislation has not responded to it.

Decreasing involvement of the federal government in social housing has not yet been accounted for in provincial legislation. No new policy has been designed to deal with the increased burden of social housing maintenance and construction. Finally, recent changes to child welfare legislation in the Child, Youth and Family Services Act (Chapter 12.1, 1998) have granted increased independence to youth and this has led to another form of deinstitutionalization. Emancipated youth are now able to leave 'care' of the Director of Child, Youth and Family Services at the age of sixteen. However, to be fair, legislative change is an intricate and involved process. It cannot respond immediately to societal problems at the rate at which they arise.

To further examine this lag in legislative change, the explanation of the *process* of legislative change described earlier in this chapter can be re-visited (See Figure 1, page 65). Upon consideration of the time that passes between issue definition (whereby the public and other policy-makers define an issue that must be addressed in legislation) and decision-making, two observations can be made. First, perhaps the perception of homelessness, as an issue worthy of policy-change, has not yet reached policy-makers at the provincial level. Second, maybe a decision has not yet been made regarding changes to the old, or formulation of new, legislation. The issue of homelessness has, therefore, either not yet reached a critical proportion in the minds of policy-makers or a decision has already been made to change nothing because homelessness is already being addressed, piece by piece, in the Acts of legislation already in place or by community agencies. For example, the Wiseman Centre (a shelter for single men in St. John's) often has a significant number of vacancies (Human Resources and Employment, personal

communication 2001). Perhaps, to policy-makers, this is one indicator that there is no immediate homelessness problem in the city of St. John's. It is important to note, however, that the Wiseman Centre is a shelter for men only. In fact, the Department of Human Resources and Employment often has difficulty finding appropriate emergency shelter for women in St. John's (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001). Also, many men with significant social problems cannot live within the rules and regulations imposed by the Wiseman Centre (Salvation Army Wiseman Centre, personal communication 2001). For this reason, many men in St. John's may be homeless but may not be accessing its services.

The Government of Newfoundland has already declared its intent to provide a more seamless, integrated social policy in its 'Strategic Social Plan' (SSP) of 1998. However, during the review of the Social Assistance Act in 2002, the public criticized the government for not providing enough cooperation and coordination between different Departments and levels of government. The SSP details a series of commitments to community development and the formation of partnerships with other agencies as a means of addressing constraints on the provision of social programming. However, there have been no specific public accountability provisions worked into the Strategic Social Plan, nor any mention of legislative reform. The SSP is a guideline – a policy-framework that dictates the general direction of government policy. Unlike legislation, the plan is not law.

It has been suggested that a more seamless coordination of social programs and policies would benefit the homeless (Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force 1999).

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How does this lack of coordination affect homeless persons? This will be discussed in the following chapters.

Homelessness in St. John's has arisen for a variety of interrelated reasons. These include socio-economic factors such as the cod moratorium, the limited eligibility criteria to access social assistance, and inadequate rates for social assistance (regulated by provincial social legislation), and, the process of deinstitutionalization in Newfoundland - supported by amendments to various Acts of legislation (for example, the Mental Health Act in 1971).

This chapter has examined provincial and municipal social policy as it relates to homelessness in St. John's. It has identified a period of marked legislative change influenced by human rights followed by a period of the creation of agencies which provide services to the homeless in the City. The focus will now turn to a discussion of these services: the system of supports provided by government and non-government agencies to address homelessness in St. John's.

CHAPTER FIVE: CITY OF ST. JOHN'S – SERVICE AGENCIES FOR THE

HOMELESS: THE SYSTEM OF SUPPORTS

5.1 Introduction

Chapters 5, 6, and 7 present material gathered from the fieldwork – interviews with service agencies for the homeless in St. John's (See Appendix I – Interview Schedule and Appendix III – Agency Acronyms). This chapter introduces and examines the agencies that make up the system of supports that provide services to the homeless or those at risk of becoming homeless in St. John's, Newfoundland. It outlines the types of services provided by each agency, the geographic area within which services operate, funding sources, mandates, and the relationships between the agencies and the municipal, provincial and federal governments.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, agencies were chosen from the list of 'resource assets' presented in IHRD's 2001 *Community Plan for Addressing Homelessness in St. John's*. The Community Plan's list of assets provided basic descriptive data concerning "the more prominent programs and services in the City of St. John's that address homelessness issues, or, issues that are related to homelessness" (IHRD 2001, Appendix 11.0:1). They, therefore, provide services to the homeless themselves (such as emergency shelter or transitional housing), thereby addressing "homelessness issues" or services related to homelessness (such as food aid, income support, or education), thereby addressing "issues that are related to homelessness". Although the list of resource assets

in the report was intended to be comprehensive, IHRD expressed concern that a number

of agencies could have been unintentionally left off their list.

In total, 60 programs and services were listed in IHRD's report. Sixteen of these

60 agencies were not included in this study because they have duplicate or crossover

mandates, target populations and relationships with government. Nineteen others were

unable to participate in the study because of time constraints or previous commitments.

In addition, the Status of Women's Council, Correctional Services Canada and the

Provincial Department of Justice were omitted from IHRD's resource assets but were

deemed relevant in addressing homelessness and so they were added to the list of

agencies participating in this study. The 28 agencies that did participate in the study are

considered to be representative of the range of mandates, target populations and

relationships with government across the 60 agencies identified from IHRD's resource

assets.

Quotes are used from the gathered qualitative interview data in the following

chapters (Chapters 6 and 7) to elucidate understanding of the issues addressed by the

participating agencies. They provide important depth and detail to information about the

nature of the agencies themselves, the individuals working for the agencies, and the

clients served by the agencies.

The agency profiles that follow have been divided into categories based on their

mandates. These are as follows: Accommodation, Income Support,

Deinstitutionalization, Food Aid and Advocacy/Information/Education. The agencies

included in the first category, **Accommodation**, provide a number of housing related

services such as emergency shelter, social housing and supportive or transitional housing. The **Income Support** category includes one agency – the only agency providing direct income support in Newfoundland. Agencies in the third category –

Deinstitutionalization – are concerned with re-mediating the effects of the phenomenon of deinstitutionalization. They address corrections and mental health issues. **Food Aid** agencies are identified in the fourth category and the fifth and final category includes agencies providing **Advocacy**, **Information** or **Education**-related services. It is important to note that the categories themselves are not exhaustive but that they represent the main types of agencies providing services to the homeless in St. John's. In addition, some agencies provide a number of different services and could, therefore, be classified in a number of categories simultaneously. These agencies will be identified as such.

In addition to their mandates, agencies have been classified according to their relationships to government. They have been identified as non-government, para-government or government agencies in an attempt to examine the reasons behind the proliferation of these agencies in recent years and to examine their emergence in terms of increased government downloading, public participation, human rights oriented legislation, and demographic diversification of the homeless.

Agencies are considered to be **non-governmental** if they meet the following criteria:

- Often receive short-term grants from government

- Operate independently of government

Agencies are considered to be **para-governmental** if they meet the following criteria:

- Receive stable government operational funding but also rely on volunteers, grants and supportive funds in an ad hoc manner

- Operate independently of government

Governmental agencies are funded and administered directly by government.

The agencies interviewed are described in detail below and summarized in Tables 4-8.

5.2 Accommodation

Table 4 outlines the main features of the eleven agencies providing accommodation to the homeless or to those at risk of becoming homeless. These agencies include the provincial agency responsible for social housing in Newfoundland and Labrador (Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation), the City's Housing Agency (Urban Living), Cabot Habitat for Humanity (a charity), the Salvation Army Wiseman Centre (a shelter for homeless men), the Carew Lodge (supportive social housing administered by the United-Church-based 'Stella Burry Corporation'), The Family Care Program and Community Care Program of the Health Care Corporation of St. John's (services for persons with mental illness), Iris Kirby House (an emergency shelter women - victims of domestic violence, and their children), Elizabeth House (a shelter for pregnant women), St. Francis Foundation (a transitional, supportive housing program for youth between the ages of 12 and 16), and Choices for Youth (a supportive housing program for youth between the ages of 16 and 18).

Table 4: Profiles of agencies providing **ACCOMMODATION** for the homeless in St. John's, Newfoundland

Founding Date	Agency Name	Geog. Area	Target Clients	Funding	Legislation	Mandate
Late 1950s – early 1960s	Community Care Program of the Mental Health Program with the Health Care Corporation of St. John's (CCP[1])	St.John's Region	Single adults with severe and persistent mental illness	Health Care Corporation of St. John's (HCS – Provincial)	Health and Community Services Act	Provide supportive housing to adults with severe and persistent mental illness
1967	Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC)	Newfound-land and Labrador	People in 'core income need'	Province	Residential Tenancies Act, Housing Act, NLHC Act	To work with clients, organizations and communities in delivering effective. efficient and integrated response as to meet the social housing needs of the people of Newfoundland and Labrador
1978	St. Francis Foundation (SFF)	St. John's Region	Young people aged 12-18 'in care' of the Division of Child, Youth and Family Services or in open custody under the provisions of the Young Persons Offences Act	Province – HCS and Charity	Child, Youth and Family Services Act, Young Persons Offences Act	Provide residential and support services to young people and families
1979	Elizabeth House (EH)	St. John's Region	Pregnant women	Fundraising, Donations	None	Provide a shelter for

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[1] Agency acronyms are listed in Appendix III

Founding Date	Agency Name	Geog. Area	Target Clients	Funding	Legislation	Mandate
						pregnant women as an alternative to abortion
1981	Iris Kirby House (IKH)	St. John's Region	Abused women and children	Province – HCS and Charity	None	Provide shelter, non-judgmental support, advocacy and referral services to abused women and their children
1982	St. John's Non-Profit Housing Division – Urban Living (UL)	City of St. John's	Low and middle income earners	Province – NLHC	Residential Tenancies Act, Housing Act, NLHC Act	To provide adequate and affordable housing in St. John's
1984	Family Care Program of the Mental Health Program with the Health Care (FCP) Corporation of St. John's	City of St. John's	Individuals 19 years of age or older who have a psychiatric illness or dual diagnosis who have an attending physician and are willing to follow up treatment	Health Care Corporation of St. John's (HCS – Provincial) provides staff salaries, Clients – HCS St. John's and HRE (Provincial)	Mental Health Act, Neglected Adults Welfare Act, Child Youth and Family Services Act (depending on age)	Provide long-term supportive boarding home arrangements in St. John's for clients with mental health concerns.
1986	Salvation Army Wiseman Centre (SAWC)	St. John's Region	Single men (aged 18-65) with no accommodation	Province – HRE and Salvation Army	None	Accommodation (bed, meals, laundry service, chapel service) for men in need of a shelter
1990	Choices for Youth (CFY)	St. John's Region	Young people aged 16-18 who require supportive housing	Province – HCS and fundraising	Health and Community Services Act, Child, Youth and Family Services Act	Provide independent supportive housing for young people in need
1994	Cabot Habitat	St. John's	Working poor	Fund-	None	To work with

Founding Date	Agency Name	Geog. Area	Target Clients	Funding	Legislation	Mandate
	for Humanity (CHH)	and Mt. Pearl	($20000.00 - $30000/year income)	raising and corporate sponsorship		partner families and the community to build affordable housing for families in core need
2001	Carew Lodge (Stella Burry Corporation) (CL)	St. John's Region	People involved with institutions: people out of jail, out of hospital, off the streets	Federal, province (HCS, HRE), United Church, Donations	None	Inclusion, full citizenship, rights to having a home, job, education and healthcare (Carew Lodge is a low-income residential centre)

Table 5: Profiles of agencies providing **INCOME SUPPORT** for the homeless in St. John's, Newfoundland

Founding Date	Agency Name	Geog. Area	Target Clients	Funding	Legislation	Mandate
1997	Department of Human Resources and Employment (HRE)	Newfoundland and Labrador	Anyone in need of employment services or income support	Province of Newfoundland and Labrador	Provincial Social Assistance Act	Administration of social assistance and employment programs

Table 6: Profiles of agencies addressing the effects of **DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION**

Founding Date	Agency Name	Geog. Area	Target Clients	Funding	Legislation	Mandate
1975	Department of Justice, Division of Corrections (DOC)	Newfound-land and Labrador	Adult offenders over 18 years of age on probation or serving a provincial conditional sentence	Province of Newfoundland and Labrador	Provincial Adult Corrections Act, Criminal Code of Canada	Making sure that the offenders comply with conditions issued by court, protecting the public, directing offenders to rehabilitation
1991	CHANNAL (Consumers' Health Awareness Network Newfoundland and Labrador)	Newfound-land and Labrador	Consumers of mental health services in Newfoundland and Labrador	Provincial grant (HCS), donations	None	Provide education and support to consumers of mental health services, and advocacy
National Parole Board est. 1959, CSC est. 1992	Correctional Service Canada (CSC)	Canada	Anyone over 18 sentenced to a federal prison term	Government of Canada	Correctional Conditional Release Act, Charter of Human Rights, Criminal Code of Canada	To evaluate & supervise parole and offer preventative or rehabilitative programming for proper integration of offenders back into the community
1994	Mental Health and Addictions Services with Health and Community	St. John's Region	Individuals with mental health or addictions concerns	Health and Community Services St. John's (Provincial)	Child, Youth and Family Services Act, Mental Health Act,	Provide services designed to improve the mental health of

					Neglected Adults Welfare Act	individuals in our community and to promote awareness of and recovery from a variety of addictions
	Services St. John`s Region (MHAS)					
1996	Mental Health Crisis Centre (MHCC)	St. John's Region	Community at large – anyone needing support through crisis or trauma	Provincial (HCS)	Health and Community Services Act	Provide crisis intervention and counselling and critical incident stress debriefing to individuals, family and community
1997	Department of Health and Community Services	Newfound-land and Labrador	Residents of Newfoundland and Labrador	Province of Newfoundland and Labrador	Provincial Health and Community Services Act	Governing Health and Community Services Boards and Institutional Boards

Table 7: Profiles of agencies providing **FOOD AID SERVICES**

Founding Date	Agency Name	Geog. Area	Target Clients	Funding	Legislation	Mandate
Early 1980s	Salvation Army Community and Family Services Food Bank (SAFB)	St. John's Region	People of low income	Fundraising and donations, food drives	None	Provide food hampers to needy individuals and families, also run the 'Frienship Corner' with Catherine Booth House (a soup kitchen)
1982	United Church Food Aid Centre (UCFA)	St. John's Region	People in need of food	Donations from the church, from food drives	None	Provide food hampers to needy individuals and families, provide referrals for addictions, gambling counselling, depression, other mental health issues, provide a 'basic shelf' program and a toy-lending library

Table 8: Profiles of agencies providing **EDUCATION, INFORMATION AND**

ADVOCACY-related services

Founding Date	Agency Name	Geog. Area	Target Clients	Funding	Legislation	Mandate
1972 & 1999 respectively	Status of Women Council – Hammer and Nail Project (SWC)	St. John's Region	Women of any age, background, lifestyle	Province (operational funding), corporate sponsorship, donations, Presentation Sisters	None	Provide information, referrals, and advocacy (Status of Women), to improve housing supports and services for low income women in the St. John's region (Hammer and Nail Project)
1986	Brother T.I. Murphy Centre (BMC)	St. John's Region	Anyone over the age of 17 wanting more education or looking for job assistance skills	Province (Department of Education, Youth Services and Post-Secondary Education, HRE) and Federal (HRDC), and Charity	Education Act	Provide participants with academic, career and life skills education
1983	St. John's Native Friendship Centre (NFC)	St. John's Region	Primarily aboriginal people in need of advocacy and liaison	Federal (Department of Canadian Heritage), Provincial grants	None	Provide liaison and advocacy services on behalf of Aboriginal Peoples in the areas of medicine, education, and justice.

1984	Association for New Canadians (ANC)	Newfound-land and Labrador	Refugees	Federal (Citizenship and Immigration Canada, Canadian Heritage), Province funds individuals (HRE)	Immigration policies and procedures	Provide settlement and integration services (greeting new arrivals, setting up accommodations, ESL classes, other orientation duties)
1988	AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador (ACNL)	Newfound-land and Labrador	People infected (PHA's – people living with HIV and AIDS) or affected by AIDS in Newfoundland and Labrador	Federal (Health Canada), Fundraising	None	Prevent the spread of new infection through education, to provide support to those individuals already infected or affected and network with other groups in AIDS related areas, advocate for change
1989	Seniors Resource Centre (SRC)	Newfound-land and Labrador	Anyone in need of assistance (older adults or care-givers to older adults)	Some Provincial, Federal (Health Canada), Corporate Donors, Fundraising	None	Promote independence and well-being of older adults & provide information, advocacy, programs and services in the province
1994	Voices for Justice in Housing (VJH)	St. John's Region	People treated unfairly by private landlords	Operational funding – Presentation Sisters	None	Advocacy – housing rights

1999	The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness (CACH)	St. John's Region	Absolute Homelessness	Federal	None	To ensure no one is involuntarily homeless by providing adequate shelter and support systems.

5.2.1 Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC): government agency

Mandate

The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC) is the provincial corporation (a government agency) responsible for the administration of social housing in Newfoundland and Labrador. Its mandate is "the development of policy, planning, delivery, administration and evaluation of an array of social housing" (NLHC 1998).

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Established in 1967, NLHC offers a variety of programs to assist low-income earners in attaining adequate, affordable housing. The Provincial Home Repair Program assists low-income home-owners who require repairs to their homes for safety purposes or increased accessibility for seniors or the disabled. The Rental Housing program provides housing for low-income families and individuals. The Rent Supplement Program offers to subsidize rent paid to private landlords for low-income households.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

NLHC is an agency of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador. Funding for its operation is presently provided through an affordable housing agreement between the federal and the provincial governments. The operation of NLHC is directly regulated by the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation Act. In addition, participation in many of NLHC's programs is regulated by the Residential Tenancies Act.   NLHC operates approximately 13,000 units around the province, more than 6000 of which are located in the St. John's Census Metropolitan Area, and 3900 of those within the City of St. John's. It provides affordable housing for approximately 18,000 households, in total,

throughout Newfoundland and Labrador. This represents 9.5% of the overall number of households in the province.

5.2.2 Urban Living (UL): government agency

Mandate

The City of St. John's Non-Profit Housing Program, Urban Living, was established to respond to additional housing needs in the city that were not being addressed by NLHC. Its mandate is to provide rental housing of "one, two, three and four bedrooms to low and middle income earners" (City of St. John's 2002).

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

When UL began in 1982 it was intended to fill the gap between fully subsidized housing (like the programs offered by NLHC) and more expensive private-market rental housing. At first it provided only Lower End of Market Rentals (LEMs) – units rented to tenants who paid the lower end of market rent as determined annually by NLHC. A certain percentage of these units were subsidized, depending on the availability of funding. At present the city offers both LEMs and Rent Geared to Income Units (RGIs). RGIs are aimed specifically at families and individuals who are low-income earners. In total, the City operates 424 units of social housing aimed at low to middle income earners and their families.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Urban Living's two programs are funded by NLHC. Operational funds for technical and administrative support are provided in part by the city of St. John's. The City of St. John's Non-Profit Housing Program is governed by the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation Act. Tenants in the City Programs also sign a lease and are therefore regulated by the Residential Tenancies Act.

5.2.3 The Salvation Army Wiseman Centre (SAWC): para-governmental agency

Mandate

The Salvation Army Wiseman Centre (SAWC) is the only shelter in St. John's designed specifically for single homeless men. Services provided include: sleeping quarters (38 beds), three meals a day and an evening snack, laundry services, and chapel services if required. A social worker is also available for client assessments and for help in finding long-term accommodations.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Wiseman Centre was established in 1986 by the Salvation Army to relieve some of the homelessness caused by the demolition of boarding homes in the Brazil Square area of St. John's to make way for the construction of a new hotel. The Wiseman Centre is a shelter for single homeless men between the ages of 16 and 65 (seniors can also be accommodated if they are mobile).

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Although the Wiseman Centre receives stable operational funding from the provincial department of Human Resources and Employment (HRE), it is not regulated by provincial legislation. It is a para-governmental agency. Policies and procedures for the shelter's operation are set by the Salvation Army.

5.2.4 Cabot Habitat for Humanity (CHH): non-governmental agency

Mandate

Cabot Habitat for Humanity (CHH) is affiliated with the larger charitable agency 'Habitat for Humanity Canada'. Its mandate is to work with partner families and the community to build affordable housing for families in core need (this is defined by CMHC for each region in Canada). A family maintains payment of an interest-free no-profit mortgage until they have paid for the house. It then belongs to the family.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Cabot Habitat for Humanity was established in St. John's in 1994 by a steering committee of the local Rotary Club to try to address the lack of affordable housing for lower-income families.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Cabot Habitat for Humanity is a purely community-based, non-governmental agency that relies entirely on corporate sponsorship and fundraising. It does not accept funding from any level of government. CHH is run by a volunteer board of directors and

has its own by-laws, articles of association and prepares annual audited financial statements. It is not regulated by any Act of legislation and has no formal ties to any level of government. Cabot Habitat for Humanity has built a total of 25 homes in St. John's (Critch, personal communication 2004).

5.2.5 The Health Care Corporation of St. John's Community Care Program (CCP): government agency

Mandate

The Community Care Program provides supportive housing to adults with severe and persistant mental illness. The program also has case management, social, and recreational aspects to its operation. There are 267 beds available and, at the time of the agency interview, there were approximately 250 adult participants.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Community Care Program was established between the late 1950s and the early 1960s by the 'Hospital for Mental and Nervous Diseases' when it was decided that many patients no longer needed to be hospitalized and would function better in the community. The community of Conception Bay South (located 20 km from St. John's) was chosen for the location of the program because it was rural and there were employment opportunities (fishing and farming) where clients could find useful work (O'Brien 1989). The program evolved from these modest beginnings – several boarding home arrangements in Conception Bay South for mental health consumers.

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Funding and Legislative Regulation

Stable funding for the Community Care Program is provided entirely through the Health Care Corporation of St. John's (an institutional health care board operating under the direction of the provincial Department of Health and Community Services). Operation of the program is dictated by Personal Care Home Regulations, pursuant to the Health and Community Services Act.

5.2.6 *The Health Care Corporation of St. John's: Family Care Program (FCP): government agency*

Mandate

The mandate of the Family Care Program is to provide long-term supportive boarding home arrangements in St. John's for clients with mental health concerns.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Family Care Program was established in 1984 to meet the needs of individuals who required extra support in the community to manage their mental illness.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Staff members are funded by the Health Care Corporation of St. John's (an institutional health care board operating under the direction of the provincial Department of Health and Community Services) but clients are funded through the Community Living and Supportive Services component of HCS St. John's Region and HRE. The Program is operated by a team – a coordinator who oversees the day-to-day operations of

the program, a nurse and a social worker who liaise with clients and their doctors, social workers or nurses. Several Acts of legislation directly influence the operation of the Family Care Program. These include: the Mental Health Act, the Social Services Act, the Neglected Adults Welfare Act, and the Child, Youth and Family Services Act (depending on the age of the client). The Program presently operates 14 homes in St. John's.

5.2.7 Carew Lodge (CL): para-governmental agency

Mandate

Carew Lodge is a supportive residential facility operated by the Stella Burry Corporation, a para-governmental community-based agency concerned with issues of inclusion, full citizenship, and rights to a home, job, education and healthcare.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Established in 2001, Carew Lodge provides 14 units of transitional or long-term housing to low-income adults in need.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Funding for the operation and maintenance of Carew Lodge comes from a variety of sources. Regular contributions are made by the United Church and an endowment fund left by Stella Burry (who established the Corporation). Rents are paid by the residents of Carew Lodge. The federal government provides some grant funding for employees and the remainer is paid for by the provincial departments of Human Resources and Employment and Health and Community Services. The operation of

Carew Lodge is not regulated by any Act of legislation. Rather, in-house policies and procedures are provided for residents, by residents. Decisions are made by the Stella Burry Corporation's volunteer board of directors with the participation of all employees and residents of the Carew Lodge.

5.2.8 *Iris Kirby House (IKH): para-government agency*

Mandate

The mandate of Iris Kirby House is to provide shelter and non-judgemental support, advocacy and referral services to abused women and their children.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Iris Kirby House was established in June of 1981 by the St. John's Status of Women's Council and a group of volunteers who were concerned about abused women and the lack of services for them in St. John's. Target clients are abused women between the ages of 18 and 80 and their children.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The bulk of funding for the 22-bed shelter comes from the Provincial Government (HCS) in the form of an operating grant of $450 000.00 per year. Supportive funds are provided through fundraising efforts and donations from the public and charitable organizations. Kirby House is not regulated by any specific Act of legislation. It is a para-governmental agency, autonomous in operation, and has the power to make its own in-house policies and regulations.

5.2.9 Elizabeth House (EH): non-government agency

Mandate

Elizabeth House is a shelter for pregnant women.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Established by the provincial Right to Life Association in 1979, the operation of
Elizabeth House is guided by a board of directors which is responsible for the
administration of all the services operated by the Right to Life Association (these include
a pregnancy distress line and counselling services). Elizabeth House can accommodate up
to six women at one time.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Elizabeth House is a non-governmental agency that relies heavily on fundraising
and personal donations and receives no government support. It is not regulated by any
Act of legislation and relies entirely on in-house policies and procedures dictated by its
volunteer board of directors for its day-to-day operations.

5.2.10 Choices for Youth (CFY): para-government agency

Mandate

Choices for Youth is a para-governmental supportive housing agency which offers a program for young people. Participants reside in the community independently in shared apartments, bed-sitters and boarding houses.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Choices for Youth was established in 1989 when Mount Cashel Orphanage closed and many ex-residents were left homeless. The program initially involved group homes staffed 24-hours-a-day by trained personnel. However, upon the introduction of 1998's Child, Youth and Family Services Act, youth were given the power to make their own choices regarding accommodations and the nature of services they wanted, if they wanted them. Clients of Choices for Youth are young people between the ages of 16 and 18. CFYs services can be extended for those enrolled in educational programs until the age of 21.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Choices for Youth is funded exclusively by HCS. Occasionally, however, supportive funds are provided by fundraising groups (for example: the St. John's Maple Leaf Association and various Memorial University of Newfoundland student groups). CFY is an incorporated non-profit para-governmental agency run by a volunteer board of directors. It is regulated by the Provincial Child, Youth and Family Services Act.

5.2.11 St. Francis Foundation (SFF): para-governmental agency

Mandate

Established in 1978, The St. Francis Foundation is a para-governmental agency that provides residential and support services to youth and families. Employees of the Foundation work with families, involving them in the programs with young people. The Foundation operates a parent group for parents who have young people in enrolled in their programs and are seeking support.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Children between the ages of 12 and 18 in the care of Child Welfare with emotional and behavioral problems are provided with accommodations and support services in St. John's by the St. Francis Foundation.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The St. Francis Foundation receives stable operational funding from the Department of Health and Community Services. It is a para-governmental agency run by a volunteer board of directors and is a registered charity. It is governed by the Provincial Child, Youth and Family Services Act. One home of the Foundation, operated as an open custody residential treatment program, is regulated by the provisions of the Federal Young Offenders Act and the Provincial Young Persons Offences Act.

5.2.12 Overview

The vast majority of Accommodation agencies receive provincial government funding and many of these provincially funded agencies also receive funding from charity. They are government agencies, non-government agencies and para-government agencies that, for the most part, service only the City of St. John's. Approximately one half of the eleven agencies are regulated by an Act of Legislation and the majority were established after 1980.

Four of the agencies profiled in this category have dual mandates and could easily fit into more than one category. Choices for Youth, the St. Francis Foundation, the Community Care Program and the Family Care Program have been included in the Accommodation category because they provide accommodation services as a main element of their mandates. However, these agencies also provide services to re-mediate the effects of deinstitutionalization.

5.3 Income Support

Income support is crucial for the homeless. Adequate levels of income support allow many low-income or no-income earners to access shelter, food, and clothing. In St. John's, income support is provided by one agency – the provincial department of Human Resources and Employment. Table 5 outlines the main characteristics of this agency. A detailed description follows.

5.3.1 Department of Human Resources and Employment (HRE): government agency

Mandate

Income support in Newfoundland and Labrador is the responsibility of the Provincial Department of Human Resources and Employment. HRE administers an Income Support Program that provides financial allowances for food, clothing and shelter to needy individuals. The Department's mission is to "be progressive, professional and flexible in working collaboratively with social, community and economic development partners to provide people with employment and income supports that respond to client needs and that are linked to the social, community and economic development objectives of the province" (Department of Human Resources, Labour and Employment, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2004).

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Department of Human Resources and Employment was established in 1997. Previously, income support had been available through different provincial government departments (after Confederation through the Department of Public Welfare, then through the Department of Social Services). Income support is granted by HRE to individuals or families who meet a department-defined set of criteria.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The social assistance program of the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador is governed by the Provincial Social Assistance Act. Funding is provided entirely through the provincial government.

5.4 Deinstitutionalization

One of the most frequently cited causes for homelessness in North America is the process of deinstitutionalization (Dear and Wolch 1987). Individuals who have been institutionalized for periods of time often lack the skills required to find and maintain adequate and affordable housing and, as a result, end up homeless. Because of this, governmental, para-governmental and non-governmental agencies addressing issues of mental health and corrections often provide services to re-mediate the effects of deinstitutionalization.

Table 6 outlines the main features of the agencies providing services to the deinstitutionalized. Agency profiles follow.

5.4.1 Division of Corrections (DOC): government agency

Mandate

The Divison of Corrections (currently the Division of Corrections and Community Services) was established as a responsibility of the Government of

Newfoundland and Labrador Department of Justice (DOJ). Prior to the 1970s there was

no formal division that held ownership of supervision of adult offenders. At the time of

establishment it was felt that one Division in government should be mandated to provide

such services to offenders in the Province.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Established in 1975, DOC is responsible for balancing protection of the public

with the rehabilitation and re-integration of adult offenders into the community. It

provides supervision for adult offenders over the age of 18 who have been placed on

probation by the court or have been given a conditional sentence of less than two years.

The Division is not responsible for the supervision of Young Offenders. They are the

responsibility of the Division of Child, Youth and Family Services with in the

Department of Health and Community Services.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The DOC is funded entirely by the provincial DOJ and its duties are prescribed by

the Adult Offenders Act and in part by the Criminal Code of Canada.

5.4.2 Correctional Services Canada: government agency

Mandate

Correctional Service Canada (CSC) is a Federal agency responsible for the parole

supervision of adult offenders who have received a prison sentence of more than two

years.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

CSC, established in 1992 with the enactment of the Corrections and Conditional Release Act, is responsible for evaluating Adult Offenders applying for parole, supervising parole, offering preventative or rehabilitative programming for proper integration of offenders back into the community. CSC provides some transitional housing for adult offenders in the process of re-integrating into the community and helps offenders find more long-term accommodations in the community.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Although CSCs policies, rules and regulations stem from the federal Correctional Conditional Release Act, it is also governed by the duty to act fairly, within the stipulations of the Canadian Charter of Human Rights and is connected to the Criminal Code of Canada. Its funding is entirely federal and CSC is the responsibility of the Solicitor General of Canada.

5.4.3 The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador (CHANNAL): para-government agency

Mandate

The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador (CHANNAL) is a para-governmental agency that provides education for and advocates on behalf of mental health consumers.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Established in 1991, CHANNAL is a non-profit mental health advocacy agency that operates from six regional offices located throughout the province. It advocates on behalf of mental health consumers in the province and provides referrals to those in need of mental health services.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

CHANNAL operates on a yearly budget of $60 000.00 from the Provincial Department of Health and Community Services and at times receives supportive funds and charitable donations. It is not regulated by any Act of legislation but is familiar with the provisions of the Mental Health Act.

5.4.4 The Mental Health Crisis Centre (MHCC): government agency

Mandate

The Mental Health Crisis Centre (MHCC) was established in 1996 as a result of a lobby by mental health consumers to Health and Community Services for more community-based services for mental health consumers in St. John's. Consumers demanded an alternative to emergency-room treatment of individuals experiencing a mental health crisis and MHCC was established in response to these demands. The mandate of the MHCC is to provide crisis intervention, crisis counselling and critical incident stress debriefing to individuals, families and the community.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Mental Health Crisis Centre was established in 1996. It provides services to individuals experiencing mental health crises, to families affected by mental illness and to the surrounding community.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The MHCC is a government agency funded entirely by the Health and Community Services Mental Health Program. It was originally run by a community advisory committee but due to organizational difficulties it is now run directly by Health and Community Services. The Mental Health Crisis Centre is governed directly by the provisions of the Health and Community Services Act.

5.4.5 Mental Health and Addictions Services (MHAS): government agency

Mandate

Mental Health and Addictions Services is a government agency that has a mandate to provide services designed to improve the mental health of individuals in the community and to promote awareness of and recovery from a variety of addictions.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Health and Community Services St. John's Region operates Mental Health and Addictions Services in the city of St. John's and surrounding areas. These services were amalgamated in 1994 (they had been separate services: Public Health Services,

Continuing Care, and Addictions Services) in an attempt to streamline service provision and avoid duplication of services.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Operational funding is predominantly provided by the Department of Health and Community Services but several specific programs and services are funded by the federal government. Mental Health and Addictions Services is run by a board of volunteer directors appointed by the Minister of Health and Community Services. They are regulated by the Child, Youth and Family Services Act, the Neglected Adults Welfare Act and other Acts pertaining to environmental and public health issues. Mental Health and Addictions Services is strongly linked to government through these Acts.

5.4.6 Department of Health and Community Services (HCS): government agency

Mandate

The Department of Health and Community Services is responsible for a wide variety of services to Newfoundlanders and Labradorians. It has a mandate for the health care of the population of the province and administers its services through 14 regional health boards (institutional boards and health and community services boards).

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Department of Health and Community Services was established in 1997. One of its institutional boards, The Health Care Corporation of St. John's (HCCSJ), is responsible for the administration of health care institutions in the City of St. John's

including the Mental Health Program. The Mental Health Program runs several residential programs for the Mentally Ill within the City and in surrounding areas. Two of these residential programs (The Family Care Program and The Community Care Program) were examined earlier in the Accommodation category. The Health and Community Services (HCS) St. John's Board is responsible for the administration of its own Mental Health and Addictions Services. These services were also examined above.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The Department of Health and Community Services and its 14 Regional Health Boards are funded provincially. The following Acts of legislation regulate the services provided by the Health Boards:

- Child, Youth and Family Services Act

- Health and Community Services Act

- Homes for Special Care Act

- Mental Health Act

- Neglected Adults Welfare Act

- Private Homes for Special Care Allowances Act

- Young Persons Offences Act (with the Department of Justice)

5.4.7 Overview

Mental health and corrections agencies in Newfoundland are instrumental in the prevention of homelessness and in re-mediating the effects of deinstitutionalization. Of

the six agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis, five are government agencies. Most of these provide services to the entire province. However, MHAS does not. It is run by the Health and Community Services St. John's Board and is therefore a regional service. Only one agency, CHANNAL – a province-wide agency, is para-governmental. CHANNAL is also the only agency unregulated by an Act of Legislation. It is an advocacy organization and is not involved in direct service provision. Mental health and corrections services in the City of St. John's, therefore, are primarily administered, funded and regulated by the provincial government.

5.5 Food Aid

More than twenty food banks provide food aid to needy residents in St. John's and surrounding areas. Two of these food banks, The United Church Food Aid Centre and the Salvation Army Food Bank at the Salvation Army Eastern Divisional Headquarters, were not listed individually in IHRD's report. Rather, their regulatory, umbrella organization, The Community Food Sharing Association, was included. These two food banks were chosen to be included in this study because they are located in the centre of St. John's, an area typically considered to be low-income. Table 7 outlines the main characteristics of these two food banks. Descriptions follow.

5.5.1 The United Church Food Aid Centre (UCFA): non-government agency

Mandate

The United Church Food Aid Centre is a non-governmental, non-denominational, non-judgemental food bank mandated to feed the hungry in the city of St. John's. The Centre operates a program called the 'basic shelf' that educates participants on proper budgeting for food and nutrition and also provides a 'toy-lending library' for children whose families can't afford new toys.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The United Church Food Aid Centre was established in 1982 by members of the Cochrane St. United Church to feed those in need of emergency food aid in the city of St. John's.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Regulations on the amount of food provided per person and the frequency that those in need can be serviced are designed by the volunteer board of directors in charge of operating the food bank. Funding for the operation of the Centre comes from the United Church and donations of food are received from the Community Food Sharing Association and from Food Drives held by schools, businesses and individuals.   The Food Aid Centre is not regulated by any Act of legislation but policies designed by the Community Food Sharing Association regarding food storage and preparation are in place at all times.

5.5.2 *The Salvation Arm Food Bank (SAFB): non-government agency*

Mandate

The Salvation Army Community and Family Services Food Bank's mandate is similar to that of the United Church Food Aid Centre: it aims to feed the hungry – those in need of emergency food hampers. The Salvation Army Food Bank is a non-government agency that also operates and provides food for a soup kitchen called 'friendship corner'.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Salvation Army Food Bank was established in the early 1980s by the Salvation Army. Its clientele consists of St. John's residents in need of emergency food aid.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Funding is entirely provided by the Salvation Army through their fundraising campaigns and from donations by the general public. The Salvation Army dictates its own policies regarding the amount of food in each hamper and the frequency that any individual or family can avail of the food bank's services. General guidelines regarding food storage and preparation are provided by the Community Food Sharing Association. Policies and procedures of the food bank are not regulated by an Act of legislation. Rather, the Salvation Army designs its own in-house policies that are adhered to in daily operations of the food bank.

5.5.3 Overview

The two food banks interviewed for the purposes of this thesis are both non-governmental agencies. They do not receive government funding, are unregulated by legislation and serve the hungry in the centre city of St. John's. Both food banks were established in the early 1980s and are funded entirely by charitable donations.

5.6 Advocacy/Information/Education

Table 8 outlines eight agencies providing advocacy, information and educational services to the homeless in St. John's. These agencies vary immensely in terms of target populations, functions, geographic areas served, funding, and legislative regulation. Profiles of each of these agencies follow.

5.6.1 The St. John's Status of Women Council (SWC): para-government agency

Mandate

The St. John's Status of Women Council (SWC) is a non-profit para-government agency that was established in response to recommendations made by the Royal Commission on the Status of Women in Canada. It provides information, referral and advocacy services to women on a wide variety of issues such as housing, health care and justice. It is a meeting place for women's groups, offers activities and outreach, and implements specific projects such as the Hammer and Nail Project

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The SWC was established in 1972. It operates a 'Hammer and Nail Project' to improve housing supports and services for low income women in St. John's region by finding ways to make housing more safe, secure and equitable and to promote a sense of control by women over their housing.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Initial funding for the 'Hammer and Nail Project' was provided by the Samuel and Siadye Bronfman Family Foundation's Urban Issues Fund. Additional funds have been provided by local churches, businesses, government agencies and individuals. The Hammer and Nail Project is not regulated by any Act of legislation but the operation of the SWC is dictated in part by and receives stable operational funding from the provincial government. The St. John's Status of Women Council is operated by a volunteer board of directors.

5.6.2 The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre (BMC): para-government agency

Mandate

The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre is a para-governmental agency that provides academic, career and life skills education for young people who struggle with learning.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre was established in 1986 in response to an identified need for young people to re-enter the school system. It provides academic, career and life skills education to youth over the age of 17.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Funding for the Centre is provided by a variety of sources including the Provincial and Federal Governments. A significant amount of money is obtained through the Department of Education and the Department of Youth Services and Post-Secondary Education (Provincial), The Department of Human Resources and Development Canada (Federal), and the Department of Human Resources and Employement (Provincial). The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre is operated by a volunteer board of directors. It is a registered charity and adheres to no specific regulatory body. The high school credit program, however, is regulated by the Provincial Education Act.

5.6.3 The Senior's Resource Centre (SRC): non-government agency

Mandate

The mandate of the SRC is to promote the independence and well-being of older adults through the provision of information, through advocacy and through various programs and services.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Senior's Resource Centre (SRC) was established in 1989 in response to a identified need for information and advocacy for and on behalf of seniors in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The SRC is a non-governmental agency that often receives government funding in the form of short-term grants, however at present there is no sustained government funding. Some programs are funded by the Provincial Government and Health Canada, a federal agency, provides supportive funds for others. Private foundations often provide funding and the SRC fundraises and makes use of corporate sponsorship. The Seniors Resource Centre is a non-profit agency run by a volunteer board of directors. It is not regulated by any Act of legislation.

5.6.4 The Association for New Canadians (ANC): para-government agency

Mandate

The Association for New Canadians is a non-governmental agency concerned with meeting the settlement and integration needs of newly arrived refugees and immigrants to St. John's. The ANC provides airport reception and helps find accommodations for refugees (some short-term, others longer-term). English as a Second Language training and community orientation are also provided.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Assocation for New Canadians (ANC) was established in 1984 by a volunteer group known as the 'friends of refugees'. During the late 1970s and early 1980s there was an increase in the number of refugees arriving in the province with needs to be met in terms of settlement and integration.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The majority of ANC funding comes from Citizenship and Immigration Canada. The Provincial Government (HRE) funds some refugee claimants and additional programs are funded by Canadian Heritage. ANC is a registered charity and is run by a volunteer board of directors. Policies and procedures for the operation of the Association are dictated in part by Citizenship and Immigration Canada, its funding source, under the "Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program". So, the operation of the Association for New Canadians is indirectly influenced by two pieces of federal legislation: the Immigration and Refugee Protection Act (2001, Chapter 27) and the Citizenship Act (R.S. 1985, Chapter 29).

5.6.5 The St. John's Native Friendship Centre (NFC): para-government agency

Mandate

The St. John's Native Friendship Centre is a para-governmental agency that provides a liaison between its clients and the community and advocates on behalf of its clients in the areas of medicine, education, justice and housing.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Centre was established in June of 1983 and its target population is mainly Aboriginal. However, The Centre also provides services to Non-Aboriginals who are seeking help in dealing with addictions issues, housing issues, or are in need of referrals to other community agencies.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The NFC receives stable funding from the Department of Canadian Heritage and receives annual Provincial grants of about $4000.00 - $5000.00 per year. It is a registered charity with a constitution, run by a volunteer board of directors. Its operation is not regulated by any Act of legislation at any level of government.

5.6.6 *The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labracor (ACNL): para-government agency*

Mandate

The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador was established by a volunteer group that recognized the need for an agency that would try to prevent the spread of new [AIDS] infection through education, that would provide support to those individuals already infected (PWAs) or affected, and that would network with other groups working in AIDS-related areas. In general, the Committee is mandated to advocate for social and political change in AIDS-related forums (health care, housing, income support and social services).

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador was established in 1988. Its clients include individuals who suffer from or are affected by AIDS.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

The AIDS Committee is a para-governmental agency that receives the majority of its operating funds from Health Canada. However, services to individuals are supported by fundraising endeavors such as the AIDS Walk and the Tommy Sexton Benefit. These annual events raise significant amounts of money and garner community support and awareness about HIV and AIDS. The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador is a registered charity run by a volunteer board of directors. No Act of legislation directly determines the policies and procedures of the AIDS Committee.

5.6.7 Voices for Justice in Housing (VJH): non-government agency

Mandate

Voices for Justice in Housing (VJH) is a non-governmental community-based advocacy agency addressing housing issues in the city of St. John's.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

Established in the early 1990s, VJH advocates for people who are treated unfairly, unjustly and without dignity by private landlords. VJH educates the public about their rights regarding housing and has pressured the provincial government to appoint a supervisory housing authority or housing ombudsman. However, no such ombudsman

has been appointed. VJH has since ceased to pressure the government. It believes that the work of the new Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness (CACH – see following description) will help to address many housing issues that had typically gone unnoticed in St. John's.

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Voices for Justice in Housing is an entirely community-based non-governmental agency that receives no funding from government. It is not governed by any Act of legislation and like Cabot Habitat for Humanity, has no formal ties to any level of government.

5.6.8 The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness (CACH): para-government agency

Mandate

The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness (CACH) is a para-governmental agency composed of 24 members that represent a variety of advocacy, service delivery and government agencies. The CACH advised and oversaw the completion of a 'Community Plan for Addressing Homelessness in St. John's' (IHRD 2001) that would address issues of 'absolute' homelessness in the city. It continues to exist and is responsible for meeting regularly and determining the implementation of the plan.

Date of Establishment and Target Clients

The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness was established in June of 2000 under the broader National Homelessness Initiative to address absolute homelessness in the city of St. John's. The National Homelessness Initiative, introduced in Chapter Three, is centred around the 305 million-dollar Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI), administered by Canada's housing agency, CMHC. The initiative works toward alleviating homelessness by providing new alternate accommodations or funding renovations to older, more dilapidated shelters (McHardie 1999).

Funding and Legislative Regulation

Funding for the completion and implementation of the Community Plan is entirely federal. There is no broad federal Act of legislation governing the operation of the committee. The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness is a para-governmental agency based in the community with strong ties to the federal government's National Homelessness Initiative.

5.6.9 Overview

The majority of the eight agencies providing advocacy, information and educational services are para-governmental agencies that receive some government funding and some non-government (charitable) donations (See Table 8). The majority

serve the city of St. John's and few are regulated by Acts of Legislation. Their founding

dates range from the early 1970s to the late 1990s.

5.7 Analysis

5.7.1 Agency Profiles

A wide variety of agencies provide services (directly or indirectly) to the

homeless or those at risk of becoming homeless in St. John's, Newfoundland and

Labrador. In Chapter 4, Figures 2 through 5 illustrated the multiple policies that can

affect the lives of the homeless. This legislative labyrinth is mirrored by the variety the

agencies that comprise the system of supports for the homeless. The agencies examined

above, categorized according to their mandates, are linked to government in a variety of

different ways. Evidently, homelessness is being dealt with in-house (by government

agencies), at 'arms-length' (by para-government agencies), and in the community (by

non-government agencies).

5.7.2 Mandate, Funding, Legislative Regulation and Relationship with Government

Funding sources of federal, provincial and municipal government, para-

government and non-government agencies are outlined in Table 9. It shows that the

provincial government funds the majority of government and para-government agencies,

Table 9: Federal, Provincial, Municipal and Non-Governmental Agency Funding

Funding Source	Type of Agency Funded				
	Federal	Provincial	Municipal	Para-governmental	Non-governmental
Federal	CSC			CACH CL BMC NFC ANC ACNL	SRC
Provincial	-	NLHC DOC HCS HRE MHCC MHAS FCP CCP	UL	SAWC IKH CL BMC CHANNAL ANC SWC CFY SFF NFC	SRC
Municipal	-	-	-	-	-
Non-government				CL SWC SFF IKH BMC CFY	CHH VJH EH SAFB UCFA SRC

while the federal government funds only one government agency, and significantly

fewer para-government agencies. A significant and equal number of para-government

and non-government agencies are funded by non-government charitable sources. The

Seniors Resource Centre is the only non-government agency that receives funding from

the federal and provincial governments. Interestingly, the municipal government

contributes no funding to any of the agencies. The City's Non-Profit Housing Division,

Urban Living, is the only municipally administered agency addressing homelessness in

St. John's. The following discussion examines the question of funding, agency

regulation, relationship with government and target population in detail.

Table 10 examines the five agency categories and compares these categories to

their relationships with government. It categorizes the agencies as government, para-

government and non-government in an attempt to decipher the reasons behind the

proliferation of agencies in recent years.

A number of observations are apparent. Primarily, government agencies represent

three of the agency categories: Deinstitutionalization, Accommodation, and Income

Support. These are service agencies, funded entirely by government and regulated by

legislation. The government, therefore, is not directly involved in the provision of

Advocacy, Information and Education services or Food Aid. The Department of Human

Resources and Employment, as noted earlier, is the only agency responsible for the

administration of Income Support in the province of Newfoundland and Labrador.

Table 10: Agency Mandates, Funding, Regulation and Relationships with Government

Three Types	Mandate		Funding		Regulated by legislation?		Five Categories	Geographic Area
	Service	Advocacy	Government	Non-government	Yes	No		
Government Agencies								
NLHC	*		*		*		Accomm-odation	NL
UL	*		*		*		Accomm-odation	St. John's
FCP	*		*		*		Accomm-odation	St. John's
CCP	*		*		*		Accomm-odation	St. John's Area
HRE	*		*		*		Income Support	NL
HCS	*		*		*		Deinstitution-alization	NL
CSC	*		*		*		Deinstitution-alization	Canada
DOC	*		*		*		Deinstitution-alization	NL
MHCC	*		*		*		Deinstitution-alization	NL
MHAS	*		*		*		Deinstitution-alization	NL
Para-government Agencies								
CL	*		*	*		*	Accomm-odation	St. John's
SFF	*		*	*	*		Accomm-odation	St. John's
CFY	*		*	*	*		Accomm-odation	St. John's
SAWC	*		*	*		*	Accomm-odation	St. John's
IKH	*		*	*		*	Accomm-odation	St. John's
CHAN-NAL		*	*	*		*	Deinstitution-	NL

NAL							alization	
SWC		*	*	*		*	Advocacy/ Education	St. John's
BMC	*		*	*	*		Advocacy/ Education	St. John's
ANC		*	*	*	*		Advocacy/ Education	NL
NFC		*	*	*		*	Advocacy/ Education	St. John's
ACNL		*	*	*		*	Advocacy/ Education	NL
CACH		*	*			*	Advocacy Education	St. John's
Non-government Agencies								
EH	*			*		*	Accomm- odation	St. John's
CHH	*			*		*	Accomm- odation	St. John's/ Mt. Pearl
SAFB	*			*		*	Food Aid	St. John's
UCFA	*			*		*	Food Aid	St. John's
SRC		*	*	*		*	Advocacy/ Education	NL
VJH		*		*		*	Advocacy/ Education	St. John's

Five out of the 6 agencies concerned with Deinstitutionalization are government agencies. They are statute-regulated. Agencies concerned with Accommodation, however, are equally represented among government, para-government and non-government agencies. Interestingly, the Family Care Program and the Community Care Program – two programs concerned with serving persons suffering from mental illness – are the only two government Accommodation agencies provided for specific interest groups. Accommodation agencies specifically for children, men and women are provided by para-government or non-government agencies. This will be examined in greater detail later in this section.

Six out of the total 8 Advocacy, Information and Education agencies are para-governmental. Five of these 6 are funded by a combination of government and non-government sources and 1/3 are statute-regulated. These statute-regulated agencies provide services to youth (Brother T.I. Murphy Centre) and New Canadians (Association for New Canadians). The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre is regulated by provincial legislation, while the Association for New Canadians is regulated by federal legislation.

Five para-government agencies provide Accommodation services. All of these agencies receive a combination of government and non-government funding. However, only the two agencies concerned with youth, Choices for Youth and the St. Francis Foundation, are statute-regulated.

Finally, among the 6 non-government agencies, 2 provide Accommodation, 2 Advocacy, Information and Education and 2 provide Food Aid. Only the Senior's

Resource Centre receives small, short-term grant funding from the government. The remaining 5 agencies rely on charitable donations for their day-to-day operations.

So, Table 10 suggests a number of important conclusions. Primarily, government is concerned only with the provision of Accommodation, Deinstitutionalization and Income Support-related services. It is uninvolved in Advocacy and the direct provision of Food Aid. Secondly, government provides direct services, through government agencies, only for some interest groups: mental health consumers and ex-offenders. Children, women, men, seniors, Aboriginals, New Canadians, and people affected by AIDS are provided for in the community by para-government or non-government agencies. Finally, many para-government agencies are not statute-regulated. What does this indicate in terms of target population and agencies relationship to government?

First, it reveals that government is directly involved in providing services to the following target populations:

- Low-income recipients
- Mental Health Consumers
- Ex-offenders

Second, government regulates (through legislation) agencies providing services to the following groups:

- Children and Youth
- New Canadians

Third, government funds but does not regulate agencies serving the following target populations:

- Women

- Men

- Aboriginals

- The Absolute Homeless (through the Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness)

- People affected by AIDS

Finally, those agencies providing services to those in need of Food Aid, transitional housing, mental health or housing advocacy services or for senior citizens are unregulated and for the most part not linked to government.

Agency funding and regulation has now been characterized according to agency mandates, relationships to government and target populations. The following discussion will focus on the reasons behind agency proliferation. It will examine the emergence of agencies in terms of public participation, human rights oriented legislation, government downloading, and the demographic diversification of the homeless.

5.7.3 *Public Participation, Human Rights Legislation, Government Downloading, and the Demographic Diversification of the Homeless*

Chapter 4 introduced three distinct phases of social policy creation in Newfoundland since Confederation with Canada in 1949. It also outlined four major elements that have contributed to the increase in agency establishment during the 1980s

and 1990s: public participation, human rights legislation, government downloading, and the demographic diversification of the homeless. Table 11 compares the three phases of social policy creation to the founding dates of the agencies examined in this chapter. Only eight of the agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis were established before 1982. Twenty were established between 1982 and the present. It is important to note that this period coincides with the reported 'rise' in homelessness in Newfoundland and Labrador. This will be examined in greater detail below.

It is evident that the majority of the agencies examined in this chapter were established during a period of social policy characterized by increased public participation and government downloading (from 1981 to the present). In the province of Newfoundland and Labrador, public consultation processes are occurring and strategic plans are being produced for public information regarding new policy directions for various social and health-related programs. The increase in agency establishment during recent years, therefore, is partially a result of the new importance of participatory democracy. In fact, of the 28 agencies interviewed, 18 are governed by a volunteer board of directors. The public plays an important role in the operation of many para-government and non-government agencies. Furthermore, these agencies were established immediately following a period of social policy characterized by increased emphasis on the provision of human rights.

As discussed in Chapter 4, this period of human rights-driven legislation resulted in the deinstitutionalization of children, mental health consumers and ex-offenders and increased the potential for homelessness among these groups. The majority of the

Table 11: Phases of Social Policy and Agency Establishment

Three Phases of Social Policy	Mental Health Consumers	Ex-offenders	Children	Women	Men	Aboriginals/ New Canadians	Seniors	All	PWAs
1950-1962	CCP								
1963-1981		DOC	SFF	SWC, IKH, EH				SAFB, NLHC	
1982-	MHAS, HCS, MHCC, CHAN-NAL, FCP	CSC	BMC, CFY		SAWC	NFC, ANC	SRC	CACH, VJH, UCFA, HRE, UL, CHH, CL	ACNL

agencies established to serve these target populations are indeed funded and regulated by the provincial government. Therefore, it can be concluded that these agencies were established as a direct response to this period of provincial social policy.

Although children, mental health consumers and ex-offenders were the primary groups deinstitutionalized as a result of provincial social policy, a number of other segments of the population typically experience homelessness in St. John's. Chapter 3 examined the situation of homelessness in St. John's, characterized by previous research (Burt 1994, IHRD 2001). In addition to mental health consumers, ex-offenders and youth - single women, men, Aboriginals, seniors, and New Canadians were also said to experience homelessness in St. John's. The agencies examined in this chapter provide services to many of these groups. Some of the services for women are funded but unregulated by government (Iris Kirby House, Status of Women Council). Similarly, services targeted to homeless men, Aboriginals and seniors are funded by government but not statute regulated. The one agency providing services to refugees and New Canadians is funded by the federal and provincial governments but regulated only by federal legislation. So, what conclusions can be drawn from this information?

First, it must be noted that the women's movement was a distinct social movement, separate from the human rights movement of the 1960s. So although equal rights are defining elements of both social movements, the women's movement is significantly different. It encompasses a number of specific elements including the fight to improve women's economic autonomy to eliminate domestic violence against women and children (National Council of Women in Canada 2003: http://www.ncwc.ca)

Legislation was not created specifically for women during the period of human rights-driven legislation.

In addition, during the period in which children, mental health consumers and ex-offenders were being deinstitutionalized, seniors were increasingly experiencing the opposite: they were being admitted to old age homes and thus increasingly institutionalized. No legislation was created as an advocacy tool for seniors. Therefore, the Seniors Resource Centre was established as a primarily community-based agency established to address advocacy-related issues for seniors.

Finally, Aboriginal legislation is typically federally focussed. So, although the Native Friendship Centre receives some grant-based provincial funding, the bulk of Aboriginal issues are addressed at the national level. Similarly, immigration-related issues are also dealt with by the federal government.

So, the human rights movement provided significant impetus for social and policy-related change during the 1960s and 1970s. Agencies established during the 1980s and 1990s were also influenced by similar concerns. Moreover, most para-government and non-government agencies that receive funding from government agencies adhere strictly to the principles of fundamental human rights and are committed to advocating on behalf of their clients' rights. So, does government support depend on an agencies' commitment to maintaining and advocating for human rights?

Many agencies established during the 1980s and 1990s receive stable or grant-based government funding. Governments at both the provincial and federal level have stressed the importance of public-private and public-non-profit partnerships in addressing issues like social services and health care (Government of Newfoundland 1998). For example, in 1994 The Health and Community Services St. John's Health Care Board (HCSSJ) was created to administer a combination of services that had been provided either by community-based agencies or directly by the provincial government. Mental Health and Addictions Services was established under the HCSSJ Board (Mental Health and Addictions Services, personal communication 2001). This agency acts at an arms length from government, although it remains a government agency, offering a variety of different programs funded by two levels of government (federal and provincial). Clearly, the provincial government benefits from this operating model because it does not hold the sole financial responsibility for MHAS's programs. Similarly, the Federal Department of Citizenship and Immigration funds and benefits from the Immigrant Settlement and Adaptation Program offered by the Association for New Canadians. Again, in the case of the ANC, the Canadian government is relieved of some financial and administrative responsibilities.

Perhaps the increase in agency establishment was a result of changing (downloading) government roles and responsibilities (this was also a theme in Chapter 4). The federal government has downloaded most of its responsibility for social housing to the provinces and municipalities. Maybe less federal money for new and upgraded social

housing meant increased need for non-governmental social housing, shelters, and transitional homes and thus resulted in an increase in agency establishment.

The homeless (or potential homeless) in St. John's and the rest of Canada are a diverse group. Chapters 2 and 3 described them as increasingly heterogeneous in nature. Agencies established during the 1980s and 1990s provide services to the modern homeless. Their target populations include "at risk" women, youth, mental health consumers and the economically marginalized. Therefore, perhaps agencies were established to address the concerns of this demographically diverse group.

5.8 Overview

The above Chapter introduced and described a number of important features of the agencies that provide services to the homeless in St. John's and examined the relationship between provincial legislation enactment (as discussed in the previous Chapter), agency establishment, and the rise in homelessness. A number of important conclusions follow.

The provincial government is the primary funding source of the agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's. Conversely, the municipal government provides no funding. Furthermore, agencies addressing the effects of deinstitutionalization receive the majority of government support in terms of both funding and direct service provision. Agencies providing accommodation services receive less government support and food aid agencies receive none.

Government is involved in direct service provision to mental health consumers and ex-offenders. It regulates the services provided for children and immigrants and funds agencies for men, women, Aboriginals, people affected by AIDS and the absolute homeless. Government is not a major funding source or regulator of food aid agencies, services for those in need of transitional housing (for example, Carew Lodge), housing and mental health advocacy agencies or for seniors agencies.

The agencies established after 1981 were created in response to a combination of the following: rights-driven provincial social legislation, increased participatory democracy at the provincial level, government services downloading at the provincial and federal levels, and the increasingly heterogeneous homeless population.

The following chapters will further examine and characterize the agencies that comprise the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's. They will compare the results of the legislative and literature reviews with those from the field study. Chapter 6 will ask: who are the homeless in St. John's? Are there different types of homelessness in St. John's? Why are people homeless in St. John's? What is a home in St. John's? Chapter 7 will focus on the dynamics between and within the agencies that comprise the system of supports for the homeless. It will provide an assessment of the social sustainability of the system of supports and examine homeless space in the City of St. John's in an attempt to link real homelessness with the ideal of socially sustainable urban development.

CHAPTER SIX: ST. JOHN'S – SERVICE AGENCIES: HOMES AND HOMELESSNESS

6.1 Introduction

Chapter 6 compares the results of the literature concerned with homelessness and social housing policy (Chapters 2 and 3) with information gathered from interviews with agencies addressing homelessness. It examines the nature and extent of homelessness as identified by the agencies (introduced in the previous Chapter) that comprise the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's. Interviews with the 28 agencies identified in Chapter 5 yielded information regarding how each agency defines homelessness, who they consider to be homeless, the reasons behind homelessness, what it means to have a home and about the ways in which each concerned agency deals with homelessness. This Chapter identifies the homeless in St. John's, outlines the societal conditions that yield homelessness, and illustrates the possible processes of finding homes for the homeless.

6.2 The Nature and Extent of Homelessness in St. John's

6.2.1 What is a home in St. John's?

The concept of 'home' was discussed in Chapter 2. Alex Murray (Fallis and Murray 1990), citing the work of psychologist Jerome Tognoli (Ofrias and Tognoli

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1979), described home as a central location, providing a sense of order and unity. It can be a place for escape, protection, privacy and ownership and plays a main role in establishing identity and gender differences. It is a place for family and social life and it acts as a "socio-cultural context" (Fallis and Murray 1990:16-17). Much like the condition of homelessness, the process of becoming 'homed' or finding a home has been described separately by a variety of academics, experts and agencies. To some, a home is an objective and quantifiable notion. It is the direct opposite of being homeless. To others it is intangible and represents a feeling, a sense of pride, or a form of justice. These varying definitions are discussed below.

Several agencies suggested that a home is anywhere a person lives for a significant period of time. It is a fixed address or a place to stay. Others believe that a home must meet certain criteria. It should be a form of accommodation that is appropriate and meets an individual's needs. It should be safe, secure, stable, and affordable. Furthermore, some agencies suggest that a home should be accommodation that does not put an individual "at risk" of committing an offence (for individuals with corrections issues) or experiencing a mental health crisis (for individuals with mental health issues):

I have people from her Majesty's Prison calling and saying "I'm getting out of prison and there's no apartments and I don't want to go back to a boarding house because that's where all the trouble starts". So people have an understanding of their own cycle of addictions, their own cycle of what triggers their anger... (Mental Health Crisis Centre, personal communication 2001)

The concept of civil risk was introduced in Chapter Two. It is the result of a failure of human rights that creates disadvantages for marginalized groups. So if risk is an indicator of social injustice, marginalization or exclusion then the concept of *home* comes to mean an elimination (or at least reduction) of risks for an individual.

Many agencies suggest that the notion of home involves an attachment to the home, a feeling of "being home" or pride with respect to the home. For one agency, home is a place where one can say "'this is my home', instead of 'this is the dump where I live'" (Voices for Justice in Housing, personal communication 2001). Home is "not just [having] a roof overhead".

Some agencies suggest that the process of becoming homed warrants a more holistic approach that would break the cycles of poverty, family violence and anger. It would include the provision of clean air and water, a safe home, opportunity, education, and rights to all. A home would mean integration into the community and the labour market and would end discrimination against Offenders, Mental Health Patients, Street People and Street Kids. It would involve gaining independence as homeowners or in other living situations. The process would also involve fair and just treatment by landlords and a sense of individual dignity. One element of 'feeling at home' was exemplified by the first Christmas at Carew Lodge:

The first Christmas dinner was, some people said, the first Christmas dinner that they ever had. Christmas day would pass, in the Carew Lodge, unmarked. It was just another

day. So that's all changed. This year we'll have our Christmas dinner and we'll sit around and talk for hours after... It's hard to fathom how little esteem people have of themselves. We just take it for granted a lot of the time (Carew Lodge, personal communication 2001).

The above quote illustrates an interesting connection between the concept of self-esteem and 'individual accountability', mentioned earlier. Low self-esteem can, like individual accountability, be considered a human capital deficit. Perhaps the root of low self-esteem lies in the lack of responsibility or control an individual might feel over his or her life. This feeling of helplessness is manifested in a low self-esteem and the sense that one hasn't the ability to improve his or her situation. A home, therefore, becomes a place where a person has some control over their environment and over their life.

More practical concerns regarding the process of becoming 'homed' were highlighted by several agencies which suggested increasing education on mental illness in the community to end discrimination, more focus on meeting individual needs with a focus on prevention of homelessness and providing supports that would encourage stability in the lives of youth. Cultural supports, addictions counselling, financial counselling, and employment counselling were suggested for individuals at risk of becoming homeless.

The agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis have clearly identified some defining aspects of finding a home and what a home represents. They have confirmed those presented by experts and academics. To many it is a safe, affordable,

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secure form of accommodation that meets the needs of the individual. To others it represents a sense of pride or an end to discrimination.

6.2.2 Who Are the Homeless in St. John's?

Homelessness has been increasing in North America and Britain since the early 1980s (Blau 1992, Stoner 1989, Glasser and Bridgeman 1999, Watson and Austerberry 1986). As discussed in Chapter 2, the homeless have diversified (Crane and Takahashi 1998). They now include a number of different subgroups.

To be homeless in St. John's, Newfoundland, means a variety of different things. IHRD's Community Plan for Addressing Homelessness (2001) described the homeless in St. John's as young men leaving home, persons with disabilities, Aboriginals, people with alcohol or drug addictions, mental health consumers, persons living in "substandard accommodations", victims of domestic violence, seniors and the "hard to house".

A large number of agencies believe that many of the homeless in St. John's are suffering from the effects of mental illness:

- "We define it as people who have social and health issues and have difficulty in finding boarding houses or accommodations" (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001)

- "The mentally ill, they comprise a fair lot of the homeless around the city" (Elizabeth House, personal communication 2001)

- "Most of [our clients] are on some form of medication, mostly anti-depressant medication. A lot of them are schizophrenics or manic-depressive…" (Salvation Army Wiseman Centre, personal communication 2001)
- "… a number of people that we deal with are probably mentally unstable as well" (Division of Corrections, personal communication 2001)

Others state that the homeless have addictions issues or are actively abusing drugs and many more have experienced some period of incarceration in correctional institutions:

- "Most all of our clients have abuse problems, whether it be alcohol or drugs" (Salvation Army Wiseman Centre, personal communication 2001)
- "… we've got people who've got long-standing criminal involvement…there's others who have had issues of substance abuse" (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001)

A number of agencies believe that, increasingly, a significant number of young people, most notably male youths, are finding themselves without a home and rely on friends, family and acquaintances for a couch upon which to sleep on a night-by-night basis:

- "I could find [a youth] an address tomorrow but they're out the next day and I could find [the same youth] another the next night and they'd be out the night after… that sort of thing" (Choices for Youth, personal communication 2001)

- "… we help a lot of [youth] find safe, affordable accommodations and that's certainly a big issue with some of these youth – you know they can't stay at home or they choose not to stay at home for a variety of reasons" (Mental Health and Addictions Services, personal communication 2001)

A significantly smaller number of agencies stated that single parents, abused women and children, seniors, Aboriginals and New Canadians have also been identified as experiencing homelessness in St. John's.

The most often cited group of homeless are the mentally ill (mental health consumers). Several agencies deal specifically with this group and are mandated to provide supportive housing to meet their needs. As mentioned in Chapter 4, hundreds of mental health consumers were deinstitutionalized during the 1970s in Newfoundland (O'Brien 1989). Many agencies and experts believe that the high numbers of mentally ill among the homeless is the combined result of deinstitutionalization and a lack of supports within the community for mental health consumers (Hefferman 1990).

People suffering from drug or alcohol addictions are another often-cited group among the homeless. Many of the homeless with addictions have concomitant issues such as a history with the corrections system or mental illness which, when combined, can lead to homelessness. Mental Health and Addictions Services operates a variety of recovery programs for persons with drug or alcohol addictions.

Homeless youth have become an increasing concern for several agencies in recent years. Often having suffered from abuse (physical, sexual and emotional), neglect or

because of a variety of other issues, many youth leave their families or foster care and end up 'couch-surfing' from one friend's house or one relative's house to another. Eventually, when they've exhausted their options for accommodation, they end up on the street and in need of support.

Abused women and their children are another distinct group among the homeless. A few agencies stated that violence is a main cause of homelessness in women. Single women with no dependent children are left homeless more often and for a longer duration because families are still given priority when applying for social housing. Abused women sometimes experience 'episodic' homelessness because attempts to leave an abusive relationship fail.

> When you get a woman who leaves a nice home – well *a* home anyway – and comes here and has made the decision "well, I'm going to leave him and start my life over" and then she finds out how much she's eligible for in terms of housing because she's older and has no dependent children and she only gets enough money to pay her room and board and the only choice she has is some rat-hole downtown... they go back... they go back (Iris Kirby House, personal communication 2001).

Homeless seniors are often housed in unsafe or unsuitable housing. They are sometimes the victims of abuse or are disabled and in need of home-making assistance. Some seniors are physically incapacitated and living in inaccessible accommodations. Others have been medically discharged from the hospital but are left with no supports and nowhere to go upon their release. "They're not actually homeless but their situation is

such that they might as well be" (Senior's Resource Centre, personal communication 2001).

The most difficult group of individuals to house in St. John's, and those who experience the most 'acute' forms of homelessness, are those individuals who require a significant amount of support to maintain a 'home' and a healthy lifestyle. These "Mental Health Offenders" (Correctional Services Canada, personal communication 2001) often suffer from mental illness and have been through the corrections system and are therefore deemed "hard-to-house" (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001). Among this group are the sex-offenders and arsonists for whom housing is particularly difficult to find and maintain. Suitability becomes an issue when searching for a home for these individuals. Finding accommodations that will provide both a stable environment needed for rehabilitation of the individual and a safe environment for the neighbouring public is a challenge for many parole and probation officers. This dilemma is centred around the continued quest for human rights in Canada. As noted in Chapter 2, Canadian rights culture is rooted in communitarianism, a tradition whereby individual freedom is balanced with the protection of equal rights throughout society. Hard-to-house individuals present a serious challenge to maintaining this balance. "We have to balance a person's rights with the rights of the public to be protected. That's a very hard thing to do" (Correctional Services Canada, personal communication 2001).

A few agencies asserted that an area of increasing concern has been the rise in "non-elderly singles" in search of safe, adequate and affordable accommodations in St.

John's. The reasons behind this 'crunch' on social housing include the lack of available singles housing and the preference for family housing by The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation and Urban Living. The majority of the social housing stock in the city was built in the 1950s and 1960s when national housing policy was family-focussed. The typical Canadian family was larger during this post-war period and therefore social housing units were designed with families in mind. So the existing units of social housing in St. John's are primarily 3,4 or 5 bedroom family units - not well suited to the non-elderly singles or small families (single parents with one or two children) in search of a place to live:

> ... we have some of these big huge units that are only half-full, we've got people who've aged in place – they moved in during the 1960s with their big families and you know you try telling somebody who's 70 years old who's living in a two-story apartment in Buckmaster's Circle with 5 bedrooms, raised their family there, been there for 30 years, every stick of furniture she owns is in the place, Mrs. Next door lived next door to her for the past 25 or 30 years and if it wasn't for her son she wouldn't get out for her groceries once a week. You know, these are neighbourhoods now. These are places where people have lived all their lives and raised their families. But it's very inappropriate housing right now (Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, personal communication 2001).

Two agencies that deal primarily with cultural concerns (The Native Friendship Centre and the Association for New Canadians) have identified additional groups that

experience homelessness in St. John's. These groups include Aboriginals and New Canadians (immigrants or refugees). Similarly a number of agencies stated that "travellers" experience homelessness in St. John's when in transit to another place or simply upon arriving in Newfoundland - before finding a place to live.

In summary, according to the agencies interviewed, the most significant sub-groups among the homeless include: the mentally ill or former mental health consumers, people with 'corrections issues' (a history in the correctional system), the hard-to-house, people experiencing drug or alcohol addiction, youth, and abused women and children, seniors, non-elderly singles, single parents, travellers, New Canadians, and Aboriginal People. This is consistent with the types of homelessness outlined in the literature and described in Chapter 2.

6.2.3 Are There Different Types of Homelessness in St. John's?

Experts and academics have identified a number of different types of homelessness. These were addressed in Chapter 2. Each type of homelessness is characterized by one element of the social phenomenon. Some types of homelessness focus on where an individual 'lives' or sleeps at night, such as absolute and relative homelessness. Other types of homelessness are concerned with the amount of time a person might spend 'on the street' (chronic, episodic and situational homelessness). Urban and rural homelessness highlight the importance of place. Moreover, a specific subgroup, referred to by the term 'youth homelessness', was introduced. A number of

academics favour the concept of a continuum of homelessness whereby the homeless can be positioned anywhere along a continuum of deprivation depending on their degree of housing crisis.

As stated in Chapter 3, defining and classifying homelessness is an important first step towards understanding and addressing it. Definitions imply particular circumstances that can affect the homeless themselves and the agencies addressing homelessness in a many different ways. This will be discussed in greater detail below.

Agencies identified a variety of different 'types' of homelessness in St. John's. A certain number of agencies highlighted the difference between absolute (also known as **traditional homelessness** and **roof-over-the-head homelessness**) and relative (also known as **hidden homelessness** and **at risk homelessness**) homelessness. The absolute homeless frequent homeless shelters and often rely on soup kitchens and food banks. The relative homeless include those living in boarding houses, in 'slum housing' or in costly housing. Similarly, several groups considered the threat of eviction, abusive situations, and unsafe or expensive housing as indicators of at risk homelessness. A few agencies suggested that absolute homelessness in St. John's was not a significant problem.

> Absolute homelessness is defined not by our committee but by the National Homelessness Initiative as people actually living on the streets or in shelters or in accommodations unfit for human habitation. We don't have a big population actually on our streets. From time to time we do – some by choice and some not, however we do have the occasional person living on the street and a significant number of people living

in shelters and the demand appears to be growing... we probably have some we don't see because it's a visibility issue... typically the absolute homelessness doesn't refer to or include the hidden or non-visible homeless; people who live in boarding houses, small apartments, and that sort of thing who are *this* close to becoming homeless – one week away from being on the street ... they become 'at risk'. That's exactly the definition of relative homelessness... (Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness, personal communication 2001)

As noted above, some experts and academics have challenged the dichotomous definitions of absolute and relative homelessness (Takahashi 1996, Crane and Takahashi 1998, Timmer et al. 1994, Fallis and Murray 1990). Furthermore, the St. John's Status of Women Council suggested that the notion of absolute and relative homelessness should be rejected in favour of a more fluid definition. They believe that the definition of homelessness should take into account the continuum of circumstances that can lead to many varying degrees of housing crises: "...my definition of homelessness as a project coordinator and employee is that it's a relative concept. I don't agree with the concept of absolute homelessness versus relative homelessness" (Status of Women's Council, personal communication 2001). A definition that would include a homeless or housing continuum was also supported by a number of agencies. Perhaps this continuum rejects traditional homelessness (for example, hobos living on skid row) in favour of a more modern approach that reflects present-day socio-economic circumstances.

The concepts of chronic, episodic and situational homelessness, introduced in Chapter 2, can be further commented on here. These definitions focus on the duration of

homelessness (Fallis and Murray 1990, Crane and Takahashi 1998, Dear and Wolch 1993, Peressini and McDonald 2000). Several agencies identified a difference between **long-term** and **temporary** or **emergency homelessness**. Those who experience long periods of homelessness and who have spent extended periods of time in and out of housing crisis can be considered to be experiencing long-term homelessness. Others, homeless for a significantly shorter period, can be considered to be experiencing temporary homelessness and those who find themselves without shelter because of one significant event experience, emergency homelessness. "[A] person could be homeless for one night or it could be somebody who's homeless all of the time and doesn't have a place to stay" (Salvation Army Wiseman Centre, personal communication 2001). A woman who leaves an abusive relationship and therefore her home would be considered to be experiencing emergency homelessness or situational homelessness.

Another type of homelessness, significantly different from all of the above, is **homelessness by choice** (Peressini and McDonald 2000). According to several agencies interviewed, many individuals will always be homeless, for it has been their choice to live on the street, in a parking garage, in hostels or in shelters. The "by choice" homeless are often "squatters" who live in places that might otherwise be considered unfit for human habitation such as abandoned buildings and car garages. They have chosen homelessness as a lifestyle and this choice is indeed within their rights. Many agencies continue to debate the right to tell another person where he or she can or cannot live. This is an interesting example of the important role that human rights play in the operation of agencies providing services for the homeless and also in the lives of the

homeless themselves. The right to 'choose homelessness' exemplifies, again – like the situation with the hard-to-house mentioned above – the dilemma surrounding protection from vulnerability, on one hand, and respect for individual liberty and choice, on the other.

> I had the opportunity to meet in Toronto for a session talking about homelessness in January and one of the ethical issues – the session was about counting homeless people – one ethical issue was 'do you have a right to say to someone: you shouldn't be homeless?' You know, it's their choice! People are sleeping in vents over the subway in Toronto and some of that – we might find it hard to believe that it's by choice – but some of it *is* by choice (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001).

Youth homelessness has been identified as an issue of increasing national importance in recent years (Kraus, Eberle, Serge 2001, Peressini and McDonald 2000, Dear and Wolch 1993, Murray 1990). Moreover, homeless youths have become a significant issue, locally, in the City of St. John's (IHRD 2001).   Several agencies expressed concern over the plight of 'at risk' or homeless youth. Often referred to as "couch surfers", they continually float from one friend's house to another's, from one relative's home to another's, in search of a place to rest on a nightly, weekly, or even monthly basis. This notion of homelessness is related to yet another type highlighted by researchers, often referred to as "transient" or "nomadic homelessness" (Murray 1990, Peressini and McDonald 2000). Several agencies described the transient homeless as

youthful 'couch-surfers' or adult individuals who, for a variety of reasons, have difficulty finding and maintaining a stable home.

Another type of homelessness identified both in the literature and by the interviewed agencies is **rural homelessness**. Place is highlighted in the definition of rural homelessness (Crane and Takahashi 1998, Cloke et al. 2000(b)). Although rural homelessness is not a new phenomenon and is increasingly prevalent in more heavily populated countries (Cloke et al. 2000(b)), it has nonetheless been observed on the Northern Coast of Labrador. The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation has documented significantly overcrowded living conditions in this area of the province and has contributed funds to attempt to alleviate this unique form of homelessness. Evidently, homelessness can be found within and outside of the City of St. John's.

The final category of homelessness, **functional homelessness**, was identified by two agencies but was *not* identified in the literature review. This category of homelessness can apply to a variety of circumstances, all of which involve spending several hours of the day outside of the home environment, not having the home as a refuge during these hours for any reason. A boarding house resident, for instance, forced out of the home for the daytime hours (from 9 a.m. to 5 p.m.) could be considered 'functionally homeless'.

> … there seems to be a part of the population too that we have never even thought about
> as homeless - people who are living in boarding houses who get up in the morning and
> are asked to leave after breakfast and aren't allowed back in till it's time to go to bed or

for supper. They're functionally homeless – they're wandering the streets all day trying to find somewhere warm to be...(Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, personal communication 2001)

Homelessness is a phenomenon. It is the result of a series of events and circumstances that contribute to an individual's difficulty in finding and keeping safe, affordable, and adequate housing. The agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis have identified many different categories or types of homelessness and confirmed those mentioned in much of the literature concerned with homelessness in Canada, the U.S. and Britain. The concept of functional homelessness was introduced by the agencies. Ranging from absolute to relative, long-term to emergency, and hidden to functional, each type of homelessness represents a series of images that range from a narrow focus (for example, absolute homelessness) to a broader one (for example: the homeless continuum). This implies a hierarchy of types of homelessness that can be traced from the broadest form – relative homelessness, down to the many specific types of homelessness dealing with specific subgroups of the population such as youth or the elderly.

Definitions of homelessness depend on how people perceive the homeless. Categorizing the phenomenon of homelessness directly affects the agencies and services provided to address homelessness. In fact, defining and then categorizing the homeless can affect whether or not a service or agency will be created or funded. For example, the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI) is a major source of federal

funding for many agencies addressing 'absolute homelessness'. Agencies that address the more structural roots of homelessness through the provision of long-term social housing, education, or advocacy-related services are not eligible for SCPI funding.

6.2.4 Why are people homeless in St. John's?

Homelessness is the result of a series of circumstances that are either rooted within the individual (individualistic) or in societal conditions (structural)(Hutson and Clapham 1999, Crane and Takahashi 1998). Some suggest that homelessness is the result of any one or any combination of individual characteristics or circumstances such as mental illness, a history with the corrections system, drug or alcohol abuse, violence, physical disability, eviction or any number of "human capital deficits" (Peressini and McDonald 2000:529), "personal deficits" (Takahashi 1996), or because of "social disaffiliation" (a matter of choice)(Crane and Takahashi 1998, Peressini and McDonald 2000). Structural conditions that lead to homelessness in North America include the shrinking supply of affordable housing, increasing costs of housing, gentrification, changing demographics, and decreasing incomes relative to standard of living. It is largely a problem of access to resources - of economics and poverty, power and discrimination (Peressini and McDonald 2000, Glasser and Bridgeman 1999, Blau 1992, Stoner 1989, Watson and Austerberry 1986). These reasons for homelessness will now be compared with those presented by the interviewed agencies.

Most agencies cited a number of individualistic conditions identical to those identified in previous research. These included substance or physical abuse, addictions, mental illnesses and corrections issues as contributing factors to homelessness. A number of agencies suggested that these are the main reasons behind homelessness:

- … we've got people who've got long-standing criminal involvement and a couple or more people who've had issues of mental illness with essentially no family support. So they're in the big city, they've done the boarding house route, the apartment route; no one wants to take them into their home and they could find themselves with nowhere to live … no one is prepared to take a chance on them because their behaviour has been such that they're at risk. Now, there are others who have had issues of substance abuse… I don't think it's housing availability – there are places available. I think it's that people have "burnt their bridges"… (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001)

- …the difficult [clients] we have… are very significant in that they have very complex needs. They have mental health issues, require regimes of medications, but they also have histories of being involved in certain types of offences that put them at risk. Could be arson or sexual assault… (Correctional Services Canada, personal communication 2001)

- Most all of our clients have abuse problems, whether it be alcohol or drugs. Most of them are on some form of medication, mostly anti-depressant medication. A lot of them are schizophrenics and manic-depressive - these kinds of things. (Salvation Army Wiseman Centre, personal communication 2001)

Moreover some of the above conditions were also cited above as subgroups of persons experiencing homelessness in St. John's. Therefore, the reasons for homelessness often become ways of categorizing the homeless. Subgroups among the homelessness are recognized by one individualistic contributing factor (for example: mental illness, corrections issues, and addictions).

Other individualistic reasons for homelessness included low employment skills and unemployment (identified in the literature as a human capital deficits), family problems, and a "series of unfortunate circumstances": "…people find themselves in unfortunate circumstances. Could be in sort of like a self-inflicted wound sort of thing, like abuse… or it could be that they just have nowhere to go" (Salvation Army Food Bank, personal communication 2001).

A number of agencies suggested that individual accountability contributes to homelessness. Individual accountability is a human capital deficit. It describes the sense of responsibility an individual might feel with respect to his or her life. A lack of individual accountability, therefore, would imply lack of responsibility for the events that might occur in a lifetime and a sense that one has no control over life's events. A representative from the Brother T.I. Murphy Centre described the importance of achieving a balance between societal and individual accountability: "sometimes society needs to be a little bit more accountable for the services we give young people or the services we give people in general and that they be held accountable… that they can't keep coming back looking for service after service. Both the system and the individual

must be held accountable." (Brother T.I. Murphy Centre, personal communication 2001) This was not discussed in the literature reviewed.

Structural concerns cited in the literature were also supported by several agencies. These included large-scale socio-economic issues such as unstable economic conditions, poverty, discrimination, issues of power and cultural insensitivity. One agency representative lamented the failure of Canadian society to protect the powerless: "There are homeless people because there is poverty... poverty is unnecessary in light of our ability to produce goods and services. It has a lot to do with attitude - in terms of power between the powerful and the powerless... these broad sorts of issues." (Carew Lodge, personal communication 2001)

Other more specific structural concerns focussed on housing issues. In general, many agencies also commented on a lack of housing options for Offenders and the Mentally Ill. Others stated that in general, rent charged to individuals earning a low income was too high. The lack of supportive housing, adequate housing, affordable housing, accessible housing and boarding houses were common criticisms:

- ... one of the main factors is a lack of safe affordable housing... that's the main thing. (Status of Women's Council, personal communication 2001)

- The squeeze on social housing and the fact that the Federal Government has not provided any funding to build new housing units in the last 10 years. They [the Federal Government] actually [stood] up and [said] "we are no longer involved in social housing". Now, can you imagine the government standing up and saying "as of today we're no longer involved in health care"? You know it wouldn't

happen, it couldn't! But people who are living in poverty are vulnerable because they don't have a voice. There was no backlash against it... it was quiet... it happened when nobody was looking. (Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, personal communication 2001)

- ... affordability is probably the biggest reason here [in St. John's]. It's not the lack of physical housing stock although that too is beginning to change because our vacancy rate is changing. But there is an affordability problem. (Cabot Habitat for Humanity, personal communication 2001)

- Lack of affordable housing... there's such a long waiting list for subsidized housing. It's just not available. (Senior's Resource Centre, personal communication 2001)

- ... the lack of boarding homes, appropriate accommodations, shelters. Particularly the women in this city don't have a place... (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001)

The unsafe conditions in many boarding houses in St. John's were another concern highlighted by several agencies. Difficulties in the regulation of such boarding houses were also stressed as a factor influencing homelessness in the city.

Regulation and inspection of boarding homes has been a long-standing issue in St. John's. As discussed in Chapter 4, public outcry concerning the conditions of boarding houses led to the introduction of the first municipal Boarding (Lodging) House By-law in December of 1963. However, concern over the inspection of such homes continued into the mid 1960s. In January of 1984, the Community Services Council, an umbrella

community organization in St. John's, released a public statement concerning the unfit

conditions in a number of local boarding homes. The release alerted the public of a

number of operational and unlicensed boarding homes in the city. Moreover, an M.A.

Thesis, published in 1985, documented the "underside of boarding house life" in St.

John's (Walsh 1985). Several agencies interviewed asserted that a number of boarding

houses are still unsafe, unregulated and illegal:

> ...some of them are in boarding houses... there's one house I'd like to go into – it's on
>
> Bonaventure Avenue and they've closed it recently. If there's anyone in this city that
>
> doesn't know that one... And we know the stories of these people and we've complained
>
> to everyone under the sun but it's so hard to catch them. [The Landlady] would send the
>
> people out in the morning and they'd have to go somewhere else for food! But they
>
> finally closed it. That took years. So that's what it takes. But how many other places are
>
> there, you know? (Voices for Justice in Housing, personal communication 2001)

Furthermore, obtaining accurate data on the number of residents in the boarding houses

or on the boarding houses themselves remains a challenge. Other agencies, however,

suggested that boarding homes are a necessary housing option for low-income recipients.

Welfare provision and income support were also cited as structural areas of

concern in the literature and by several agencies. Inadequate levels of income support

and a system of welfare distribution that promotes slum housing have contributed to

homelessness in St. John's. Regulations on income support provision throughout Canada

and the United States do not allow for shared living arrangements between recipients of

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welfare (Wolch and Rowe 1992, Takahashi 1996). In the case of Newfoundland, if the Department of Human Resources and Employment finds a number of social assistance recipients living in the same apartment, sharing expenses, their rates are often cut. This means that recipients are often living in low-cost apartments which are often of low quality and are unsafe and do not meet their needs (United Church Food Aid Centre, personal communication 2001). One representative from the Department of Human Resources and Employment explained:

> …eligibility [for income support] is based on a needs test so we assess an individuals income, all the income of the household, and any asset – you know, money in the bank and that sort of thing – and then it becomes very prescriptive in terms of our regulations. They prescribe to us what rates of social assistance we can pay to an individual who lives on their own versus someone who's boarding with a family… (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001)

Academics, experts and agencies have cited lack of government involvement in a variety of areas as a structural factor contributing the issue of homelessness (Peressini and McDonald 2000). Inadequate government services for the mentally ill, lack of federal support for social housing and outdated mental health legislation were some contributing factors cited by various agencies. The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador (CHANNAL) suggested that the Mental Health Act (described in the previous Chapter) should be updated to include provisions for the humane treatment of persons suffering acute mental illness in the province of

Newfoundland and Labrador. Because of the isolated geography of many Newfoundland and Labrador communities, many consumers of mental health services are forced to leave their communities for treatment in St. John's at the province's only fully functional Mental Health institution, the Waterford Hospital. They then must either find their own way home, often to return to the St. John's again when their next crisis occurs, or they must stay in St. John's and find a way into the already overflowing system that provides supportive housing to Mental Health Consumers. A number of agencies believe that geographic isolation and debilitating mental illness combined with expensive medications can therefore lead to homelessness.

Several additional structural factors cited by the literature and by the agencies that often lead to homelessness include changing demographics (Takahashi 1996, Dear and Wolch 1993), an inadequate housing stock, and gentrification (Glasser and Bridgeman 1999, Dear and Wolch 1993). As noted above, the social housing stock is inadequate to meet the needs of small families and single individuals. Moreover, "we have very little in the way of accessible housing. In general, there's no accessible housing in the city." (Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, personal communication 2001)

Recent gentrification of downtown St. John's has been cited as another structural concern by several agencies. This has also been discussed in the literature (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming). A number of agencies are concerned about the effect of increasing property values in the downtown area - an area that had traditionally contained many boarding houses and low-income apartments. Boarding houses have already been sold and low-income apartments have been converted into expensive condominiums. Could

this result in a displacement of the low-income population? Where in the city could new low-income housing be found? Overall, what effect might gentrification have on the population displaced by this change? Some agencies and academics (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming) suggest that we have yet to discover the effects of such gentrification but believe it can only have a negative effect on the "at risk homeless" in St. John's: "Most folks used to live downtown but now this facility [Carew Lodge] might be the only place conducive to poor people coming up in the world. Everything else is being closed down. It's probably in transition out there – I don't know where everybody's going… I don't know." (Carew Lodge, personal communication 2001). Gentrification will be discussed in Chapter 7.

The most often cited reasons for homelessness were both individualistic and structural. Several reasons for homelessness, identified earlier in the literature review, were confirmed in this field study. Homelessness, therefore, has resulted from a number of similar characteristics throughout Canada, the U.S. and Britain. For example, an individualistic concern such as mental illness was often cited as attributing to the phenomenon of homelessness in St. John's. The agencies citing mental illness often combined this concern with another more structural concern such as the lack of supportive housing options for individuals suffering from mental illness. Similarly, those agencies that cited "corrections issues" (as an individualistic reason attributing to homelessness) supported their concern for Offenders with a structural reason such as a lack of housing options provided for these individuals.   However the combination of these factors and the relative importance of each factor are, quite often, place specific. A

number of agencies identified a very specific issue such as the isolated geography of Newfoundland and Labrador as a contributing factor to homelessness. A long list of structural concerns ranging from demographics to inadequate income support and government support for social housing was presented by the agencies interviewed. A shorter list of individualistic concerns was also presented by these agencies.

As suggested in Chapter 2 and earlier in this chapter, how an issue is defined often influences the kinds of policies or programs formulated to deal with that issue. In citing the reasons for homelessness (above) or considering what categories of homelessness exist (earlier), the agencies interviewed revealed some important details about the nature of their organizations. The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness (CACH), a committee spawned to administer federal SCPI funds, works towards alleviating "absolute homelessness" in St. John's. While acknowledging the concerns of committee members regarding the "at risk" or "relative homeless", CACH states that it must deal with those individuals who are priorities - its mandate is therefore limited. On the other hand, the SWC favours the concept of a "homelessness continuum" in their dealings with the issue. The SWC provides a variety of different and less limited services to their clientele. They work in areas such as housing advocacy, teaching necessary skills to women for home repairs, and networking with other agencies to improve conditions for women in various housing arrangements (rental, social housing, home ownership etc...). The SWC also highlights the theme of mental illness as both a cause and symptom of homelessness (this theme has been confirmed in the literature, for example: Murray 1990):

Some people, when you get into issues of homelessness, sometimes it gets reduced to a

psychological issue, mental health issue, so you know, some people say that people who

have mental health problems are therefore poor because they can't gain employment but I

have seen too many cases of women who because they are on low incomes and they've

told me "...I'm getting really depressed" and I can see how that leads to mental health

problems (Status of Women's Council, personal communication 2001).

Therefore, comments on the proportion of homeless that suffer from mental illness

should not be made in haste. Nothing in a definition should be taken for granted.

Perhaps in a number of cases, mental illness is the result of psychological stress because

of being in a housing crisis. It is, therefore, not enough to observe that a large proportion

of the homeless population are mental health consumers and then to assume that this is

the reason why they have become homeless. Their condition could be the result of

homelessness and not the cause.

6.3 Pathways into and out of Homelessness in St. John's

The following diagram (Figure 6) represents one of many possible examples of

the path an 'at risk' individual might follow. It tracks the passage of an individual into

homelessness, through the system of supports to the homeless, and, finally into a home.

This diagram is based on the results from the 28 agency interviews undertaken during the

St. John's field study.

STEP ONE: Pathway Into Homelessness

INDIVIDUALISTIC:
Mental Illness
Corrections Issues
Drug/alcohol Abuse
Violence
Disability
Eviction
Human Capital Deficits
Social Disaffiliation

STRUCTURAL:
Decreasing supply of affordable housing
Decreasing supply of social housing
Unsafe Housing
Unsuitable Housing
Gentrification
Changing Demographics
Economics
Discrimination
Poverty
Issues of Power

STEP TWO: Accessing Services

ADVOCACY AND REFERRAL:
Voices for Justice in Housing
Consumers Health Awareness
Network of Newfoundland and Labrador
Mental Health Crisis Centre
Status of Women's Council
Association for New Canadians
St. John's Native Friendship Centre Assoc.
AIDS Committee of NL

EMERGENCY SHELTERS:
Salvation Army Wiseman Centre
Iris Kirby House
Elizabeth House

EMERGENCY FOOD AID:
United Church Food Aid Centre
Salvation Army Food Bank

FINANCIAL AID:
Human Resources and Employment

STEP THREE: Supports and Transitional Services

EDUCATION:
Brother T.I. Murphy Centre
Status of Women's Council

COUNSELLING:
Mental Health Crisis Centre
Mental Health and Addictions Services
Voices for Justice in Housing
Status of Women's Council

SOCIAL/TRANSITIONAL HOUSING:
NL Housing Corporation
Urban Living
Cabot Habitat for Humanity
Carew Lodge
Mental Health and Addictions Services
St. Francis Foundation
Choices for Youth
Community Care Program
Family Care Program

STEP FOUR: Maintaining a Home

NECESSARY SUPPORTS:
Education/Employment/Income support
Lifeskills
Social Supports

Maintenance of dignity, pride, safety, suitability and affordability

Figure 6: Pathways Into and Out of Homelessness

Figure 6 illustrates a wide range of services and supports for the homeless in St. John's. It represents a complex network of services, choices, eligibility requirements, and long-term supports necessary to (1) end a housing crisis, (2) deal with any extraneous issues that might have contributed to the crisis, (3) find a suitable 'home', and (4) maintain a happy, proud, and dignified existence in that home. Step One illustrates the possible contributing factors to homelessness. It outlines the structural and personal reasons a person might become homeless in St. John's as described in detail earlier in this chapter. Step Two indicates the pathway followed to access each of the possible agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's. The paths to accessing these agencies can be found through advocacy, referral services and emergency services such as food aid, financial aid and shelter. A list of each agency corresponding to these categories is provided. Step Three describes the kinds of supports and the level of supports provided to help the individual find suitable, safe, affordable and stable accommodations – a place to live with dignity and pride. These are more long-term solutions – services offered to individuals over a period of time, through any crises an individual might encounter - not only during an emergency. Finally, Step Four illustrates some long-term supports necessary for the maintenance of the 'home' environment. These elements were described as essential to maintaining a healthy and stable existence – they are the true elements of a 'home'.

6.4 Overview

Experts and academics have characterized the homeless, identified different types of homelessness, examined a number of reasons behind homelessness and outlined the main elements of a true home. The agencies interviewed during the field study identified many of the same subgroups among the homeless, the same types of homelessness, reasons behind homelessness and elements of a home. However, they described a situation of homelessness specific to St. John's. Some suggested that "functional homelessness" was a significant issue in the city that must be addressed. This form of homelessness was not examined in previous literature. Moreover, the agencies provided an overall image of some of the specific reasons behind homelessness in St. John's, many of which can also be found in other communities across Canada, the U.S. and Britain – conditions that must be addressed before homelessness can be alleviated. These include a lack of individual accountability, expensive medications, the fact that homelessness may cause a mental health condition, an inadequate supply of affordable housing in the city, and issues of particular significance to St. John's: the isolated geography of the province of Newfoundland and Labrador and the lack of 24-hour supervised supportive social housing within the City of St. John's for persons suffering from mental illness. Figure 6 illustrates the possible pathways into and out of homelessness in St. John's.

CHAPTER SEVEN: ST. JOHN'S – SERVICES PROVIDED FOR THE HOMELESS

7.1 Introduction

This Chapter examines the successes and failures of the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's in order to determine how the system affects the social sustainability of the city. It compares information from agency interviews with more information from the literature concerning socially sustainable urban development and homelessness. It outlines the main features of success measurement and identifies gaps in service provision among the agencies. In addition, agency contribution to the system and inter-agency cooperation and coordination are examined and assessed. Finally, this Chapter concludes with a discussion of the perceived location of homeless space and its influence on the social sustainability of St. John's.

7.2 Successes and Failures: How Sustainable is the System of Supports for the Homeless in St. John's?

Measuring success and progress is an important and sometimes elusive aspect of sustainable development (United Nations 2001, Roseland 1998). A number of techniques and methods for the examination and evaluation of sustainable development were outlined in Chapter 2. Polèse and Stren (2000) suggest that there are six main areas - policy-related elements that should be examined when analysing the social sustainability

of any city. These include governance (the relationships between governments and communities), social and cultural policies, infrastructure, housing, urban transport and employment. Governance of and responsibility for homelessness is an important element of the socially sustainable city. Therefore, the successes and failures of the system of supports responsible for the homeless in St. John's can be assessed in terms of their contribution to social sustainability.

All of the agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis have expressed sincere concern for the homeless in St. John's. They have highlighted some of the benefits of the system of supports in this city and have also lamented many of its financial - and other resource-based and ideological flaws. What follows is a discussion of some of the successes and failures of these agencies. How do these successes and failures compare to those established in the literature with reference to socially sustainable urban development and homelessness? How does each agency measure success? How does each agency see itself and other agencies? Finally, what is really being done to alleviate homelessness in St. John's?

There was significant growth in the number of non-government agencies and human rights based advocacy agencies worldwide during the 1960s and 1970s (Hailey and Sorgenfrei 2003). Similarly, there was an important rise in the establishment of non-government and para-government agencies during the late 1970s in St. John's (Chapter 4, Table 3). "The voluntary non-profit sector was increasingly perceived by government as a convenient and inexpensive policy tool" (Hailey and Sorgenfrei 2003:5).

7.2.1 Measuring Success

Methods of measuring success in the non-profit sector have changed since the 1970s. These ever-changing strategies for success measurement have been well documented by experts and academics. In many cases, changes have also occurred in the private and public sectors. Initially, success measurement was predominantly financial and quantitative. It has since become dynamic and flexible and incorporates non-financial and qualitative measures (Hailey and Sorgenfrei 2003). Today, measuring success in government, non-government and para-government agencies involves balancing financial and program accountability (City of Toronto 2001).

Overall, the agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis had difficulty answering the question 'how do you measure success?':

- "I don't know because you know I've been asked… so many times over the years and we ask it amongst ourselves. I don't know really how you would measure success" (Correctional Services Canada, personal communication 2001).

- "I think that's something that as a community agency we're really grappling with right now!" (Mental Health and Addictions Services, personal communication 2001).

- "I guess it's difficult to measure success…" (Salvation Army Wiseman Centre, personal communication 2001)

- "It's difficult…" (Mental Health Crisis Centre, personal communication 2001)

- "That's a tricky one!" (Iris Kirby House, personal communication 2001)

Some agencies used quantitative methods to measure success. The Department of Human Resources and Employment, for example, considered a decreasing caseload to be an indicator of success. Correctional Services Canada and the Division of Corrections, on the other hand, suggested measuring the recidivism rate (rate of re-offending) as a means of quantifying success. Other agencies stated that their ability to reduce waiting lists for services would be a measure of success.

Some agencies asked themselves if they were meeting their targets and goals, if they were providing the best possible services to their clients, or if they were responding to need as indicators of success. Other agencies stated that being thanked and receiving positive feedback from clients was an indication of success.

Some interesting success measurement techniques were those which involved witnessing some personal change or improvement in clients. For example, The Division of Corrections suggested that willing and successful participation in rehabilitation and probation programs is an indicator of success. The Division of Corrections, Carew Lodge, and The Mental Health Crisis Centre have seen people "turn their lives around". This too signifies success. The Salvation Army Wiseman Centre, The Community Care Program and Choices for Youth stated that working with their clients to improve their situation is, in and of itself, a measure of success. Moreover, Choices for Youth suggested that a client regaining some stability in their life indicated success. The

Brother T.I. Murphy Centre asserted that when a client meets his or her own set goals, or experiences an increase in self-esteem, these too can be indicators of success.

> We have a lot of success here with a person like ... She's a person who's lived here before we even took over the building. So that's the kind of success I measure. People who thought they were outside without a hope in the world of being included are included. As individuals realize their own value... I think that's a success (Carew Lodge, personal communication 2001).

Voices for Justice in Housing stated that they are successful if they can continue to provide services to their clientele. The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador suggested that an increase in the number of people benefiting from their services or calling from the community for educational presentations or workshops would be an indicator of success. On the other hand, The Salvation Army Food Bank believed that the ultimate measure of success would be if no one needed their services.

Mental Health and Addictions Services suggested that the best means of measuring success is an accountability mechanism that balances financial accountability with service provision accountability. They indicated that providing financial accountability to funding sources is the most popular form of success measurement used by government agencies. A better mechanism must be designed, they stated, to ensure that services are being provided efficiently to those in most need.

Two shelters, The Salvation Army Wiseman Centre and Elizabeth House, stated that their beds are never completely filled. A representative for The Salvation Army

Wiseman Centre believes this to be a positive result of the community's efforts to alleviate homelessness – it is an indicator of success. However, a representative for Elizabeth House complained that this 'emptiness' is the result of government funding for abortion services. As noted earlier, certain academics believe that the under-use of facilities can also be the result of inconvenient location or limitations on the services provided by the agencies in question (Takahashi 1996).

Methods for measuring success take a number of different forms. Some are technical and quantitative while others are descriptive, qualitative, personal and based on a 'sense' of day-to-day operations. All government agencies measured success using quantitative methods. However, many also measured success in a more descriptive and personal manner (feedback from clients, successfully meeting set goals etc...). A few para-government and non-government agencies made use of quantitative methods for measuring success. However, the majority relied on feedback, a sense of client personal improvement and goal achievements. Methods have changed. Many agencies incorporate non-financial and qualitative measures. Moreover, they believe that success measurement often involves balancing financial and program accountability (Mental Health and Addictions Services 2001). The following section examines gaps in service provision to the homeless. In what areas does achieving success remain a challenge?

7.2.2 Successes and Failures: are there gaps in service provision?

Experts and academics have outlined a number of failures of the system of supports in North America. Some state that the homeless are voiceless in policy development and in making decisions that directly affect their lives (Daly 1998), that legislation is inadequate to meet the needs of certain segments of the population such as children and the elderly (Burt 1994), and that there is a concentration on short-term fixes as opposed to long-term solutions (Dear and Wolch 1993). There are gaps in services for the homeless (Hambrick and Rog 2000), outreach and follow-up are often inadequate (Burt 1994), and agencies providing services for the homeless are underutilized because of limitations on services offered and often because of locations. Furthermore, the NIMBY (not in my backyard) syndrome often excludes facility development for the homeless in North American cities (Takahashi 1996). The shrinking supply of adequate and affordable housing (Crane and Takahashi 1998), declining government involvement in the provision of social housing (Bacher 1993), gentrification (Peressini and McDonald 2000, Hulchanski et al. 1991), lack of service coordination within and outside of government (IHRD 2001, Hambrick and Rog 2000) and concern over the 'hard to house' (IHRD 2001) have also been highlighted as symptoms of failures of the system of supports.

Some successes in addressing homelessness, outlined in Chapter 3, include the growing number of programs in Canada offering a full range of coordinated services for youth including housing, life skills and traditional education (Kraus, Eberle and Serge

2001), the new National Homelessness Initiative and National Secretariat on Homelessness in Canada (SCPI 1999), and recent attempts to count the homeless in Canada (Weiss and Parenteau 2001).

In general, the agencies interviewed had more complaints than praise for government support for the system of supports. However, many agencies also highlighted some positive actions being taken either by their own agency or other agencies involved.

Inter-agency cooperation and coordination has been the source of both praise and criticism by several agencies, academics and experts (IHRD 2001, Hambrick and Rog 2000). Correctional Services Canada believes that the sharing of information, expertise and money is a positive result of such cooperation and coordination, while The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation highlights a lack of cooperation and coordination in the past. Both groups believe, however, that there has been an increase in cooperation and coordination within the past 3-4 years. This will be further examined in the following section.

Several agencies highlighted their own successes while others praised certain elements of their own work. Voices for Justice in Housing, for example, stated that their greatest strength was in advocacy-related work, while The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation praised their Private Non-Profit Housing Program. Cabot Habitat for Humanity asserted that all three levels of government are interested in their work because of its volunteer and community-based origins. Cabot Habitat for Humanity does not solicit government funds or support in any way.

Some agencies outlined the strengths of others. For example, Iris Kirby House complimented The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness for its work towards alleviating homelessness in St. John's, while The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness and The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador touted the newly renovated Carew Lodge as a success story. The Native Friendship Centre expressed support for Correctional Services Canada and highlighted its successes in providing cultural supports for Aboriginal Offenders. Other agencies praised the work of an Interdepartmental Committee on Supportive Social Housing. Some complimented the work of highly dedicated volunteers, without whom the agencies would not be able to operate.

The provincial headquarters of The Department of Human Resources and Employment praised its own income support program, its good working relationships with other government departments, and its ability to help those in need of income support and employment services. At a Field Office, however, representatives of Human Resources and Employment were not as positive. They too praised the employment aspect of their departmental duties. However, they criticized some outcomes of the departmental reorganizations of 1997. Representatives stated that when they transferred social workers from the Department of Social Services to the new Department of Health and Community Services they had expected that their previous duties would still be performed. These duties included supportive services for the "at risk" homeless population (medical supports, mental health services etc...). At present, however, Health and Community Services maintains that it does not have enough funding to carry out

these duties with the same amount of care and precision as taken by the previous Department of Social Services. Representatives from this Human Resources and Employment Field Office expressed some frustration over this confusion, stating that they are now missing this social work piece in their day-to-day affairs:

> All of our staff feel very strongly that they want to help people – they don't want to walk away and say 'I can only give you the money'. They want to be able to say 'here's a place you can go to look for somewhere to live – you can stay here – there's three or four more names you can pick from'… but we don't have the ability to do that anymore. Nor can we counsel them or talk to them individually about their problems. We don't have the staff to do that. (Human Resources and Employment, personal communication 2001)

Furthermore, they believe that clients are also experiencing some difficulty with the mail-back system of application for social assistance in place since the '97 reorganization. Academics and experts state that illiteracy is a common problem among the homeless and they often have difficulty filling out forms requesting income support and other forms of assistance (Daly 1998, Peressini and McDonald 2000). Both The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre and Mental Health and Addictions Services offer literacy programs to adults in St. John's. However, some adults remain unable to read or write.

Some concerns expressed in the literature by experts and academics included little funding for agencies, inadequate levels of income support (Peressini and McDonald 2000), and inadequate outreach by society in general (Burt 1994). These were confirmed by a number of different agencies in St. John's.

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A plethora of more extensive and specific concerns included the lack of services for the hard-to-house individuals – those with complex multiple-needs who require flexible care (IHRD 2001). Some agencies were concerned that the government is not taking an active role in prevention of homelessness (specifically with the mentally ill). Others were dissatisfied with the lack of community supports for independent living. The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador stressed the need for revision of the provincial Mental Health Act and suggested that individuals with mental illness and physical disability should be treated equally with respect to rates of income support and the provision of home support services.

Several academics and experts have highlighted specific housing-related failures of the system of supports for the homeless. These include "condoization" - that is, the conversion of many previously low-income rental properties to more upscale condominiums - and the lack of federal government involvement in the provision of social housing (Hulchanski et al. 1991). A number of agencies confirmed these failures. Other agencies complained about the absence of 24-hour supervised supportive housing for individuals with mental illnesses in the city. For Mental Health Consumers who do not wish to leave the city, this lack of supportive housing within city limits often results in their improper placement in other, less suitable forms of accommodation.

The Seniors Resource Centre expressed concern regarding a number of policies of the Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC). According to the Centre, NLHC, because of its points-based system of application for social housing, often discriminates against applicants whose only reasons for requesting subsidized housing are

financial. Their home repair programs have long waiting lists and the Housing

Corporation often won't cover rental increases implemented by private landlords in their

Rental Supplement Program. For these reasons, The Seniors Resource Centre maintains

that needy seniors often have difficulties accessing and maintaining tenure in social

housing in the City of St. John's. Several academics and experts have also lamented the

inadequacy of legislation providing supports for seniors and children (Burt 1994).

Concern has also been expressed by other agencies that The Newfoundland and Labrador

Housing Corporation's social housing programs promote dependence and that clients

often get caught "in the system".

Several agencies have criticized the lack of regulation and control over rental

properties and boarding homes in St. John's (discussed in Chapter 6) and Voices for

Justice in Housing has lobbied the provincial government for the introduction of a

Housing Ombudsman for the City. Other agencies have expressed concern over the lack

of a shelter for single women and The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador

has suggested the establishment of a 'no questions asked' shelter that the public could

access without referral from the police, a social worker, or any other professional

community-worker.

The St. Francis Foundation is concerned about the reactive focus of Child Welfare

programming in the Province of Newfoundland and Labrador. Furthermore, it believes

that the present provincial school system is detrimental for children experiencing

behavioural problems. At present many clients of The St. Francis Foundation come out

of The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation's public housing

neighbourhoods only to be passed on into the care of Choices for Youth after which point no one has any record of their movements or passage into or out of other systems of support (St. Francis Foundation, personal communication, 2001). What does this indicate in terms of our attempt to provide social housing to alleviate homelessness? It seems ironic that a proposed *solution* to homelessness could also be a *cause*. If one significant solution to homelessness lies in the provision of social housing, then why would children, supposedly adequately housed in provincial social housing, repeatedly enter into the Child Welfare system only to be passed onto other agencies aimed at alleviating homelessness? How could this cycle of dependence on the system of supports for the homeless be alleviated?

In Chapter 3 the social problems associated with large public housing developments were introduced (Dennis and Fish 1972, Bacher 1993, Task Force on Housing and Urban Development 1969). Specifically, these problems include high crime rates, overcrowding, concentrated poverty and an overall sense of desperation among residents. These issues have not, for the most part, characterized the smaller public housing developments that are present in St. John's (Sewell 1994). However, many poor neighbourhoods, which are often made up of a mix of public and privately owned housing, are not just the victims of low income but are subject to a complex mix of social, environmental and economic factors (Powell, Boyne and Ashworth 2001). The successes and failures of social housing can only truly be measured in the long term. Albert Rose, in his 1958 text documenting slum clearance and the construction of Canada's largest public housing development, Regent Park, writes: "by mid 1957 there

were nearly 2000 children under the age of 12 and an additional 550 youths under the age of 20 living in Regent Park. The lives of these young people in future years will be the real measure of success (Rose 1958:226)." So then, what is the significance of the present day rise in youth homelessness?

Youth homelessness, a type of homelessness identified in the literature, can be the result of a number of factors. Many homeless youth "have been raised in foster homes, have a lack of education and skills and suffer from poor physical health" (Kraus, Eberle and Serge 2001:1)." They are the victims of social exclusion (a concept introduced in Chapter 2), the effects of which can last into adulthood acting as an employment barrier - causing further social and economic exclusion (Williams 2000).

As noted above, The St. Francis Foundation stated that many of its clients grow up in public housing neighbourhoods. There are other such examples of the cycling of individuals through various systems of support. For example, The St. Francis Foundation receives clients from foster care or from custody of the provincial Director of Child Welfare. They stay for a length of time but are free to leave at 16 if they choose. These youth often find themselves homeless upon leaving The St. Francis Foundation and end up on the doorstep of Choices for Youth. Similarly, youth from Choices for Youth are often referred to The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre to attain literacy skills, further their education, gain life skills and to prepare for a future career. Perhaps this indicates that a certain degree of communication is ongoing between these agencies and that the youth are not falling between the cracks of the system.

It seems that youth are migrating from foster homes and housing programs outside of the downtown (such as The St. Francis Foundation) to agencies that provide housing aid primarily within it (Choices for Youth). This phenomenon has been documented on a larger scale by experts and academics. Homeless youth, they assert, often migrate from small outlying communities to the more service-rich centres of larger cities to access services, search for employment or educational opportunities (Kraus, Eberle and Serge 2001).

Each of the above programs is limited in terms of eligibility and length of stay. Each participant or client will at some point, either voluntarily or by gentle force, leave. If they have not gained enough skills to maintain a job with sufficient pay or pursue a higher education, they will inevitably end up back in the system of supports, perhaps indefinitely, but though different agencies such as The Department of Human Resources and Employment for income support and, if they're lucky, The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation for housing.

The St. Francis Foundation confirms that not enough is being done for homeless youth by way of prevention. Services are reactionary and crisis-focussed and do not address the underlying causes of behavioural problems among youth. "So our money, in child welfare anyway (and a lot of the people that would end up homeless down the road would probably be coming out of the child welfare system), all the money is being spent on crisis – it's all spent on the back end" (St. Francis Foundation, personal communication 2001). This results in a cycle of dependence on welfare and on the social

safety net and increased pressure on the system of supports for the homeless in the downtown core.

An interesting question results from the above discussion of welfare dependence: Does social sustainability rest in the ability to support indefinitely those who cannot cope, for a variety of reasons, or is social sustainability to support those in need and to help them get off support and to lead independent lives?

As discussed in Chapter 2, socially sustainable urban development is "strongly reflected in the degree to which inequalities and social discontinuity are reduced" (Polèse and Stren 2000:1). Reducing inequalities to zero, however, is an ideal, and will probably never be achieved. So, a socially sustainable city would have to provide a certain amount of absolute support to those who will never be able to support themselves, while at the same time concentrating efforts on the promotion of pathways to independent living. After all, the socially sustainable city fosters an "environment conducive to the compatible cohabitation of culturally and socially diverse groups... with improvements in the quality of life for all segments of the population" (Polèse and Stren 2000:15). Improvement for all implies getting those in need off assistance and into independent living. But what do the agencies believe?

Agencies providing long-term support to adults with severe and persistent mental illness, such as The Community Care Program and The Family Care Program, believe that length of stay is a measure of success. Therefore, the longer a client relies on their service, the higher their rate of success. Social housing agencies wish to reduce their waiting lists. However, they also admit that social housing is a life-long commitment for

many and so they do not force individuals or families out of their homes because of any limit on duration of stay. Interestingly, the provincial Department of Human Resources and Employment believes that a reduction in their caseload is an indicator of success. Therefore social assistance should, ideally, be provided in the short-term, and social housing in the long-term. This is a reflection of differing values from one government department to another and it is related to the earlier discussion of discriminatory versus non-discriminatory social assistance. It seems that the agencies addressing homelessness also believe that real success (and, in terms of this thesis, social sustainability) involves a combination of absolute life-long support and short-term solutions aimed at the promotion of independent living.

Overall, the agencies interviewed were pleased with their own work. With the exception of one Human Resources and Employment Field Office and Mental Health and Addictions Services (dissatisfied with some of the results of their respective 1996-97 departmental reorganizations), no agencies expressed explicit discontent over the services they provide to the homeless or the manner in which they provide these services. Nonetheless, several general themes of successes and failures were noted. So, generally, what are the agency successes? What are their failures?

The most prevalent successes highlighted by the agencies interviewed involved inter-agency cooperation and coordination. Although some agencies regretted the lack of cooperation and coordination in the past, it was agreed that increasingly, government and non-government agencies are taking the important step forward into communication and information sharing at all levels. In addition, community-based initiatives were praised.

This is an important indicator of success in the system of supports for the homeless and to the social sustainability of St. John's. Lack of cooperation and coordination among agencies was cited in the literature as a significant barrier to addressing homelessness. It can be considered a roadblock on the path to social sustainability. Therefore, if the current trend in St. John's is towards cooperation and coordination, as indicated by the agencies, then this is one socially sustainable element of the system of supports for the homeless.

The most important failures stressed by the agencies interviewed included Human Resources and Employment and Health and Community Services' departmental reorganization in 1996-97, a strain on financial resources (in general), the need for increased community supports for individuals with complex needs, a lack of regulation of unsafe boarding houses, and too many reactionary solutions to youth homelessness. These concerns were expressed by a significant number of agencies and some confirmed those established in the literature on homelessness, clearly identifying the gaps in services to the homeless in St. John's as in the rest of Canada, the U.S. and Britain. However, failures such as the departmental reorganizations of 1996-97, the lack of supervised 24-hour supportive housing in the City of St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation's policies and their negative effects on Seniors, and the lack of regulatory control over boarding houses in St. John's were noted as unique failures – specific to St. John's.

An examination of the relative contribution of each agency to the system of supports to the homeless and inter-agency cooperation and coordination between agencies follows.

7.2.3 Agency Contribution to the System of Supports

The relative contribution of each agency to the system of supports for the homeless is difficult to quantify. This was established in the literature concerning homelessness. Government and non-government agencies differ significantly in terms of management, governance, services and accountability to the public (Wolfe and Jay 1990). Moreover, the size and contribution of the third (or non-governmental) sector with respect to housing the homeless and the poor is "impossible to gauge with any accuracy" (Wolfe and Jay 1990:207). It is difficult to measure the reliance on volunteer work that characterizes many of these agencies. Nevertheless, the relative demand for compared to the capacity of services to the homeless in St. John's was measured by IHRD in their 2001 'Community Plan for Addressing Homelessness in St. John's'. Most of the "resource assets" (agencies) were operating at 80 to 100 percent of their capacity. However, several agencies including Elizabeth House, Mental Health and Addictions Services, and The Salvation Army Wiseman Centre were underused (50-65% capacity) (IHRD 2001).

The agencies interviewed this study vary immensely according to mandate, funding sources, and target populations (as discussed in the previous chapter). Furthermore, they provide a multitude of different services and different *levels* of service

to the homeless in St. John's. The following is a discussion of the relative contributions of the agencies interviewed to the system of supports. It compares the varying levels of services provided by each agency. The data used in this comparison includes measurements such as the number of clients serviced per agency, the number of beds for client use, the number of employees, the number of members of each agency's Board of Directors (if applicable), and the relative turnover of clients. Data was derived in part from the field study and in part from IHRD's 2001 report. In most cases agency representatives approximated numbers.

In general, government agencies like The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation and Human Resources and Employment make the largest contribution to the system of supports: 3299 units of social housing provided by NLHC and 6700 social assistance recipients served by HRE in the city. Other government agencies like Correctional Services Canada, the Division of Corrections, and, more generally, Health and Community Services, are also important contributors. In addition, the city's non-profit housing program, Urban Living, provides more than 400 units of social housing.

Other agencies that provide direct services (housing agencies, shelters, and educational organizations) contribute to the system of supports to varying degrees. The Community Care Program, for example, serves 267 clients in its program, while The Family Care Program provides for 14 homes, each of which can house approximately 3 clients. Shelters like The Salvation Army Wiseman Centre and Iris Kirby House provide short-term accommodations to a smaller but significant number of homeless in St. John's. The Wiseman Centre employs 5 full-time staff and provides 38 beds while Kirby House

employs a number of full-time staff and provides 22 beds. Kirby House also depends on a number of dedicated volunteers to administer its operation. Carew Lodge operates 12 apartments and serves 14 clients in total while Elizabeth House provides 6 beds (however, these are almost never fully occupied). Cabot Habitat for Humanity builds approximately 2 houses each year.

Youth-centred agencies like Choices for Youth and The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre also contribute to alleviating homelessness on a smaller but still important level. Choices for Youth, for example, has the capacity to serve 45 clients while The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre can accommodate anywhere between 70 and 80 youths. The St. Francis Foundation operates 7 different homes and offers 14 beds to clients in need.

Agencies that provide a collection of services such as advocacy, information and education often do not keep accurate records of the number of clients served because this task becomes increasingly difficult when the services provided are varied and, sometimes, completely anonymous. However, estimates are often cited by these agencies. The Native Friendship Centre, for example, maintains more than 20 clients, on average. The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador has approximately 60 clients, while The United Church Food Aid Centre serves anywhere from 6000 to 12 000 clients per year. The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador receives anywhere from 6 to 42 clients requesting services each week.

Agencies that did not provide data in the form of numbers of clients or numbers of beds did, at times, indicate the relative size of their administration, board of directors, or staff. For example, The Mental Health Crisis Centre employs 8 people. The

Association for New Canadians and The Senior's Resource Centre each employ more than 6 people. Voices for Justice in Housing has a governing committee with 8 or 9 members while membership of The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness is much larger (21 members). The Status of Women's Council works with 8 of its own in-house committees and employs between 1 and 3 full-time staff.

In general, government 'in house' agencies provide services to the largest volume of consumers. Government and para-government accommodation agencies provide services to a significantly smaller clientele, while non-government accommodation agencies provide for an even smaller group. Advocacy, information and education agencies have, on average, a moderate number of clients ranging from 10 to 100 at any given time.

What is the role, then, of the para-government and non-government agencies? Are they in place to help, just as government agencies are, or to help those who fall through the cracks of the system established and administered by the government? Table 12 identifies how government, para-government and non-government agencies see themselves. Do they operate as extensions of government, driven by what government will not or cannot do or driven by those who want to help? Are they human rights motivated, driven by an organization of social workers or driven by social activists?

All government agencies operate, obviously, as extensions of government, in line with the overall principles of the municipal, provincial and federal governments. As discussed in Chapter 4, provincial and federal government policy has increasingly reflected an emphasis on the provision of human rights for all. These government

Table 12: Agency Motivations

Agency	Extension of government	Driven by what government cannot/will not do	Driven by those who want to help	Human rights motivated	Driven by social workers	Driven by social activists
Government:						
NLHC	●			●		
UL	●			●		
HRE	●			●		
HCS	●			●		
DOC	●			●		
CSC	●			●		
FCP	●			●		
CCP	●			●		
MHAS	●			●		
MHCC	●			●		
Para-government:						
SWC		●	●	●		●
SFF		●	●		●	
CFY		●	●		●	
SAWC		●	●			
IKH		●	●	●		●
CACH		●	●			
CHANNAL		●	●	●		●
BMC		●	●			
ANC		●	●			
NFC		●	●	●		
ACNL			●	●		●
CL			●	●		●
Non-government:						
EH			●			
VJH		●	●	●		●
SAFB			●			
UCFA			●	●		●
SRC			●	●		
CHH		●	●			●

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agencies are therefore human rights motivated. "All of our policies, rules, and regulations stem from [The Correctional Conditional Release Act] but we're also governed by other acts as well in terms of the duty to act fairly, obviously the Charter of Human Rights, the Criminal Code, we're connected to those" (Correctional Services Canada, personal communication 2001).

Para-government agencies, on the other hand, are not direct extensions of government. Rather, they operate at an arms-length, mostly driven by what government will not or cannot do:

This organization was established when... The Mt. Cashel Orphanage shut down around 12 years ago. When that place shut down of course there were residents of that organization that needed services, a place to live etc... So Choices for Youth was one of the main responses on behalf of government to deal with the people who were then sort of homeless, so to speak, because the orphanage was their home (Choices for Youth, personal communication 2001).

These agencies are operated by a dedicated group of individuals with a desire to help. Many are operated by social activists or an organization of social workers. Most are also motivated by human rights issues.

Non-government agencies are dominated by volunteers who want to help those in need. They are often affiliated with religious organizations and are therefore motivated by a sense of Christian charity.

I think my role and our role comes out of what we believe about who we claim to be as Christians. And I don't want to limit it to Christians because that excludes other people. But the meaning of community and neighbourhood and caring for one another... and that's rooted in the beliefs of all religions... So you live what you believe. If I'm not going to live what I believe then I can't ignore that there are poor people. So it comes down to beliefs and values (Voices for Justice in Housing, personal communication 2001).

They are sometimes motivated by what government can or will not do, are often human rights driven and run by social activists.

A number of agencies believe that their contributions to alleviating homelessness in St. John's are limited. Government, para-government and non-government agencies alike lament the lack of financial support for their programs and services.

Having now considered the relative contribution of each agency to the system of supports, and confirmed the difficulties associated with measuring agency contribution, attention will now turn to how these agencies interact with one another.

7.2.4 Inter-agency Cooperation and Coordination

As discussed earlier, inter-agency cooperation and coordination was an important statement made in the literature concerned with homelessness. Much of the literature and many agencies stressed the need for increased inter-agency cooperation and coordination.

Some agencies, however, are more actively involved than others. It is important to note that these documented interactions are not exhaustive. Not all of the agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's were able to participate in this field study. So, conclusions regarding all forms of inter-agency cooperation and coordination are difficult to make with absolute certainty. Ten inter-agency committees were mentioned by the interviewed agencies (See Table 13).

The first committee mentioned was a Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation (NLHC) 'liaison committee' composed of several community agencies, The Department of Human Resources and Employment and NLHC. This committee provides a forum for discussion and sharing of 'best practices' between government and non-government agencies concerned with NLHC social housing issues.

The second committee discussed was the 'Interdepartmental Committee on Supportive Social Housing'(ICSSH). Committee members include Health and Community Services, Human Resources and Employment, and The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation. This interdepartmental committee is concerned with providing supportive housing to individuals who would have difficulty living independently in the community. The targeted individuals include seniors, individuals in the Criminal Justice System, people suffering from the effects of Mental Illness and the homeless.

The 'Housing Advisory Committee' involved the following participants: The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, Urban Living, The Family Care Program, The Community Care Program and three additional agencies providing

Table 13: Categories of Agencies Participating in Committees

Committees	Gov	Para	Non	Accom.	Deinst.	Income Support	Food Aid	Adv/Edu
NLHC Liaison:								
NLHC	●			●				
HRE	●					●		
Interdepartmental Committee on Supportive Social Housing:								
NLHC	●			●				
HRE	●					●		
HCS	●				●			
Housing Advisory Committee:								
NLHC	●			●				
UL	●			●				
FCP	●			●				
CCP	●			●				
HCS	●				●			
Provincial Justice Committee:								
DOC	●				●			
CSC	●				●			
IKH		●		●				
SWC		●						●
ACNL		●						●
SRC			●					●
Youth Services Committee:								
SFF		●		●				
CFY		●		●				
HCS	●				●			
Mobile Response Unit:								
HCS	●				●			
CHANNAL		●						●
Community Food Sharing Association:								
SAFB			●				●	
UCFA			●				●	
Elder Abuse Committee:								
HCS	●				●			
IKH		●		●				
SRC			●					●
Inter-agency Committee on Senior's Policy:								
NLHC	●			●				
HCS	●				●			
SRC			●					●

Hammer and Nail:								
NLHC	●			●				
UL	●			●				
HCS	●				●			
CL		●		●				
IKH		●		●				
CHANNAL		●						●
Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness:								
NLHC	●			●				
UL	●			●				
HCS	●				●			
MHAS	●				●			
HRE	●					●		
CSC	●				●			
NFC		●						●
CL (Stella Burry Corporation)		●		●				
IKH		●		●				
BMC		●						●
ACNL		●						●
SWC		●						●

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supportive social housing in the city of St. John's. This committee, initially established by the Waterford Hospital (Newfoundland's only hospital dedicated to the treatment of mental illness), was formed to exchange information on housing concerns for Mental Health Consumers. However, because of the departmental reorganizations involving the establishment of the Departments of Health and Community Services and Human Resources and Employment in 1996-97 and the accompanying reallocation of resources and duties, this committee lost focus and direction and disbanded.

A number of agencies sit on the Provincial Justice Committee, which is concerned with issues surrounding violence prevention in Newfoundland. These agencies include Correctional Services Canada, The Division of Corrections, Iris Kirby House, The Status of Women's Council, The AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador and The Senior's Resource Centre.

A Youth Services Committee was established to address issues surrounding the care of youth over the age of 16 in the province of Newfoundland. Members of this committee include The Department of Health and Community Services, The St. Francis Foundation and Choices for Youth.

The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador mentioned its involvement with a committee looking into the implementation of a Mobile Response Unit for individuals in need of psychiatric intervention in the province. The Department of Health and Community Services sits on this committee in addition to other members from the community and law-enforcement officials.

Both The United Church Food Aid Centre and The Salvation Army Food Bank are members of the Community Food Sharing Association – an umbrella organization that oversees the administration and supply of food banks in the City of St. John's. A number of other food banks also belong to this association. The Senior's Resource Centre, Iris Kirby House and The Department of Health and Community Services play important roles in an elder abuse committee, while The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, Health and Community Services and the Senior's Resource Centre are all members of the Inter-agency Committee on Senior's Policy.

A number of agencies sit on the board of the Hammer and Nail project, operated by the Status of Women's Council, and mandated to provide housing advocacy and information to women in the City of St. John's. These agencies include The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, Urban Living, Health and Community Services, Carew Lodge, Iris Kirby House, and The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador.

The final committee discussed by the agencies was The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness (CACH). This committee was established in 2000 under the federally funded and administered National Homelessness Initiative to address absolute homelessness in the city of St. John's (IHRD 2001). Members of this committee include many of the agencies interviewed for this study (See Table 13). It has received praise from the agencies interviewed. Many of the agencies interviewed sit on this Committee and so, informally, it acts as an important venue for inter-agency cooperation and coordination. Although it was established first by the federal Department of Human

Resources and Development Canada in cooperation with the United Church-based Stella Burry Corporation, the Committee remains community-based.

Table 13 shows that most of the ten identified committees are composed of predominantly government representatives. Specifically, committees addressing housing-related issues are dominated by government membership. Other committees, however, are not. The Provincial Justice Committee, and the Elder Abuse Committee, for example, have government, para-government and non-government representation. This is a socially sustainable element of the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's. More diversity among committee members implies a greater variety of opinions, expertise, and proposed solutions to homelessness.

In addition, eight out of the ten total committees were established by government. Clearly, government has acknowledged the importance of resolving issues surrounding homelessness. This is one important step towards a solution. The Department of Health and Community Services, a government agency providing deinstitutionalization services, sits on the largest number of committees – it is therefore the most 'involved' agency in terms of committee participation. Only the Community Food Sharing Association and the Hammer and Nail Committee were established by community agencies. Table 13 also shows that agencies providing accommodation services are members of most committees. This is quite different from the Food Aid agencies, which are members of only their own umbrella association. The Provincial Justice Committee, The Hammer and Nail Committee and the Housing Advisory Committee were the committees with the most agency members (of the agencies interviewed).

It is evident that these committees are still highly regulated by government and membership is largely governmental. There are a number of possible reasons for this observation. Perhaps representatives from government agencies, because they have an operating budget and therefore paid staff, are able to establish and sit on a wider variety of committees than their para-government or non-government peers. Furthermore, many provincial government departments have, since 1998, been advised to form partnerships with other government and non-government agencies, in addition to private enterprises (see the discussion of the Provincial Strategic Social Plan in Chapter 4). With eight out of ten committees having been established by government agencies, and only three of these committees with government membership only, the provincial government is clearly making overt attempts at equality in agency representation. However, as mentioned in Chapter 4, Newfoundland's Strategic Social Plan is not law and, therefore, government cannot be held accountable for any of the recommendations made in the Plan.

Equality is an important theme in sustainable development. It is essential to the concept of social justice. In the socially sustainable city, all of the different categories of agencies would, ideally, have equal representation and committee membership. As mentioned above, every different type of agency brings along with it a certain skill set or area of expertise and every agency type is required to find different ways and means to serve their target populations or meet their mandates. A wider variety of agency types and relationships to government, therefore, can provide a committee with more varied insight into the extent of homelessness and what's needed to address it. Cooperation and

coordination should be ongoing. At present, however, and aside from the fact that a number of committees have *some* representation from all three levels of relationship to government, the approach is still dominated by government – it is 'top-down', rather than community-based or 'bottom-up'. More overt attempts need to be made to include non-government and para-government agencies on committees relating to the concept of homelessness in St. John's.

Aside from the committees discussed above, what other types of cooperation and coordination are ongoing between the agencies providing services for the homeless in St. John's? Tables 14 through 16 illustrate all additional interactions between agencies, information gathered during the interviews. These interactions include funding arrangements, client referrals, and informal cooperation and coordination such as resource and information sharing.

Table 14 reveals a number of important aspects of government agency cooperation with other government, para-government, and non-government agencies. Government agencies, in general, interact well with other government agencies and para-government agencies. In particular, The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, Urban Living, The Department of Health and Community Services and The Department of Human Resources and Employment, are the most active in terms of inter-agency cooperation and coordination. Detailed illustrations of these agencies' interactions, the same interactions as those mentioned above, are outlined in Figures 7-10.

Table 14: Government Agency Interactions

Gov:	NLHC	UL	CSC	DOC	HCS	HRE	CCP	FCP	MHAS	MHCC
NLHC	-									
UL	●	-								
CSC			-							
DOC				-						
HCS	●	●			-					
HRE	●	●		●	●	-				
CCP	●	●					-			
FCP	●	●			●		●	-		
MHAS					●				-	
MHCC										-
Para-gov:										
SWC	●	●			●					
SFF					●					
CFY					●					
SAWC						●				
CACH	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
CL			●		●	●				
CHANNAL	●	●			●					●
IKH	●	●			●	●				●
BMC						●				
NFC						●				
ANC		●			●	●				
ACNL				●	●					
Non-gov:										
CHH	●	●								
EH										
SAFB										●
UCFA										
SRC	●				●					
VJH										

Table 15: Para-government Agency Interactions

Gov:	SWC	SFF	CFY	SAWC	CACH	CL	CHAN-NAL	IKH	BMC	NFC	ANC	AC NL
NLHC	●				●		●	●				
UL	●				●		●	●			●	
CSC					●	●				●		
DOC					●							●
HCS		●	●		●	●	●	●			●	●
HRE	●			●	●	●		●	●	●	●	
CCP					●							
FCP												
MHAS					●							
MHCC							●	●				
Para-gov:												
SWC	-				●	●	●	●		●		
SFF		-	●		●			●	●			
CFY			-		●				●			
SAWC				-	●						●	
CACH					-	●	●	●	●	●	●	●
CL						-						
CHAN-NAL							-					
IKH								-	●	●		
BMC									-			
NFC										-		
ANC											-	
ACNL												-
Non-gov:												
CHH					●							
EH					●			●				
SAFB					●							
UCFA	●				●			●				
SRC					●			●				
VJH					●							

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Table 16: Non-government Agency Interactions

Government:	CHH	EH	SAFB	UCFA	SRC	VJH
NLHC	●				●	
UL	●					
CSC						
DOC						
HCS					●	
HRE						
CCP						
FCP						
MHAS						
MHCC				●		
Para-government:						
SWC				●		
SFF						
CFY						
SAWC						
CACH	●	●	●	●	●	●
CL						
CHANNAL						
IKH		●		●	●	
BMC						
NFC						
ANC						
ACNL						
Non-government:						
CHH						
EH						
SAFB						
UCFA						
SRC						
VJH						

Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation

Interacts - Government Agencies:
Urban Living
Health and Community Services
Human Resources and Employment
Family Care Program
Community Care Program

Funds:
Urban Living

Interacts – Non/Para Government Agencies:
Seniors Resource Centre
Cabot Habitat for Humanity
Iris Kirby House
Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador
Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness
Status of Women's Council

Figure 7: NLHC Interagency Cooperation and Coordination

Urban Living

Interacts – Government Agencies:
Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation
Health and Community Services
Human Resources and Employment
Family Care Program
Community Care Program

Funds:
NONE

Interacts – Non/Para Government Agencies:
Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness
AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador
Iris Kirby House
Status of Women's Council
Senior's Resource Centre
Association for New Canadians

Figure 8: UL Interagency Cooperation and Coordination

Health and Community Services

Interacts – Government Agencies:
Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation
Urban Living
Human Resources and Employment
Family Care Program
Mental Health and Addictions Services

Funds:
Community Care Program
St. Francis Foundation
Iris Kirby House
Family Care Program
Choices for Youth
Carew Lodge

Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador
Mental Health and Addictions Services
Mental Health Crisis Centre

Interacts – Non/Para Government Agencies:
Status of Women's Council
St. Francis Foundation
Choices for Youth
Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness
Carew Lodge
Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador
Iris Kirby House
Association for New Canadians
AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador
Seniors Resource Centre

Figure 9: HCS Interagency Cooperation and Coordination

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┌─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┐
│                     Human Resources and Employment                        │
│              ◄───────────              ──────────►                        │
│                                                                           │
│  Interacts – Government Agencies:          Funds:                         │
│  Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation  Family Care Program       │
│  Urban Living                              Salvation Army Wiseman Centre   │
│  Health and Community Services                 Carew Lodge                 │
│                                                Brother T.I. Murphy Centre  │
│                                                Native Friendship Centre    │
│                                         Association for New Canadians      │
│                                                Senior's Resource Centre    │
│                               ▼                                           │
│               Interacts - Non/Para Government Agencies:                    │
│                     Salvation Army Wiseman Centre                          │
│              Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness                  │
│                           Carew Lodge                                      │
│                         Iris Kirby House                                   │
│                     Brother T.I. Murphy Centre                            │
│                       Native Friendship Centre                            │
│                     Association for New Canadians                          │
└─────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────────┘
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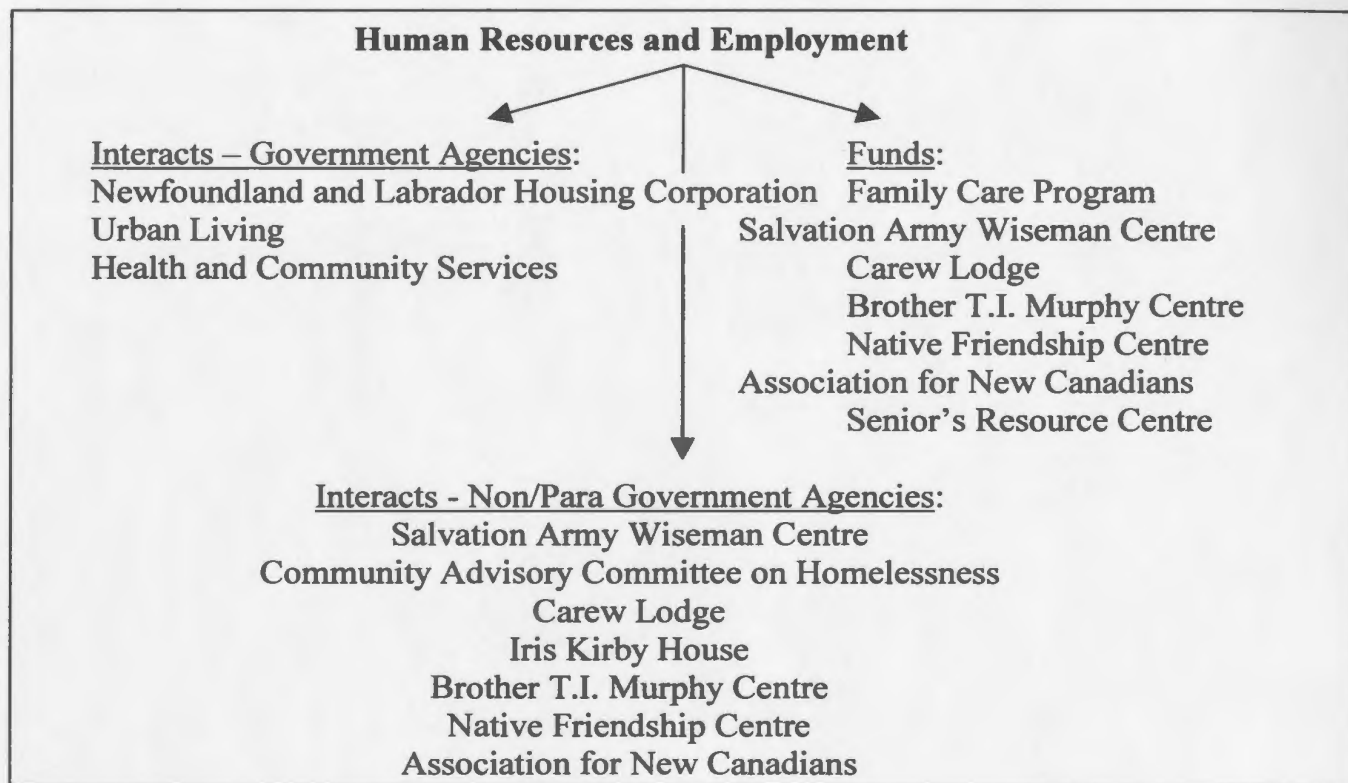
Figure 10: Department of Human Resources and Employment Interagency Cooperation and Coordination

Of these four agencies, The Department of Health and Community Services appears to have the most interactions overall in addition to being the largest funding source for other government, non-government and para-government agencies. The Department of Human Resources and Employment also interacts well with other agencies, although it cooperates with significantly fewer government agencies and funds fewer non-government and para-government agencies. The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation and Urban Living interact with a similar number of agencies. The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation funds Urban Living. Urban Living, however, does not provide funding for any other agencies.

Table 15 illustrates inter-agency cooperation and coordination between para-government agencies and other para-government, non-government and government agencies. The most interactive para-government agencies are The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness, which interacts with the majority of agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis, Iris Kirby House, and the Status of Women's Council. The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness interacts equally with government, para-government and non-government agencies, as does Iris Kirby House. The Status of Women's Council, however, interacts predominantly with other para-government agencies. All other para-government agencies interact, for the most part, with other para-government agencies. They also interact with government agencies but they do not interact with any non-government agencies.

Table 16 illustrates non-government agency cooperation and coordination with government, para-government and non-government agencies. The most interactive non-

government agencies are the United Church Food Aid Centre and the Senior's Resource Centre. Cabot Habitat for Humanity also interacts with a number of different agencies. In general, the non-government agencies interact with a much smaller number of agencies when compared with the government and para-government agencies outlined in Tables 14 and 15. Moreover, these non-government agencies do not appear to interact with other non-government agencies. The majority of these agencies interact with para-government agencies, and, to a lesser degree, government agencies instead.

Tables 14 through 16 indicate that government and para-government agencies are the most active in terms of inter-agency cooperation and coordination. However, these figures are limited in a number of different ways, and therefore such a conclusion must not be made in haste. Most importantly, these figures do not include interactions with agencies not included in this field study. Also, Elizabeth House and The Salvation Army Food Bank are relatively disconnected from the other agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's. These missing links could be explained by a number of factors. First, the Salvation Army Food Bank and Elizabeth House have no formal ties to government. They are entirely community-based organizations with strong ties to the church. Moreover, Elizabeth House, in particular, is administered by a Pro-Life based agency – an organization with a controversial mandate – and so links with the community at large are less likely.

Although The Salvation Army Food Bank and Elizabeth House do not interact with other agencies on any large scale, they do contribute to the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's. Both agencies provide services to homeless individuals who

could, at any point, access services of other agencies examined in the field study. It is for this reason that increased coordination and cooperation could benefit the overall system of supports. If The Salvation Army Food Bank and Elizabeth House were to interact more frequently and with a larger variety of agencies, then perhaps any redundancy in services could be avoided and those clients making use of multiple agencies could be tracked with greater ease.

The following diagrams (Figures 11-14) illustrate some inter-agency cooperation and coordination (aside from ten committees discussed earlier) among the four main agency categories. Bi-directional arrows indicate ongoing cooperation and coordination between agencies. Spatial distances between agencies and the orientation of agencies in the figures are random and do not illustrate any significant details about the interactions. The Income Support category is not included as it contains only one agency, The Department of Human Resources and Employment. Inter-agency cooperation and coordination between HRE and other agencies are outlined above and in Figure 10. The categories examined are: Accommodation, Deinstitutionalization, Food Aid and Advocacy, Information and Education.

Figure 11 details the interactions between agencies providing accommodation services to the homeless. As described in Chapter 5, the agencies providing accommodation are predominantly government and para-government agencies. They receive the bulk of their funding from the provincial government. These agencies interact and cooperate with one another on a large scale, between all types of relationships to government (government, para-government and non-government agencies), and in a
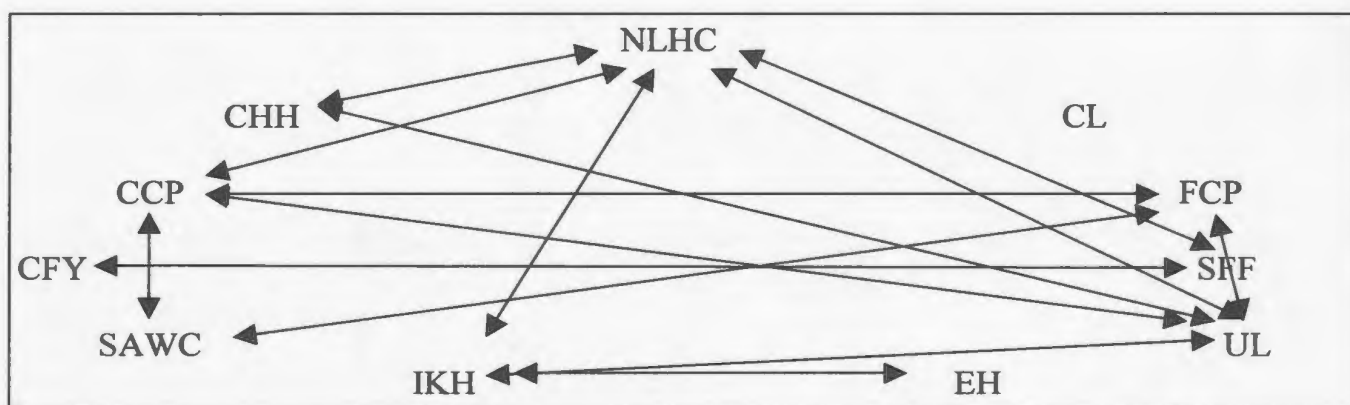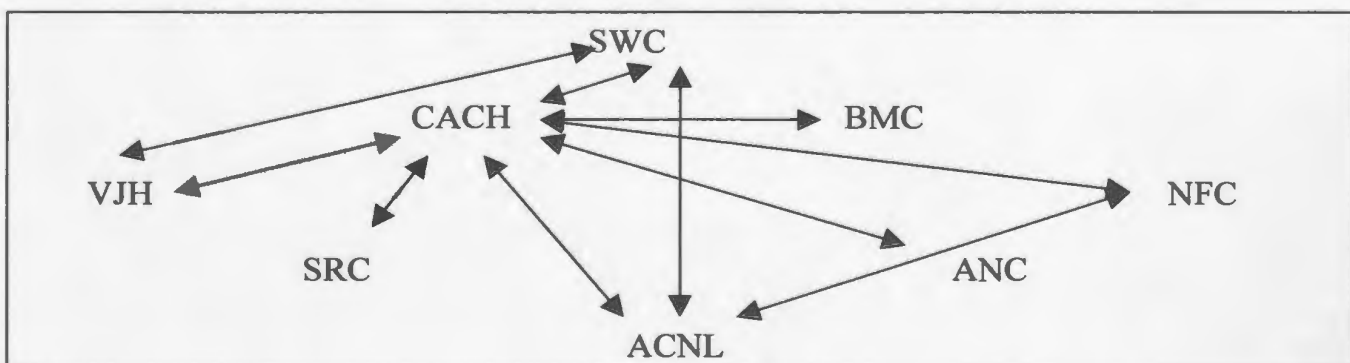
Figure 11: Accommodation Agency Interactions
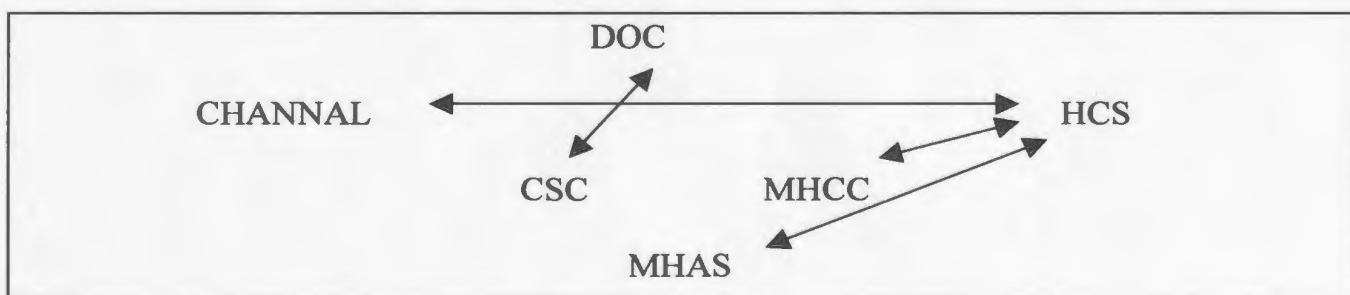
Figure 12: Deinstitutionalization Agency Interactions

Figure 13: Food Aid Agency Interactions

Figure 14: Advocacy, Information and Education Agency Interactions

number of different ways. However, there is no federal government representation among these agencies. The social housing agencies, Urban Living and The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, are particularly well connected with other levels of government in addition to para-government and non-government agencies (see also Figures 7 and 8).

Interactions between agencies addressing the effects of deinstitutionalization in St. John's are illustrated in Figure 12. These agencies are, for the most part, provincial government agencies and therefore the majority are funded by the province. One federal government agency, Correctional Services Canada, and one para-governmental agency, The Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador, also provide deinstitutionalization services. There appear to be few interactions in this category. The municipal government and non-government levels are not represented. Therefore, agencies providing services to address the effects of deinstitutionalization are not well connected to one another, except through their funding agency, The Department of Health and Community Services (see also Figure 9).

Figure 13 shows, quite simply, that the two food aid agencies, The United Church Food Aid Centre and the Salvation Army Food Bank, are connected to each other directly through their membership with the Community Food Sharing Association. Both agencies are non-governmental and receive funding from charity. Figure 14 outlines the more detailed interactions between the agencies providing advocacy, information and educational services. These services are provided predominantly by para and non-government agencies funded by the federal and provincial governments. Inter-agency

cooperation and coordination is occurring between all agency categories because of the work of one advocacy, information and education agency, The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness. All of the agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis have an on-going relationship with the CACH (see Tables 14-16). They are either mentioned as 'resource assets' in the Committee's Report (IHRD 2001), are committee members, or have been in contact with representatives of the Committee. Without the work of CACH, cooperation and coordination within the category of advocacy, information and education would not be occurring with such frequency or variety.

The figures presented above show that, among the four agency categories examined, those providing accommodation and those providing advocacy, information and education interact well with other agencies in their categories. Primarily, accommodation agencies work well with each other and with outside agencies. The agencies providing accommodation represent a wide variety of cooperation between all levels: government, para-government and non-government. As noted earlier, this is an important element of socially sustainable urban development and essential in any system of supports for the homeless. Although those agencies providing advocacy, information and education do not represent such variety, one agency, the Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness, has brought all levels of agencies and all agency categories together and has focussed attention on finding solutions to address absolute homelessness in St. John's. So, what conclusions can be made with respect to inter-agency cooperation and coordination among the agencies providing services for the homeless in St. John's?

First, inter-agency committee membership is still predominantly governmental. Committees are also established, for the most part, by government agencies and accommodation agencies sit on the widest variety of committees. However, a number of committees have representation from government, para-government and non-government agencies. And furthermore, the Government of Newfoundland has clearly been implementing a number of recommendations put forth in its Strategic Social Plan, including a concentration on forming alliances between non-government, government and private enterprises. In the ideal socially sustainable city, all levels – from community agencies (non-government agencies) to government agencies – and all agency categories - would have equal representation on committees concerned with issues surrounding homelessness. However, the quest for social sustainability is not black and white. It is something worth striving for. The present approach reflects real efforts by government, para-government and non-government agencies in working towards social sustainability.

Second, other types of cooperation and coordination, aside from committees, are ongoing between agencies. Government and para-government agencies seem to be the most active in terms of inter-agency cooperation and coordination. The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, Urban Living, the Department of Human Resources and Employment and the Department of Health and Community Services are the most connected agencies, perhaps because of their broad mandates and target populations.

Third, agencies providing accommodation services are well connected to each other and also to outside agencies. Agencies providing advocacy, information and education services are also well connected because of the role of the Community

Advisory Committee on Homelessness. However, the approach of CACH is limited to the examination of absolute homelessness in the city.

Cooperation and coordination among the services to the homeless are essential yet difficult to achieve in any geographic area because of the very nature of homelessness. As described in Chapter 2, solutions to homelessness have been designed, often in an ad hoc manner, to meet the specific needs of the population it affects (Hambrick and Rog 2000, Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force 1999). There is a large variety among the types of agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's and throughout much of North America. Sometimes these services have vague mandates that are either ill-defined or un-defined. In addition, agencies are often forced to extend their mandates, unofficially, to meet the needs of their clientele. They are therefore operated inefficiently and services are stretched thin (Hambrick and Rog 2000). Or, perhaps, their mandates are incorrectly drawn. Oftentimes, agencies must compete with one another for funding (Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force 1999). This was confirmed in St. John's:

HRDC (Human Resources and Development Canada) recently in the paper put a call for proposals addressing youth homelessness. Now, that advertisement in the paper came from a year or two of working with people in the community to find out what the needs were and then they put in a call for proposals. So then we, for example, put in a joint proposal with Naomi Centre with a variety of other groups and when it came time, when you submit those proposals you have to get supporting letters from other community partners so what happened was that we all sent letters on each other's behalf. It just illustrates on the one hand in a very connected group of people working on very similar

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issues with the same young people but it also illustrates a little their redundancy in the call for proposals… we all talk to each other, we know what one person's and another person's proposal is… we all send letters on each other's behalf…" (Choices for Youth, personal communication 2000)

The Toronto Mayor's Homelessness Action Task Force (1999) found, and this field study confirmed, that there was also a large variety among the funding sources for the agencies addressing homelessness. Each source has its own mandate and funding priorities. However, there is no way of ensuring that funds are getting to where they are most needed. Often, there is no apparent rationale for agency funding arrangements. A number of similar agencies are adequately funded, while others are not. Moreover, the regulation of each agency and their respective funding agency, are different and, again, accountability becomes an important issue.

When cooperation and coordination does occur between agencies, for example between the agencies providing accommodation services in St. John's, they are often inconsistent and informal. Furthermore, every agency has its own links and interacts within its own 'comfort zone'. Interactions are, therefore, difficult to measure.

At present, absolute homelessness in St. John's is being addressed by one important inter-agency committee, The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness. In order to address the more long-term effects of the continuum of homelessness as it exists and to alleviate 'hidden' or relative homelessness in St. John's, a coordinated effort will be necessary to avoid redundancy and to ensure that the homeless are indeed getting the supports they need.

Having examined the relationships within and between agencies that care for the homeless, determined how each agency measures its own successes and failures, and identified gaps in service provision to the homeless, this Chapter will now examine the perceived location of homeless space and what effect, if any, this location has on the social sustainability of St. John's.

7.3 Homeless Space

7.3.1 Agency Space

The geographic area served by the agencies addressing homelessness, or 'agency space' varies (Chapter 5, Tables 4-8). Some are provincial agencies with offices located throughout Newfoundland while others are concentrated in the City of St. John's. For example, Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation, The Department of Human Resources and Employment, the Department of Justice (Division of Corrections) and the Department of Health and Community Services are all provincial government departments. They have field offices located throughout the province and within the city. They also have head offices within the Confederation Building (the provincial seat of government). The Community Care Program, the Family Care Program, the Mental Health Crisis Centre and Mental Health and Addictions Services are also government agencies. However, these agencies offer programs specific to the City of St. John's and,

in the cases of the Community Care Program and Mental Health and Addictions Services, to surrounding areas. CHANNAL, the Association for New Canadians and the AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador are para-governmental agencies with province-wide representation. The services provided by the remaining agencies are confined to the City of St. John's.

The 29 local offices and headquarters of the agencies interviewed for the purposes of this thesis have been plotted on a map (Figure 15). Human Resources and Employment appears twice. A field office is located downtown and the headquarters are located on Prince Philip Parkway, outside of downtown. Agencies that are visited by clients, where services are provided directly out of their offices, are shown as green circles with black crosses (17), while those not visited by clients – such as administration-only offices - are shown as green circles with white crosses (12). There is a visible concentration of agency space, those visited and not visited by clients, in the downtown area: 19 in total. NLHC administers social housing 'neighbourhoods' throughout the city while the City of St. John's Urban Living units are also dispersed throughout metropolitan area. Several government agencies (Provincial – HRE and HCS, Federal - CSC) have offices located in several different areas of St. John's. Agencies that operate a number of homes or facilities are also located throughout the city (St. Francis Foundation, Family Care Program, Cabot Habitat for Humanity).

What are the costs and benefits of such a pattern to the population these facilities serve? Dear and Wolch (1987) assert that the 'hub' of services available when facilities are

clustered together makes service delivery less costly to the tax-payer and to each individual agency. However, it has negative socio-psychological effects such as increased crime rates, isolation or estrangement of the service population, decreasing property values, and behavioral differences between residents of this 'service ghetto' and non-residents. On the other hand, because the homeless often migrate into areas with the necessary services to meet their needs, dispersion of facilities can lead to greater social integration of the homeless and greater opportunities for personal growth (Wolch and Rowe 1992). However, the establishment of such facilities to disadvantaged groups is often difficult due to the 'Not in my backyard' (NIMBY) mentality of many long-time residents outside the service hub. The dispersion of facilities can also be more costly to agencies and tax-payers.

In their text *Landscapes of Despair: From deinstitutionalized to homeless* (1987), Michael J. Dear and Jennifer R. Wolch suggest that arguments in favour of "facility clustering" are efficiency-based while arguments in favour of facility dispersion are equity-based. As facility dispersion favours greater equity, a dispersed service pattern would be more preferable in the socially sustainable city. According to this theory, the concentration of agency space (facility-clustering) for the homeless in St. John's might be considered socially unsustainable. However, upon closer inspection and analysis of the data from this field study, it appears that the opposite is true. The agencies located in downtown St. John's are not located in close proximity to each other. They are not concentrated in the same block, side-by-side. However, they are close to the clients they serve, which benefits the agencies - they can more easily reach their target populations -

and it benefits the clients who are not required to spend their much needed money and time traveling between their places of residence and the agencies they depend on for support.   Furthermore, downtown St. John's has always been a source of low-cost housing and, therefore, an area containing a significant number of low-income residents. The agencies providing services to the homeless were established in this area because of the need for services, the location of their clientele, and the affordability of property in downtown St. John's. Moreover, there is now some evidence that property values are increasing downtown. Therefore, the concentration of agencies in downtown St. John's appears to be socially sustainable, based on the results of this field study. This will be discussed further in the following section.

7.3.2 Poor Space

Many agencies stress the importance of cheap rent and proximity to their clientele in influencing their choice of location. What does this indicate in terms of the location of clientele? If the agencies chose their locations for easy client access, does this also indicate a concentration of clientele living downtown? Where do the homeless live? Where is poverty or poor space in St. John's? Is there an observable pattern? These questions will be addressed in this section.

Representatives from the agencies interviewed for the field study were asked about their perception of the location of poverty or poor space within the city. These perceptions were then plotted on a map alongside the agency space, heritage conservation

space, and Census Tract 7, discussed below (Figure 15). Poorspace was noted in two areas: downtown St. John's and with each of the large social housing neighbourhoods outside of downtown. The majority of respondents perceived downtown to be the most impoverished area of St. John's. In addition, agency respondents included the larger social housing neighbourhoods located *outside* the downtown area in their perception of poor space (see Figure 15). Therefore, agency space and poor space overlap in downtown St. John's. However, poor space itself is not confined to this area. It can be seen as dispersed throughout St. John's according to the locations of the larger social housing neighbourhoods (Figure 15).

When examining the locations of agencies providing services to the homeless it is important to consider the reasons behind each agency's choice of location. Agencies decide upon their locations based on a number of factors. First, many non-governmental and para-governmental agencies choose their locations based on rental affordability. Downtown St. John's is an affordable location. Most agencies located downtown have small offices in older buildings with cheap rents. They are not found in large, high rent high-rise office buildings. Second, most agencies (government and non-government) consider accessibility for clients to be an important factor. Finally, safety of at risk groups is an important factor for a number of agencies.

For many non-governmental agencies the price has to be right, i.e. affordability is among the main selection criteria. Land for hostels and shelters is often donated by government or a church (for example, the Roman Catholic Church donated the land for Iris Kirby House and Elizabeth House). Moreover, many non-profit agencies rent their

office space because they find buying an expensive option. Downtown St. John's caters to this by providing an adequate supply of low-cost rental properties (private, government and church-run). Moreover, the federal government provides downtown rental office space to some non-government and para-government agencies at a reduced price.

Government services are often dispersed in a regulated manner throughout the city. For example, Human Resources and Employment has field offices located in the west end of the city, in the downtown, and in the east end. The motivation for this dispersed arrangement is to make services accessible to all residents of St. John's (Government of Newfoundland and Labrador 2001).

As mentioned earlier, it is important to differentiate agencies that serve clients directly from those agencies that are located on the map by their head offices. The majority of agencies not visited by clients are located outside downtown, while those visited are located within it. This supports the observation made earlier as to the overlap of services and clientele in downtown St. John's.

As mentioned above, a number of agencies have strong connections to a number of Christian religious denominations. Therefore, many of these agencies are located on or in proximity to church property. Voices for Justice in Housing, for example, is operated on Roman Catholic land, in offices donated by the Sisters of Mercy. Similarly the Salvation Army operates its "downtown core ministries" in close proximity to a historic downtown Salvation Army church, on its own land.

Another important factor to location selection is accessibility. Agencies ask themselves "*who* are our clients and *where* are they?" The Status of Women's Council

Women's Centre was chosen because of its central location, as were the offices of AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador, The Brother T.I. Murphy Centre, and Choices for Youth. Carew Lodge was already in existence before the Stella Burry Corporation received Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative funds to upgrade the building. Its location was already popular with its lower income residents.

Client safety is another important factor in choosing locations for some agencies. Iris Kirby House, for example, is responsible for women who are often in danger of physical violence. It also houses young children for whom safety is always a concern. The location of Kirby House was chosen with safety in mind. It is an enclosed, detached, secure dwelling not easily accessed without proper credentials or identificaiton.

Agency space and poor space overlap in downtown St. John's. Much of downtown falls within the boundaries of Census Tract 7, shown in Figure 18. This area is characterized by higher rates of unemployment (11.2% compared with 9.6%) and low income incidence (33.7% compared with 17.4%) than in the larger Census Metropolitan Area. Also, the median income ($17,078.00) in Census Tract 7 is less than that of the Census Metropolitan Area ($20,496.00). Moreover, a larger proportion of rental tenants in Census Tract 7 spend more than 30% of their household income on gross rent than in the Census Metropolitan Area (54% compared with 44% respectively) (Statistics Canada 2001a). According to CMHC, therefore, 54% of Census Tract 7 residents are in core housing need.

Many agencies believe that clients of lower incomes most often live downtown or in public housing neighbourhoods. Approximately 75% of Urban Living social housing

is located in downtown and centre-city St. John's. Moreover, 46% of Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation's small infill social housing developments (less than 10 units each) are also located in this area of the city (see Figure 15).

It has been established, also, that *agencies* of low income (i.e. those agencies with limited funding, depending on a combination of charity and government grants for day-to-day functioning) are often located downtown. Furthermore, agencies are located in proximity to the very populations they serve. This is important to the homeless because they depend on a number of different agencies and supports for their day-to-day existence. Social networks are often formed within the homeless community as a result of the daily paths homeless individuals might follow between agencies and different locations during the day (Wolch and Rowe 1992). The homeless in any given city use social and institutional networks for survival. The homeless in St. John's are no different. They travel in a well-defined area of the inner-city where shelters, food-banks. soup kitchens and boarding houses are often located (Daly 1998). Downtown St. John's is, therefore, service-rich. It is an area where poor space and agency space overlap in a distinct pattern. Together, these two overlapping spaces become 'homeless space'.

Interestingly, this pattern of homeless space also contains a dynamic 'Heritage Conservation Area'. Designated in 1977 and expanded since then, it now encompasses 413 acres of the city core (see Figure 15)(Sharpe, personal communication 2003). Several agencies have suggested that this downtown Heritage Conservation Area is undergoing gentrification and that it is an area in transition, economically and socially, from poor space to upmarket heritage space. However, this has not been supported by

Census data. The process of gentrification is believed to be a major cause of homelessness in Canada, the U.S. and Britain (Peressini and McDonald 2000, Hulchanski et al. 1991). Research undertaken on the subject of gentrification in St. John's during the 1980s rejected the hypothesis of large-scale gentrification, i.e. the upgrading of dwellings and sale to upper-income clientele resulting in the displacement of lower-income residents. Instead, it is thought that "conversion" occurred during the 1980s and early 1990s because of "incumbent upgrading", a process whereby residents remain in place and invest their own time and money into renovating or upgrading their properties (Varady 1986) without a mass in-migration or out-migration of residents (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming). But what is happening in the present? Has change occurred recently? Is there a new wave of gentrification ongoing?

A number of different objectives were outlined when the Heritage Foundation was established in 1976. One important goal was in the protection of heritage features (architectural and historical) while at the same time allowing for the retention of normal "vigorous" city life (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming). Does this normal vigorous urban life exist today? How is it different from when the Heritage Conservation Area was established in 1977? What does this indicate in terms of the social sustainability of St. John's?

A true feature of a sustainable and valuable Heritage Conservation Area lies in its ability to maintain heritage character while at the same time allowing for the natural evolution of urban society. That is, the policies designed to maintain and improve the Heritage Conservation Area should permit change while conserving what is historically

and architecturally valuable. This is directly related to the concept of urban social sustainability. A key to social sustainability of cities lies in their ability to respond and properly adapt to societal change.

Normal and vigorous urban life does indeed exist today in St. John's and the demographics and housing stock of the residential component of the Heritage Conservation Area has changed in a number of ways since its establishment in 1977. This will be examined in detail below. Furthermore, the influence on the establishment of the Heritage Conservation Area on the social sustainability of St. John's will be described below in greater detail.

An additional goal of heritage conservation lies in the preservation of residential function. Although not well specified in St. John's, this preservation could mean any number of things including the maintenance of residential units, the same number of families with children, attracting residents with higher incomes, or the replacement of rental properties with upscale condominiums (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming). Since the Heritage Conservation Area was established in 1977, there has been a significant decline in the number of families with children in the area, and an increase in the number of single households. Moreover, there has been a near doubling of apartments since the 1980s through the process of residential conversion involving the subdivision of row housing into smaller multiple unit dwellings (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming). Where did these families go? Were they offered tenure in the newly constructed NLHC social housing during the 1970s? Did they move into other areas of St. John's? No researchers

have yet answered these questions. Therefore, the specifics of demographic change in the Heritage Conservation Area are difficult to explain.

Downtown St. John's has always provided a considerable proportion of the city's low-cost housing. Moreover, there is a great variability in the income levels and a high level of low-income incidence within the Heritage Conservation Area. Clearly, therefore, there is a need for affordable housing in central St. John's. Although rent levels have not increased on any large scale since the Heritage Conservation Area was established, there has been a documented decline in household incomes; and the number of households paying rent that Statistics Canada defines "excessive" is greater in the area than in the city overall (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming).

During the years between 1977 and the early 1990s, the public sector upgraded the majority of the low-end housing stock in the Heritage Conservation Area through assistance provided in the form of Canada Mortgage and Housing Corporation's Residential Rehabilitation Assistance Program (RRAP), and to the construction of Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation and Urban Living infill social housing units. In addition, private property and business owners upgraded most of the higher end housing stock and, subsequently, property owners in the middle followed suit. So, the establishment of the Heritage Conservation Area seems to have had a positive effect on housing quality in the area (Canning and Pitt 2000). At the very least, these events seem to have coincided.

A significant number of vacant properties bought and renovated by the Heritage Foundation in 1976 were sold to higher income immigrants from outside of

Newfoundland, brought into the province by rumours of an oil boom. However, the demand for housing fell during the 1980s when the timetable for oil exploration and production was pushed back and also due to the effects of economic recession and a crippled real estate market (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming). Nevertheless, David Ley's 'social status index', a measure of the percentage of quaternary workers and university-educated residents (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming), calculated for Census Tract 7, an area which contains the bulk of the Heritage Conservation Area (see Figure 15), increased from 15.1 in 1981 to 36.7 in 1996, although the bulk of this change occurred during the 1980s (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming). Evidently, demographic change has occurred.

During a review of the City of St. John's Municipal Plan in 1991, it was suggested that a number of significant changes be made with respect to the Heritage Conservation Area. One of these suggestions would alter the wording pertaining to the requirement for residential material conformity in the area. References to proper heritage "materials" would be deleted. This proposed change sparked a lively debate between some members of council and the general public. The Newfoundland Historic Trust, a public body formed in 1966 concerned with Heritage Conservation in the province, submitted a formal objection to the rewording, stating that if modern materials such as vinyl siding were used on Heritage Conservation buildings much of the heritage value of the area would be lost (Sharpe and O'Dea, forthcoming).

Arguments in favour of the changes in wording were predicated on the belief that vinyl siding was a cheaper alternative to the traditional wood variety and that therefore a

prohibition on such materials would be "snobbish and discriminatory" (Sharpe and

O'Dea, forthcoming). Furthermore, they would be a burden on low-income residents.

This predicament reflects two important ideological arguments. First, it presents home

ownership in the context of human rights. Should one have the right to do what one

wishes with owned property, or, alternately, should the heritage benefit of the greater

good, for society, and the city, take precedence?

The second ideological argument lies in the presence of the overlapping Heritage

Conservation Area, and homeless space. As noted earlier, the downtown has always

provided a significant supply of affordable housing. Moreover, there is continued

demand for this type of housing within the Heritage Conservation Area. So, if a low-

income homeowner was obliged to pay extra for wood as opposed to vinyl siding on their

residence, would this be in violation of human rights? Would it be a form of

discrimination? In the end, the plan was revised and vinyl siding was not prohibited in

the Heritage Conservation Area.

Since 1996, the real estate market in St. John's has been undergoing a recovery.

It is now a seller's market. Wealthy yuppies, retirees, and professional women are

moving into the area and many experts believe that a "new wave of gentrification is

raising the standards for rehabilitation work and putting pressure on older, established

residents to either improve or sell..." (Canning and Pitt 2000:7). However, there is

increasing concern over this displacement of the existing population (Sharpe and O'Dea,

forthcoming).

In 1999, the City of St. John's commissioned a consulting firm to develop an economic and heritage conservation strategy for the city's downtown. In a series of reports, the authors described the importance of a vital inner city to the overall sustainability of Canada's urban centres. They stressed the importance of affordable housing provision in the area to ensuring that low-to-moderate income earners remain in, or migrate into, the downtown. Furthermore, they suggested the conversion of a number of unused properties in the downtown area for residential or combined work/home arrangements in keeping with the heritage character of the area, stating that this would prove beneficial for social and economic sustainability. There was no mention of the creation of affordable housing in these units, however, or homes for the homeless. For, in most cases, affordable housing in the downtown area was suggested as a means of retaining a viable artistic and cultural community. If rents were to exceed an artist's ability to pay, perhaps the downtown would experience an out-migration of artists and the entire community would suffer (Canning and Pitt 2000).

The consultants held a Heritage Forum with various community members and interest groups in order to establish priorities for development in the city's downtown. Local residents and entrepreneurs raised a number of important points. In general, respondents expressed concern over the effects of gentrification in the downtown, stating that there is a great advantage to living and working in an area with such a mix of incomes and lifestyles. Some residents valued the social mix in the downtown and envision an area with enough affordable space for living and working in the future, while

others believe that housing costs must be fixed and the amount of rental properties with absentee landlords diminished (Canning and Pitt 2000).

It is evident that there is ongoing demographic change occurring in downtown St. John's and the presence of overlapping homeless space and dynamic heritage conservation space adds a number of significant dimensions to the struggle for social sustainability. If the socially sustainable city is one in which social diversity is a paramount concern (Séguin and Germain 2000), then the presence of such overlapping spaces could enhance the social sustainability of St. John's by maintaining a stable yet heterogeneous population of low, middle and high income earners.

An important element to consider in this discussion lies in the provision of public social housing. As noted earlier, three quarters of Urban Living and nearly one half of Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation infill social housing (less than 10 units located together) is located in the downtown area. Social housing is unaffected by variations in the private real estate or rental market such as gentrification and the accompanying increase in property values. Gentrification, therefore, cannot affect the location of *existing* social housing. This ensures at least a minimal mix of income levels in the downtown, through the maintenance of a low-to-moderate income population living in social housing, even while the private real estate market appears to be experiencing a relative boom and economic development remains a primary concern. However, it does not ensure that in the future, more infill social housing will be constructed downtown. In order to maintain a truly socially sustainable population with

mixed incomes, social housing must continue to meet the needs of low-income downtown residents.

To meet the sustainable ideal, greater attention must be given to the plight of the disadvantaged. In the document concerning heritage conservation and economic development in downtown St. John's, there was no reference to homelessness or social housing except, indirectly, with respect to the displacement of traditional downtown residents through the process of gentrification. The homeless are still invisible to many. And the importance of social housing hasn't entered into the discussions concerned with Heritage Conservation and economic development. More affordable housing, both public and private, is essential to the downtown area if homelessness is to be alleviated and social sustainability improved.   If downtown St. John's has always provided a significant proportion of the city's low-cost housing, and one goal of heritage conservation allows for the natural evolution of urban society while conserving what is historically and architecturally valuable, perhaps the city of St. John's needs to reassess what they consider to be historically valuable. Maybe private-market low-cost housing preservation must become a more significant goal of the HCA.   All aspects of sustainable development: economic, social and environmental, must be given equal attention, if St. John's is ever to become a sustainable city.

The HCA has grown in size and changed in composition since its establishment in 1977 – it is dynamic. Will it continue to grow? What will this mean for the typically lower income downtown residents? Could the process of gentrification be only in its infancy?

Will any new units of social housing be constructed downtown? If the process of conversion accelerates or has already indeed become full-blown 'gentrification' in the classic sense of displacement of population, what would the implications be for homeless space? To where could low-income earners or those at risk of becoming homeless not residing in social housing move? To where would agencies move? Would this movement of people and agencies increase or decrease the instances of homelessness in the City of St. John's? These are questions that cannot, at present, be answered. Detailed monitoring and consolidation of data concerning the cost of housing, demographic characteristics of the resident population, real estate sales and advertising, property assessments and building permits are necessary not only for the existing homeless space and Heritage Conservation Area but also for adjacent areas in order to determine social status change and if adjacent areas become the new homeless space. These are suggestions for future research.

7.4 Overview

This chapter has examined the successes and failures of the agencies addressing homelessness in St. John's.

The evolution of the measurement of success from its quantitative origins to a more qualitative approach, increased need for inter-agency cooperation and coordination, inadequate agency funding, income support, and outreach, lack of support for the hard-to-house and federal involvement in social housing, condoization, welfare dependence and the reactive focus of care for youth were all established in the literature and confirmed in

the field study. Furthermore, the difficulties associated with measuring agency contribution, agencies competing for funding and, the troubles associated with differences in agency mandates and funding were also confirmed.

Gentrification as a contributing factor to homelessness was discussed but neither proved nor disproved in this field study. Moreover, decreasing property values were not noted in downtown St. John's.

Finally, a number of place-specific observations concerning homelessness in St. John's resulted from this study. These included the role of the departmental reorganizations in 1996-97 on the degree of inter-agency cooperation and coordination, the lack of 24-hour supervised supportive housing in St. John's, Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation's policies and their effects on Seniors, and the lack of regulation of boarding houses in the city.

This Chapter has documented a number of challenges associated with measuring success and barriers to increasing social sustainability. If success is difficult to measure, and each agency uses different means – quantitative and qualitative – to measure their own successes, then how can agencies ensure they are providing the best possible services and targeting clientele in the most need? How can cooperation and coordination be improved upon if each agency answers to a different funding source or regulatory body? How can agencies be held accountable to the public and to the clients they serve?

Inter-agency cooperation and coordination were examined in detail in this chapter. Government and para-government agencies, generally, interact with a wide variety of other government and para-government agencies. Non-government agencies

do not interact with as many agencies or with each other in any great manner. Of the five agency categories, those agencies providing accommodation are involved in the highest degree of inter-agency cooperation and coordination. The Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness and The provincial Department of Health and Community Services are the most connected agencies of all.

The patterns of agency interactions observed in this chapter tell an important story. They indicate that the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's is still operated in a top-down, hierarchical manner. Government agencies form the majority of committees and make up the majority of committee memberships. Community agencies interact with fewer agencies and sit on fewer committees. However, social sustainability is indeed improving, thanks to contributions like the Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness. For the continual improvement of social sustainability, these interactions need to be strengthened. Community agencies need to play more important roles in establishing priorities for alleviating homelessness. If cooperation and coordination is weak among the services provided for the homeless in St. John's then the services will remain stretched thin, agencies will continue to compete for funding, accountability will be minimal, and help will not reach those in need. An overall system of management and information sharing would improve upon cooperation and coordination and add some much-needed accountability to the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's.

The final element examined in this chapter was the overlapping presence and locations of homeless space and heritage conservation space. These spaces have the potential to increase social sustainability through the encouragement of social diversity.

However, there are increasing concerns over the effects of gentrification, possibly brought on by the establishment of the city's dynamic Heritage Conservation Area, and its effects on homeless space. Further study is needed before the implications of such demographic change can be fully understood.

CHAPTER EIGHT: THE SOCIAL SUSTAINABILITY OF THE SYSTEM OF SUPPORTS FOR THE HOMELESS IN ST. JOHN'S, NEWFOUNDLAND

8.1 Introduction

Social sustainability is a concept. It is not a documented process, event, or absolute. It is an ideal, a measure of relative progress, worth working towards while recognizing its inherent limitations. This thesis has assessed the social sustainability of the system of supports for the homeless through an examination of social policy, the agencies that address homelessness, and the location of homeless space in St. John's, Newfoundland. This chapter presents a conclusion to this study. It examines the field study in light of the literature and social policy reviews alongside the ideal of social sustainability.

8.2 Is homelessness in St. John's comparable with homelessness elsewhere?

Chapter two introduced and described homelessness throughout North America and Britain. It characterized the homeless themselves, the kinds of homelessness that exist, the contributing factors to homelessness and many of the challenges that must be overcome to alleviate homelessness.

The field study confirmed that, by and large, homelessness in St. John's is comparable with homelessness elsewhere. Demographic diversification among the

homeless has been ongoing in St. John's as it has in the rest of North America and Britain. However, some issues, specific to St. John's, were described.

The new category of homelessness, functional homelessness, was introduced in this thesis. The functional homeless are those individuals who live in boarding houses but are barred from their residences during daytime hours. The isolated geography of Newfoundland and Labrador was also cited as a place-specific contributing factor to homelessness in St. John's. Because of the concentration of mental health and employment services and opportunities in St. John's, many people from rural Newfoundland and Labrador move to the city and find themselves far from their families and traditional social supports. As a result, they are more likely to experience homelessness.

The provincial government departmental reorganization in 1996-97 is another specific challenge to alleviating homelessness in St. John's. Representatives from the Department of Human Resources and Employment stated that when they transferred social workers from the Department of Social Services to the new Department of Health and Community Services they had expected that their previous duties, including supportive services for the "at risk" homeless population, would still be performed. However, Health and Community Services maintains that it does not have enough funding to maintain these duties, and, as a result, HRE states that they are now missing this social work piece of their work.

The lack of 24-hour supervised supportive housing in St. John's was another important and specific issue raised by many agencies. Although there is a significant

demand, 24-hour supervised housing for adults suffering from mental illness is notably absent in St. John's.

The Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation's policies and their effects on seniors was an additional challenge to addressing homelessness in St. John's. The Senior's Resource Centre suggested that seniors are negatively affected by a number of NLHCs policies and that they often have difficulties accessing and maintaining tenure in social housing in the City of St. John's.

Finally, the inadequate regulation of boarding houses in the city of St. John's was stressed as a specific challenge to addressing homelessness in St. John's. Boarding house landlords reportedly regularly take advantage of residents, staking claim over their incomes while providing substandard room and board.

Chapters Three and Four presented a review of federal, provincial and municipal social policy and examined the link between social policy and the emergence and evolution of homelessness in St. John's. The field study confirmed that federal social housing policy and the recent downloading of responsibility to the provinces and municipalities had contributed to a housing crisis and potential homelessness in St. John's. The federal housing agency, CMHC, ended all funding for new social housing in Canada in 1996.

This study also revealed that provincial social policy had affected the emergence and evolution of homelessness in a number of different ways. Social legislation created during the 1960s and 1970s, focused on human rights. This resulted in the phenomenon of deinstitutionalization: ex-offenders from correctional facilities into the community,

persons with mental illness from mental hospitals into the community, and children from orphanages into foster homes. This led to potential homelessness among these groups. However, this same human rights-focused policy encouraged the creation of agencies anxious to acknowledge human rights and help the homeless. Furthermore, the emphasis on participatory democracy and the downloading of government services, evident in provincial social policy during the 1980s, encouraged the establishment of community-based agencies addressing homelessness.

Finally, municipal policy, though somewhat limited, influenced the emergence and evolution of homelessness in St. John's. While the city of St. John's is responsible for regulating boarding houses, it has had minimal success in doing so in part because data in this area is difficult to obtain with any accuracy. This is seen by many agencies as a challenge to alleviating homelessness in the city. Furthermore, the City of St. John's is responsible for a Heritage Conservation Area, which, curiously, is located in one of the poorest areas of the city. This will be discussed further in the following section.

8.3 The Elements of Social Sustainability in St. John's

8.3.1 *The Challenge of Assessing Social Sustainability*

The results of this field study revealed a number of important challenges to assessing the social sustainability of the system of supports for the homeless in St. John's. First, the scope and extent of homelessness, and therefore any assessment of the system

designed to address it, is impossible to ascertain with any certainty, because of the difficulties associated with enumerating the homeless. Academics, experts and agencies in St. John's, and elsewhere, have highlighted this challenge.

Second, the agencies participating in this field study stressed the difficulties associated with measuring success and their contribution to the system of supports. How do agencies determine who is using their programs and services? Are they reaching their target populations? How do they determine if their clientele are benefiting from the services they provide? How do they account for spending and funding allocation? These questions were not answered with any certainty. Due to the combination of quantitative and qualitative means by which most agencies measure their success and contribution, an overall assessment is difficult to make.

Third, achieving cooperation and coordination among the system of supports for the homeless is a significant challenge. Due to the large variety among the types of agencies and their undefined or ill-defined mandates, services are often operated ineffectively or stretched thin. Agencies also compete for government and corporate funding, which makes for an uneven distribution of resources throughout the system of supports and can result in under-funding and service cancellation. Rationale for funding is not clearly stated in many instances. One funding source, which operates under the federal government's National Homelessness Initiative, is the Supporting Communities Partnership Initiative (SCPI). It provides clear funding objectives which are publicly available on its website. Unfortunately, many provincial government agencies and other

federal agencies are not so forthcoming. Cooperation and coordination will be discussed further in the following section.

A fourth challenge that must be overcome involves balancing the effects of individual versus structural change. This concept is important to social sustainability on a number of different levels. It was first mentioned in chapter two while discussing the contributing factors to homelessness. Many academics, experts and agencies cite individual and structural characteristics as reasons why people experience homelessness. This study has expanded the concept of individual versus structural change and applied it to the concept of social sustainability.

One agency representative, interviewed during the field study, mentioned the necessity to achieve a balance between individual accountability and social (structural) accountability in order to alleviate homelessness. "Both the system and the individual must be held accountable" (Brother T.I. Murphy Centre, personal communication 2001). Society, as a whole, needs to consider its roles and responsibilities in addressing homelessness. Agencies also need to find ways of fostering independence and personal responsibility among their clientele. This is also related to the concept, discussed throughout this thesis, of balancing individual and societal rights.

If socially sustainable urban development is "strongly reflected in the degree to which inequalities and social discontinuity are reduced" (Polèse and Stren 2000:1), this study suggests that relative progress in achieving social sustainability lies in the ability to balance the highest level of support for those who cannot cope (societal or structural

support) with minimal support for those who need assistance to lead independent lives (individual support), while not creating a dependency upon the support provided.

Improving *system* accountability is directly related to identifying priorities for addressing homelessness, measuring agency success, and the overall success of the system. Improving *individual* accountability is a more abstract concept. This field study has clearly shown that many agencies believe individual and systematic factors to be equally important contributing elements to homelessness and are currently working at identifying the extent of these elements and making suggestions for improvements to any future social policy designed to address homelessness.

8.3.2 Inter-agency Cooperation and Coordination and Social Sustainability

This study assessed inter-agency cooperation and coordination among the system of supports in terms of social sustainability. In the ideal socially sustainable city, all citizens would have equal rights with respect to participation in community governance. All of the different categories of agencies would have equal representation, committee membership, and would interact with each other in a consistent manner.

This thesis has shown the present approach is dominated by a majority of government and para-government agencies. Non-government agencies are under-represented in committees and in the more informal cooperation and coordination of day-to-day operations. However, by helping to establish priorities for alleviating homelessness, they can play a greater role in alleviating homelessness. Thanks to the

invaluable contribution of the Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness in St. John's, all agencies addressing homelessness in the city now contribute to the implementation of the Community Plan for Addressing Homelessness in St. John's (IHRD 2001). In this way, social sustainability is improving.

8.3.3   Homeless Space and Social Sustainability

The final contribution of this study to the discussion of the ideal of social sustainability lies with its consideration of homeless space in St. John's. Chapter seven outlined the location of agency space and poor space, which, together, represent homeless space. Interestingly, homeless space in St. John's was found to overlap with the city's downtown Heritage Conservation Area. Poor space, however, was more widely distributed throughout the city in large social housing neighbourhoods.

According to a theory put forth by geographers Michael J. Dear and Jennifer R. Wolch in their text *Landscapes of Despair: From deinstitutionalized to homeless* (1987), the concentration of agency space (facility-clustering) for the homeless in St. John's might be considered socially unsustainable. However, this field study revealed that the agencies located in downtown St. John's are not concentrated side-by-side. They are close to the clients they serve, which benefits both the agencies and the clients. The agencies providing services to the homeless were established in this area because of the need for services, the location of their clientele, and the affordability of property in downtown St. John's. Therefore, contrary to the theory proposed by Wolch and Dear, the

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overlapping presence of agencies and poor space in downtown St. John's appears to be socially sustainable! However, the presence of the overlapping Heritage Conservation Area adds another layer of complexity.

It has been suggested, although not proven, that the establishment of the Heritage Conservation Area in the late 1970s has led to gentrification in the area. Perhaps gentrification has been moderated by the continued presence of a significant amount of tastefully created infill social housing, which acts to balance the socio-economic status of the population in the area. In recent municipal publications, the issue of maintaining and continuing to develop an adequate supply of public social housing in the area in order to balance any ongoing gentrification, has been ignored, as has any mention of homelessness in the area. The homeless are therefore still invisible in economic development and heritage conservation forums. This is socially unsustainable. In order to ensure relative progress in achieving social sustainability, real efforts must be made to improve upon the socio-economic diversity in the downtown core. More must be done to ensure that social housing continues to be available for lower income households so that a socially sustainable mix of incomes can be maintained in the highly coveted Heritage Area.

Future research should concentrate on monitoring the cost of housing, the demographics of the resident population, real estate advertising, property assessments and building permits in the downtown area and adjacent areas in order to determine any social status change.

8.4 Is St. John's a Socially Sustainable City?

The following statement, made by a representative from Correctional Services Canada (2001), reflects the state of social sustainability among the system of agency supports, and the main conclusions of this thesis:

> Homelessness is a new area to us. We were never entrenched in looking at the whole issue in recent years because that was a concern of [another agency]. But we have recognized over the past 5 years that we have to be more engaged in that and I think that the message, and it's a bright message, is that collectively a number of agencies are starting to get together at the front-line level and trying to identify the extent of the problems... what some of the issues may be, and forwarding those on then to those who have the authority to make policy and add dollars and cents to it...

Homelessness is a newly emerging characteristic in St. John's and as a result the social policy responses to it are still in their infancy. What were previously splintered, fragmented solutions to the equally fragmented elements of homelessness are now being included in a more holistic vision of homelessness as reflected in the establishment of the National Homelessness Initiative by the federal government. There has been a realization that homelessness must be considered from all

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perspectives. Agencies are starting to cooperate and coordinate at the front-line level, identifying the extent and the scope of issues in order to design effective solutions. This is social sustainability at work. In this case study of homelessness, St. John's is making socially sustainable gains at the front-line, agency level. The challenge now lies with the policy-makers and financial authorities. Provided with information from all agencies involved, as to where policy, programs and finances are needed, all that remains are the necessary funds to provide the strong roots from which an increasingly socially sustainable city can grow.

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Critch, Susan. Administrative Assistant, Cabot Habitat for Humanity. 2004.

Appendix I

Interview Schedule

The Socially Sustainable City: A Case Study of the Homeless in the St. John's

Metropolitan Area.

Interview schedule for Claire Rillie, MA Candidate, Geography, Memorial University of Newfoundland.

This project will involve an examination of the defining elements of the socially sustainable city. Social integration is a crucial defining element of social sustainability that involves the inclusion and acceptance of a diverse population made up of many different cultural and social sub-groups. One of these groups is the homeless. The attributing factors (the 'roots' of homelessness) and resulting services (provided via non-governmental agencies, governmental agencies and individuals) that have evolved in response to homelessness in the city will be investigated. Upon identification and location of each service agency, an attempt would be made to understand the roles, connections, and liaisons (or lack thereof), and overall structural dynamics at work within the network of supportive services for the homeless. Finally, an analysis of the social sustainability of this network of services will be attempted.

The field data for this project will consist of focussed interviews with the above mentioned service and support agencies and organisations. The information gathered will be collected and analysed for structural dynamics. No personal identification will appear in the final thesis. Rather, a detached analysis of the agencies and organisations will be recorded.

I, _____(informant, please print), give my consent for inclusion of the information gathered during this interview in this thesis.

_____(Signed – Informant)

_____(Date)

_____(Signed – Researcher)

_____(Date)

I, _____(informant, please print), give my consent for the audio recording of this interview. The tapes will be kept in possession of the researcher until completion of the thesis at which point they will be destroyed – no other persons will have access at any time to the tapes.

_____(Signed – Informant)

_____(Date)

_____(Signed – Researcher)

_____(Date)

Please note that any of the questions below that can be answered via the provision of agency literature (i.e. appears on the web, in pamphlets, etc) will not be asked during the interview.

1. What is the name of your organization or agency? Where is it located?

_____

_____

_____

2. When was your agency established?

_____

_____

3. Why and by whom was your agency established?

_____

_____

_____

4. What is the present mandate of your agency?

_____

_____

5. What are the proportionate funding contributions of each sponsor/source:
Federal _____

Provincial_____

Municipal_____

Volunteer_____

Other _____

6. What, if any, groups provide supportive funds (through fundraisers, special events, etc…)?

    _____

    _____

    _____

7. Could you please provide a list of your present board members and your agency's constitution? Is your organization a registered charity? (I am not intending to interview these Board members unless you suggest that I do so)

    _____

    _____

    _____

8. Is your agency or are the services provided by your agency under any form of regulatory control? Please explain. Do your staff members/volunteers have to undergo any sort of formal or informal training? Please explain. What are the liability issues in cases of endangerment of clientele?

    _____

    _____

    _____

9. Is your agency represented on any inter-agency committees? Who is that representative? Could you list them all? Do you cooperate with any other agencies in another manner? If so, how?

    _____

    _____

10. How does your organization define homelessness?

    _____

11. Who are your target client groups? What is a typical profile of a client using your organization? What services does your agency provide?
- ethnic/local origin
- age
- gender
- sexual orientation
- mental illness/physical disability
- reason for visiting organization

_____

_____

_____

12. In your opinion, why is there a homeless population in St. John's?

_____

_____

_____

13. What do you feel is your agency's role in preventing/addressing homelessness in St. John's? How do you measure success in achieving your mandate?

_____

_____

_____

14. Do you feel your organization has properly targeted potential clients? Are you serving everyone possible within your target group?

_____

_____

_____

15. How do your clients find your agency? What, if any, are the eligibility requirements? How do they leave your agency? Are they able to stay indefinitely? Must they achieve a goal in order to leave?

_____

_____

_____

16. Are there any other organizations servicing the same target population that you are? Are there any homeless clients, types, categories that no one is providing support for?

_____

_____

_____

17. Are there any additional statistics about your agency that you feel might be relevant to this study?
- # of clients per night, week, month, year (rate of turnover)
- # of beds
- duration of client support & limitations upon service provision

_____

_____

_____

18. Is there anything you would like to add or elaborate upon that you feel I should know for this study?

_____

_____

_____

_____

_____

Appendix II

Sixty Agencies, as Identified by IHRD Group (2001), Providing Support to Homeless in St. John's, Newfoundland

Governmental

Provincial:

- Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation
- Human Resources and Employment
- Health and Community Services
- Mental Health and Addictions Services
- Mental Health Crisis Centre

Municipal:

- Non-profit Housing Division, City of St. John's

Para-governmental/Non-governmental

- Choices for Youth
- Emmanual House
- Lemarchant House
- Naomi Centre
- Carew Lodge
- Cabot Habitat for Humanity
- Community Food Sharing Association
- Community Services Council
- National Anti-Poverty Organization
- Association for New Canadians
- Brother T.I. Murphy Learning Resource Centre
- ACCESS House
- Howard House
- C-Step Program (John Howard Society)
- Catherine Booth House
- Harbour Light
- Wiseman Centre
- Pleasant Manor
- Shalom Inc.
- Pottle Centre

- Coalition of Persons with Disabilities
- Community Care Program (Waterford Hospital)
- Senior's Resource Centre
- Eastern Residential Support Board
- Elizabeth House
- Gathering Place
- Meeting Place/Therapeutic Recreation (Waterford Hospital)
- Iris Kirby House
- Lemarchant House
- Longside Club
- Multicultural Women's Organization of Newfoundland and Labrador
- Newfoundland Legal Aid Commission
- Independent Living Resource Centre
- St. John's Native Friendship Centre
- St. Francis Foundation
- Ability Works
- C.H.A.N.N.A.L.
- AIDS Committee of NF and Lab
- St. John's Status of Women
- Community Centres: Buckmasters Circle, Froude Ave, Kenmount Park, MacMorran, Rabbittown, Virginia Park
- The Hub
- Triangle Club
- Adolescent Health Counselling Service
- Family Life Bureau
- Perlin Pre-vocational Training Centre
- Department of Education
- Skills for Success
- Mill Lane Enterprises
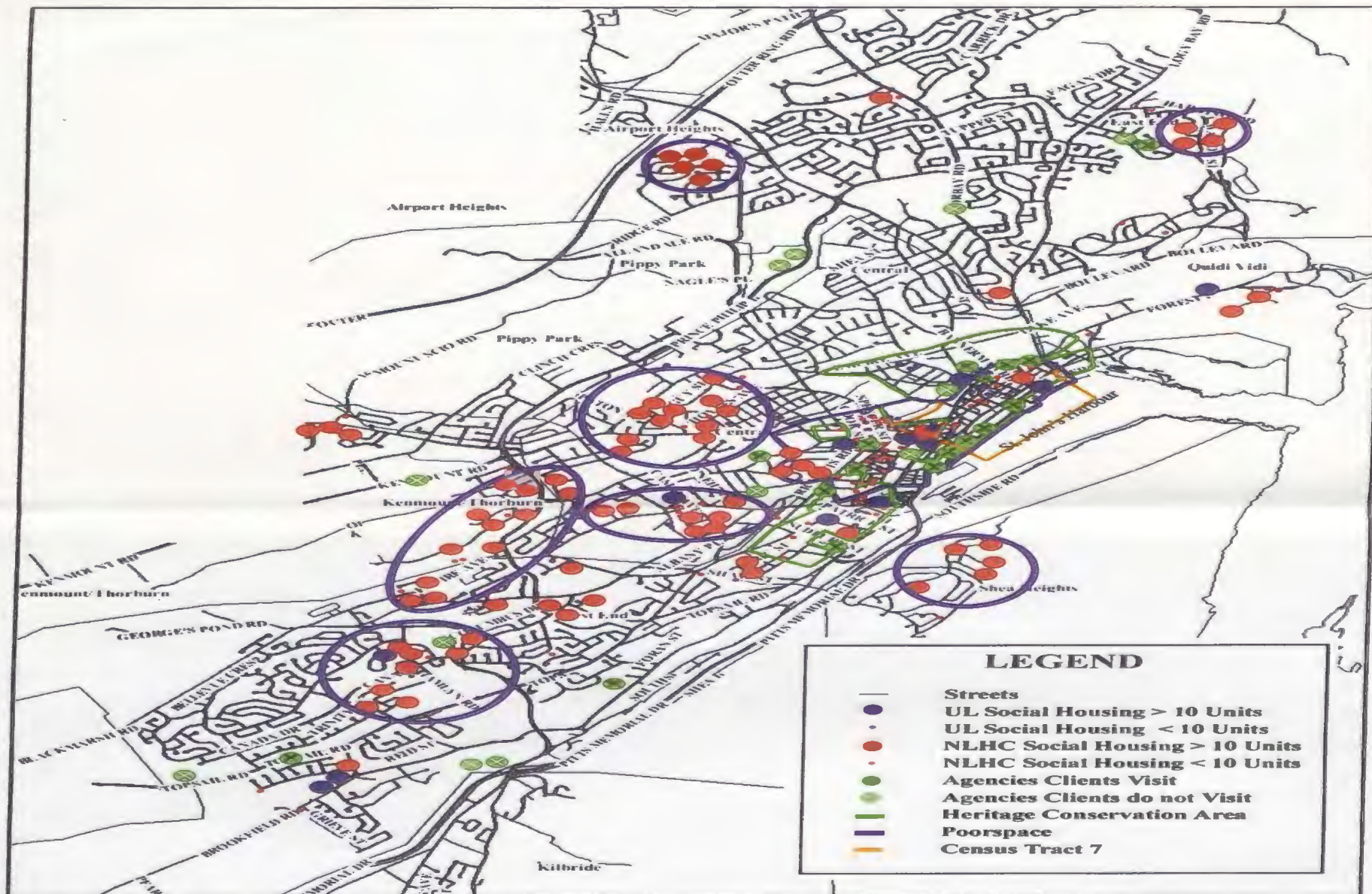- Opening Doors Career Development Centre for Persons with Disabilities

Agency Acronyms

AIDS Committee of Newfoundland and Labrador – ACNL
Association for New Canadians – ANC
Brother T.I. Murphy Centre – BMI
Cabot Habitat for Humanity – CHH
Carew Lodge - CL
Choices for Youth – CFY
Community Advisory Committee on Homelessness - CACH
Community Care Program – CCP
Consumers Health Awareness Network of Newfoundland and Labrador - CHANNAL
Correctional Services Canada - CSC
Department of Health and Community Services – HCS
Department of Human Resources and Employment – HRE
Division of Corrections – DOC
Elizabeth House - EH
Family Care Program – FCP
Iris Kirby House - IKH
Mental Health and Addictions Services- MHAS
Mental Health Crisis Centre – MHCC
Native Friendship Centre - NFC
Newfoundland and Labrador Housing Corporation – NLHC
Senior's Resource Centre
Status of Women's Council - SWC
St. Francis Foundation – SFF
United Church Food Aid Centre - UCFA
Urban Living - UL
Voices for Justice in Housing – VJH
Salvation Army Food Bank - SAFB
Salvation Army Wiseman Centre - SAWC

Appendix IV

Ethics Approval

LEGEND

—	Streets
● (dark)	UL Social Housing > 10 Units
·	UL Social Housing < 10 Units
● (red)	NLHC Social Housing > 10 Units
·	NLHC Social Housing < 10 Units
● (green)	Agencies Clients Visit
● (light green)	Agencies Clients do not Visit
—	Heritage Conservation Area
—	Poorspace
—	Census Tract 7

Figure 15: Homeless Space, Social Housing, Census Tract 7 and Heritage Conservation Space in St. John's

Memorial
University of Newfoundland

Office of Research

August 6, 2001

ICEHR No. 2000/01-098-AR

Ms. Claire Rillie
Department of Geography
Memorial University of Newfoundland

Dear Ms. Rillie:

The Interdisciplinary Committee on Ethics in Human Research has examined the proposal for the research project entitled "*The socially sustainable city: a case study of the homeless in the St. John's metropolitan area*" in which you are listed as the principal investigator. The Committee wishes to commend you for your careful attention to ethical details.

The Committee has given its approval for the conduct of this research in accordance with the proposal submitted.

If you should make any changes either in the planning or during the conduct of the research that may affect ethical relations with human participants, these should be reported to the ICEHR in writing for further review.

This approval is valid for one year from the date on this letter: if the research should carry on for a longer period, it will be necessary for you to present to the committee annual reports by the anniversaries of this date, describing the progress of the research and any changes that may affect ethical relations with human participants.

Thank you for submitting your proposal. We wish you well with your research.

Yours sincerely,

Gordon Inglis
Chair, Interdisciplinary Committee
on Ethics in Human Research

GI/emb

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