A HOMELESS ATLAS (II)

Shelter as a Hidden Housing Typology in New York City

Sophie Demeestere

Supervisor: **Viviana d'Auria**

Co-supervisor: **Jeroen Stevens**

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Contact:
sophie.demeestere@student.kuleuven.be

jeroen.stevens@kuleuven.be

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LEXICON

AFIC: Adult Family Intake Center

BRC: Bowery Residents Committee
"Founded in 1971, the Bowery Residents' Committee (BRC) is just one example of a provider that manages facilities (and a rigorous street outreach program) in partnership with the City, providing clients with intensive case management and social services." (DHS, n.d.)

Breaking Ground: (formerly known as Common Ground)
"Our mission is to strengthen individuals, families and communities by developing and sustaining exceptional supportive and affordable housing as well as programs for homeless and other vulnerable New Yorkers. The belief that everyone deserves a home is at the heart of everything we do." (NYC Service, n.d.)

BronxWorks: *"Founded in 1972 as the Citizens Advice Bureau (CAB), BronxWorks has, over the course of four decades, proudly and vigorously served the Bronx community with a variety of programs, including those pertaining to workforce development, senior services, eviction prevention assistance and homeless services."* (DHS, n.d.)

C.L.: Advocate and Co-Founder of RxHome

CFH: Care For the Homeless
"Founded in 1984, Care for the Homeless (CFH) fights homelessness by delivering high-quality and client-centered healthcare, human services and shelter to homeless individuals and families, and by advocating for policies to ameliorate, prevent and end homelessness. CFH has over three decades of successful, demonstrated experience in delivering medical and behavioral health (mental health and substance use) services to homeless individuals and families. CFH was one of the inaugural 330h grantees and is one of the largest Health Care for the Homeless (HCH) programs in the country." (DHS, n.d.)

CUCS: Center for Urban Community Services
"In 1979, a grassroots effort to engage Columbia University students swept across Morningside Heights. With a focus on meeting the needs of the neighborhood's most disenfranchised individuals, the group-- then called the Columbia University Community Services-- began providing assistance, building a bridge between the student and resident populations. Almost 15 years later, in 1993, the group became an independent non-profit, changing its name to the Center for Urban Community Services (CUCS). With an expanded mission and scope of work, CUCS set out to "rebuild the lives of homeless and disadvantaged individuals and families." Remaining steadfast in these efforts, CUCS continues to leave its mark as an impressive and comprehensive human services agency, now one of the nation's largest providers of housing and social services to homeless and formerly homeless people." (DHS, n.d.)

D.R.: Shelter Director at The Pyramid

DHS: New York City Department of Homeless Services

DIC: Drop-In Center

DSS: New York City Department of Social Services

DV: Domestic Violence

DYCD: New York City Department of Youth and Community Development

F.S.: CEO at Urban Pathways

G.N.: CEO at Care for The Homeless

Goddard Riverside: *"As one of New York City's leading human service organizations, Goddard Riverside works to meet clients' basic needs – providing food, shelter and education – while never failing to celebrate diversity and the richness of society. As it achieves these goals, the agency is committed to reducing and overcoming cultural, ethnic and racial divides, and embracing individuals of all ages, sexualities and personal circumstances. Goddard Riverside's programs are catalysts for social and economic change, thereby striving to advance a vision of a more just and compassionate world."* (DHS, n.d.)

HELP USA: *"HELP USA works to ensure that everyone has a place to call home. We provide shelter to meet people's immediate needs, as well as the support they need to succeed for themselves, their families, and their communities. We envision a world where safe and stable housing is a starting point for everyone, because housing is the foundation upon which people can build better lives."*
(HELP USA, n.d.)

HHS: U.S. Department of Health and Human Services

HOME-STAT: Homeless Outreach and Mobile Engagement Street Action Teams
"HOME-STAT partners existing homeless response and prevention programs with new innovations designed to better identify, engage, and transition homeless New Yorkers to appropriate services and, ultimately, permanent housing."
(Mayor's Office of Operations, n.d.)

Homeless New Yorker: A homeless New Yorker who writes a blog about the life of homeless people in New York City. *"Sometimes people write about us; you rarely hear from us."* (Homeless New Yorker, n.d.)

HOT: Homeless Outreach Team
"Through its Homeless Outreach Team (HOT), BronxWorks has spearheaded outreach efforts in the borough - engaging individuals who are living on the streets 24 hours per day, seven days a week, and helping them transition into housing." (DHS, n.d.)

HPD: New York City Department of Housing Preservation and Development

HRA: Human Resources Administration

HUD: U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development

JAMS: Jerome Avenue Men's Shelter

MOC: Manhattan Outreach Consortium
"The Manhattan Outreach Consortium provides homeless street outreach 365 days a year, including in the coldest and hottest seasons known as Code Blue and Code Red. MOC is responsible for evening, night and weekend outreach for the entire borough."
(Goddard Riverside, n.d.)

PANYNJ: Port Authority of New York and New Jersey

PATH: Prevention Assistance and Temporary Housing

PIT: Point-In-Time estimate
"The US Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) releases the Annual Homeless Assessment Report to Congress (AHAR) in two parts. Part 1 provides Point-in-Time (PIT) estimates, offering a snapshot of homelessness—both sheltered and unsheltered—on a single night. The one-night counts are conducted during the last 10 days of January each year. The PIT counts also provide an estimate of the number of people experiencing homelessness within particular homeless populations such as individuals with chronic patterns of homelessness and veterans experiencing homelessness." (PIT 2021)

PTH: Picture The Homeless
"Picture the Homeless was founded on the principle that homeless people have civil and human rights regardless of our race, creed, color, gender identity, sexual orientation, or economic, disability, or migration status. Picture the Homeless was founded and is led by homeless people. We refuse to accept being neglected and we demand that our voices and experience are heard at all levels of decision-making that impact us. We oppose the quality of life laws that criminalize homeless people in any form by the city, state and national governments. We work to change these laws and policies as well as to challenge the root causes of homelessness. Our strategies include grassroots organizing, direct action, and educating homeless people about their rights, public education, changing media stereotypes, and building relationships with allies."
(Picture The Homeless, n.d.)

R.K.: Program Director at Olivieri Drop-In Center

RxHome: Prescription Home
"RxHome launched in December 2020 as a one-year campaign that ended in February 2022. We're grateful to all of our fellow advocates, funders, supporters and friends for their partnership and support. Together, we built the public demand to end and prevent homelessness in New York City. We are leaving this website up in the hope that it can continue to be an educational resource for New Yorkers on how we can end and prevent homelessness in our city." (RxHome, n.d.)

S.T.: Shelter Director at Susan's Place

T.G.: Shelter Director at Jerome Avenue Men's Shelter

UP: Urban Pathways
"Urban Pathways serves as the first point of contact for many homeless New Yorkers. We engage individuals "where they are at" through our strong network of services to help individuals move into housing and minimize the likelihood of ever returning to the streets." (Urban Pathways, n.d.)

URI: Urban Resource Institute
"Urban Resource Institute helps transform the lives of domestic violence survivors and homeless families, with a focus on communities of color and other vulnerable populations. We have deepened our impact and become the largest provider of domestic violence shelter services in the U.S. Our holistic approach encompasses innovative prevention and intervention programs and direct services."
(Urban Resource Institute, n.d.)

ABSTRACT

The global pandemic forced about the entire urbanized world to reside in the safety of its own home, making the predicament of those without a home painfully apparent once again. Against the backdrop of the raging covid virus, this thesis examines the architecture of the homeless shelter system of New York City.

This study examines the city as a homeless infrastructure with features that homeless populations encounter on a daily basis. These can either accommodate or repel homeless people, altering the everyday cityscape. This thesis specifically studies New York City's shelter system as part of the larger homeless infrastructure by distinguishing and examining various shelter typologies and their respective embedding in the urban fabric, both throughout history and in the contemporary city. The objective is to expose the complexity and systemic structure of this hidden type of housing in the multiplex cityscape of New York City.

The research took place in 2021-2022, in the wake of the 2020 global COVID-19 pandemic. It draws from fieldwork, conducted in New York City from January 2022 to March 2022, and carried-out in collaboration with various organizations with different backgrounds and purposes. These organizations provided fundamental information to understand both the totality of the system and specificity of exemplary shelter facilities, while offering the opportunity to conduct the research up close. Knowledge was gathered through volunteer work, interviews with organizations and visits to various homeless facilities.

This study is developed as a graphic atlas to reveal how a hidden homeless infrastructure is encapsulated in the spatial anatomy of New York City. The graphic atlas depicts both historical and current layers of infrastructure to show how sheltering the homeless is anchored in the city's history, how it has evolved over time, and how it responded to the ongoing covid-19 pandemic.

INTRODUCTION

This thesis studies the homeless shelter system in New York City in 2021-2022, in the reckoning of the COVID-19 pandemic. The COVID 19 pandemic began in March 2020 and forced about the entire urbanized world into lockdown. New York City was one of the cities where the virus hit very hard: in June 2022, the city counted a total of 2,5 million cases and 40 427 deaths as a consequence of the virus.[1] The pandemic also rocked the city's vast shelter system and raised questions about their living conditions and safety. Many of New York's single adult shelters are congregate shelters where people sleep in dormitories and use shared bathrooms and cafeterias. To contain the spread of the virus, 9000 residents of these congregate shelters emptied into more than 60 hotels scattered throughout the city.[2] Even Rikers Island, New York's highly overpopulated prison system, released inmates to curb the spread of the virus.[3] When the pandemic started coming to an end in June 2021, the homeless population was sent back to congregate shelters.[4] A few shelters had made adjustments, but most continued as if nothing had happened. The fieldwork of this thesis took place 6 months after the homeless population had moved back to their shelters, spanning from January 2020 to March 2022.[5] The resulting study thus directly taps into the complex and fierce discussions on the homeless shelter system that were intensified by the pandemic.

In addition to the health pandemic, the City of New York has been struggling for some time to keep its portfolio of low-cost rental housing up to speed, and struggles to provide enough low-cost housing for everyone that needs it. A study by the Department of Housing Development and Preservation shows how the market for low-cost rental housing (with a rent < $1500/month) has shrunk since 2008. In 2021, 33% fewer low-cost rental units were counted than in 2008. In contrast, the number of expensive rental units (rent >= $2300/month) has increased. In 2021, 150% more expensive rental units were counted than in 2008, even though 12.64% of them were vacant in 2021.[6]

As a result, the homeless population has been on the rise. The daily shelter census report, conducted by the Department of Homeless Services and the Department of Housing Preservation and Development, reveal that by the end of 2010, 38 688 people were sleeping in emergency shelters. Of these, 9 627 were single adults, 13 871 were adults in families, and 15 190 were children in families.[7] Another 3 111 were counted as street homeless. (HOPE, 2010) By the end of 2020, this same daily shelter census report counted 58 849 people sleeping in emergency shelter. Of these, 20 811 were single adults, 17 939 were adults in families, and 18 099 were children in families.[8] Another 3 857 were counted as street homeless. (HOPE, 2020) However, these figures do not take into account the hidden homeless population in the city. It does, for instance, not include the people who live temporarily with friends or family or people who live with two families in one apartment. This means it is difficult to quantify the homeless population as a whole, if not outright impossible. (Jencks, 1994). It is safe to say that New York City has had a homeless crisis for quite some time, with a dramatic surge of affected individuals and families recorded over the past decade.

The purpose of this thesis is to study how the shelter system, in its versatility, is rooted in the urban fabric and how it reveals itself to the city of New York City. How many shelters are there in New York City? Where are they located? What are the different typologies? How do they relate to their respective urban environments? The research will focus on the New York Metro Area. This region includes the 5 boroughs, namely Manhattan, Brooklyn, Bronx, Queens and Staten Island, as the shelters are spread across all these boroughs to varying degrees. The majority of the shelters are located in Brooklyn and the Bronx, while the majority of street homeless are found in Manhattan.

Following the initiative of *'A homeless atlas: the architecture of precarious dwelling in Brussels'* [9] and embedded in a broader research project on homelessness and urbanism, an atlas format was chosen here. This way the research is staged in a visual and spatial manner to show how the shelter system unfolds in and through urban space. The intent is to geographically and architecturally represent the shelter system and homeless infrastructure to reveal an otherwise invisible layer that has been developing in the urban fabric of New York City, especially since the right to shelter was created in 1981.

The first part of this atlas shows the context in which the shelter system is nested. It explains the social and economic background that supports and drives the shelter system and the right to shelter. The next chapter focuses on the history that ultimately led to the right to shelter and thus the shelter system in New York City. It shows the evolution of the city and the infrastructure it had established to accommodate its homeless population The third section studies the shelter system itself and the various components that it includes. It also looks at examines questions that arise when studying shelters. As a final chapter, the homeless crisis during the course of the COVID-19 pandemic and its lockdowns is examined.

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[5] Fieldwork involved multiple visits of different shelter facilites, extensive interviews, historical analysis and spatial analysis. Major local partners included BronxWorks, Care for The Homeless, RxHome, Urban Pathways and Urban Resource Institute.

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HOMELESS CRISIS

It is difficult to compare homelessness across different countries, because different countries apply different definitions to define homelessness.[1] That is why this chapter will focus on the definition that is applied in the United States of America. After defining homelessness, the number of homeless people across the United States will be examined to position New York within the American homeless crisis.

DEFINING HOMELESSNESS

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND URBAN DEVELOPMENT

The U.S. Department of Housing and Urban Development (HUD) published a definition for homelessness in 2012. This document categorizes four criteria for defining homelessness. The categories are: Literally Homeless, Imminent Risk of Homelessness, Homeless under other Federal Statutes, and Fleeing/ Attempting to Flee Domestic Violence. [2]

"Literally Homeless is an individual or a family who lacks a fixed, regular and adequate nighttime residence, meaning:

(1) Has a primary nighttime residence that is a public or private place not meant for human habitation;

(2) Is living in a publicly or privately operated shelter designated to provide temporary living arrangements (including congregate shelters, transitional housing, and hotels and motels paid for by charitable organizations or by federal, state and local government programs); or

(3) Is exiting an institution where (s)he has resided for 90 days or less and who resided in an emergency shelter or place not meant for human habitation immediately before entering that institution" [3]

"Imminent Risk of Homelessness is an individual or family who will imminently lose their primary nighttime residence, provided that:

(1) Residence will be lost within 14 days of the date of application for homeless assistance;

(2) No subsequent residence has been identified; and

(3) The individual or family lacks the resources or support networks needed to obtain other permanent housing" [4]

"Homeless under other Federal Statutes are unaccompanied youth under 25 years of age, or families with Category 3 children and youth, who do not otherwise qualify as homeless under this definition, but who:

(1) Are defined as homeless under the other listed federal statutes;

(2) Have not had a lease, ownership interest, or occupancy agreement in permanent housing during the 60 days prior to the homeless assistance application;

(3) Have experienced persistent instability as measured by two moves or more during in the preceding 60 days; and

(4) Can be expected to continue in such status for an extended period of time due to special needs or barriers" [5]

"Fleeing/ Attempting to Flee Domestic Violence is any individual or family who:

(1) Is fleeing, or is attempting to flee, domestic violence;

(2) Has no other residence; and

(3) Lacks the resources or support networks to obtain other permanent housing" [6]

This definition does not include people living in inadequate housing or people living 'doubled up' [7] with family or friends. These are often seen as the hidden homeless, because, technically, they do have a roof over their heads.

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH AND HUMAN SERVICES

The HUD definition differs from the definition applied by health centers funded by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services (HHS), which is more inclusive.[8]

"A homeless individual is defined in section 330(h)(5)(A) as "an individual who lacks housing (without regard to whether the individual is a member of a family), including an individual whose primary residence during the night is a supervised public or private facility (e.g., shelters) that provides temporary living accommodations, and an individual who is a resident in transitional housing." A homeless person is an individual without permanent housing who may live on the streets; stay in a shelter, mission, single room occupancy facilities, abandoned building or vehicle; or in any other unstable or non-permanent situation. [Section 330 of the Public Health Service Act (42 U.S.C., 254b)]" [9]

"An individual may be considered to be homeless if that person is "doubled up," a term that refers to a situation where individuals are unable to maintain their housing situation and are forced to stay with a series of friends and/or extended family members. In addition, previously homeless individuals who are to be released from a prison or a hospital may be considered homeless if they do not have a stable housing situation to which they can return. A recognition of the instability of an individual's living arrangements is critical to the definition of homelessness. (HRSA/Bureau of Primary Health Care, Program Assistance Letter 99-12, Health Care for the Homeless Principles of Practice)" [10]

In this definition, people who are 'doubled-up' or living in inadequate housing are included in the homeless population.

It is notable how the United States has not adopted a universal definition of homelessness across its different departments. Following, the definition of HUD will be used to define homelessness. It is not as inclusive as the one applied by the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, but it is unknown how many people are hidden homeless in the United States.

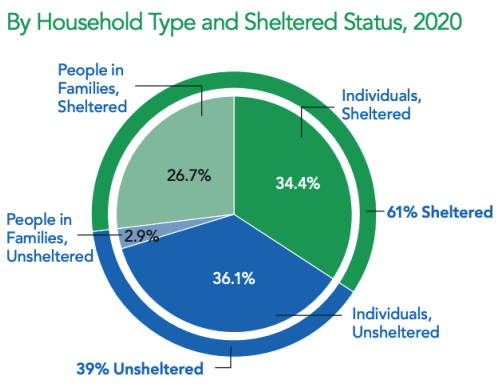


Figure 1: The percentages of each type in the homeless population © PIT 2020

HOMELESSNESS IN THE UNITED STATES

According to the HUD, the United States of America had 580 466 people experiencing homelessness on a single night in 2020. (HUD, 2020) This is about 18 of every 10 000 people in the United States. (HUD, 2020) Of those, 70% (406 326 people) were homeless individuals and 30% (174 140 people) were families with children under 18 years old. (PIT, 2020) The states where half of this homeless population were staying were: California (28%, or 161,548 people), New York (16%, or 91,271 people), Florida (5%, or 27,487 people), and Texas (5%, or 27,229 people). (PIT, 2020)

One of the main differentiators in homeless policies between all of these states, is the right to shelter. While New York has a right to shelter, California has not. On the other hand, California has a much more benign climate and a higher tolerance for outdoor encampments. As both states concentrate the country's highest homelessness rate,it is worthwile to compare both cases.

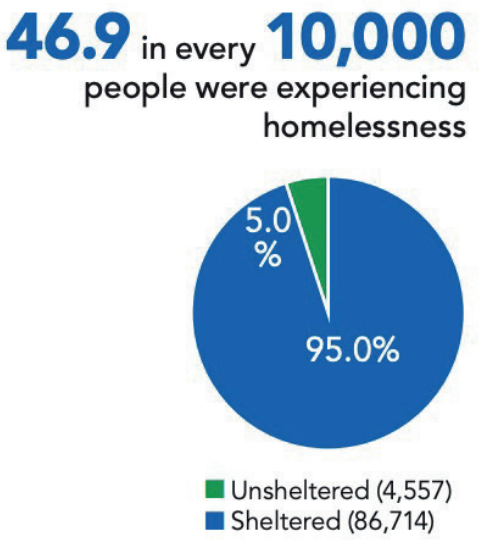


Figure 2: The number of homeless people counted in New York State on a single night in 2020 © PIT 2020

PIT counted 41 out of 10 000 Californians experienced homelessness on a single nigth in 2020. (PIT, 2020) This came up to a total of 161 548 homeless people staying in the state of California. (PIT, 2020) Of those, 135 771 were individuals and 25 777 were in families with children under the age of 18. (PIT, 2020) About 70,4% (113 660 people) of this total population were unsheltered. (PIT, 2020) The state is responsible for one of every three people (34%) in the United States experiencing homelessness as an individual. (PIT, 2020)

That same PIT counted that 47 out of 10 000 New Yorkers experienced homelessness on a single night in 2020, but it was the only state that claims to have at least 95% of its homeless people sheltered. (PIT, 2020) The total of people experiencing homelessness in New York State came up to 91 271. (PIT, 2020) About 42 283 of this total amount were homeless individuals, which made up about 11% of the national total of homeless individuals (408 891 people). (PIT, 2020) Only 10% (4 551 people) were not sheltered. (PIT, 2020) A grand part of the people experiencing homelessness in New York were families. About 30% (49 988 people) of the nation's homeless families were counted in New York State. (PIT, 2020) This makes New York the state with the most homeless families. Even though it is the state with the most homeless families, none of these were recorded unsheltered in 2020.

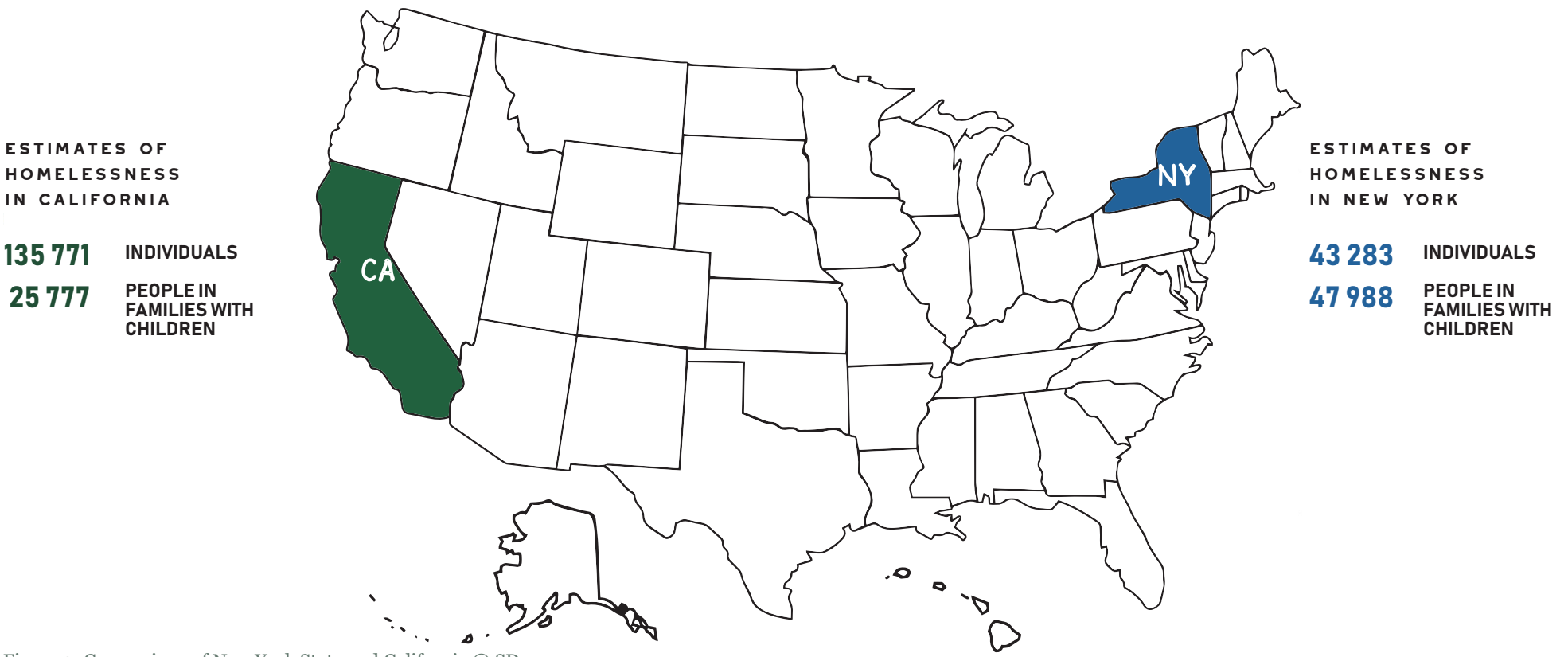
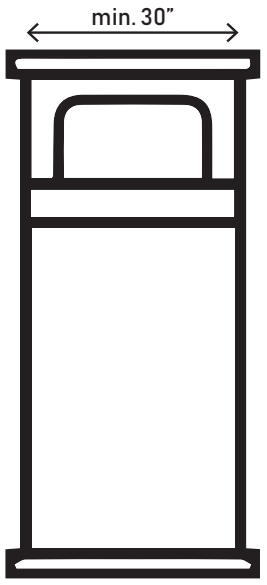


Figure 3: Comparison of New York State and California © SD

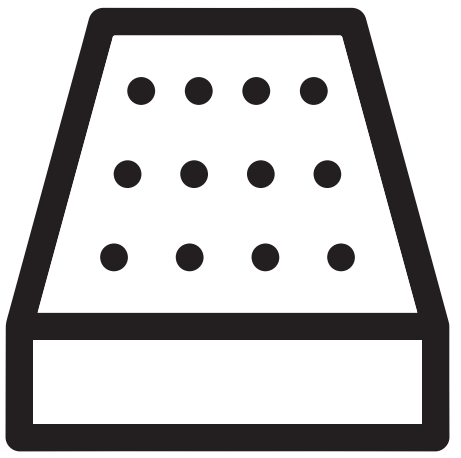
This shows that New York faces one of the largest homeless crises in the United States, but that the right to shelter effectively accommodates much of the homeless population.

SHELTER STANDARDS*



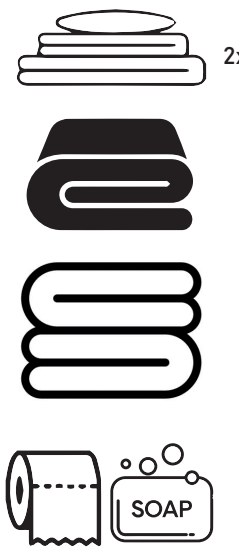
BED

“A bed of a minimum of 30 inches in width, substantially constructed, in good repair an equipped with clean springs.”



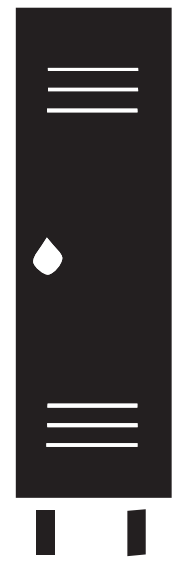
MATTRESS

“Each bed shall be equipped with both a clean, comfortable, well-constructed mattress standard in size for the bed and a clean, comfortable pillow of average size.”



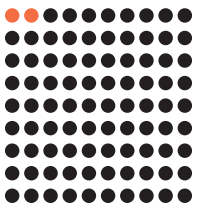
PROVISIONS

“Each resident shall receive two clean sheets, a clean blanket, a clean pillow case, a clean towel, soap and toilet tissue.”



LOCKER

“Each resident shall receive a lockable storage unit.”



STAFF

“A staff attendant to resident ratio of at least 2 per cent shall be maintained in each shelter facility at all times.”



FIRST AID

“A staff attendant trained in first aid shall be on duty in each shelter facility at all times.”



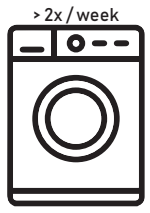
SECURITY

“There shall be two trained security guards in between the hours of 4:00 a.m. to 8:00 a.m..”



CHANGE OF LINENS

“A complete change of bed linens and towels will be made for each new resident and at least once a week and more often as needed on an individual basis.”



LAUNDRY SERVICE

“Laundry services shall be available to each resident not less than twice a week.”



CLEANLINESS

“A staff attendant trained in first aid shall be on duty in each shelter facility at all times.”



GROUP RECREATION

“A minimum of ten hours per week of group recreation shall be available for each resident at each shelter facility.”



PAY PHONE

“The City defendants shall make a good faith effort to provide pay telephones for use by the residents at each shelter facility.”



MAIL

“Residents shall be permitted to receive and send mail and other correspondence without interception or interference.”



LEAVE

“Residents of shelter facilities shall be permitted to leave the facility by 7:00 a.m. if they so desire.”



RETURN

“Residents shall be permitted to leave and to return to shelter facilities at reasonable hours and without hindrance.”



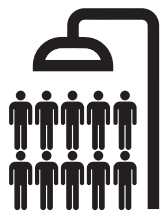
TRANSPORTATION

“Residents of shelter facilities shall be provided transportation (public or private) to enable them to return to the site where they applied for shelter.”



TOILETS

“There shall be a minimum of one toilet and one lavatory for each six residents.”



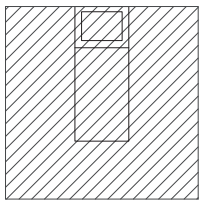
SHOWERS

“There shall be a minimum of one tub or shower for each ten residents.”



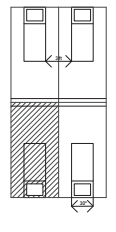
HEAT

“Heat shall be maintained in accordance with New York City guidelines for rental residences.”



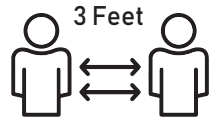
SINGLE OCCUPANCY

“In single occupancy sleeping rooms, a minimum of 80 square feet per resident shall be provided.”



DORM

“In sleeping rooms for two or more residents, a minimum of 60 square feet per resident shall be provided.”



DISTANCE

“A minimum of 3 feet, which is included in the per resident minima, shall be maintained between beds and for aisles.”



SPACE FOR DINING

“Space provided for dining shall be at least 120 square feet when there are less than 10 beds. The space should be least 12 square feet per bed when there are 10 or more beds.”



SPACE FOR LEISURE

“Space provided for leisure areas shall be at least 120 square feet when there are less than 10 beds. The area should be least 12 square feet per bed when there are 10 or more beds.”



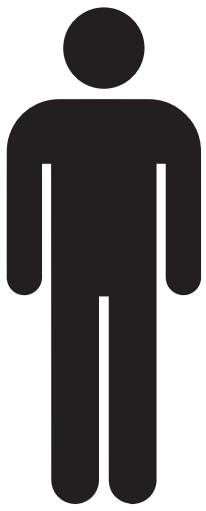
PARTITIONS

“Partitions separating sleeping areas from other areas shall be ceiling high and smoke tight.”

Figure 4: © SD

A RIGHT TO SHELTER

Today, New York City is still one of the only three municipalities with a right to shelter in the United States of America.[11] It was established by homeless men filing a lawsuit against the City saying that the City of New York was being derelict in its duty to care for the needs of the most vulnerable New Yorkers. This duty was described in the New York State Constitution. The lawsuit, Callahan vs Carey, resulted in the Callahan Consent Decree and the Eldredge vs Koch and McCain vs Koch lawsuits later on.



CALLAHAN VERSUS CAREY 1979

Robert Callahan was a homeless man sleeping in Washington Square Park. Bob Hayes, a law student at NYU, passed him and other homeless men every day even when it was freezing. The law student got motivated to do something about it. He sued the City on behalf of Robert Callahan and demanded that the city would follow up on their duty. A judge decided that the city was indeed derelict in its duties and that a more formal shelter system was to be created to ensure that people were sheltered from the outside elements. This was to be set in a consent decree, a legal document which creates an agreement between the party that brought the complaint and the defendant. The right to shelter was born.

THE CALLAHAN CONSENT DECREE 1981

In the Callahan vs Carey lawsuit, the party which brought the complaint, Robert Callahan, had already passed away. Therefore, he was not a part of the negotiations which led to the consent decree. Bob Hayes, the young lawyer who represented him, was the one who did the negotiations. This means that there was no one who was actually homeless present at these negotiations. Based on the Callahan Consent Decree, the foundation of the homeless shelter system was laid. Two main elements came forth in this consent decree: the provision of shelter and the shelter standards.

PROVISION OF SHELTER*

The Callahan Consent Decree stipulates that:

"The City defendants shall provide shelter and board to each homeless man who applies for it provided that:

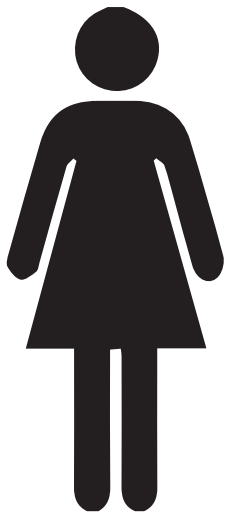
(a) the man meets the need standard to qualify for the home relief program established in New York State

or

(b) the man by reason to physical, mental, or social dysfunction is in need of temporary shelter."

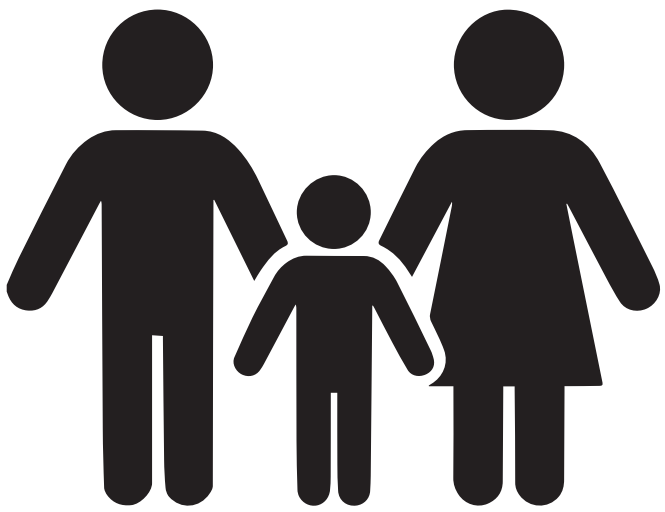
SHELTER STANDARDS*

The Callahan Consent Decree also establishes shelter standards that must be maintained at all times:
"The City defendants shall provide shelter at facilities operated in accordance with the standards set forth ter homeless men [...] if the City defendants choose to shelter homeless men in any additional Bowery lodging house, they will advise counsel for the plaintiffs and a good faith effort shall be made by plaintiffs and the City defendants to agree to operating standards for such facilities."



ELDREDGE VERSUS KOCH[12] 1983

In 1983, several homeless women brought another lawsuit to the city demanding that women receive the same right to shelter as men. They referenced the Callahan vs Carey lawsuit and debated women have an equal need for adequate sleeping, recreation and toilet facilities. There were some women's shelters, but these did not meet the Callahan standards which were set in the Callahan Consent Decree. A judge ruled that women shall receive the same rights as men.



MCCAIN VERSUS KOCH[13]

The same year, Yvonne McCain and 13 other members from homeless families with children filed a lawsuit against the city stating that families with children need the same right to shelter as homeless men and women received before. A judge ruled that this was a fair request and granted families the same right as men and women.

Thus, the right to shelter for all New York City residents was born out of the Callahan Consent Decree, making New York City one of the only cities in the United States to have it and laying the groundwork for what is the shelter system today.

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* Following information comes from Robert Callahan et al., "SUPREME COURT OF THE STATE OF NEW YORK," n.d.

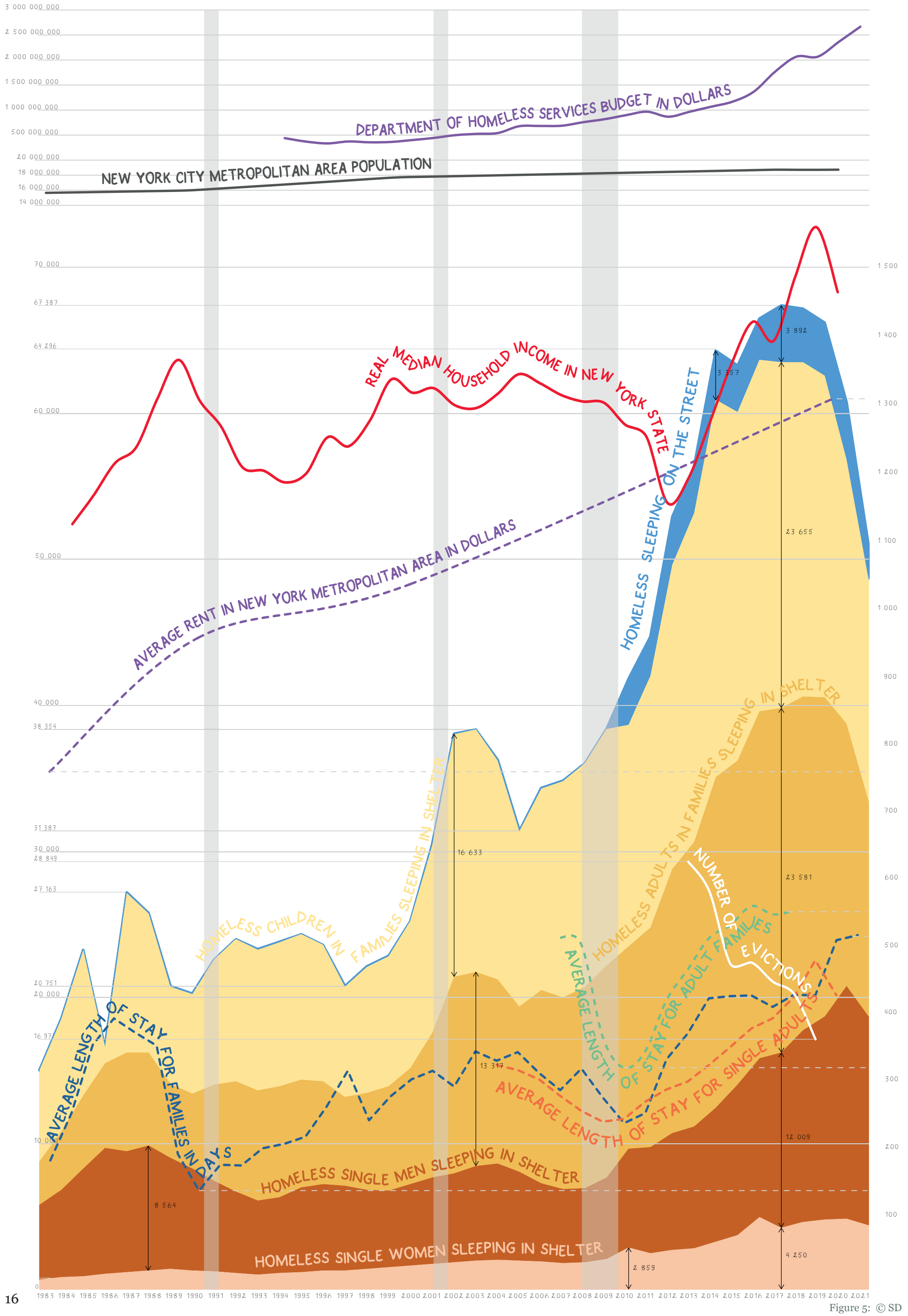
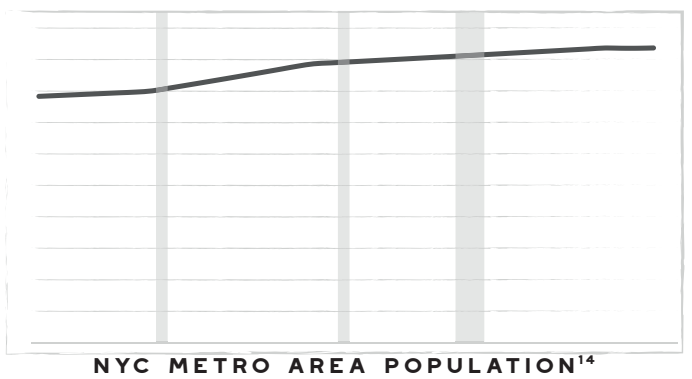

3 000 000 000
2 500 000 000
2 000 000 000
1 500 000 000
1 000 000 000
500 000 000
20 000 000
18 000 000
16 000 000
14 000 000
DEPARTMENT OF HOMELESS SERVICES BUDGET IN DOLLARS
NEW YORK CITY METROPOLITAN AREA POPULATION
70 000
67 387
64 296
60 000
50 000
40 000
38 354
31 387
30 000
28 849
27 163
20 751
20 000
16 97
10 000
0
REAL MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME IN NEW YORK STATE
AVERAGE RENT IN NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA IN DOLLARS
HOMELESS SLEEPING ON THE STREET
3 892
3 357
23 655
HOMELESS CHILDREN IN FAMILIES SLEEPING IN SHELTER
16 633
HOMELESS ADULTS IN FAMILIES SLEEPING IN SHELTER
23 581
NUMBER OF EVICTIONS
AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY FOR FAMILIES IN DAYS
13 317
AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY FOR ADULT FAMILIES
AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY FOR SINGLE ADULTS
HOMELESS SINGLE MEN SLEEPING IN SHELTER
12 009
8 564
HOMELESS SINGLE WOMEN SLEEPING IN SHELTER
2 859
4 250
1 500
1 400
1 300
1 200
1 100
1 000
900
800
700
600
500
400
300
200
100
1983 1984 1985 1986 1987 1988 1989 1990 1991 1992 1993 1994 1995 1996 1997 1998 1999 2000 2001 2002 2003 2004 2005 2006 2007 2008 2009 2010 2011 2012 2013 2014 2015 2016 2017 2018 2019 2020 2021

Figure 5: © SD

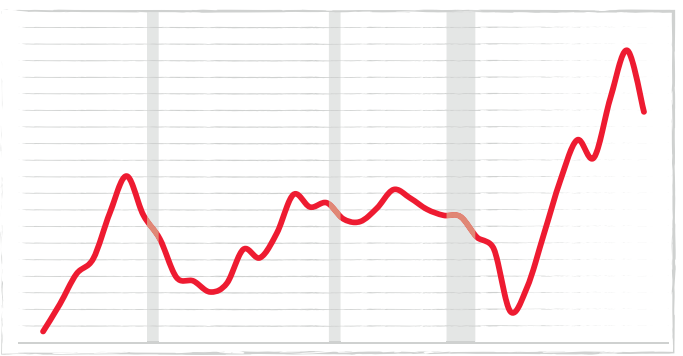
STATE OF THE HOMELESS

After the right to shelter was made available to all residents in 1983, the city embarked on an effort to track how many people were sleeping in the shelters each night, thus the creation of the DHS daily census. The results of this census are plotted against data that may be of interest in the homeless question. Recessions were also indicated in a gray strip to look at their effect.



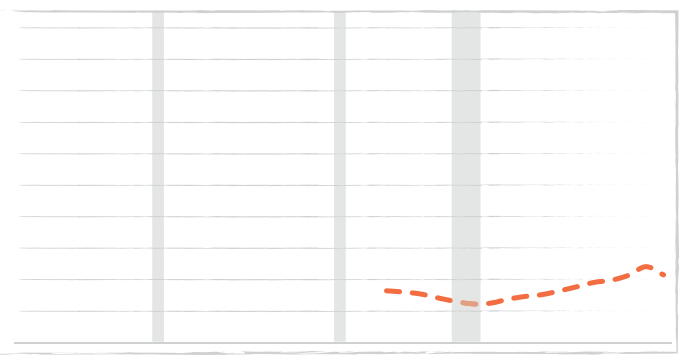
NYC METRO AREA POPULATION[14]

This graph shows the evolution of the general population in the New York City metro area. These are the areas to which the subway extends. The population of this area seems to be evolving at a fairly constant rate from 15 736 000 residents to 18 804 000 residents.



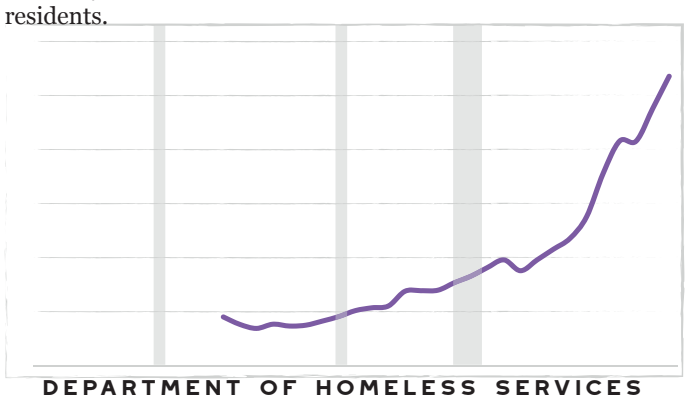
REAL MEDIAN HOUSEHOLD INCOME NEW YORK STATE IN DOLLARS[15]

This chart shows the real median household income in New York State in dollars. This clearly shows lows during or after recessions. This also shows an upward trend since 2013, which abruptly ended in 2020.



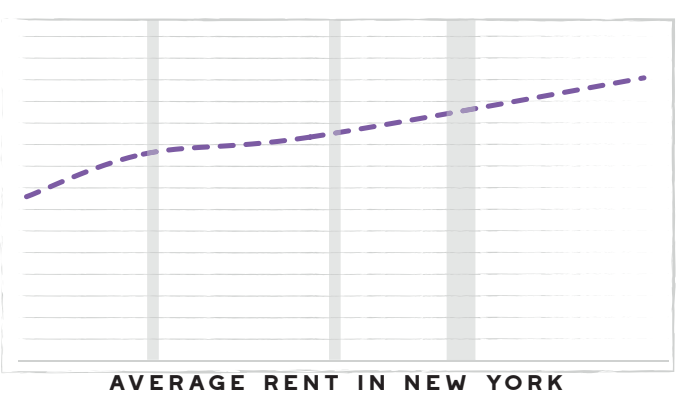
AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY SINGLE ADULTS IN DAYS[16]

This chart shows the average length of stay in single adult shelters. After a brief dip around 2008, the overall length of stay appears to be increasing. The stay in 2008 was around 280 days, while the stay in 2020 averaged 480 days.



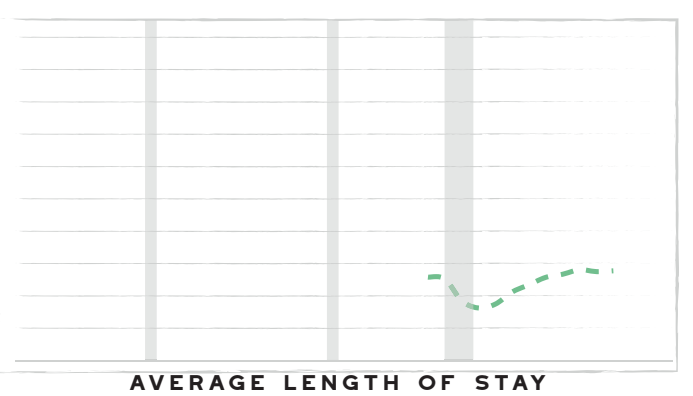
DEPARTMENT OF HOMELESS SERVICES BUDGET IN DOLLARS[17]

This chart shows the evolution of the DHS budget since 1993, when the department was created. This budget has increased exponentially since 2004, with a small dip around 2012. The budget when the department was created was $472 million. Meanwhile, this budget has evolved to $2.7 billion



AVERAGE RENT IN NEW YORK METROPOLITAN AREA IN DOLLARS[18]

This chart shows the average rent per month across the entire New York City area. It shows that it evolved relatively consistently from $750 in 1983 (converted to today's value) to $1,300 in 2019.

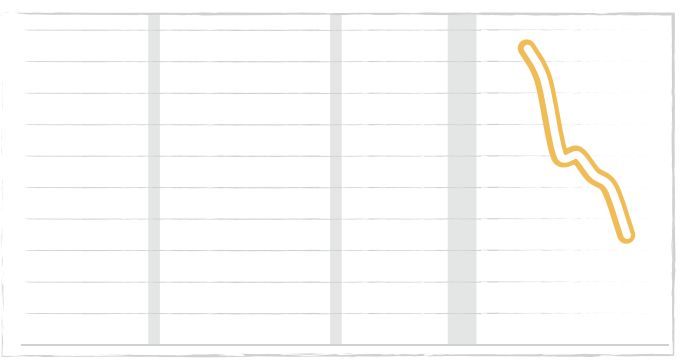


AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY ADULT FAMILIES IN DAYS[19]

The average length of stay for adult families in days is displayed on this graph. This length of stay is on average higher than the other two categories, with lengths fluctuating between 500 and 700 days.

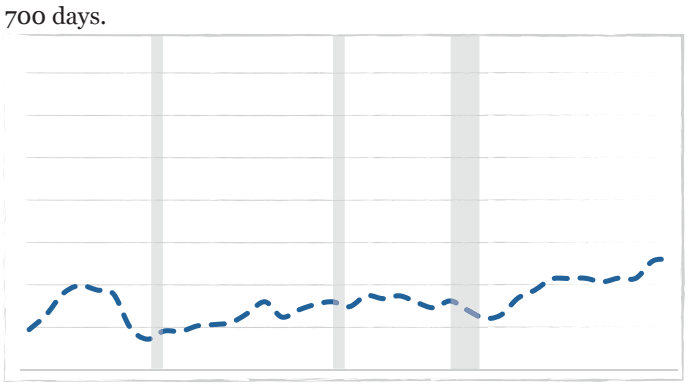
NUMBER OF HOMELESS PEOPLE SLEEPING IN SHELTER[20]

This chart shows the combination of the daily census conducted by the DHS and the annual HOPE Count that counts the homeless on the streets. There are clear spikes around recessions, meaning that general crises clearly affect the homeless population. Since the late 1990s, the overall homeless population has increased greatly and does not appear to be falling back to previous levels.



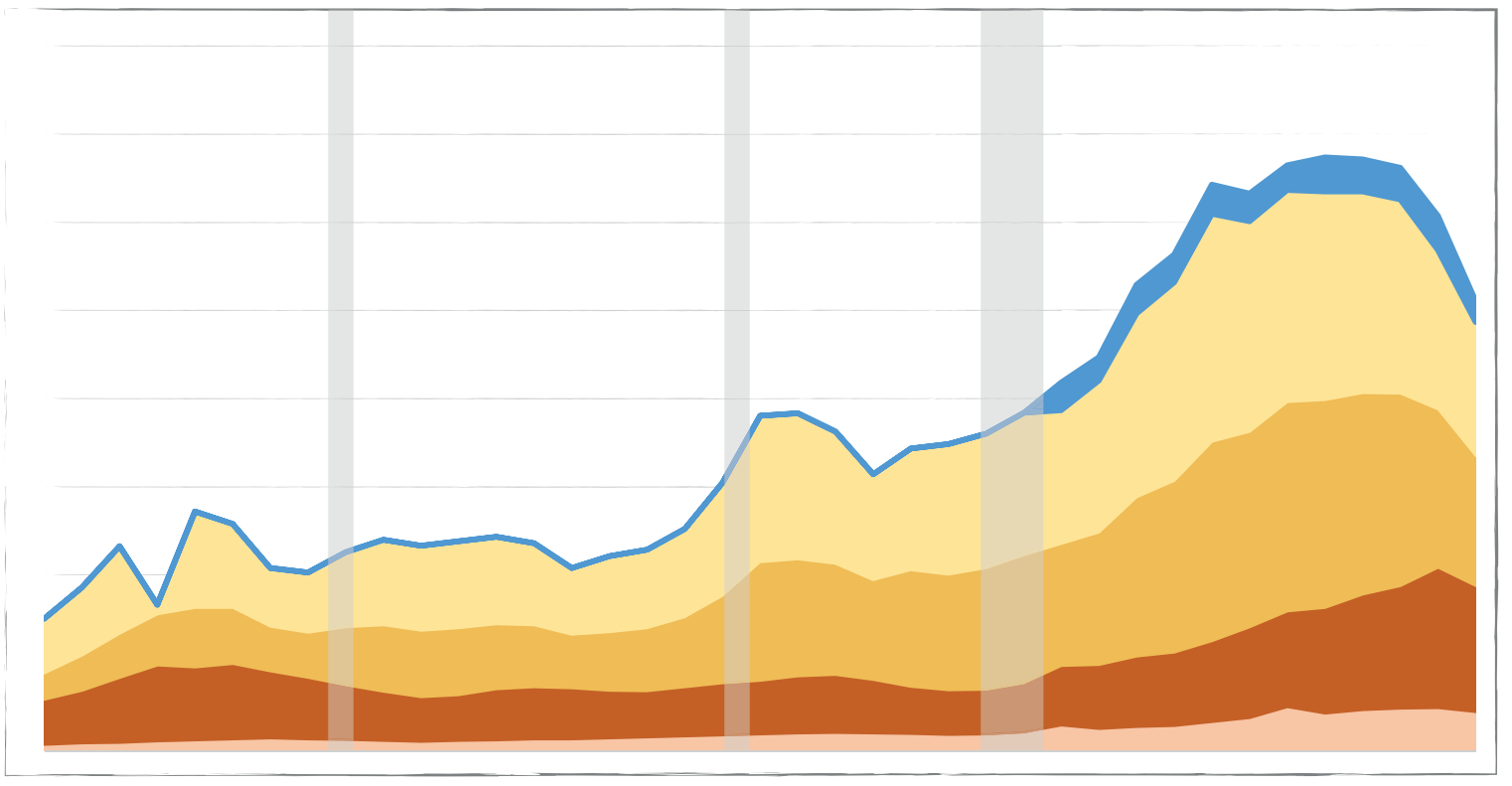
NUMBER OF EVICTIONS[21]

This chart plots the number of evictions in New York City. There is not much data around this, but it clearly shows a downward trend since the beginning of surveying. In 2013 there were still 28 849 evictions, this number dropped to 16 973 in 2019.



AVERAGE LENGTH OF STAY FAMILIES IN DAYS[22]

This graph shows the average length of stay of families with children in days. The trend has fluctuated somewhat between 200 and 300 days over time, but has recently been climbing in an upward trend to 520 days on average by 2020.



From this comparison, it is found that the average rent in New York City rises unabated, even when the average household income takes a sharp dip. In each instance, these dips are equivalent to periods of, or just after, recessions. The shelter population also tends to increase during the same period. What is striking in the last decade is how wages, the number of shelter residents, and the length of stay in shelters increased. Wages and and families in homelessness took a solid dive at the onset of the pandemic. This is explained by the lockdown which left people with no income and the eviction moratorium which ensured that people were not evicted from their homes if they could no longer pay the rent.



SMALL BUSINESS SERVICES

$ 56.194.000,00

$ 56.194.000,00

$ 2 .167.000,00

$ 164.768.000,00

"Helps unlock economic potential and create economic security for all New Yorkers by connecting New Yorkers to good jobs, creating stronger businesses, and building thriving neighborhoods." (SBS, n.d.)



FINANCE

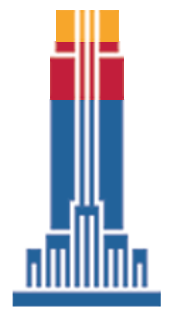
$ 0

$ 295.756.000,00

$ 0

$ 295.756.000,00

"Collects the revenues that make every city service possible such as public education, police and fire protection, hospitals and healthcare facilities, parks and recreation centers." (DOF, n.d.)



AGING

$ 71.266.000,00

$ 384.354.00,00

$ 41 .821.000,00

$ 271.267.000,00

"Committed to helping 1.64 million older adults age in their homes and communities. Committed to providing safe and inclusive services for diverse, older New Yorkers." (DFTA, n.d.)



PARKS & RECREATION

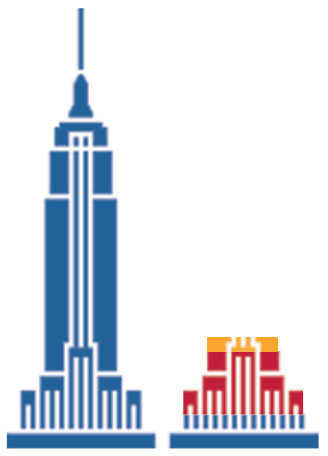
$ 4.311.000,00

$ 435.826.000,00

$ 1 .085.000,00

$ 430.430.000,00

"Steward of more than 30,000 acres of land which makes up to 14 percent of New York City." (NYC Parks, n.d.)



YOUTH & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

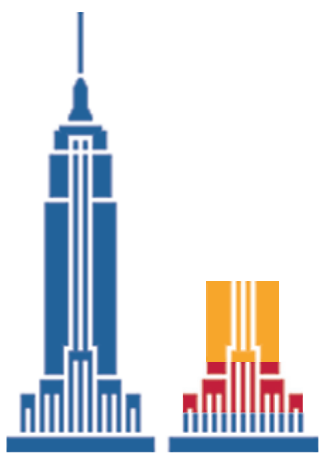
$ 87.417.000,00

$ 702.955.000,00

$ 7 .040.000,00

$ 609.498.000,00

"Invests in a network of community-based organizations and programs to alleviate the effects of poverty and to provide opportunities for New Yorkers and communities to flourish." (DYCD, n.d.)



TRANSPORTATION

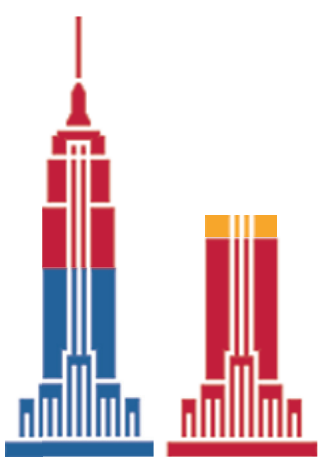
$ 69.174.000,00

$ 786.282.000,00

$ 101 .107.000,00

$ 616.001.000,00

"Provide for the safe, efficient, and environmentally responsible movement of people and goods in the City of New York and to maintain and enhance the transportation infrastructure crucial." (NYC DOT, n.d.)



HOUSING PRESERVATION & DEVELOPMENT

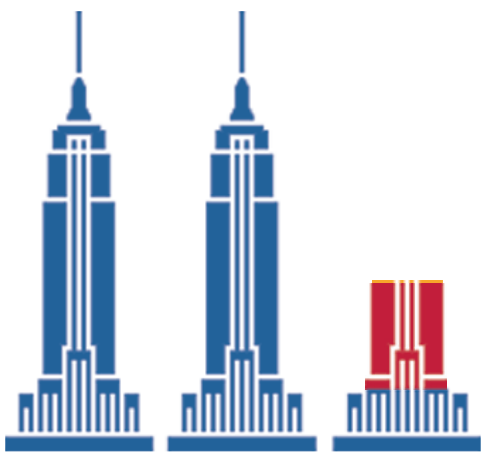
$ 808.391.000,00

$ 1.050.845.000,00

$ 5.770.000,00

$ 236.684.000,00

"Promotes the quality and affordability of the city's housing and the strength and diversity of its many neighborhoods." (HPD, n.d.)



ENVIRONMENTAL PROTECTION

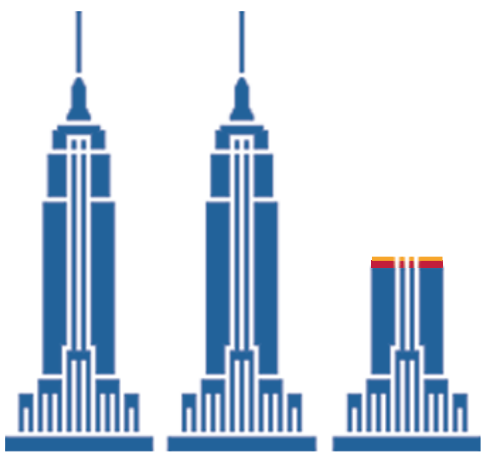
$ 137.372.000,00

$ 1.347.321.000,00

$ 866.000,00

$ 1.209.083.000,00

"Enrich the environment and protect public health for all New Yorkers by providing high quality drinking water, managing wastewater and stormwater, and reducing air, noise, and hazardous materials pollution." (DEP, n.d.)



CORRECTION

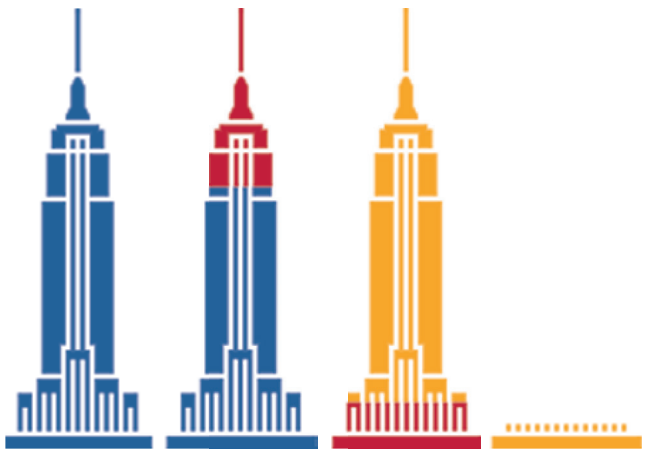
$ 573.000,00

$ 1.367.550.000,00

$ 292.000,00

$ 1.366.048.000,00

"Dedicated to creating a safe and supportive environment while providing individuals in our care with a path to successfully re-enter their communities." (DOC, n.d.)



HEALTH & MENTAL HYGIENE

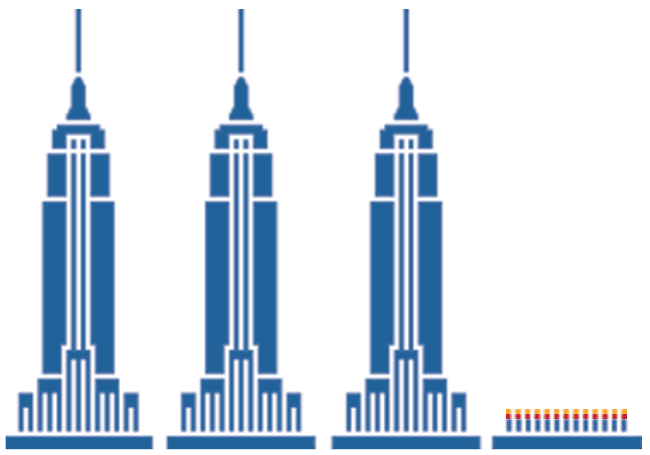
$ 287.320.000,00

$ 1.726.546.000,00

$ 539 .620.000,00

$ 899.606.000,00

"We're one of the largest public health agencies in the world. We are also one of the nation's oldest public health agencies, with more than 200 years of leadership in the field." (DOHMH, n.d.)



SANITATION

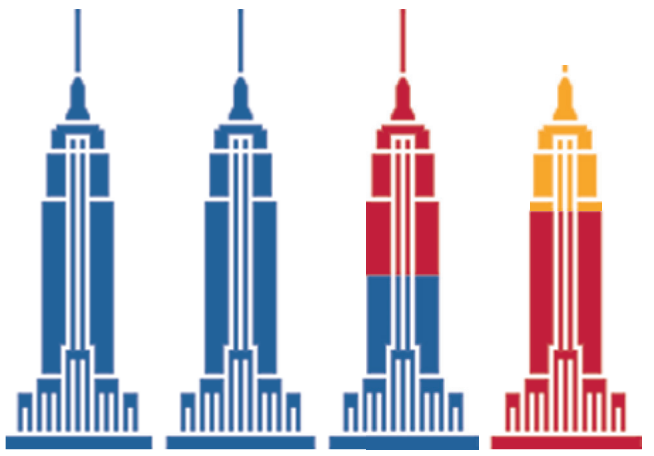
$ 565.000,00

$ 1.738.633,00

$ 1.052.000,00

$ 1.77.016.000,00

"Keeps New York City healthy, safe and clean by collecting, recycling and disposing of waste, cleaning streets and vacant lots, and clearing snow and ice." (DSNY, n.d.)



HOMELESS SERVICES

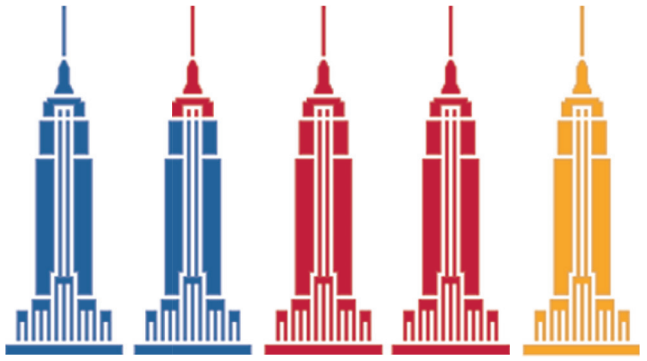
$ 650.112.000,00

$ 2.179.869.000,00

$ 176 .712.000,00

$ 1.353.045.000,00

"Prevents homelessness when possible, address street homelessness, provide safe temporary shelter, and connect New Yorkers experiencing homelessness to suitable housing." (DHS, n.d.)



CHILDREN'S SERVICES

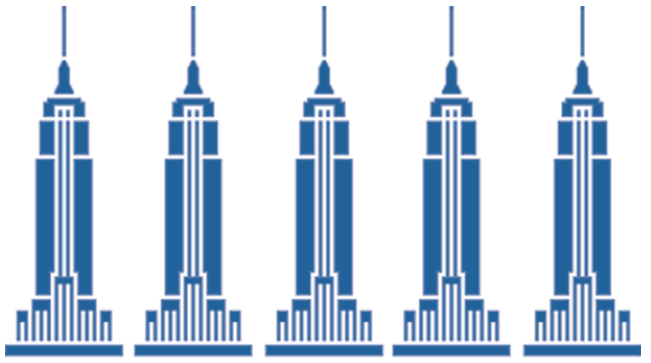
$ 1.282.099.000,00

$ 3.080.207.000,00

$ 735 .498.000,00

$ 1.062.610.000,00

"Protects and promotes safety and well-being of New York City's children and families by providing child welfare, juvenile justice, and early care and education services." (ACS, n.d.)



POLICE

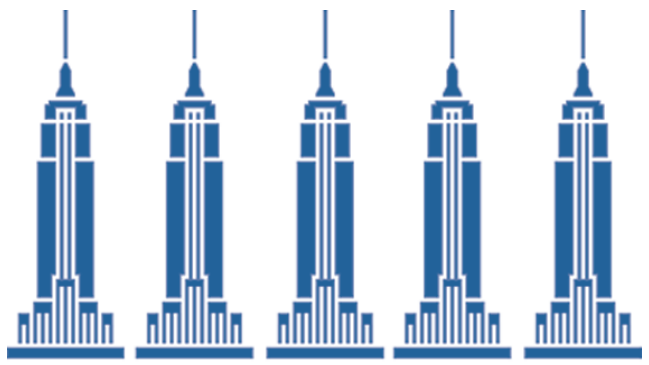
$ 260.833.000,00

$ 5.641.907.000,00

$ 60 .723.000,00

$ 5.320.351.000,00

"The largest and one of the oldest municipal police departments in the United States. Responsible for policing an 8.5-million-person city, by performing a wide variety of public safety, law enforcement, traffic management, counterterror, and emergency response roles" (NYPD, n.d.)





$ 1.502.477.000,00

$ 623 .040.000,00

$ 8.177.325.000,00

SOCIAL SERVICES

$ 10.242.842.000,00

"Integration of the administrative units of the NYC Human Resources Administration (HRA) and the Department of Homeless Services (DHS) for more seamless and effective client services." (DSS, n.d.)

NEW YORK CITY BUDGET*

The New York City annual budget depicts the everyday operations of the city's government and civil services and envisions the spending commitments the city will make. This way it directly affects the day-to-day experience of everyday New Yorkers. (Picture The Homeless, 2018)

This drawing shows how much every department receives from the Country, from the State and from the City's administration to operate the following year. Each Empire State building depicted represents 564 million dollars, which is how much the iconic building would have cost had it been built in 2019.

* Data shown comes from FY 2021 Adopted Budget Function Analysis

= 564 Million Dollars
(How much the Empire State would have cost in 2019)

= New York City

= New York State

= United States of America

HOMELESS BUDGET

The total budget spent on the homeless climbed to a whopping 3.2 billion dollars in 2019, which is more than double of the 1.5 billion dollars spent in 2014.[23] Because of this surge New York City's homeless services have been on the Comptroller's Agency Watch Lists, which raise budgetary concerns when a city agency rapidly increases its spending with meager measurable results.[24]

These 3.2 billion dollars are more than the 2.18 billion dollars that were allocated to the Department of Homeless Services (DHS) that year. That is because the money dedicated towards the homeless is not only coming from the DHS but also from 5 other departments, namely the Department of Social Services (DSS), the Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD), the Department of Health and Mental Hygiene (DOHM), the Department of Housing Preservation and Development (HPD) and the Department of Veterans Services.

The Comptroller divided the city's homeless services in five categories: Adult Shelter Operations, Family Shelter Operations, Domestic Violence and Youth Shelters, Rental Assistance, Homeless Administration and Support, and Prevention, Diversion, Anti-Eviction and Aftercare.[25]

All departments, with the exception of the DOHM, provide shelter. The DHS, HPD, and the Department of Veterans Services provide shelter for adults and families, the DYCD provides shelter for youth, and the DSS provides shelter for domestic violence survivors.[26]

WHERE DOES THE MONEY COME FROM?

The cost of shelter is paid by the city, state and federal sources. The state and federal money are allocations the city receives to continue its everyday operations. The budget the city of New York allocates to each department are city tax revenues paid by the city's inhabitants. As the drawings on p. 18-19 shows, the city has been bearing most of the burden of the expanding shelter system.

WHERE DOES THE MONEY GO?[27]

About 70% of the $3.2 billion goes towards providing shelter. This includes payment of contracted service providers, security services, food and supplies, maintenance and repairs, and cleaning services. (Picture The Homeless, 2018)

Another 25% goes to prevention and support. Prevention is offered through legal services. Support involves providing rent assistance (through government or city programs) or paying rent arrears for applicants.

The last 5% of this budget is dedicated towards street homeless services, such as outreach teams and emergency food programs.

The amount paid by the city, state and country to these various components is shown on Figure 6 produced by RxHome.

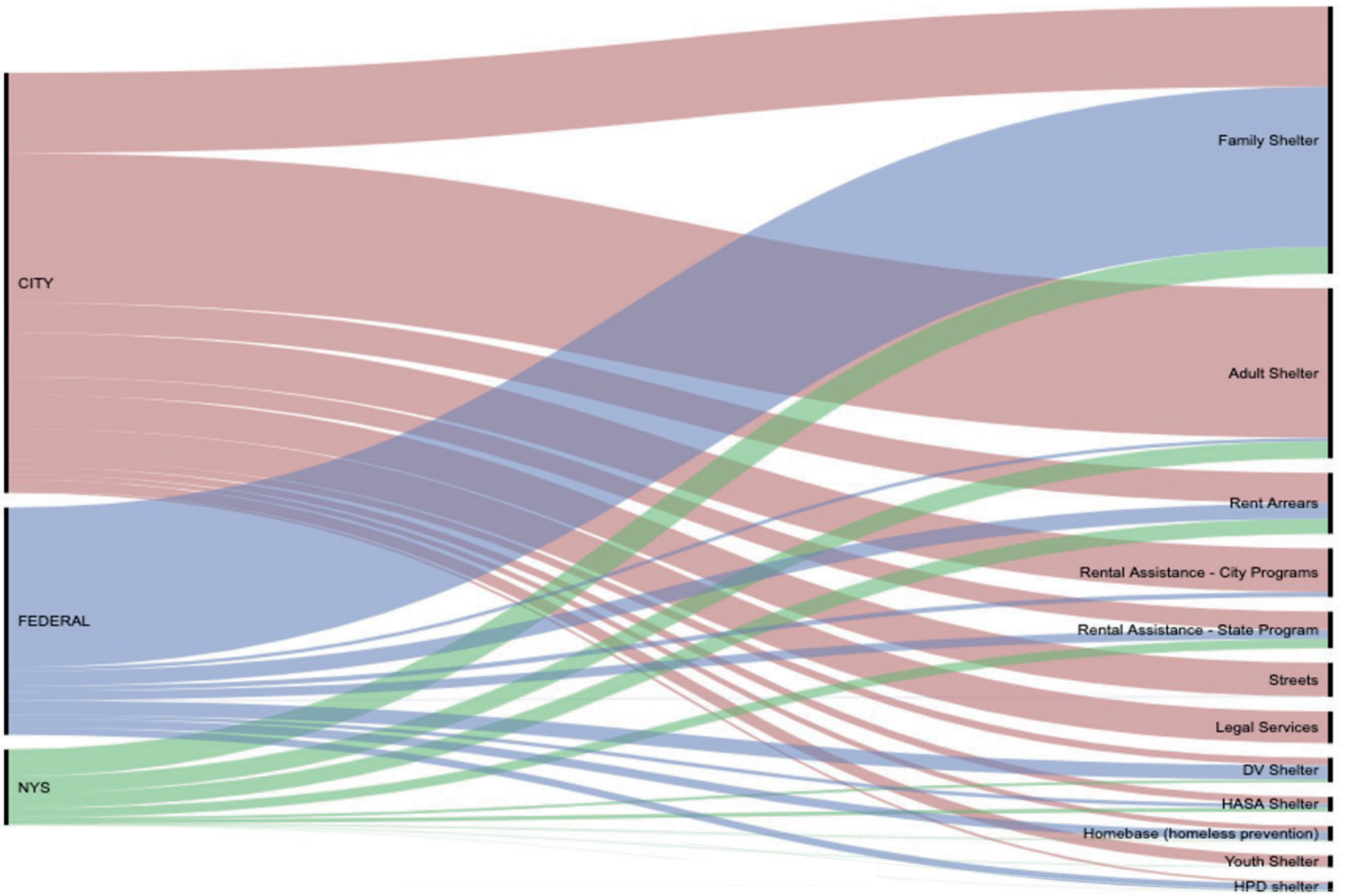


Figure 6: Flowchart showing how much each entity funds the different aspects of the shelter system © RxHome



Figure 7: Comparison of the cost of providing a family with shelter or providing a family with housing © RxHome

HOUSING FIRST

C.L., an advocate from RxHome, denounces that New York City is putting its emphasis wrong. *"It [the shelter system] has always been intended to be emergency. But as you can see, the average family stays in a shelter for over two years. It has become poverty housing. So when we talk about it, we're talking about the mismatching of root causes and actual solutions. So I think it's a good thing to focus on when you're talking about homeless New York City, that shelter is a bad approach to solving homelessness. It needs to be a waste stop that should be rarely used and shouldn't be the monolith of our city's homelessness policy."*

VERSUS

SHELTER FIRST

G.N. reacts on the criticism that the city is putting too much attention on shelter, rather than housing: *"Yes, that's a common criticism of the city. And you know, the truth is you need both. Of course, we need access to housing, but many of these advocates make the erroneous claim that housing is cheaper than shelter. And that's not true. People stay in shelter for a year, a year and a half, nine months. They stay in housing forever. And so the cost per family is much greater for housing than for shelter, which doesn't mean we shouldn't do it. But let's be realistic about what it costs. The analogy that I like to draw is to the health care system. We could have excellent preventive care, we could have excellent primary care and excellent follow up care. But we will still need an emergency department because people will still have heart attacks and still break their legs and have car accidents and everything else. And so the shelter system in this analogy is like the emergency department. If you have a system that's all emergency department and no prevention and primary, that's a problem, but you will always need some level of emergency department."*

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[5] "Homeless Definition - HUD."

[6] "Homeless Definition - HUD."

[7] A term that refers to a situation where individuals are unable to maintain their housing situation and are forced to stay with a series of friends and/or extended family members. (HRSA/ Bureau of Primary Health Care, Program Assistance Letter 99-12, Health Care for the Homeless Principles of Practices.)

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HOMELESS BUDGET

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DEMOLISHED

STILL EXISTING

CAREGIVER

EXPANSION

REFORMATION

GREAT DEPRESSION

MODERN HOMELESSNESS

HOOVERTOWN
RIVERSIDE PARK

HOOVERTOWN
CENTRAL PARK

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

THIRD
ALMSHOUSE

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

ANNEX N°2

THE MEN'S
SHELTER

THE MARTINIQUE

MUNICIPAL
LODGING HOUSE

THE PRINCE GEORGE

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

ANNEX N°1

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

BOWERY
FLOPHOUSES

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

FIRST AND SECOND
ALMSHOUSE

POLICE
STATION HOUSE

HOOVERTOWN
BATTERY PARK

1:20 500

HOMELESS HISTORY

New York City has a long history of sheltering the homeless. It all started with households that took in strangers who had no kinship and evolved all the way to an institutional entity with a right to shelter for every New York City resident. After the right to shelter was established, the fate of shelter residents became more dependent on the mayor and what he wanted to accomplish in his administration. The history of the city is important in understanding how the shelter system works today. It shows the foundations on which the right to shelter was built. This chapter is mainly based on 5 books that each depict a certain period in time. Hopper described the evolution from the city as a caregiver, Riis portrayed the expansion of the city which led to the reformation. Doroty Laager Miller depicts the Great Depression, while Kozol tells about the modern homelessness. The study ends with Maine examining the policies that the Mayors implemented.

COLONIAL TIMES

Before the city began caring for its homeless, citizens took on this responsibility. Households took in "boarders," dependent strangers at the expense of the city government. Boarders could range from orphans who had lost their parents to vagrants and marginalized groups sent from Europe to help build the colony.



Figure 1: Castello Plan © Jacques Cortelyou

NEW AMSTERDAM 1628

The Dutch started a fur trade with the native population. The success of this trade drove a group of 270 European colonists and enslaved Africans to move to this piece of land and establish the colony of New Amsterdam. The town grew into a thriving seaport and soon became the capital of New Netherland, the Dutch colony that went up to where Albany is today. Other settlers founded farms and villages where the Bronx, Brooklyn, Upper Manhattan, Queens and New Jersey now lie.

CASTELLO PLAN 1660

The Castello Plan is one of the oldest maps of New York City. It shows New Amsterdam as a small accumulation of buildings near the port which sells local merchandise to trade ships.

NEW AMSTERDAM BECOMES NEW YORK 1664

The Dutch colony was attacked by pirates and needed protection. The English offered this protection, in exchange for becoming an English colony and changing its name to New York, after the king's brother, the Duke of York.

CITY AS A CAREGIVER

In the late 17th century, the city began renting out separate buildings for emergency housing for residents who had no friends or family to care for them. These were the first unofficial poorhouses. Later, the city itself built a multi-purpose house where people with nowhere to go could reside. This was the Almshouse.

NEW YORK CITY CHARTER 1731

The New York City Charter of 1731 prescribed the construction of a municipal hospital. This municipal hospital, called the Almshoue, was to be a place of confinement for the poor who refused or were unable to work. It was paid for out of taxes and was New York's first government-supported institution for dependents.

1736

OPENING OF THE FIRST ALMSHOUSE

The Almshouse was built as a multipurpose house for correction, work and the poor. It was the first time the city took official care of the city's poor and sick. Previously, the church and community took on these populations. The Almshouse was built where City Hall Park is located today and the total cost of construction was 80 pounds and 50 gallons of rum for the townspeople.

The rules of residence describe the residents as a family. The poor who lived together were seen as a kinship, a family of fellow sufferers. Family was seen as people living together in a house, so that was how the poor, criminals and homeless would live together.



Figure 2: The First Almshouse © New York City Cemetery Project



Figure 3: The location of the first almshouse © NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission

1750

START OF STREET SWEEPS

With the opening of the Almshouse, the police also began to conduct street sweeps to direct all vagrants, medicants, black people and prostitutes to the Almshouse. The Almshouse became a way to get rid of the lawless poor and to remove those with no fixed abode from the street. The city did not want people to get the idea that the poor were not being taken care of. But as the street sweeps progressed, complaints increased about the morality of these street removals.

1767

PLAN OF THE CITY OF NEW YORK BY B. RATZEN

One can see how the city evolved since the Castello plan. More docks can be seen along the coast and the island had been developed over a larger area.

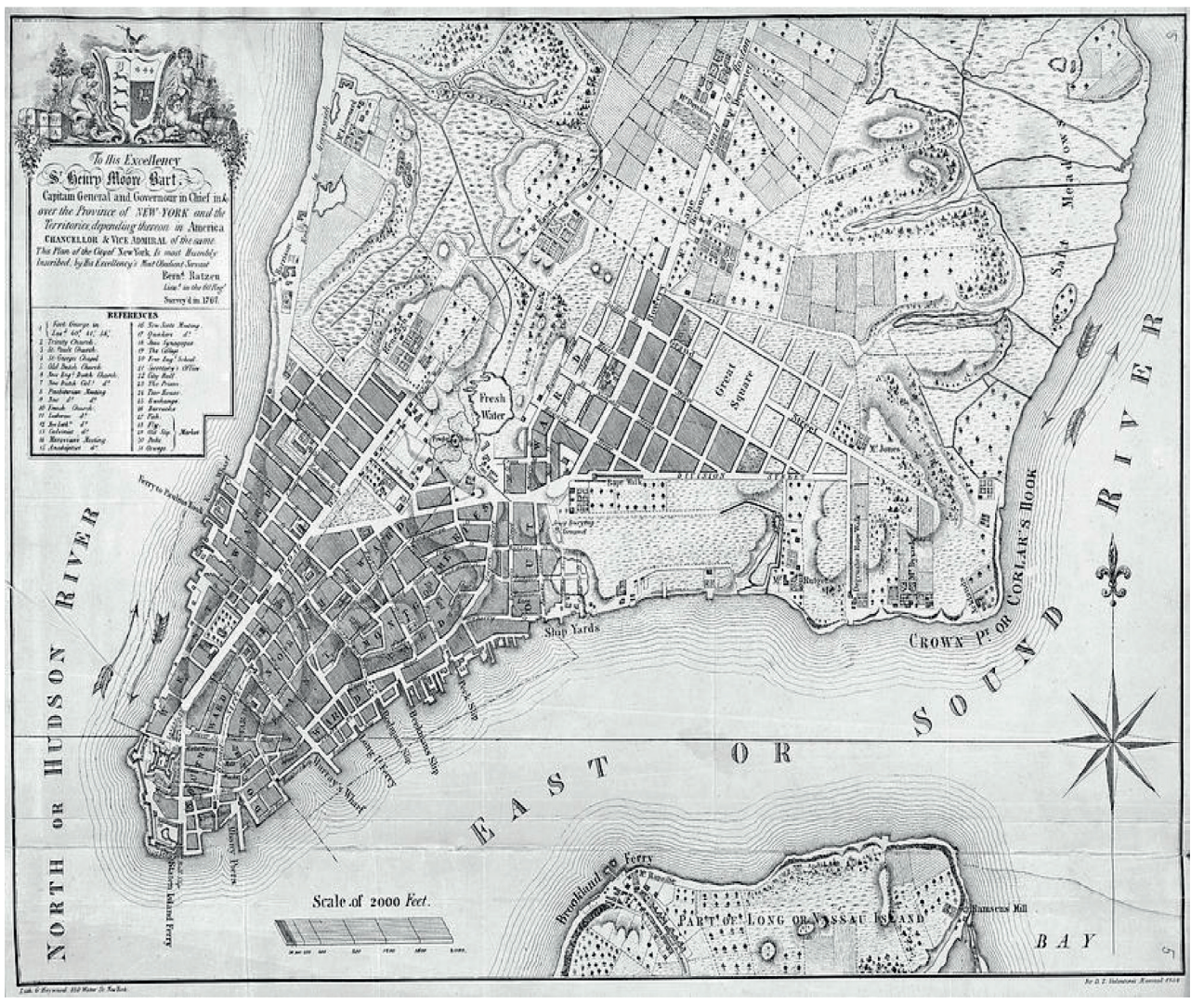


Figure 4: Plan of New York City © B. Ratzen



Figure 5: Steven's manuscript map of New York © David Rumsey Historical Map Collection

AMERICAN REVOLUTION 1776

ENGLISH FORCES LEAVE NEW YORK 1783

After the American Revolution, New York City was occupied by British forces for 7 more years. It was not until November 25, 1783 that New York City was truly independent.

STEVEN'S MANUSCRIPT MAP OF NEW YORK

"The plan extends from below Guanas Bay to the Heights of Spikendevi, a distance of about eighteen or nineteen miles. It shows the Fortifications, Defenses, Topography, Streets, Roads, etc. of the whole of the Island of New York with the Harbor Islands, Water Ways, and River Frontages on the Hudson and East Rivers, the Military Works on Long Island including Brooklyn, the Works in Paulus Hook and parts of the Jersey Shore." (David Rumsey)

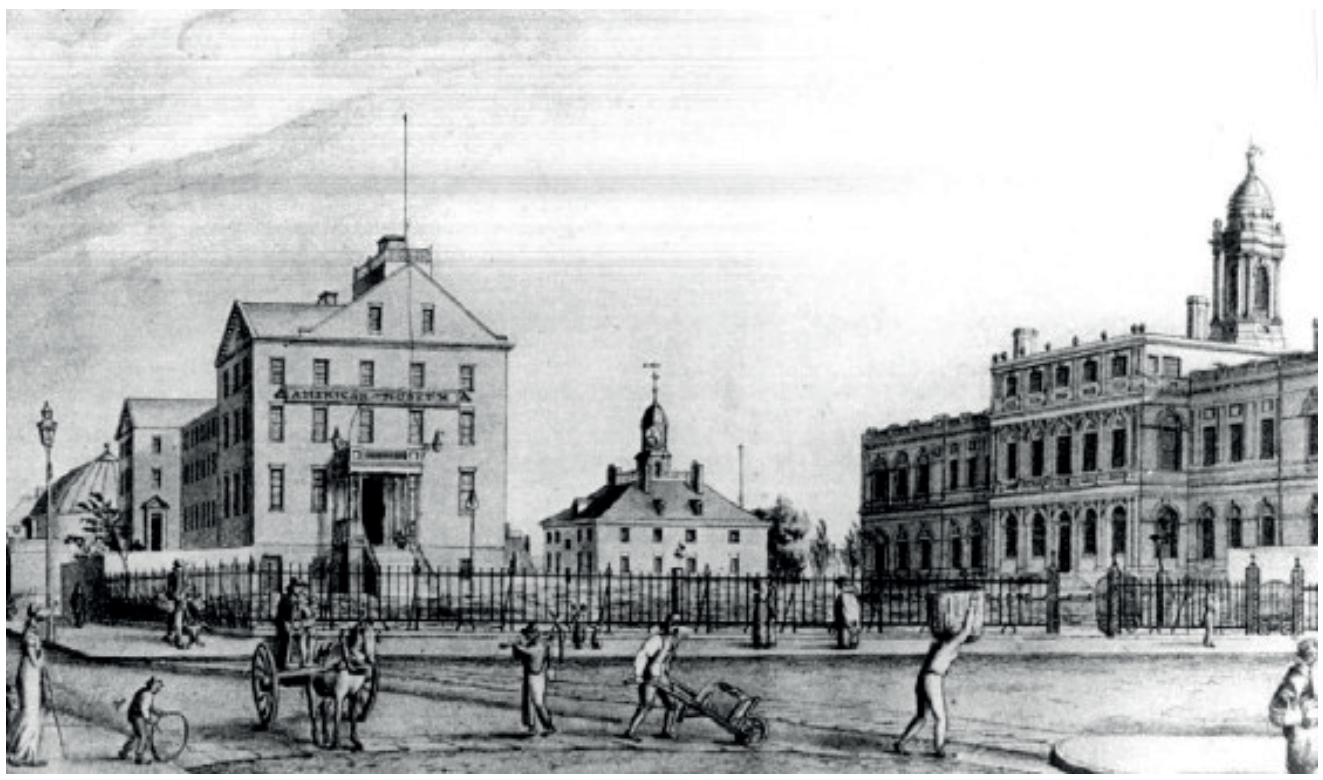


Figure 6: The second almshouse next to the first almshouse © NYC Landmarks Preservation Commission

OPENING SECOND ALMSHOUSE 1795

A second institution was built next to the first almshouse. This institution, Bridewell, was to be used as a jail for convicted criminals.

EXPANSION OF THE CITY

The population began to grow so rapidly that it was difficult to keep up with the development of the city. The city council decided to further investigate the development of the island and even expand the island by buying up the surrounding islets. This development also included further specification of shelter for the outlying population. The 2 original almshouses were demolished and a new one was built on the island just near Manhattan, Blackwells Island. An entire infrastructure of institutional shelters was erected on this island. Thus, a shelter was created for the homeless, but also for the disabled, the orphans, the mentally ill, and so on. This island was nicknamed “welfare island” because of the outlying population that lived there.

1800

POLICE STATION HOUSES

Police departments were tasked with managing the supposedly dangerous classes in New York City. This included providing emergency shelter. By 1856, the police stations were sheltering more than three times their capacity, which amounted to about 400 people. Even then, they had to turn away most people.

“Each of these rooms is 50 feet long and 10 feet wide. Along its whole length runs a wrought-iron framework about eighteen inches high, which is just sufficient to hold up a series of broad planks, a pile of which appears at one end. When a lodger comes in, he takes one of the planks, places it on the frame so that it slants a little form head to foot and lies down with his boots for a pillow and his coat for a covering. If there are few persons in the room he may have two or three planks, but after he is asleep he is likely to be rudely dropped to the floor by having the extra planks jerked from under him. On a cold night, all are taken early, and 50 men and 50 women lie heaped on this long platform that is too rude to be called a bed. Next the aisle is occupied; and finally, as more come in, they will crawl under the platform, until a mouse could hardly thread his way among this mass of humanity. Such a lodging-house at 12 o’-clock on a “full” night is almost as vile as the “Black-hole” of Calcutta. The heat necessarily comes up through the gratings in the floor, and brings with it the ventilation of cells; the presence of 60 or 70 unwashed, gin-steeped bodies adds stenches indescribable; while the snores of stentorian breathers, the groanings of wakeful lodgers, and driveling of drunken ones, the scream of some frightened dreamer, and the querulous wail of a sick child, unite to make a Babel of horrible sounds. A single flickering gaslight sends feeble rays through the laden air, and every ray touches a pile of rags which in the morning will hatch out a tramp.” (Hopper 2003, p. 32)

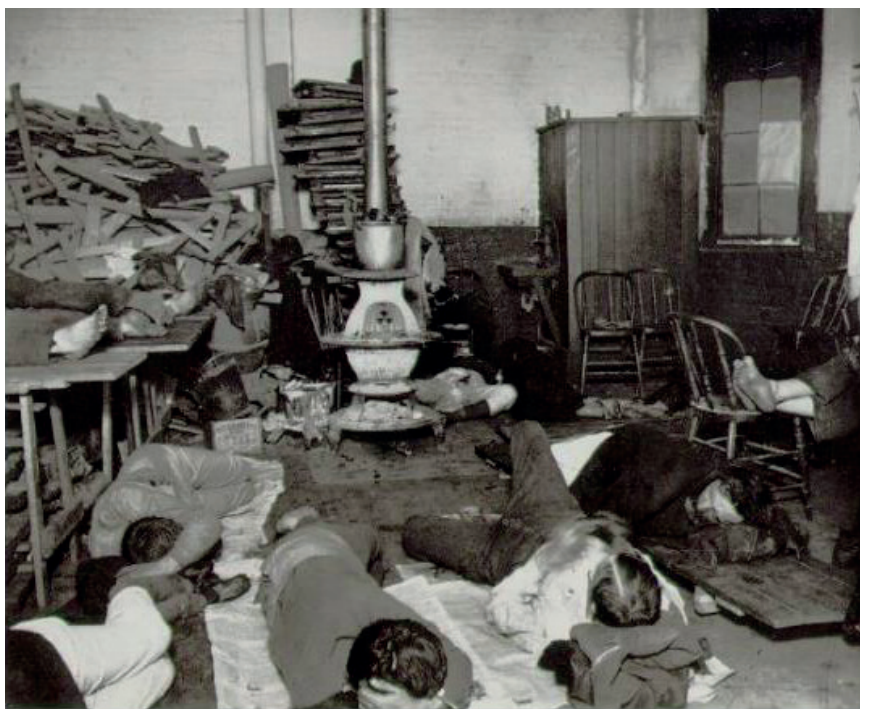


Figure 7: Men and women sleeping on a plank in a police station house © Jacob Riis



Figure 8: A woman and her plank for the night © Jacob Riis

1811

THE GREAT GRID SYSTEM

Before the Great Grid System, New York City grew organically. his is still visible in today’s financial district. The great grid system was the city’s first major urban planning effort. It came in response to massive population growth in Manhattan. This growth increased public health problems, leading to questions about how the city would develop.

1827

END OF SLAVERY

The legislature officially ended slavery on March 31st 1817, but July 4th 1827 was the date of final emancipation. This made New York the first state to pass a law for the total abolition of legal slavery. Approximately 4600 enslaved men and women were freed, which accounted for about 11% of the black population in New York.

1828

NEW YORK CITY BUYS BLACKWELL'S ISLAND

Blackwells Island was bought by the City of New York for 52 from Robert Blackwel. Later, it got the nickname welfare island, because of all the welfare functions it housed. It was renamed Roosevelt Island after President Franklin D. Roosevelt.

1832

MAP OF THE CITY AND COUNTY OF NEW YORK WITH THE ADJACENT COUNTRY BY D. BURR

This map shows the island of Manhattan and the adjacent areas. A zoning plan is clearly beginning to form while the Great Grid System traverses the entire island. The way the Great Grid System climbs the island shows the intent to further develop the island. Some development is also visible on what is now Brooklyn, Queens and New Jersey. The three islands the city acquired are also visible: Blackwells Island (1), Randalls Island (2) and Wards Island (3).

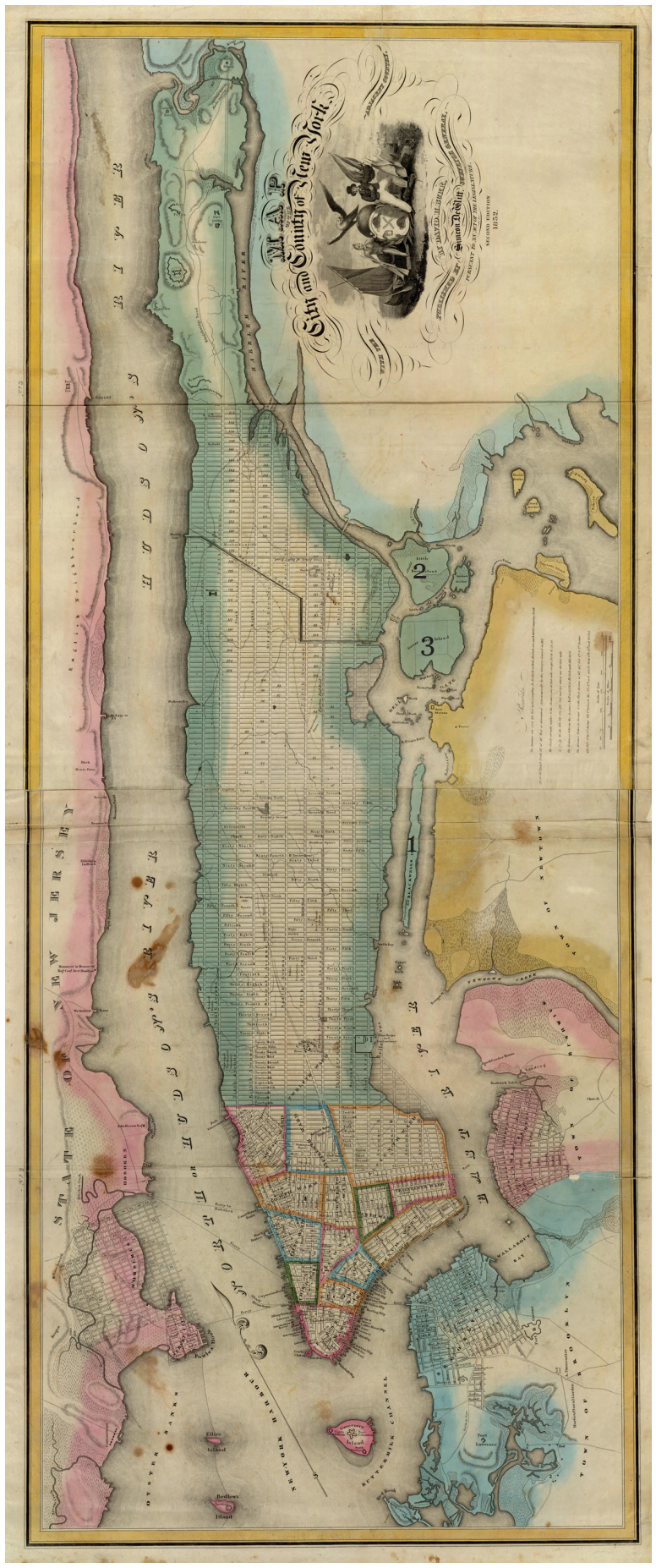


Figure 9: Map of New York City and vicinity in 1832 © D. Burr

CLOSING FIRST & SECOND ALMSHOUSE

OPENING THIRD ALMSHOUSE

The first and second almshouse were closed because a third almshouse was opened on Blackwells island. In this Almshouse, the familial connotation changed to an institutional one. Each newcomer was bathed upon arrival and dressed in the garments provided by the establishment. All people who were not wanted on the mainland were brought to these institutions. This includes among others the poor, sick, and orphans. James D. McCabe described the population as *"none but the aged and infirm, who are destitute"* in his book Light and Shadows of New York Life. There were separate almshouses for men and women, but island also had a penitentiary, a hospital for the incurably ill, a lunatic asylum, a smallpox hospital and a workhouse. That is how Blackwells island got its nickname, Welfare Island.

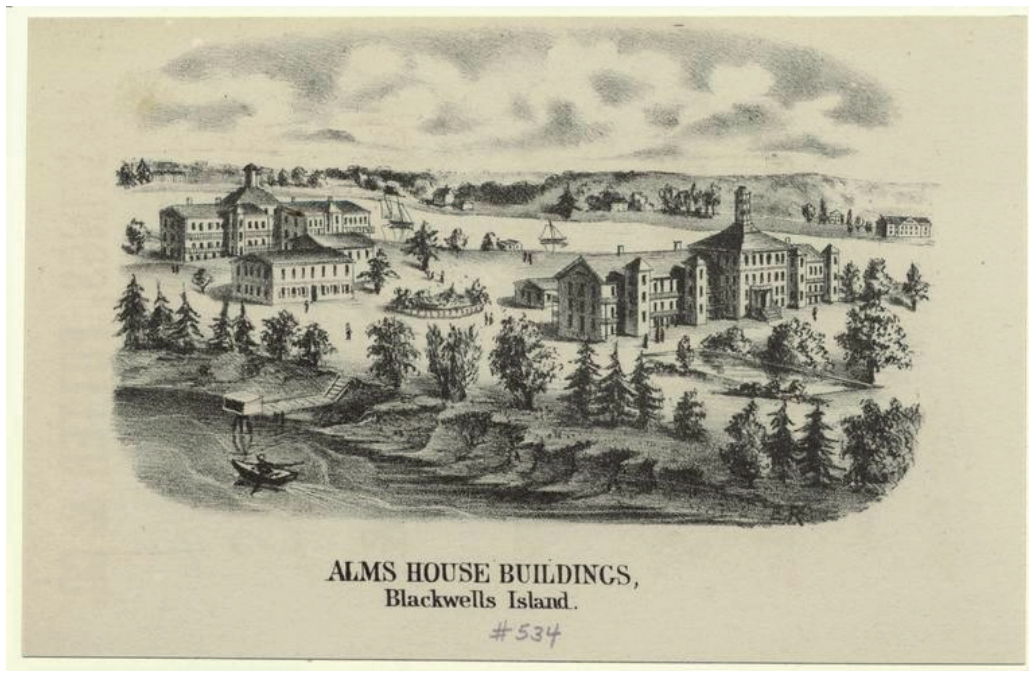


Figure 10: The third almshouse on Blackwells Island © NYPL



Figure 11: An aerial view of Randalls island (top) and Wards island (bottom) from 1948 © VIEWING NYC

NEW YORK CITY BUYS RANDALL'S ISLAND

1835

NEW YORK CITY BUYS WARD'S ISLAND

1851

After the city's population had boomed in recent years, the housing situation of some of its residents was extremely poor. People lived in slum-like conditions. Therefore, the city began to reform its housing standards. It began to create documents to define what constitutes good and bad housing. However, this also meant that people lost the roof over their heads because the new standards decided that their house was uninhabitable. In response, the city also made a Municipal Lodging House Act that allowed the construction of a Municipal Lodging House. This way, the people affected by these changes would be taken care of.

1861 – 1865

CIVIL WAR

1863

MAP OF NEW YORK AND VICINITY PUBLISHED BY MR. DRIPS

This map shows a highly evolved Manhattan. There is a fully developed grid system and can also see Central Park in the center. The southern tip also shows many more piers than the previous maps did. The surrounding areas also look more developed.

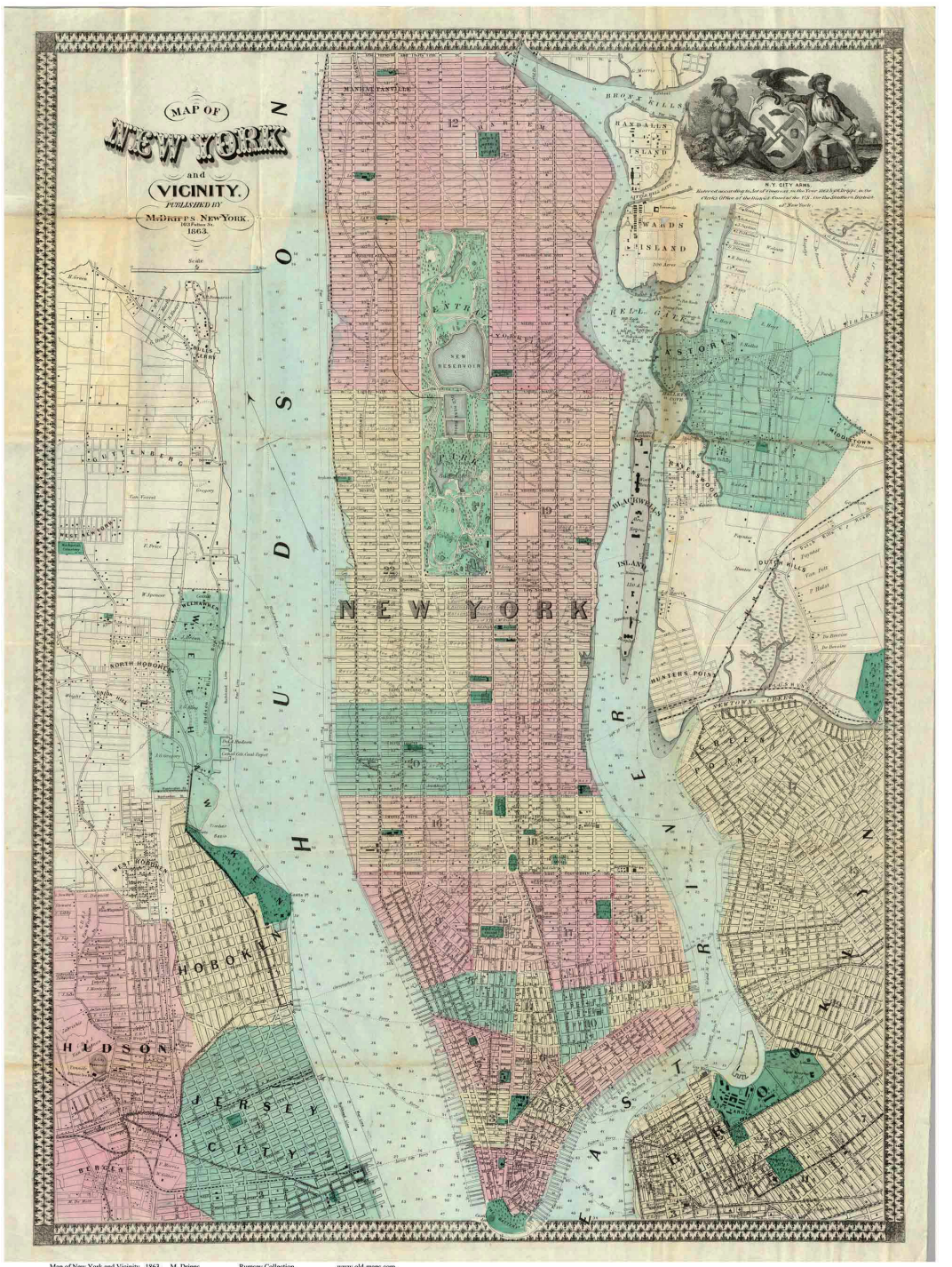


Figure 12: Map of New York and Vicinity © Mr. Drips

1867

FIRST TENEMENT HOUSE ACT

This act required that each suite had a fire escape and that each room had a window.

1867

FIRST TENEMENT HOUSE ACT

This law closed a loophole that developers had found in the previous tenement house act. The last act required a window to each room, but did not specify that this window should be facing the outside, so they began to make rooms that had a window facing the interior hallway. This law required each window to face a source of fresh air and light.

1882

RECESSION

1886

MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE ACT

This act enabled the construction of a municipal lodging house to shelter homeless people at night.

1890

HOW THE OTHER HALF LIVES: STUDIES AMONG THE TENEMENTS OF NEW YORK

Jacob Riis, an American newspaper reporter, made a photographic study of the slum conditions in New York City. This book encouraged the City of New York to regulate its rental housing to curb evil. Theodore Roosevelt, who would become president of the United States in 1901, read the book and replied to Riis that he has come to help.

CLOSING DOWN OF POLICE STATION HOUSES
OPENING OF THE FIRST MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE

1896

"The first Municipal Lodging House opened as a direct consequence of the campaign to shut down the police station houses. Convinced by Jacob Riis that the station houses were beyond reform, Theodore Roosevelt (then president of the Police Commissioners Board) ordered them closed in February 1896. No alternative having been arranged for the thousands making use of them, one was hastily constructed. In what may properly be considered the first official municipal shelter, the city secured a refurbished barge in the East River, at the foot of East 26th Street. It remained open until May." (Hopper 2003, p. 34)

NEW YORK STATE TENEMENT HOUSE ACT

1901

The New York State Tenement House Act was one of the first laws to prohibit the construction of dark and poorly ventilated tenement buildings. The law required that a new be constructed with outward-facing windows in every room, an open courtyard, good ventilation, indoor restrooms and fire safety guards.

DEPRESSION

1907 - 1908

"During the depression of 1907-1908, they slept in flophouses, in saloons, in vacant cells in the city jail, and in public toilets in city parks." (Hopper 2003, p.34)

OPENING MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE

1909

The Municipal Lodging House was the first building designed specifically to shelter the homeless in Manhattan. It was a six-story building located at 432 East 25th Street in Manhattan. It was Beaux-Arts building that had a bed capacity of 910 beds: 800 beds for men and 110 beds for women with children. The second and third floors were specifically women's dormitories. The lodging house offered a meal, medical care, cleaning services and a bed. It was operated under the supervision of the New York City Department of Welfare.



MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE, EAST 25TH STREET,
NEW YORK CITY.
Raymond F. Almirall, Architect.

Figure 13: The facade of the Municipal Lodging House © The Brickbuilder,

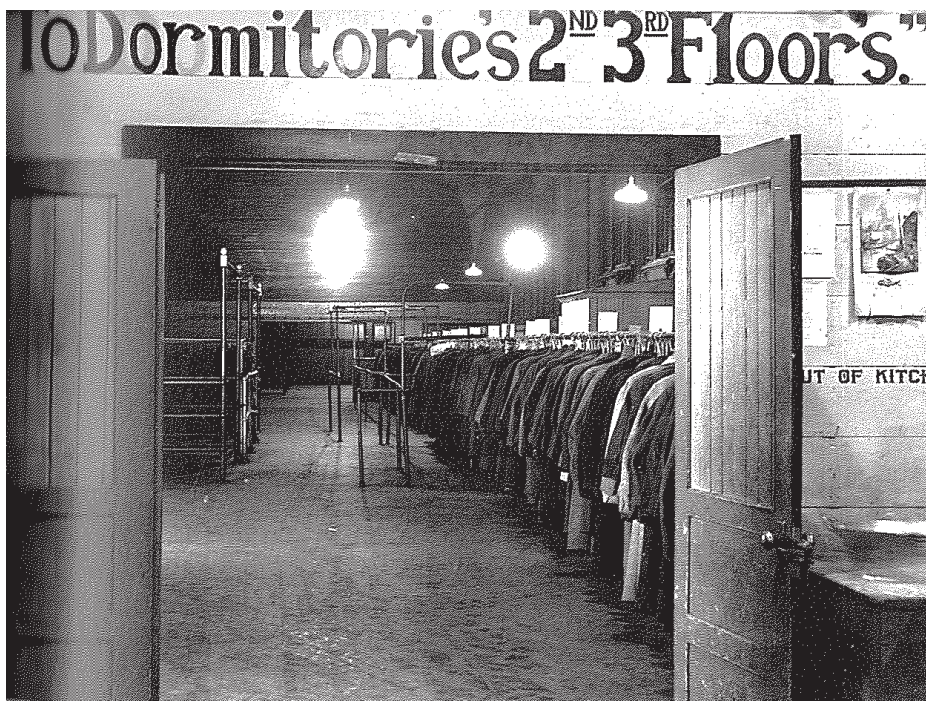


Figure 14: The entrance to the women's dormitories © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless



Figure 15: The dining hall © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless

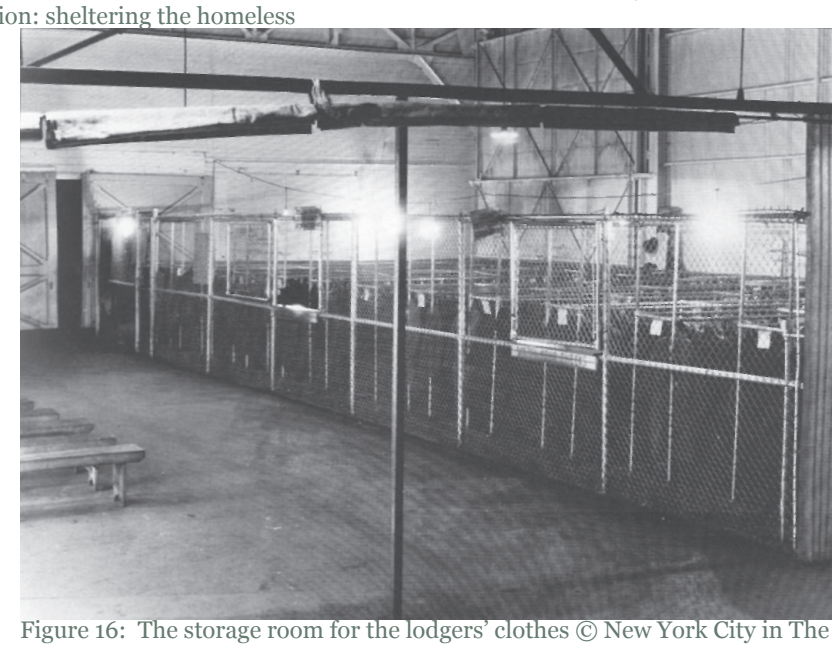


Figure 16: The storage room for the lodgers' clothes © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless

THE GREAT DEPRESSION

The homeless population grew to unprecedented numbers during the Great Depression. Men could not find work and ended up sleeping on the streets for lack of resources. The Municipal Lodging House became overcrowded and had to turn people away. The Municipal Lodging House opened two new annexes to create more beds for the staggeringly large group of homeless. The Great Depression ended when World War II broke out.

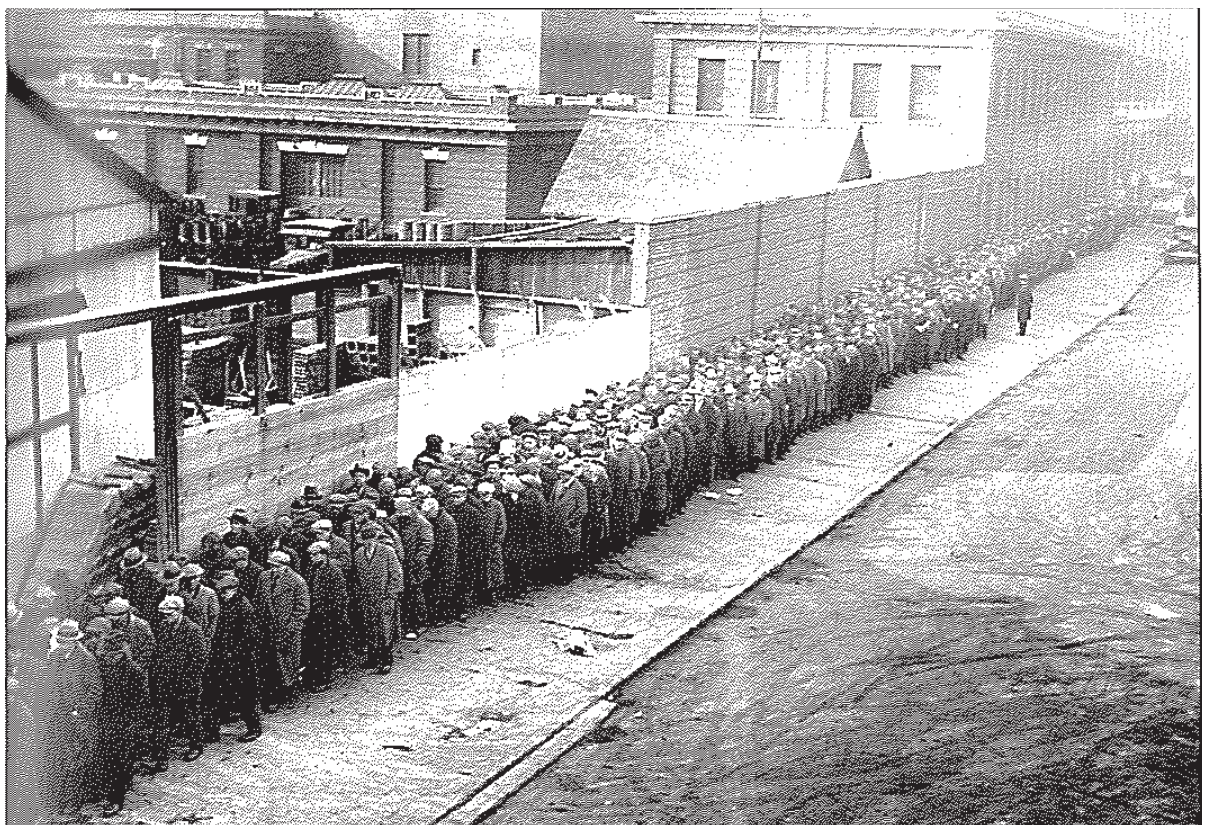


Figure 17 : Men waiting in line for the Municipal Lodging House © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless



Figure 18 : Homeless men reading news papers looking for a job © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless

1914 - 1915

DEPRESSION

"Estimates of those 'with no fixed abode and no regular means of subsistence' during the depression of 1914-1915 ran as high as sixty thousand. Thousands slept in parks. Others sought refuge in churches where they slept sitting up in pews, or on floors of the settlement house where newspapers were used for sheets. Several hundred slept on benches in the city missions." (Hopper 200", p. 33-35)

1929

WALL STREET CRASH

1930

HOOVERTOWNS

Hoovertowns were shantytowns named after Herbert Hoover, president of the United States during the Great Depression. They popped up all over the country. In New York City they could be found in Central Park, Riverside Park, the sewer pipe and other parks. These shantytowns had no water or sanitary facilities. There was an official tolerance for them as the shelter rejection rate rose to 56%. People were rejected from shelter if there were enough legally responsible relatives around to support the homeless.



Figure 19 : Hooverville settlement on the Croton Reservoir in Central Park © NY Daily News Archive



Figure 20 : Unemployed at their huts in a Hooverville, West Houston and Mercer Street © Berenice Abbott

OPENING ANNEX NO. 1 1932

An annex was opened at Pier 7 to meet the need for lodging. This was located at the end of East 25th Street, the same street where the original Municipal Lodging House was. An additional 3 000 beds were provided for homeless men and 15 000 meals per day were provided. This annex was not available to women with or without children. They had to go to the original Municipal Lodging House.



Figure 21 : Annex no. 1© New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless



Figure 22 : Men waiting at annex no.1 © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless



Figure 23 : The dorms at annex no.1 © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless

OPENING ANNEX NO. 2

A second annex was opened due to the increasing need. This was installed in the former Manhattan Terminal Building of the old 29th Street Brooklyn Ferry. This annex, too, served only men, as did the first. Another 1946 beds were added, bringing the total number beds of beds for the homeless men to 5856.



Figure 24 : Men in line at annex no.2 © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless



Figure 25 : The dorms at annex no.2 © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless

1934

CLOSING THIRD ALMSHOUSE

OPENING CAMP LAGUARDIA

Camp LaGuardia was a former women's prison 60 miles up north of New York City that was converted into a shelter for men. It was an experiment to provide a more stable and permanent environment for the homeless men. The men residing here were given shelter in exchange for labor on the farm. This labor was intended to restore the morale and work habits of the men. The LaGuardia shelter was operational up until 2007.

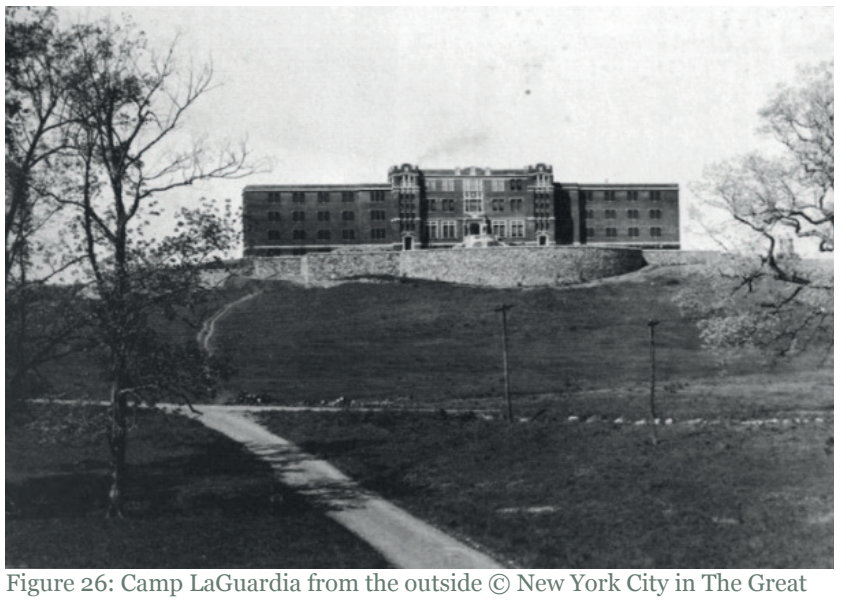


Figure 26: Camp LaGuardia from the outside © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless

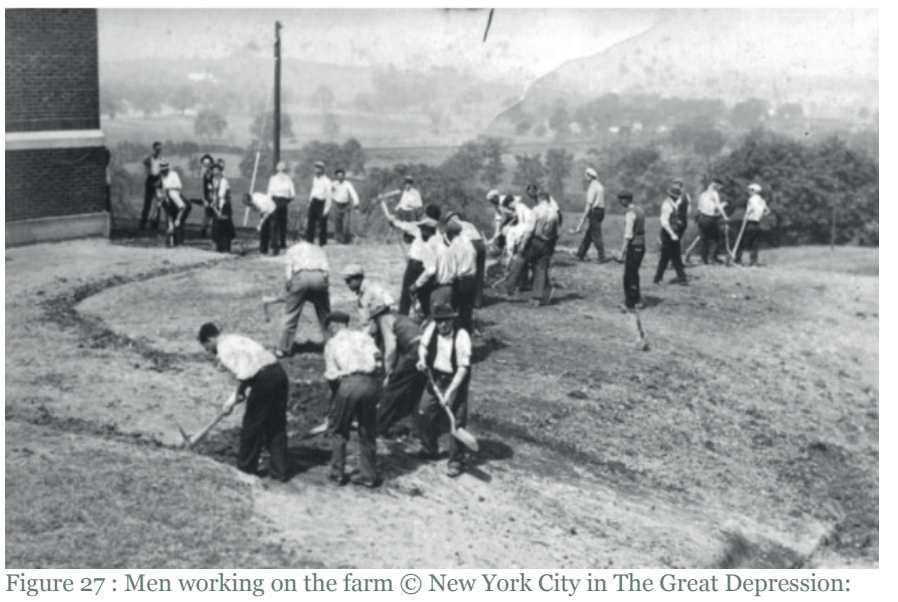


Figure 27 : Men working on the farm © New York City in The Great Depression: sheltering the homeless



Figure 28 : Camp LaGuardia from the inside when it was operational © Daily Mail

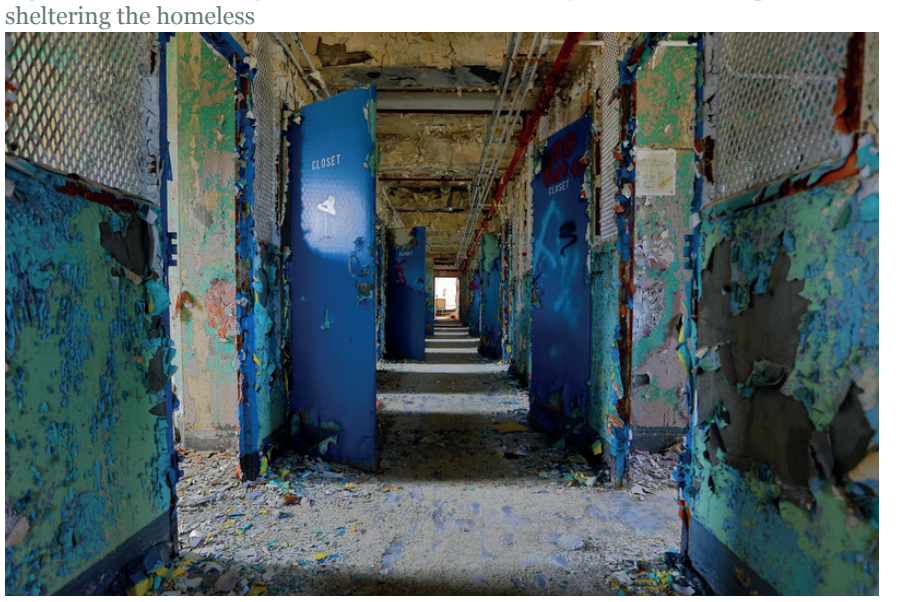


Figure 29 : Camp LaGuardia from the inside a couple of years after the operations ended © Untapped New York

1940

OPENING THE MEN'S SHELTER

The Men's Shelter was opened in the former Bellevue psychiatric hospital. It was a 24-hour rehab center where older men could stay for extended periods of time. It could be seen as a voluntary total institution because people came in voluntarily to be locked up to get better.

1940 - 1945

SECOND WORLD WAR

The Second World War marked the end of the Great Depression. Many young men were drafted into war, which also reduced the number of people on the streets.

1949

CLOSING MUNICIPAL LODGING HOUSE

The end of the Great Depression also marked the end of the growing homeless crisis. The number of homeless people declined, so there was no longer a need for the Municipal Lodging House and its annexes. It was closed down in 19... and demolished in 1949. Today, the ... hospital on this site.

MODERN HOMELESSNESS

Around the 1970s, homelessness as seen today emerged, namely a growing number of homeless families with children and street homeless spread across the city. Before, the street homeless mostly stayed in certain streets of the city, such as the Bowery, and barely left them. After the 1970s, the street homeless started appearing all over the city. One of the reasons why this modern form of homelessness arose was the deinstitutionalization of large pyschiatric centers through the development of new drugs and therapies. This rise in homelessness caused Bob Hayes, a young NYU student to sue the city for a right to shelter.

BOWERY FLOPHOUSES

Different types of residents resided in the Bowery Flophouses. There were the ticketmen, who were referred to the flophouses by the Men's Shelter, and there were the paying customers. The ticketmen slept in dormitories and the paying customers were given single rooms. Even though the ticketmen could still afford to pay for a room, they were often on the verge of homelessness themselves, as a room cost only $0.10 a day. Some of these Bowery flophouses became legendary, such as The Palace and The Kenton. Both were later converted into shelters.



Figure 30 : Bowery Flophouse 1974 © John Conn



Figure 31 : Bowery Flophouse 1974 © John Conn

1950s

DEINSTITUTIONALIZATION OF STATE FACILITIES

As a result of new psychotropic drugs and new approaches to providing therapeutic treatment in communities, many state institutions were closed. This meant that people who had spent much of their lives in institutions were suddenly free to go wherever they wanted. Some of these people did not know how to get back into society and ended up on the streets.

1960s

DEVELOPMENT OF HOTEL FAMILIES

Due to an increase in family homelessness, hotels were used to accommodate this part of the homeless population. This created the "hotel families": families trapped in the hotel shelters for long stretches of time because they could not find an alternative. Notorious hotels where this occurred were The Martinique and The Prince George.

1970s

HOMELESS PEOPLE SPREAD OVER MANHATTAN

In the past, homeless people were mostly found in the Bowery. In the 1970s, that dynamic changed and the homeless spread throughout the city.

1979

CALLAHAN VS CAREY

DEPENDENCY ON MAYORAL TENDENCY

Since the right to shelter, the homeless population became increasingly dependent on the program of the mayor in office and what his vision for the homeless question consisted. However, because mayors are re-elected every 3 years in New York City, attempts made by one mayor were sometimes easily dismissed by the next mayor, which made it difficult to establish a long-term plan that spanned different mayors.

1980 - 1989

THE KOCH YEARS

Under the administration of Mayor Koch, the right to shelter was established. The homeless population declined thanks to ambitious housing initiatives launched during his administration. In 1986, the 'Housing New York' plan was launched, a ten-year capital investment plan of 5.2 billion dollars to create or renovate 150 000 affordable apartments throughout the city, 10% (15 000) of which were destined for homeless families. The first years of implementing this plan, approximately 3700 apartments were created for homeless families. This led to a 29% decrease in the number of homeless families between 1988 and 1990.

1990 - 1993

THE DINKINS YEARS

Another economic recession followed in the 1990s, which again increased the number of homeless families. However, Dinkins was able to reduce the number of homeless single adults by investing in permanent supportive housing with the "New York/New York Agreement. This joint state and city initiative created 3800 units of permanent supportive housing, reducing the number single adult homeless by 37%, a low never seen since the 1980s. This also led to a decrease in the street homeless population, as the street homeless became much less visible.

The Dinkins administration also reformed part of the shelter system by creating smaller shelters with specialized services for homeless people with disabilities and special needs. This occurred after advocates filed a class action litigation to downsize the enormous thousand-bed armory shelters that were perceived as dangerous. Other class actions and court orders also phased out the welfare hotels and barracks-style facilities for homeless families with children. But the city intake for families with children remained problematic, leaving hundreds of homeless children and parents sleeping on the floor and benches of the center.

All the while, the 'Housing New York' plan was still active, creating affordable apartments and housing for homeless families.

1994 - 2001

THE GIULIANI YEARS

The Giuliani administration meant a rise in both family homelessness and homeless single adults.

Family homelessness rose to levels that weren't even seen during the economic recession of 1990. About 34% less families got from the shelter system into permanent housing due to dramatic cutbacks in targeted housing assistance. The largest cutbacks were in the housing assistance with city-funded apartments. The 'Housing New York' plan that created 3700 units a year during the Koch administration, created less than 300 units during the Giuliani administration.

Homelessness also increased among single adults as less was invested in permanent supported housing.

2002 - 2013

THE BLOOMBERG YEARS

Under the Bloomberg administration, the same trend continued with an increase of 71% more homeless single adults and 83% more homeless families sleeping in shelters.

2014 - 2020

THE DE BLASIO YEARS

The De Blasio administration began its term by getting rid of some of the harmful policies of its predecessors. For example, this administration established the New York Housing Authority apartments for homeless individuals and families.

Yet since his term, the number of homeless people has stabilized rather than declined.

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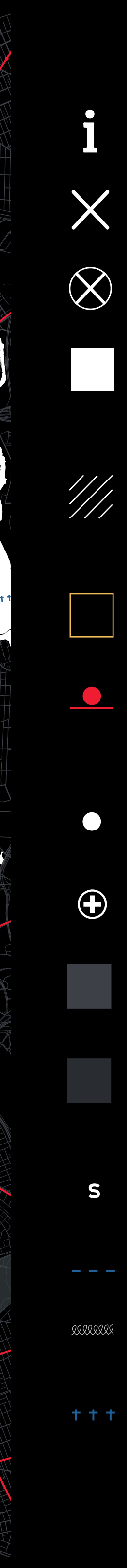
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As a result of the right to shelter enacted in 1983 for every New York City resident, New York City has developed one of the most advanced homeless shelter systems in the world. This system has spread throughout the urban fabric, stretching from the Bronx to Brooklyn.





HOMELESS INFRASTRUCTURE

INTAKE CENTER

DROP-IN CENTER

SAFE HAVEN

SHELTER

FAMILY ADULT FAMILY ADULT MEN ADULT WOMEN

COMMERCIAL HOTEL

FAMILY ADULT FAMILY ADULT MEN ADULT WOMEN

FAMILY CLUSTER

SUBWAY SYSTEM

STATION ROUTES

EMERGENCY FEEDING SITE

HOSPITAL

STREET

PARK

S PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION HUB

FERRY TO STATEN ISLAND

PRISON

FERRY TO HART ISLAND

BK
631 Linwood St, NY 11208
968 3rd Ave, NY 11232
MNY
111 Sunken Garden Loop, NY 10035
QNS
85-15 101st Ave, NY 11416

BX
1122 Franklin Ave, NY 10456
1260 Sedgwick Ave, NY 10452
1527 Southern Blvd, NY 10460
1911 Jerome Ave, NY 10453
706 Courtlandt Ave, NY 10451

BK
116 Williams Ave, NY 11207
1245 Broadway, NY 11221
1402 8th Ave, NY 11215
1424 Herkimer St, NY 11233
174 Prospect Pl, NY 11238
300 Skillman Ave, NY 11211
59 Prince St, NY 11201
65 Clermont Ave, NY 11205
655 Van Siclen Ave, NY 11207

MNY
110 2nd Ave, NY 10003
205 W 135th St, NY 10030
225 E 45th St, NY 10017
331 E 70th St, NY 10021
341 W 51st St, NY 10019
555 W 174th St, NY 10033

QNS
127-03 20th Ave, Flushing, NY 11356
138-02 Queens Blvd, Jamaica, NY 11435
138-46 Northern Blvd, Queens, NY 11354
40-03 29th St, Long Island City, NY 11101
93-05 168th St, Jamaica, NY 11433

BX
1397 Stebbins Ave, NY 10459
1938 Webster Ave, NY 10457
2331 Grand Concourse, NY 10468
500 E 134th St, NY 10454
963 Prospect Ave, NY 10459
980 Prospect Ave, NY 10459

BK
1395 Dean St, NY 11216
615 E 104th St, NY 11236

MNY
12 E 31st St, NY 10016
306 W 94th St, NY 10025
55 W 110th St, NY 10026

QNS
160-11 89th Ave, NY 11432
3-16 Beach 65th St, NY 11692

LIC
52-34 Van Dam St, NY 11101

BX
1122 Franklin Ave, NY 10456
151 E 151st St, NY 10454

BK
116 Williams Ave, NY 11207

MNY
400 E 30th St, NY 10016

BX
800 Barretto St, NY 10474
2640 3rd Ave, NY 10454

BK
2402 Atlantic Ave, NY 11233

MNY
120 E 32nd St, NY 10016
257 W 30th St, NY 10001

QNS
100-32 Atlantic Ave, NY 11416

BX
1300 Sedgwick Ave, NY 10452
2500 Crotona Ave, NY 10458

BK
17 Seabring St, NY 11231
279 Butler St, NY 11217

MNY
150 Delancey St, NY 10002

QNS
139-01 Jamaica Ave, NY 11435
220-16 Jamaica Ave, NY 11428

BX
1145 Southern Blvd, NY 10459
681 Elton Ave, NY 10455

BK
134 22nd St, NY 11232

MNY
429 Park Ave S, NY 10016

QNS
136-05 Cranston St, NY 11434
144-36 153rd Ln, NY 11434

BX
1068 Franklin Ave, NY 10456
1214 Hoe Ave, NY 10459
1216 Hoe Ave, NY 10459
1218 Hoe Ave, Bronx, NY 10459
1530 Beach Ave, Bronx, NY 10460
1801 Clinton Ave, Bronx, NY 10457
237 Landing Road Bronx, NY 10468
3339 Park Ave, Bronx, NY 10456
3600 Jerome Ave, Bronx, NY 10467
4380 Bronx Blvd, Bronx, NY 10466

BK
1154 Dekalb Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11221
1322 Bedford Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11216
146 Clay St, Brooklyn, NY 11222
2402 Atlantic Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11233
249 Varet St, Brooklyn, NY 11206
338 Forbell St, Brooklyn, NY 11208
357 Marcus Garvey Blvd, Brooklyn, NY 11221
510 Gates Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11216
570 Coney Island Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11218
570 Jamaica Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11208
599 Clarkson Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11203
599 Ralph Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11233
629 Chauncey St, Brooklyn, NY 11207
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89 Porter Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11237
977 Bedford Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11205
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99 Meserole Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11222

MNY
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127 West 25th Street, New York, NY 10001
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333 Bowery, New York, NY 10003
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400 E 30th St, New York, NY 10016
600 E 125th St, New York, NY 10035
64 Sunken Garden Loop, New York, NY 10035
65 Charles Gay Loop, New York, NY 10035
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QNS
132-10 S Conduit Ave, Jamaica, NY 11430
88-55 161 St, Jamaica, NY 11432
89-25 Parsons Blvd, Jamaica, NY 11432

BX
1375 Cromwell Ave, Bronx, NY 10452
1790 Marmion Ave, Bronx, NY 10460
345 E 146th St, Bronx, NY 10451
347 E 146th St, Bronx, NY 10451
470 E 161 St, Bronx, NY 10451
800 Barretto St, Bronx, NY 10474

BK
740 Hegeman Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11207
800 E 12th St, Brooklyn, NY 11230

MNY
197 Bowery, New York, NY 10002
315 Bowery, New York, NY 10003
327 E 17th St, New York, NY 10003
54 W 105th St, New York, NY 10025
566 W 182nd St, New York, NY 10033

SI
32 Brownell St, Staten Island, NY 10304

BK
1420 Atlantic Ave, NY 11216
357 Marcus Garvey Blvd, NY 11221
501 New Lots Ave, NY 11207
764 4th Ave, NY 11232

QNS
113-18 Rockaway Blvd, NY 11420
132-10 S Conduit Ave, NY 11430
138-68 94th Ave, NY 11435
151-20 Baisley Blvd, NY 11434
153-75 Rockaway Boulevard, NY 11434
8934 162nd St, NY 11432

BK
2416 Atlantic Ave, NY 11233

QNS
9565 Tuckerton St, NY 11433

QNS
111-26 Van Wyck Expy, NY 11420
132-26 S Conduit Ave, NY 11430

BX
1041 University Ave, Bronx, NY 10452
1075 Hall Pl, Bronx, NY 10459
1138 Teller Ave, Bronx, NY 10456
115 Henwood Pl, Bronx, NY 10453
1190 Washington Ave, Bronx, NY 10456
1215 Seneca Ave, Bronx, NY 10474
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1277 Morris Avenue , Bronx, NY 10456
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1930 Webster Ave, Bronx, NY 10457
1975 Creston Ave, Bronx, NY 10453
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2252 Crotona Ave, Bronx, NY 10457
2294 Grand Ave, Bronx, NY 10468
2304 Crotona Ave, Bronx, NY 10458
285 E 171st St, Bronx, NY 10457
3001 Briggs Ave, Bronx, NY 10458
346 Powers Ave, Bronx, NY 10454
3674 3rd Ave., Bronx, NY 10456
3887 Boston Post Rd, Pelham
401 E 187th St, Bronx, NY 10458
422 E 178th St, Bronx, NY 10457
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4301 Park Ave, Bronx, NY 10457
4305 Park Ave, Bronx, NY 10457
4607 Park Ave, Bronx, NY 10458
555 Hutchinson River Pkwy, Bronx, NY 10465
5731 Broadway, Bronx, NY 10463
585 Wales Ave, Bronx, NY 10455
596 E 170th St, Bronx, NY 10456
661 Cauldwell Ave, Bronx, NY 10455
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691 E 140th St, Bronx, NY 10454
711 E 140th St, Bronx, NY 10454
730 Kelly St, Bronx, NY 10455
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855 E Tremont Ave, Bronx, NY 10460
946 E 211th St, Bronx, NY 10469
957 Teller Ave, Bronx, NY 10456
959 Teller Ave, Bronx, NY 10456
999 Freeman St, Bronx, NY 10459

BK
105 Carlton Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11205
1149 Putnam Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11221
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1738 E New York Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11212
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199 Amboy St, Brooklyn, NY 11212
202 Amboy St, Brooklyn, NY 11212
207 Amboy St, Brooklyn, NY 11212
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246 Jamaica Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11207
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51 Junius St, Brooklyn, NY 11212
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64 Kingston Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11216
642 Willoughby Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11206
652 Park Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11206
652 Willoughby Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11206
699 Lexington Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11221
703 Lexington Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11221
808 Saratoga Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11212
829 Saratoga Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11212
882 Dumont Ave, Brooklyn, NY 11207
99 Stockholm St, Brooklyn, NY 11221

MNY
101 W 145th St, New York, NY 10039
11 Old Broadway, New York, NY 10027
111 E 117th St, New York, NY 10035
130 Baruch Pl, New York, NY 10003
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187 E 100th St, New York, NY 10029
189 E 100th St, New York, NY 10029
2027 Adam Clayton Powell Jr Blvd, New
211 W 101st St, New York, NY 10025
2332 Adam Clayton Powell Jr Blvd, New
2720 Broadway, New York, NY 10025
309 Henry St, New York, NY 10002
325 E 104th St, New York, NY 10029
347 E 10th St, New York, NY 10009
433 Malcolm X Blvd, New York, NY 10027
483 West End Ave, New York, NY 10024
540 W 126th St, New York, NY 10027
6 E 132nd St, New York, NY 10037
6 St Nicholas Pl, New York, NY 10031
610 W 111th St, New York, NY 10025

QNS
102-10 Ditmars Blvd, Flushing, NY 11369
153-90 Rockaway Blvd, Jamaica, NY 1143
159-23 89th St, Jamaica, NY 11414
163-03 89th Ave, Jamaica, NY 11432
170-02 93rd Ave, Jamaica, NY 11433
175-15 Rockaway Blvd, Jamaica, NY 1143
22-21 Loretta Rd., Far Rockaway, NY 1169
38-01 112th St, Corona, NY 11368
71-11 Astoria Blvd N, Queens, NY 11370
72-05 Astoria Blvd N, East Elmhurst, NY
73-00 Queens Boulevard, Queens,NY 113
79-00 Queens Blvd, Queens, NY 11373
80-20 134th St, Jamaica, NY 11435
87-02 23rd Ave, Flushing, NY 11369
90-35 Van Wyck Expressway, Queens, N
94-00 Ditmars Blvd, East Elmhurst, NY 1

100 Central Ave, Staten Island, NY 10301

BX
1056 Boynton Ave, NY 10472
1097 Walton Ave, NY 10452
1175 Walton Ave, NY 10452
131 E 169th St, NY 10452
1329 Clinton Ave, NY 10456
1410 Grand Concourse, NY 10456
1505 Townsend Ave, NY 10452
1565 Townsend Ave, NY 10452
1684 Banyer Pl, NY 10473
1684A Banyer Pl, NY 10473
1684B Banyer Pl, NY 10473
1750 Grand Ave, NY 10453
1908 Crotona Ave, NY 10457
3349 Decatur Ave, NY 10467
40 Featherbed Ln, NY 10452
540 Southern Blvd, NY 10455

BK
862 Dekalb Ave, NY 11221
2137 79th St, NY 11214
124 Stuyvesant Ave, NY 11221

MNY
211 W 145th St, NY 10039

SHELTERS

More than 600 facilities (of which 313 could be traced and are listed here) provide emergency housing on an everydat basis to more than 48,524 New Yorkers in New York City.

ORGANISATIONS

Most shelters are subsidized, but run by nonprofit organizations. Many nonprofit shelters have their roots in community organizations, and have grown rapidly in recent decades, sometimes employing thousands of people and operating across the city.

A

Acacia Network Housing inc.
African American Planning Commission
AGUILA

B

Ben Berger
Black Vets for Social Justice
Bowery Residents Committee, Inc.
Bronx Family Housing
Bronx Parent Housing Network
Bronx Works
Brooklyn Community Services
Brooklyn Neighborhood Improvement Assoc.
Bushwick Economic Development Corp.

C

Camba
Care For the Homeless
Center for Urban Community Services
Charles Abramson
Children's Community Services
Children's Rescue Fund, LLC
Common Ground
Community Outreach Consulting Firm Inc.
Comunilife
Core Services Group Inc
Center For Urban Community Services
Create Incorporated

D

David Sommerstein

F

Family Center Associates
Family Support System
Fordham Bedford Housing Corp.

H

Harlem United
Heartshare St. Vincent's Services
Help U.S.A
Henry Street Settlement
Highland Park Development Corp.
Homes For The Homeless

I

Institute for Community Living
Israel Rabinowitz

J

Jerry Schreck/ Susan Alter

K

Kalman Tabak

L

Lantern Community Services
LCG Community Services, Inc.
Lenox Hill Neighborhood House

M

Msgr. Robert Fox Memorial Shelter

N

NAICA
Nazareth Housing
NY Foundation for Senior Citizens
NYC Department of Homeless Services

O

Overcoming-Love Ministries

P

Phipps Houses
Project Hospitality, Inc.
Project Renewal
Providence House, Inc.

S

Salvation Army
Samaritan Village
SCO
SEBCO Development Corp.
Services for the Underserved
Settlement Housing Fund
South Bronx Overall Economic Development

T

The Bridge
The Doe Fund
Tolentine Zeiser Comm. Life Center
Turning Point Red Hook

U

Urban Pathways
Urban Resource Institute
Urban Strategies, Inc.

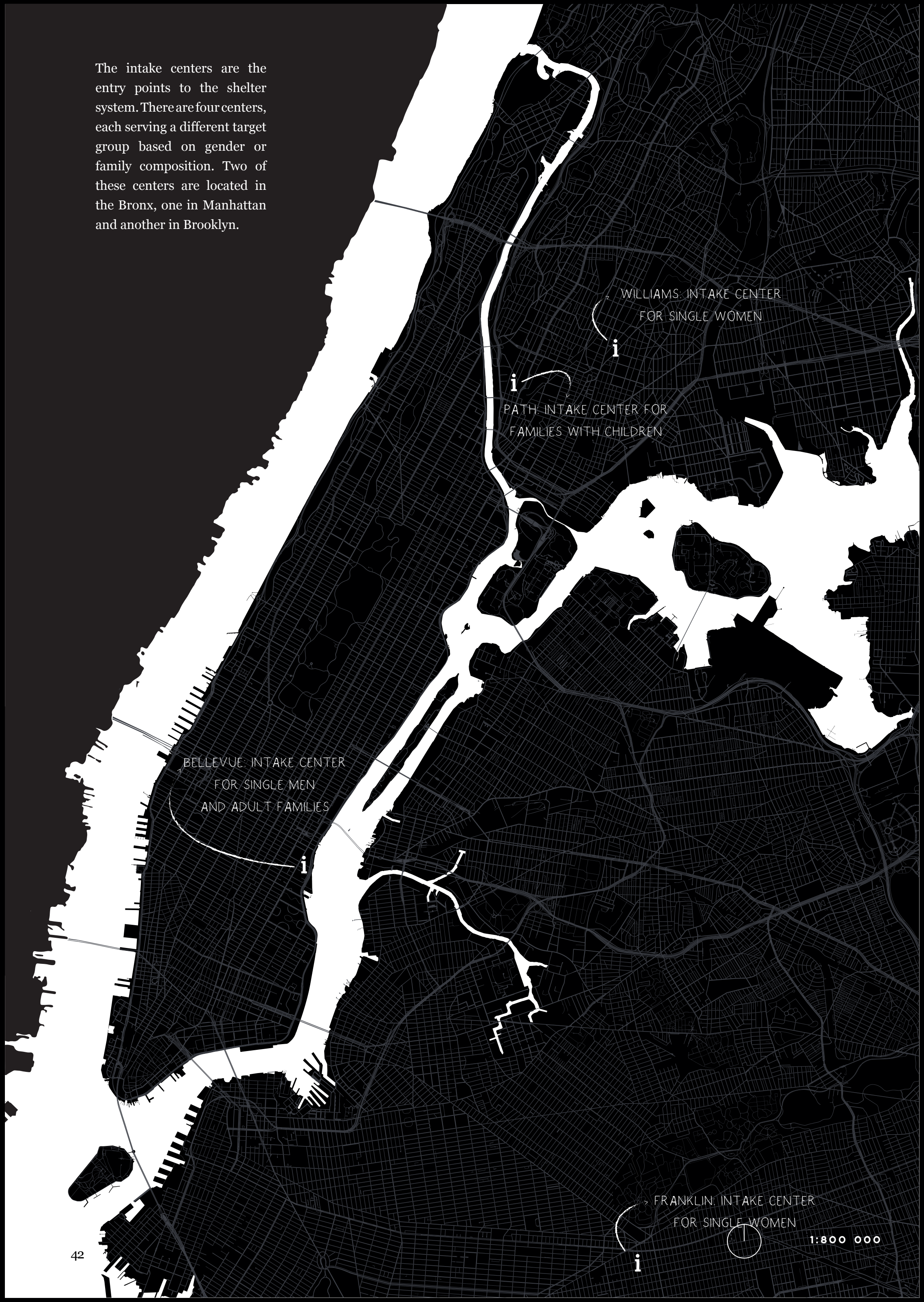
V

VIP Community Services
Volunteers of America

W

West End Residence, HDFC, Inc.
West Harlem Group
West Side Fed Sr Supp Hsng
Westhab, Inc.
Weston United
Women in Need, Inc.
Women's Prison Association

The intake centers are the entry points to the shelter system. There are four centers, each serving a different target group based on gender or family composition. Two of these centers are located in the Bronx, one in Manhattan and another in Brooklyn.



INTAKE CENTER (4/4)

*"Homeless Intake Centers offer services to help you avoid homelessness, and temporary shelter as a last resort." (*Official website of the City of New York, n.d.)

Intake centers are the entry point for the shelter system. These centers are the venues where one must apply for shelter. Which shelter one goes to depends on the type of shelter one applies for. There are a total of 4 shelters in New York City.

Single adult men over 18 without children can apply for shelter at 30th Street Men's Intake Shelter on 400 East 30th street in Manhattan.

Single adult women over the age of 18 who are not pregnant and do not have children can apply for shelter at two locations. They can apply at Franklin Avenue Women's Intake Shelter, which is at 1122 Franklin Avenue in the Bronx, or they can apply at the HELP Women's Center, which is at 116 Williams Avenue in Brooklyn.

Adult families, which are legally married couples or families with children over the age of 21, have the same point of intake as single adult men. The intake is also at 30th Street Men's Intake Shelter on 400 E 30th street, but on the second floor.

Families with children under 21 can apply to the Prevention Assistance and Temporary Housing intake center for shelter at 151 East 151st Street in the Bronx. Pregnant women or pregnant women with children are also considered families.

ELIGIBILITY?

Eligibility depends on who is applying for shelter.

Homeless single people can just go to the shelter, say they want to be included in the shelter system and get shelter, says C.L., an advocate who also works at the DHS. As C.L. states: "You could be a billionaire and need a place to stay and you are found eligible." The Homeless New Yorker, a man who has stayed in the shelter system, says you have to be homeless, have less than about $2,000 and ask for shelter.[1]

Adult families must demonstrate that they are in a "family-like" relationship* to receive shelter as a couple. Otherwise, the couple will be split up and placed in different adult shelters.[2]

Families with children under 21 must prove that they have no other means of residence to ensure that they are not abusing the system.

WHAT TO BRING?

What one needs to bring to the intake center depends on who is applying for shelter.

Single adults applying for shelter do not need to bring anything to get shelter. The DHS does suggest to bring proof of identity as it may help with intake process.[3]

Adult families have to proof that they are in a 'family-type' relationship to receive shelter as an adult family. This means providing a domestic partnership or marriage license as proof. If one does not have this proof, one can receive 10 days of shelter and assistance to obtain this proof. After these 10 days, one will be evicted from the shelter. However, one can reapply immediately and get another 10 days. This can be done an infinite number of times. [4]

This loop also functions in the family intake center, but families must bring all family members who would go into the shelter, including children. All family members who apply must bring proper identification. [5]

* This means they are domestic partners, married, or parent(s) with a child over the age of 21

INTAKE CENTER FOR MEN

400 EAST 30TH STREET, MANHATTAN

OBSERVATION

The entrance to the intake center is signalized along the façade of the building at 1st avenue. It indicates that the entrance is at 30th street, which is the northern side of the building. This wing of the building is currently under construction, making the entrance invisible from afar because of the surrounding scaffolding. It makes the entrance very dark in and did uninviting to anyone wanting to enter the building. At the end of this tunnel is a courtyard where the shelter's occupants can sit outside. The entrance is behind this courtyard, which means that anyone who wants to enter the shelter must cross the courtyard under the watchful eye of all current shelter residents.

LOCATION

The 30th Street Men's Intake Center is the only intake center in Manhattan. It is located in Kips Bay, on the east side of Manhattan, an 18-minute walk away from the Empire State Building. It is in a commercial area, as it is situated between a hospital and an office building. Across the street from the intake center are a few residential buildings.



Figure 1 : 30th Street Men's Intake © Scouting New York

BUILDING

This intake center is the former Men's Shelter that opened in 1940 It was then converted from a mental institution to a shelter. It is a 7-8 story building and is currently under construction, so it is covered in scaffolding. All the windows on the ground floor of the building are boarded up with wooden boards plastered with graffiti and drawings.

INTAKE CENTER FOR ADULT FAMILIES

400 EAST 30TH STREET, MANHATTAN

PROCEDURE

C.D., a woman residing in a homeless adult family shelter, described her intake procedure in a TikTok video:

"Be prepared to spend a long day at intake. Once you get to intake, you're going to go through a metal detector and put all your belongings through an x-ray as you get 'wanded' out. Then they bring you to this room. Once in the room, you provide them with your ID. They are going to want a lot of paperwork from you, so bring your birth certificate, social security number, ID, anything you have. If you don't have these things, don't worry, but bring anything you have cause it's going to help you, especially your domestic partnership or marriage certificate.

So, then they are going to put you in this room where you just basically wait for an eternity and they call you into another room for an interview, which you do over the phone. I think because of covid. They're going to ask you everywhere you lived in the past year, your relatives' names, family names, all this type of stuff. You're going to have to write down and fill out a bunch of paperwork. They are going to ask about mental disorders, all this information. You might get pulled back for a second interview, but you're probably going to be at intake for 7 to 8 hours. So, be prepared to spend the whole day.

Finally, someone is going to come to you and tell you that you've been assigned to a temporary shelter. You can either wait for a van to take you and all your stuff there but the van can come in a couple of hours. You can also opt to take the train and just go there yourself. You are going to get placed in a temporary shelter where you're going to have a caseworker and you're going to go through the process of proving that you are chronically homeless and proving everywhere you lived for the past year.

We had proof of 13 places, but it was a hassle. We got denied 3 times before finally getting approved, because we had issues proving that we were street homeless. Be prepared to prove where you stayed, usually it's as simple as a phone call to somebody you stayed with. And then, after you finally get approved in the temporary shelter, they are going to put you in a more permanent shelter where they help you get permanent housing, affordable housing and all of that." [6]

INTAKE CENTER FOR WOMEN

116 WILLIAMS AVENUE, BROOKLYN

OBSERVATION

The front door to the building was wide open, even though it was freezing at the time of the visit. This made the building feel accessible to enter. What did bother entering the building, were the women smoking in front of the door. Upon entering the building, there was a booth on the right with a sign that read 'Intake Center'. But no one seemed to be occupying the booth. On the right side were posters stating what the expectations are for people entering the shelter. Straight ahead, there was another door. It was clear to see that there was security behind this door, because of the windows in the door.



Figure 2 : Facade of the Help Women's Center © SD

LOCATION

To arrive to this intake, one has to take either the A- or the L-Train to Brooklyn. From here on it is a 5- to 8-minute walk to the intake center. On the way to the center there is not much to see in the area as it is a manufacturing area. There are parking lots, industrial areas and a couple of residential buildings, but there is not much activity going on. The intake center is surrounded by a parking lot and there is only one residential building on the block that seems to have resisted being turned into a parking lot.

BUILDING

The intake center itself appears to be located in a former school building, as the front of the building still reads 'Public School 63'. Directly below it, a sign reads 'Help Woman's Center'. with four floors, the building is the tallest in the immediate area.

1122 FRANKLIN AVENUE, BRONX

LOCATION

The shelter sits atop a steep slope in a residential neighborhood in the Bronx. Because of its location, it is a very recognizable building, overlooking the Western Bronx. Across the street from the building is a church and a playground. The nearest metro station is a 17-minute walk from the building.

BUILDING

The building is a massive red brick building with 7 floors. It used to be an armory built, which explains its overlooking location. Armories are spaces assigned for the military training, administration and material storage. It was in fact the first permanent armory built in The Bronx.[7] Entering the building is not as straightforward as it seems, as there is no indication of where the entrance is and there are 5 doors in total that allow access to the building.



Figure 3: Postcard of the Armory © NYPL

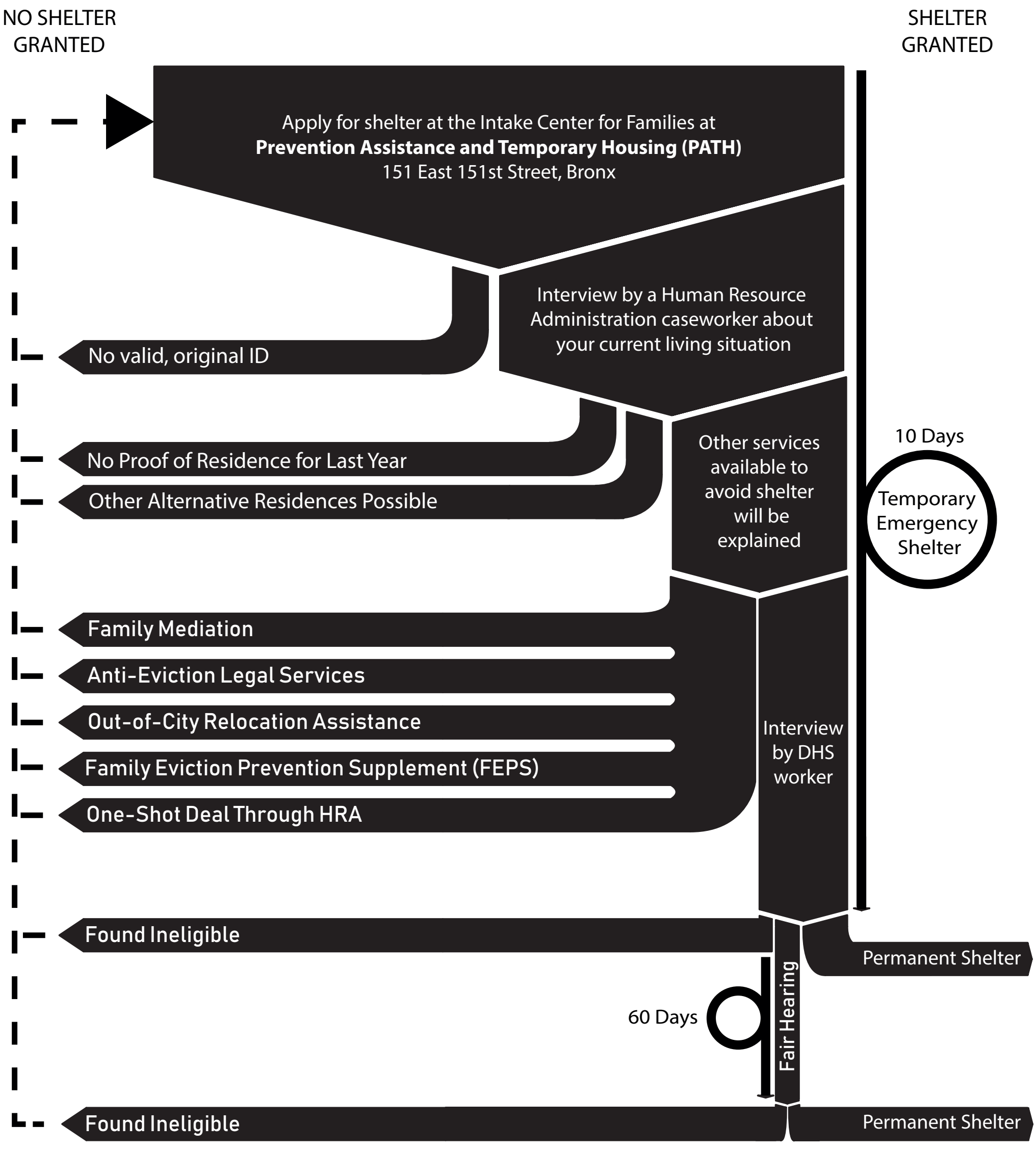


Figure 4: Procedure for families to enter shelter © SD

INTAKE CENTER FOR FAMILIES

51 EAST 151ST STREET, BRONX

LOCATION

This intake center is located in the Bronx near one of the busiest streets, Grand Concourse. It is a 10-minute walk from Yankee Stadium, the subway station that connects Manhattan to the Bronx. It is in a residential area bordering an industrial area.

BUILDING

The 8-story building is very recognizable as it is more modern than the surrounding buildings. It is very open to its surroundings because of the glass façade. One can see through the main entrance, which is completely made of glass. This can either be seen as comforting or deterrent, as people get comforted by seeing other people goint through the same process, but may not want to be seen by others.

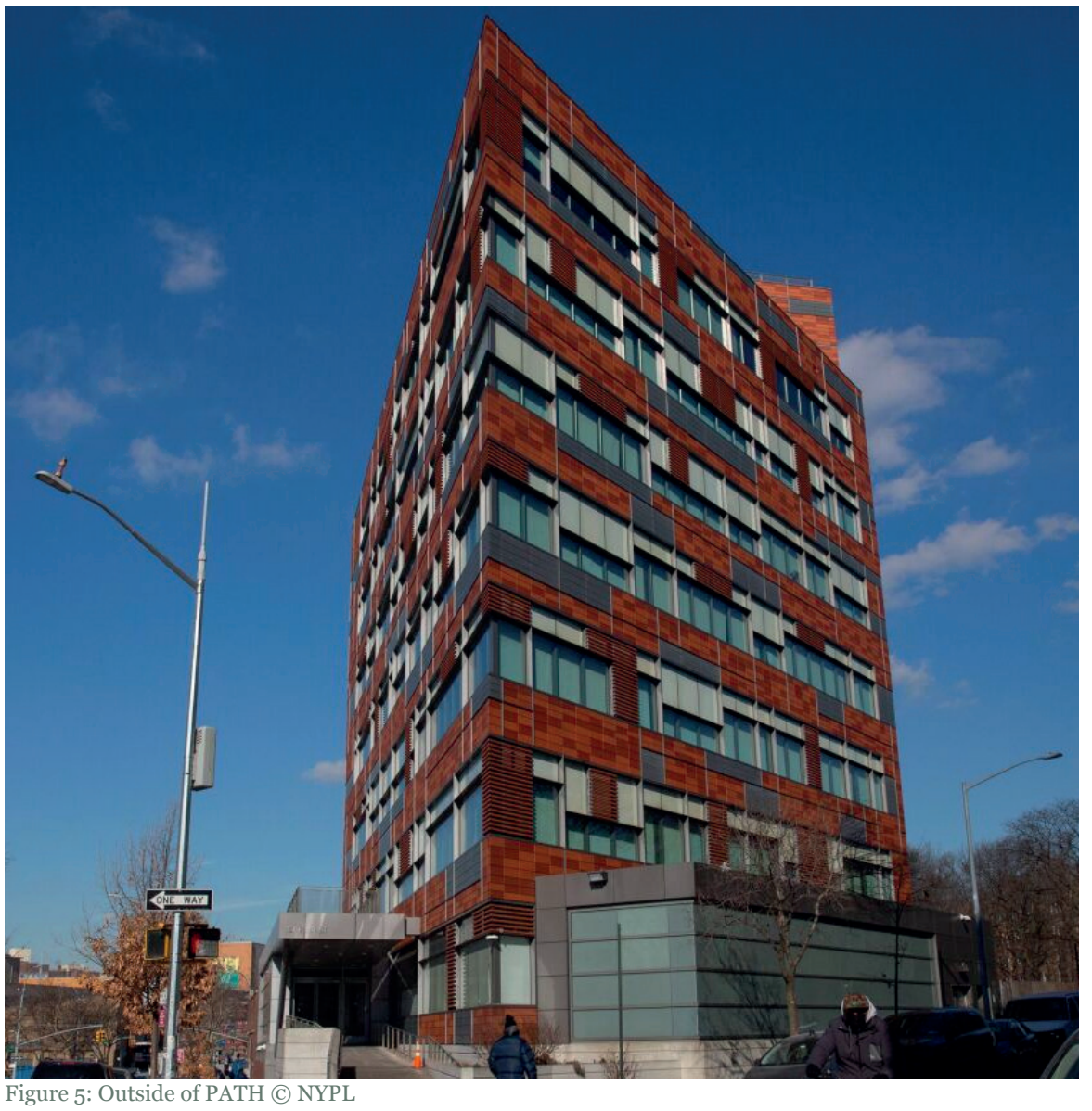


Figure 5: Outside of PATH © NYPL

PROCEDURE[8]

The scheme on page 48 represents the procedure one has to go through to get into a family shelter. It also shows the pitfalls that might prevent one from getting into shelter, such as not having a valid ID or not having proof of where one has been living in the last year. Each time one applies, one automatically gets 10 days of temporary shelter to process ones request. During these 10 days, one will be interviewed to see if one is eligible for shelter. These 10 days are also used to get ones papers sorted out if one does not have them all.

When these 10 days are over and ones papers are not complete, one must leave the temporary shelter. However, one may immediately reapply for 10 days of shelter again. One may also be declared ineligible because of other possible solutions than shelter that the staff prescribes for one. These prescriptions can be accepted, but can also be denied. One can reapply again.

If one cannot take other services and ones papers are in good order, but one is still deemed ineligible, one can request a fair hearing, where the court will decide ones case. This can take up to 60 days, but one will receive temporary shelter during these 60 days. If a judge still deems one ineligible, there is nothing to stop one from applying again. If one is deemed eligible, one will be transferred to a permanent shelter where the search for affordable or supported housing can begin.

From the intake centers, shelter applicants are transferred to a shelter based on their gender and family composition. Although street homelessness is largely concentrated in central and downtown Manhattan, most shelters are clearly clustered in Harlem, the South Bronx and Brooklyn.



SHELTERS

SHELTER (#FOUND/#TOTAL) (234/301)

"In March 2022, there were 48,524 homeless people, including 15,087 homeless children, sleeping each night in New York City's main municipal shelter system. A near-record 18,855 single adults slept in shelters each night in March 2022."
(The Coalition for the Homeless, 2022)

FAMILY SHELTER (149/175)

ADULT FAMILY SHELTER (14/19)

ADULT MEN SHELTER (49/56)

ADULT WOMEN SHELTER (25/30)

COMMERCIAL HOTEL (25/83)

"More than 50 years after New York City first began using commercial hotels to house homeless New Yorkers, the facilities continue to play a major role in allowing the city to meet a legal mandate for providing shelter to people experiencing homelessness. Yet the surging number of New Yorkers staying in hotel rooms paid for by the city comes at a major cost — to city finances, and to the emotional and physical wellbeing of occupants, particularly thousands of children."
(CITYLIMITS, 2021)

FAMILY COMMERCIAL HOTEL (7/51)

ADULT FAMILY COMMERCIAL HOTEL (2/2)

ADULT MEN COMMERCIAL HOTEL (14/14)

ADULT WOMEN COMMERCIAL HOTEL (2/2)

FAMILY CLUSTER (20/65)

"The cluster site program, which started in 2000, houses the homeless in privately owned apartments that are paid for by the city, but the conditions of the apartments have been criticized by housing advocates and politicians. [...] *The city will be rid of the unsafe temporary housing for homeless families, known as cluster sites, by 2021, the mayor has said."*
(Amny, 2018)

PROTECTION VERSUS PRIVACY

"Safety within shelters is not only central to the dignity of clients and staff, but is also fundamental to clients successfully transitioning into permanent housing." (Urban Design Forum, 2019)

The Conscious Shelter Design Guidelines[9] written up by The Design Forum commissioned by the Department of Homeless Services give a first look in how the relation between protection and privacy is translated into the shelter system. It suggests four key focus areas to make a shelter a safe space: visibility, technology, smart design, and materials. Smart design and materials don't necessarily invade a resident's privacy, but visibility and technology can develop some alarming situations. This is why these two will be discussed further.

VISIBILITY

By creating a space where there is a constant form of surveillance through visibility, a protected area is created that ensures someone can quickly step in if something goes wrong. The Counscious Shelter Design Guidelines suggest are four different levels on which surveillance like this can be designed into a shelter.

A well-designed layout of the rooms and circulation throughout the building can reduce the blind spots. By installing mirrors, doors with glass panels at eye level, and interior windows next to the doors, the line of sight can be maintained. This means that the staff can quickly identify a spiraling situation and intervene if necessary.

Organizing the amenities into hubs of activity can help the staff keeping an eye on what is happening. If all the activities are centered in nodes, it is easier to supervise those activities as they are happening on one place.

By choosing simple furniture that is low enough, the sight lines over the room can be maintained. This means considering lower storage units which do not block the view of the staff.

Installing a video surveillance system can monitor the outdoor and indoor spaces. This surveillance can identify suspicious activities, access blind spots that are difficult to monitor and discourage improper behavior.

INSPIRATION

Other facilities that have these kinds of regulations are mental health facilities[10] and prisons[11].

Mental hospitals tend to apply these regulations for the protection of the patients from themselves. If a patient would get an episode and be at risk of harming themselves, a nurse should see it as soon as possible.

Prisons tend to practice these regulations to keep inmates safe from other inmates. If an inmate was suddenly attacked, a ward should see it as soon as possible to intervene.

This raises the question of where the shelters fit on this range or if it is a combination of both.

TECHNOLOGY

The technology described in The Conscious Shelter Design Guidelines is split in two departments: screening and communication. It is the screening department that could infringe one's privacy. The guidelines also prescribe which device should be used on which demographic. They have been summarized by The Urban Design Forum in Figure 6 .

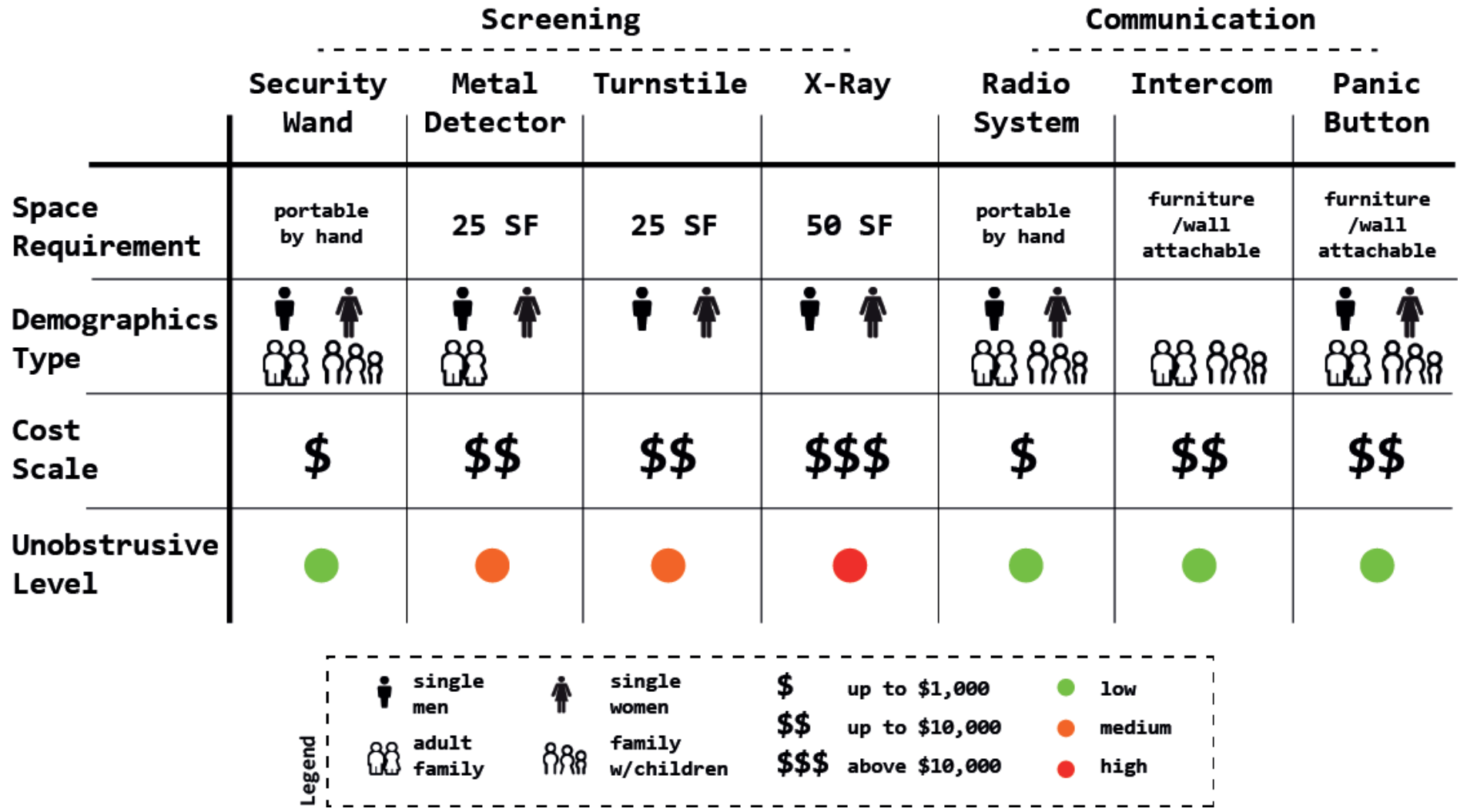


Figure 6: Auxiliary device options to improve the security of shelters based on demographic, spatial, cost and invasive considerations. © The Urban Design Forum

SAFETY FOR RESIDENTS

A first level at which these safety measures serve is to protect residents from their own actions. The majority of the shelter population in adult shelters have mental health problems, often combined with an alcohol- and/or drug-addiction. By installing constant monitoring, workers can intervene quickly if a resident has a mental health episode or an overdose.

SAFETY FROM RESIDENTS

It is also important for residents to be protected from each other. As mentioned earlier, a large portion of the adult shelter population has mental and/or addiction problems. If one of the residents has an episode, he could attack other residents. If workers see this happening, they can intervene more quickly and ensure the resident's safety.

SAFETY FOR STAFF

These safety measures are not only applied for the safety of the residents, but also for the safety of the staff. If one of the residents has an episode and decides to attack the staff, there should be sufficient security measures in place to ensure the safety of the workers.

PANOPTICUM

This form of continuous control may be reminiscent of panoptic structures described by Jeremy Bentham.[12] In a panopticon, the organizing entity can easily monitor what is happening in the building due to the design of the building. By making all occupants of the shelter visible at all times, it is easy for workers to monitor the residents. Panopticums are also designed to allow the organizing entity to monitor without the monitored individuals noticing, which makes them feel watched at all times and causes them to behave as if they were being watched continuously. This is similarly accomplished in shelters through the use of cameras.

BIG BROTHER

What this kind of constant control creates, is a feeling of being watched. You do not seem to get much privacy, because every step you make is either recorded by a camera or by a security guard. The question raises how much privacy a person is willing to give up in order to feel safe.

VICIOUS CIRCLE

Even if many question whether this level of security is needed or not, it did prove itself useful on several occasions. There have been cases in the past where a resident or employee was majorly injured or even killed by a shelter resident.

On the other hand, it is sometimes this level of control that has caused attacks. A resident may feel so trapped that he/she sees no other solution than to use violence.

Thus, the issue ends up in a viscous circle where one does not know how much security is enough in exchange for the privacy that one has to give up.

EXIT

"We've had we have people in shelters for two years, three years and... [...] I don't mean this the way it comes across to someone, but sometimes there is that feeling of jail where there's no getting used to living with 30. [...] Even the ones who scream 'I hate it here! I can't wait to get out of here!' When they get something [a permanent residence], they'll come back and they're like 'It's so lonely', because they've gotten accustomed to the noise." S.T., Shelter Director at Susan's Place.

What S.T. described is something that Goffman also discusses when he discusses total institutions. Residents plan release binges and keep track of the time until their release from the total institution. When the time of release arrives, they feel anxious about making it in the outside world. Then, shortly after their release, former residents forget much of what life was like in the institution and begin to take the privileges in the shelter for granted. They forget the feelings of injustice and bitterness they may have had.[13]



Figure 7: Surroundings of JAMS © SD

THE CASE OF JEROME AVENUE MEN'S SHELTER

Jerome Avenue Men's Shelter (JAMS in short) is a behavioral health shelter for 200 men. It provides transitional housing for adult homeless men with mental illness.[14]

ABOUT JAMS

"This facility is for people that are experiencing mental illness or co-recurring substance use disorders. […] They can stay as long as they want. But we do try to tackle people that are long term stayers. People that have been in shelter for over two years or more are on our long-term stayers list. […] Those are the people that we should be targeting. We do have a placement goal: our placement goal is a 100, but out of the 100, 20 have to be long term stayers. So, we have to zero in on that. […] Our goal in theory is 9 months. Sometimes that doesn't work. We're dealing with providers, we're dealing with DHS, we're dealing with HRA. Cutting checks could be an issue of area and providers, maybe the unit not being ready. At the unit, the providers waiting for the TCO[15] because they're a new building. So, there's so many different things that goes into, once the client is accepted, and them actually moving out." T.G., shelter director of JAMS

OPERATOR

BronxWorks is the shelter operator of the JAMS building. It is a Bronx-based non-profit organization that helps empower Bronx residents by providing them with the services they need to uplift their lives and communities.[16] They provide adult and family homeless services for 327 adults and 276 families through family shelters, adult shelters, drop-in centers, safe havens, and outreach teams. They are the biggest operator in the Bronx.

A HEAVILY DISCUSSED LOCATION

Originally, this shelter would have been on a different location in the Bronx. It was planned to be housed in the former Sam's Carpet on Webster Avenue, diagonally across from a pre-school/middle school and a park. Parents and community members were not pleased with this and organized a rally protesting this location. The main concern was the transience of the residents, due to which it would be difficult to know if someone from the shelter is a registered sex offender.[17]

*"A consensus was reached between DHS and community stakeholders after nine months of brainstorming over alternative sites." (*Norwood News)[18]

The new location at 3600 Jerome Avenue in the Bronx has its back facing the back wall of another middle school and The Bronx Dance Academy where most of the schoolchildren attending are girls.

"Unlike PS/MS 20 [The pre-school/ middle school at Webster Avenue] it would take great effort to walk all the way around the Jerome Avenue site to the school's front door at 361 Bainbridge Ave." (Norwood News)[19]

The JAMS site is situated between the Mosholu Golf Course and the Woodlawn Cemetery. The area is mainly residential with some smaller shops spread over the neighborhood.

A SURVEILLED NEIGHBORHOOD

Every red dot on the map shows a camera encountered when walking through the streets. Most of these are privately owned, but there are approximately 119 digital eyes watching every movement in the area. The shelter building alone has 6 cameras directed to every door. It would be an impossible task to get in or out of JAMS unnoticed.

THE BUILDING

The JAMS building itself stays rather anonymous. By walking by, one would not think the two-story building to be a shelter where homeless men reside. There is no BronxWorks sign on the façade and there are other buildings in the vicinity which have more cameras than the shelter building, such as the shop near the train station. The only clue could be the men in the proximity of the building that are asking for money. This does frustrate the neighbors and the shopkeepers. *"They should shut the shelter down. I've lived here for 45 years, and that place gives no benefit to this community."* (Man working at the Deli next door to Norwood News)[20]



Figure 8 : The facade of JAMS © SD



Figure 9 : Parents and children protesting the location on Webster Avenue © Norwood News



Figure 10: The first floor of JAMS © SD



Figure 11: The second floor of JAMS © SD

A Sheltered Workshop Doubles Its Bronx Space

Shortly before 9 A.M. every work day, nearly 300 men and women, laden with lunch pails and newspapers, hurry into a modern-looking building at 3600 Jerome Avenue in the Bronx.

What distinguishes them from the other morning workers in the city is that they are handicapped men and women who are employed by Altro Workshops, Inc., a sheltered workshop that turns a $1-million profit annually and prides itself on its revolving-door policy.

Rather than isolate the handicapped, the policy at Altro is to help a person cope with his mental or physical disability while training him for a trade in the working world.

"In terms of format and programs, we're still unique among sheltered workships," said Harold M. Kase, executive director of the 60-year-old workshop, which recently moved to its Jerome Avenue site. "We have five businesses here, so that our patients are trained for jobs that actually exist in the New York area. No one learns a skill that is obsolete."

Room for 400

Until a month ago, Altro, a name derived from "altruism," was situated on Jennings Avenue in the South Bronx, in a neighborhood that had deteriorated and in a building that was no longer large enough for the workshop's present needs. A hunt for new headquarters started two years ago.

The new building, converted from a garage, has room for 400 workers, nearly twice as many as the old plant, and is handy to stores and public transportation.

Most of those at Altro, referred by hospitals and social-service organizations, commute to the workshop, some from as far as Staten Island, and are paid regular salaries.

"Getting up, getting dressed and traveling to work are part of the rehabilitation," said Mr. Kase about the workshop. "It would be artificial to place jobs in the patients' backyard."

Composition Changes

Altro and its parent organization, Altro Health and Rehabilitation Service, Inc., were founded several years apart, at the turn of the century, by the Federation of Jewish Philanthropies. They are kept separate because, while the workshop deals with the occupational employment of the individual, Altro Health treats his mental and physical neeeds.

Founded for Jewish garment workers suffering from tuberculosis, Altro Workshops was organized primarily by Edward Hochauser, a graduate of what is now the School of Social Work at Columbia University who worked among the settlement houses on the Lower East Side.

On a typical day at Altro, 100 white-haired women and men are at sewing machines hemming hospital bathrobes under the supervision of Rosa Valentine. But the majority of the workers are now younger people from poor families, who suffer from psychological problems.

The New York Times
Published: June 2, 1975
Copyright © The New York Times

Figure 12 : Article from 1975 talking about Altro workshop © The New York Times

The building was converted twice before it was turned into a shelter. The building was originally built in 1929 as an autoshop and garage. This can still be seen in the overall framework of the building and its surroundings. There is a large basement with wide spaces between the columns, a parking lot next door, and two garage doors that provide access to the building.

In 1975, the building was converted into a sheltered workspace by Altro Workshops, Inc. The policy at Altro was to help people cope with their mental or physical disability by training them for a job they could use in the working world. Most of the people working at Altro were referred by hospitals or social-service organizations.[21] A residue of this workspace are the multiple pass through communal rooms.

Later, it was converted another time into a behavioral health center by the Federation Employment and Guidance Service Inc. (FEGS). FEGS was a nonprofit health and human services organization. It filed for bankruptcy in 2015. The FEGS banner is still visible at the main entrance of the building. Eventually, the city bought out the building, leading to JAMS opening its doors in the summer of 2018



Figure 13 : FEGS banner still in place today © SD

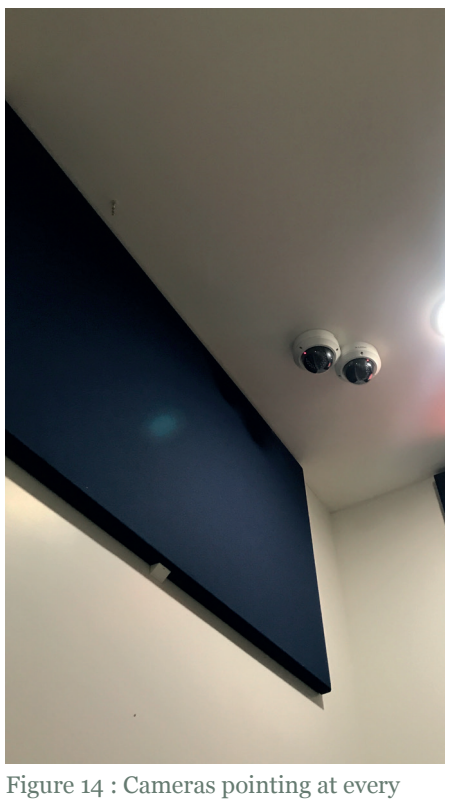


Figure 14 : Cameras pointing at every angle © SD

BUILDING LAY-OUT

The first floor has six offices for caseworkers, three offices for administrative services, a kitchen and cafetaria which serves three meals a day. There is a large unused space owned by the landlord Liberty One that is visible from the PA office. *"I wish I could turn this space into a recreation room or a gym,"* ponders T.G. *"You need people to leave this place, not waning to stay,"* someone replies.

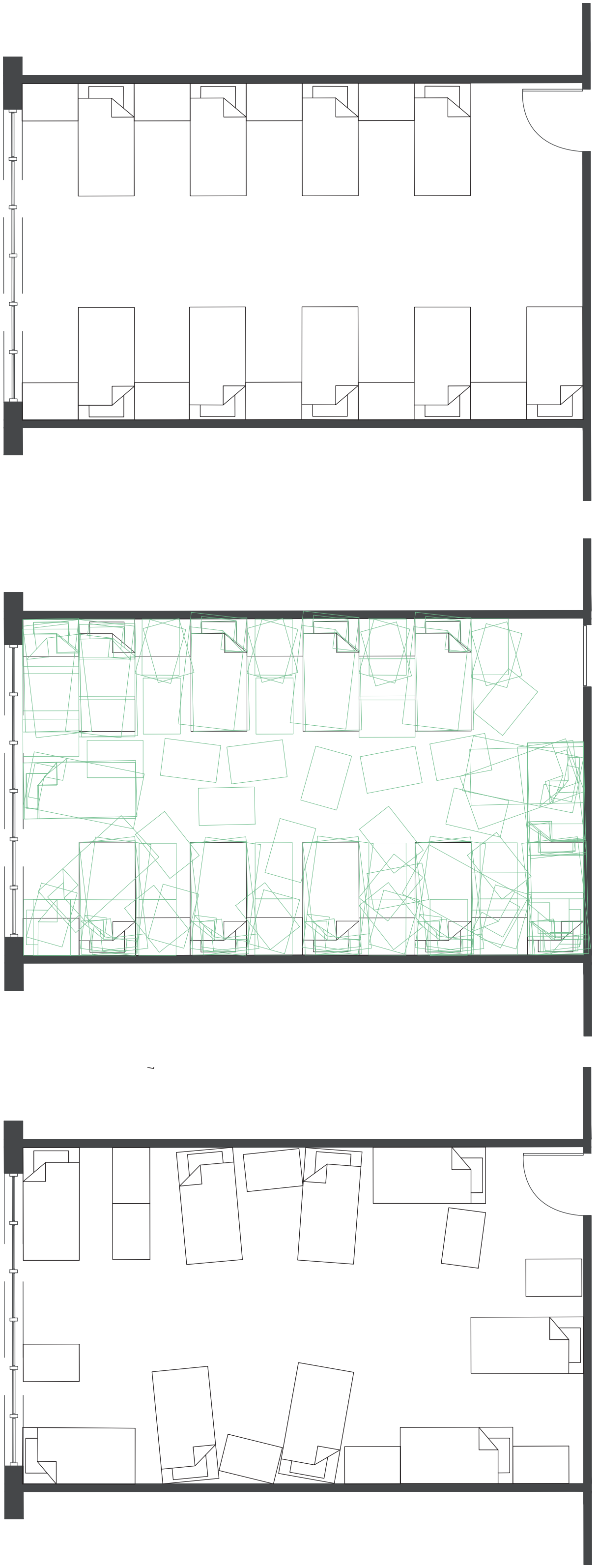
The second floor of the Jerome Avenue shelter has 16 dormitories that are all of varying sizes. They range from 8 to 20 beds. Most dormitories are at least 11 to 13 beds in size. At the time of the visit, the shelter was at full census, meaning that 200 men were residing there. Other services on this floor include a TV room, several workshops in the activities office, a kitchen and cafeteria with 3 meals a day, a medical office operated by Care For The Homeless, and a laundry room. The second floor also has two offices and a break room for the staff.

There is DHS police on site, which has an office on each floor. DHS police are a specialized unit of police officers trained to be peace officers in shelters. They do remain law enforcement officers in blue uniforms. Since the 2015 murder of a shelter director in Bronx, their role and presence in the shelter system has significantly increased.

SECURITY

There are several security measures in place in this building. Upon entering the building, there is a security post that guards the entrance and a metal detector that residents must pass through. Before entering the building, all residents must have their bags scanned to ensure that no illegal items enter the building. All staircases and corridors have either mirrors or cameras in the corners, making every inch of the building visible. Even doors cannot block the line of sight in the building, as the showers have curtains rather than doors, and the other doors to dormitories or common areas all have windows at eye level to see what is happening in the room.

When visiting, security barged through the door of the dormitory. “Lady in the room!” The dormitory had 20-something beds. About seven men were either laying in their bed or hanging around in the room. There was some residue of a thick smoke, even if the building had no smoking signs everywhere. “Throw those away.” Security took the air fresheners standing on the lockers. Even if the smoke was clearly visible, one couldn’t smell it. That must have been the purpose of the air fresheners. The windows couldn’t open, which explains why the smoke was still hovering in the room. Even though the room was cleaned the day before, little piles of trash were laying all over the room. Some contained empty cigarette packs, others empty snack packs. Both weren’t allowed in, but anyhow found their way.



1 : 60

Figure 15: The movement of beds and lockers in JAMS © SD

INTAKE AT JAMS

T.G. explains the intake procedure new residents go through when entering JAMS:
"When a person comes here, they meet with the program assistant. They complete an intake. Once the intake is completed, the social service supervisor, so the DHS or the clinical coordinator, will then assign the case to a case manager or social worker. What we do is we review the care system to assess for incident history, read the psychosocial, skim through the psychosocial to look for diagnoses. Look through the case assessment, just to see, who we should refer them to. We make the decision based on skill set of the case managers and social worker, hospitalizations, suicide attempts, based on who would be a good fit for the work the client. Then we assign it. The case manager then acts to outreach the client within the first seven days of the case assignment. Because we have regulation like DHS[22] and OTDA[23] , we have to complete certain documentation by a certain time. At that point, case management can start, and it starts working towards housing."

T.G. also talks about the basic package everyone receives when entering JAMS:
"Everybody gets a bed. We give them a locker, a DHS issue locker or program issue locker. We either give them a combination lock or we give them a key lock if they have difficulty remembering numbers. We also give them a hygiene kit and a linen kit. A hygiene kit contains toothpaste, toothbrush, toothpaste holder, bar of soap, liquid body wash, deodorant lotion, comb, shower slippers, wash rag, towel. The linen kit contains a fitted sheet, blanket, pillowcase, pillow. So, they get a starter kit and at that point they can maintain themselves."

FIGHT FOR PRIVACY

There seemed to be a subtle fight for privacy going on. Most of the lockers and beds were positioned differently than what the floor plans show. *"I wish the building management would let us bolt those down. Now we have to reposition them every so often to maintain the 3 feet rule,"* T.G. tells.

By moving the beds and lockers, residents try to create some space where they aren't directly visible. They use the little freedom of movement they receive to organize their own sleeping arrangement. Some of them moved their lockers so their heads weren't visible, while others moved them to keep an eye on their surroundings. Some of those who could not or did not dare to move their beds were hiding under their blanket.

VIOLENCE AGAINST CONTROL

The vicious cycle of control also seems to be spiraling at JAMS, as T.G. described the issue they have in the laundry room: "We also have laundry on site. Unfortunately, clients... break the laundry. While there's a washer and dryer, we recently... we have somebody that's just like breaking off the door to the washing machines and dryers. We can't figure out who it is or what's going on. But it's causing us to have to close down the laundry room quite a lot. Also, people pull the drain from the washer.. someone's pulling it out. So, it's causing like a flood down here. But nonetheless, you know, we give them all they need. If they ever, you know, throughout the duration here need like hygienic stuff, we give it to them. Laundry detergent, and stuff like that."

If someone breaks the washing machine to express their discontent, staff must close the laundry room and monitor that no one breaks any more machines, creating an environment with even more control. This in turn creates more discontent against the staff which further escalates the situation.

To ensure safety, residents have to give up some privacy. Past experience has shown that a certain level of security is required in shelters for both residents and workers. But residents have also shown resistance to the scrutiny that arises from these security measures. They may feel trapped by this and become violent because of this feeling. It remains a complicated task to find a balance where residents and workers stay in safety, but residents also get enough privacy so they don't feel watched all the time.

Form 54-C (Rev. 4/62)-80M-601036(62) 114

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

BOROUGH OF THE BRONX , THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Date DEC 23 1963 No. 37117

CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY

NO CHANGES OF USE OR OCCUPANCY NOT CONSISTENT WITH THIS CERTIFICATE SHALL BE MADE UNLESS FIRST APPROVED BY THE BOROUGH SUPERINTENDENT

This certificate supersedes C. O. No.

THIS CERTIFIES that the ~~new~~ altered ~~existing~~ building—premises located at 1921 Jerome Avenue Block 2862 Lot 103

That the zoning lot and premises above referred to are situated, bounded and described as follows:

BEGINNING at a point on the west side of Jerome Avenue distant 221.97 feet north from the corner formed by the intersection of 177th Street and Jerome Avenue

running thence north 147.30 feet; thence west 100 feet;
thence south 176.54 feet; thence east 108.10 feet;
running thence ..... feet; thence ..... feet;

to the point or place of beginning, conforms substantially to the approved plans and specifications, and to the requirements of the Building Code, the Zoning Resolution and all other laws and ordinances, and of the rules of the Board of Standards and Appeals, applicable to a building of its class and kind at the time the permit was issued; and

CERTIFIES FURTHER that, any provisions of Section 646F of the New York Charter have been complied with as certified by a report of the Fire Commissioner to the Borough Superintendent.

~~New~~ Alt. No.— 40-63 Construction classification— Non-fireproof
Occupancy classification— Commercial. Height Cellar & 1 stories, 14 feet.
Date of completion— 12/19/63 Located in C.B.3 Zoning District.
at time of issuance of permit.

This certificate is issued subject to the limitations hereinafter specified and to the following resolutions of the Board of Standards and Appeals:
and The City Planning Commission: (Calendar numbers to be inserted here)

PERMISSIBLE USE AND OCCUPANCY

Off-Street Parking Spaces .....
Off-Street Loading Berths .....

STORY	LIVE LOADS Lbs. per Sq. Ft.	PERSONS ACCOMMODATED	USE
Cellar	On Ground		Boiler Room.
First	120	15	Auto Show Room per Group 16 Garage with Motor Vehicle Repair Shop No body repairs.
Mezzanine	60	0	Storage.

PERFORMANCE STANDARDS ARE TO BE COMPLIED WITH.

OFFICE COPY—DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

Borough Superintendent

Form 54-118.5M-701317(49) 114

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND BUILDINGS

BOROUGH OF BRONX , CITY OF NEW YORK MG

No. 80618

Date NOV 21 1950

CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY

(Standard form adopted by the Board of Standards and Appeals and issued pursuant to Section 646 of the New York Charter, and Sections C.26-181.0 to C26-187.0 inclusive Administrative Code 2.1.3.1. to 2.1.3.7. Building Code.)

This certificate supersedes C. O. No. 447-27 (NB)

To the owner or owners of the building or premises:

THIS CERTIFIES that the ~~new~~ altered ~~existing~~ building—premises located at 3598-3600 Jerome Ave., E.S., 35.08' N. of 213th St. Block 3329 Lot 85

, conforms substantially to the approved plans and specifications, and to the requirements of the building code and all other laws and ordinances, and of the rules and regulations of the Board of Standards and Appeals, applicable to a building of its class and kind at the time the permit was issued; and

CERTIFIES FURTHER that, any provisions of Section 646F of the New York Charter have been complied with as certified by a report of the Fire Commissioner to the Borough Superintendent.

~~New~~ Alt. No.— 492-46 Construction classification— Fireproof
Occupancy classification— COMMERCIAL . Height 2 stories, 28 feet.
Date of completion— 8-16-50 . Located in Business Use District.
C Area , Class 1½ . Height Zone at time of issuance of permit

This certificate is issued subject to the limitations hereinafter specified and to the following resolutions of the Board of Standards and Appeals: (Calendar numbers to be inserted here) 41-26-BZ Vol.2

PERMISSIBLE USE AND OCCUPANCY

STORY	LIVE LOADS Lbs. per Sq. Ft.	PERSONS ACCOMMODATED MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	USE
Cellar	On ground				Boiler, Storage, and Storage Garage for more than five motor vehicles
First	120	20	5	25	Storage Garage for more than five motor vehicles
Second	120	70	5	75	Factory, Showroom, and Office

NOTE: This Certificate of Occupancy is issued on condition that the floor area used for manufacturing shall not exceed the area of the lot, that premises may not be used for any use prohibited by Section 4 "M" of the Zoning Resolution and shall not be used for any trades, industry or use that is noxious or offensive by reason of the emission of odor, dust, smoke, gas or noise.

NOTE:- Fire Dept. approval of fire-extinguishing equipment, gasoline storage, Sprinkler System and fuel oil installation received.

O.K. 1950 1,000.-

Borough Superintendent.

(Page 1)

Form 54-118.5M-701317(49) 114

DEPARTMENT OF HOUSING AND BUILDINGS

BOROUGH OF BRONX , CITY OF NEW YORK MG

No.

Date

CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY

(Standard form adopted by the Board of Standards and Appeals and issued pursuant to Section 646 of the New York Charter, and Sections C.26-181.0 to C26-187.0 inclusive Administrative Code 2.1.3.1. to 2.1.3.7. Building Code.)

This certificate supersedes C. O. No. 6305-49

To the owner or owners of the building or premises:

THIS CERTIFIES that the ~~new~~ altered ~~existing~~ building—premises located at 470 E. 161st St., S.W.Corner - 555 Washington Ave. Block 2582 Lot 41-48

, conforms substantially to the approved plans and specifications, and to the requirements of the building code and all other laws and ordinances, and of the rules and regulations of the Board of Standards and Appeals, applicable to a building of its class and kind at the time the permit was issued; and

CERTIFIES FURTHER that, any provisions of Section 646F of the New York Charter have been complied with as certified by a report of the Fire Commissioner to the Borough Superintendent.

~~New~~ Alt. No.—656-53 Construction classification—Fireproof
Occupancy classification— RESIDENCE (Class B Heretofore Erected Existing Multiple Dwg.) (Y.M.C.A.) Sec.67 MDL) and PUBLIC . Height 4 Stys. & Basement ~~Stories~~. 53 feet.
Date of completion— Prior to 2-15-54 Located in Business and unrestricted Use District.
B Area , Class 1½ . Height Zone at time of issuance of permit

This certificate is issued subject to the limitations hereinafter specified and to the following resolutions of the Board of Standards and Appeals: (Calendar numbers to be inserted here)

PERMISSIBLE USE AND OCCUPANCY

STORY	LIVE LOADS Lbs. per Sq. Ft.	PERSONS ACCOMMODATED MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL	USE
Basement	On earth	250		250	Swimming Pool, Kitchen, Business men's Locker Room, Showers, Massage and Light Room, & Hot Room, Seniors' Locker Room, Showers & Drying Room, Boys' Locker Room, Showers & Drying Room, Seniors' and Boys' Tote Box Room, Storage Rooms, Boiler Room, Tailor, Barber Shop, Dark Room, Work Shop, Boys' Meeting Rooms, Supt's Office, Toilet Rooms, Life Guard Station, Boys' Game Room, Boys' Recreation Room, Coat Room & Boys' Secretary Room, Business Men's Lounge
First	90	1160	35	1195	General Office, Cashier, Social Room, Cafeteria, Pantry, Television Room, Offices, Multi-Purpose Room, Ladies Powder Room, Shower Room, Drying Room, Ladies Dressing and Locker Room, Examination Room, Massage and Light Room, Special Gymnasium, Physical Director's Office, Toilet Room, Auxiliary Gymnasium, Gymnasium, Punching Bag Room, Swimming Pool Gallery

(CONTINUED)

Borough Superintendent.

(Page 1)

B Form 54C (Rev. 6/69)-16M-703756(70)

THE CITY OF NEW YORK

BJ
Alt. 487-74

HOUSING AND DEVELOPMENT ADMINISTRATION

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY

BOROUGH THE BRONX DATE: MAR 25 1976 NO. 50512

ZONING DISTRICT C8-3

This certificate supersedes C.O. No.

THIS CERTIFIES that the ~~new~~ altered ~~existing~~ building—premises located at 1901-1911 Jerome Avenue N.W.C. of West 177th Street. Block 2862 Lot 111

CONFORMS SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE APPROVED PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS AND TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF ALL APPLICABLE LAWS, RULES AND REGULATIONS FOR THE USES AND OCCUPANCIES SPECIFIED HEREIN

PERMISSIBLE USE AND OCCUPANCY

STORY	LIVE LOAD LBS. PER SQ. FT.	MAXIMUM NO. OF PERSONS PERMITTED	ZONING: DWELLING OR ROOMING UNITS	RESOLUTION: USE GROUP	BUILDING CODE: HABITABLE ROOMS	BUILDING CODE: OCCUPANCY GROUP	DESCRIPTION OF USE
Cellar	On Grnd						Vacant space
First fl.	120 & On Grnd	250		6			Food market & Storage Loading berth. One Vol

OPEN SPACE USES Loading Berths: One Vol. (SPECIFY—PARKING SPACES, LOADING BERTHS, OTHER USES, NONE)

NO CHANGES OF USE OR OCCUPANCY SHALL BE MADE UNLESS A NEW AMENDED CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY IS OBTAINED

THIS CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY IS ISSUED SUBJECT TO FURTHER LIMITATIONS, CONDITIONS AND SPECIFICATIONS NOTED ON THE REVERSE SIDE.

I. M. Cohen
BOROUGH SUPERINTENDENT

Jeremiah V. Walsh
COMMISSIONER

THIS CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY MUST BE POSTED WITHIN THE BUILDING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES OF THE DEPARTMENT PROMULGATED MARCH 31ST, 1967.

OFFICE COPY—DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

ALT.# 94/84
Form 54 (Rev. 8/85)

THE CITY OF NEW YORK

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY

BOROUGH Bronx DATE: SEP 22 1994 NO. 67115

This certificate supersedes C.O. No. 49790 ZONING DISTRICT C1-3/M1-2

THIS CERTIFIES that the ~~new~~ altered ~~existing~~ building—premises located at 3598-3600 Jerome Avenue ES 35.08' N of 213th St. Block 3329 Lot 85

CONFORMS SUBSTANTIALLY TO THE APPROVED PLANS AND SPECIFICATIONS AND TO THE REQUIREMENTS OF ALL APPLICABLE LAWS, RULES, AND REGULATIONS FOR THE USES AND OCCUPANCIES SPECIFIED HEREIN

PERMISSIBLE USE AND OCCUPANCY

STORY	LIVE LOAD LBS. PER SQ. FT.	MAXIMUM NO. OF PERSONS PERMITTED	ZONING: DWELLING OR ROOMING UNITS	BUILDING CODE: HABITABLE ROOMS	ZONING: USE GROUP	BUILDING CODE: OCCUPANCY GROUP	DESCRIPTION OF USE
Cellar	og	65			4		Community Facility, Non-Profit Institution w/o Sleeping Accommodations Accessory Storage Accessory Workshops, Acc. Mech. Equip.,Maint. Office, Accessory Parking (37 cars)
1st	120	220			4		Non-Profit Institution w/o Sleeping Accommodations Acc. Offices, Acc. Class Rms. Accessory Workshops
2nd	120	180			4		Non-Profit Institution w/o Sleeping Accommodations Acc. Offices Acc. Workshops
		164	Non-simultaneous occupancy				Accessory Cafeteria Acc. Recreation/Meeting Rm.

Note: Fire Department approval of Interior Fire Alarm received.
Fire Department approval of Fuel Oil Installation,
Sprinkler System and Standpipe System received.

THIS CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY MUST BE POSTED WITHIN THE BUILDING IN ACCORDANCE WITH THE RULES OF THE DEPARTMENT PROMULGATED MARCH 31ST, 1967.

OPEN SPACE USES NONE (SPECIFY—PARKING SPACES, LOADING BERTHS, OTHER USES, NONE)

NO CHANGES OF USE OR OCCUPANCY SHALL BE MADE UNLESS A NEW AMENDED CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY IS OBTAINED

THIS CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY IS ISSUED SUBJECT TO FURTHER LIMITATIONS, CONDITIONS AND SPECIFICATIONS NOTED ON THE REVERSE SIDE. Bx-5

BOROUGH SUPERINTENDENT P.E.

Seymour A. Starkin
COMMISSIONER

☐ ORIGINAL ☒ OFFICE COPY—DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS ☐ COPY

Form 54-C (Rev. 4/62)-80M-601036(62) 114

DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

BOROUGH OF THE BRONX , THE CITY OF NEW YORK

Date JUL 8 1963 No. 36115

CERTIFICATE OF OCCUPANCY

NO CHANGES OF USE OR OCCUPANCY NOT CONSISTENT WITH THIS CERTIFICATE SHALL BE MADE UNLESS FIRST APPROVED BY THE BOROUGH SUPERINTENDENT

This certificate supersedes C. O. No.

THIS CERTIFIES that the ~~new~~ altered ~~existing~~ building—premises located at 1241 Lafayette Street Block 2740 Lot 100

That the zoning lot and premises above referred to are situated, bounded and described as follows:

BEGINNING at a point on the North side of Lafayette Street distant 0 feet East from the corner formed by the intersection of Lafayette Street and Barretto Street

running thence Northerly 210.85 feet; thence Southerly at angle 110.0 feet;
thence Easterly 100.0 feet; thence Southerly 143.69 feet;
running thence Westerly 152.19 feet; thence ..... feet;

to the point or place of beginning, conforms substantially to the approved plans and specifications, and to the requirements of the Building Code, the Zoning Resolution and all other laws and ordinances, and of the rules of the Board of Standards and Appeals, applicable to a building of its class and kind at the time the permit was issued; and

CERTIFIES FURTHER that, any provisions of Section 646F of the New York Charter have been complied with as certified by a report of the Fire Commissioner to the Borough Superintendent.

~~New~~ Alt. No.— 549-62 Construction classification— Non-fireproof
Occupancy classification— Commercial . Height Cellar & 2 stories, 30.0 feet.
Date of completion— 6-14-63 . Located in M1-1 & B 6 Zoning District.
at time of issuance of permit.

This certificate is issued subject to the limitations hereinafter specified and to the following resolutions of the Board of Standards and Appeals:
and The City Planning Commission: (Calendar numbers to be inserted here)

PERMISSIBLE USE AND OCCUPANCY

Off-Street Parking Spaces .....
Off-Street Loading Berths .....

STORY	LIVE LOADS Lbs. per Sq. Ft.	PERSONS ACCOMMODATED	USE
Cellar	on rock		Boiler room and storage
First	120	60	Research laboratory, Press room, Shop, Offices, Toilet rooms, Conference Room, Plastic Moulding Room, Storage and Security Vaults.
Second	120	220	Offices, File Room, Dining Room, I.B.M. Room, Cafeteria, Kitchen and Storage.

PERFORMANCE STANDARDS FOR M1-1 DISTRICT SHALL BE COMPLIED WITH.

SUPERSEDED BY C. O. 37660-64

Borough Superintendent

OFFICE COPY—DEPARTMENT OF BUILDINGS

Figure 16: Certificates of occupancy of different shelters © DOB

REPURPOSING EXISTING BUILDINGS

In New York City, there are more than 600 buildings used as shelters. About 475 of these are operated by the Department of Homeless Services (DHS). These are also the buildings shown on the previous maps. Other buildings included in this count but not shown on the maps are Department of Youth and Community Development (DYCD) youth shelters and domestic violence shelters, which must remain anonymous.

G.N., CEO at Care For The Homeless, says: *"Because New York City has a right to shelter, the city is under enormous pressure to make certain that it has enough shelter capacity. So it finds buildings as it finds them, as it needs them, and so there isn't a top down uniform design. There are some standards, such as the Callahan consent decree. But that's about it."*

REPURPOSING TYPOLOGIES

G.N. tells how the city acquires three different types of buildings to turn them into shelters:

> "They [the shelters] may be adaptive reuse of a building that works well for shelter, such as a hotel and believe it or not, schools." These buildings can be adapted quite easily because they are already divided into units and often have communal bathrooms.
>
> "And then there are other buildings that the city came upon at a moment they needed them, and they're really terrible.", G.N. continuous, "They're small, they're not particularly well-suited, they have to retrofit the building to meet the needs. And we have many of those shelters still in the system."
>
> "The third category, which is the smallest category, but the most important one and the one that's growing, is purpose-built. At that point, we can bring all of our collective knowledge about how to provide these services and build it with an architect from the ground up." All these purpose-built shelters are built in Brooklyn, Queens, and the Bronx, as the Municipal Lodging House at 432 East 25th Street is still the only purpose-built shelter in Manhattan.[24]

How buildings have been repurposed can be proven through certificates of occupancy. These can be found at the NYC Department of Buildings. It shows how some shelters used to be a garage, a warehouse, a youth detention center or even a research laboratory.

REPURPOSING SHELTERS TO HOUSING?

C.L., an advocate at RxHome who also works at the DHS, talked about converting shelters into housing rather than building new shelters: "New York City is not getting any bigger, whatever land we have is what the city has. So when we think about land use, we need to be strategically thinking about it. And as if the only way you think about it is saying, well, we are mandated to provide shelter, so let's build more of it. With the more shelter you build, it just depletes the ability to have low income housing. Every time you build a new shelter, it means that that building isn't housing. A building that serves as a shelter can be converted to housing. You just need to decide that housing is what you prioritize."

G.N. responds to the question of converting shelters into housing: "Some of them can be. Some of them can't be. One of the reasons that it's difficult to convert a single shelter into housing in New York City, is the zoning varying, the zoning law. And so many of the shelters that we use for single adults are in commercial or manufacturing districts, not in residential districts. So you need to get a zoning variance to convert it to permanent housing." Shelters for families are often easier to build because they are designed as apartments or studios, while shelters for single adults are often designed as dormitories with shared bathrooms.

ZONING IN NEW YORK CITY

New York City is divided into three main zoning districts where similar regulations apply: residential, commercial and industrial districts. The zoning regulations assigned to these districts are based on the relevant land use issues, such as building shape, affordable housing, walkability, and climate change resistance. Each zoning district is assigned a letter and a number. The higher the number, the higher the allowable population density, or the more intensive land use permitted.

Residence districts are characterized by what housing types are present. These range from detached single family homes to residential skyscrapers.[25]

Commercial districts are characterized by the business activities present. These range from convenience stores and services to commercial areas with department stores and movie theaters. Gas stations and auto repair shops are also included in this district.[26]

Manufacturing districts are characterized by the presence of industrial and commercial activities.These range from light manufacturing to heavy manufacturing.[27]

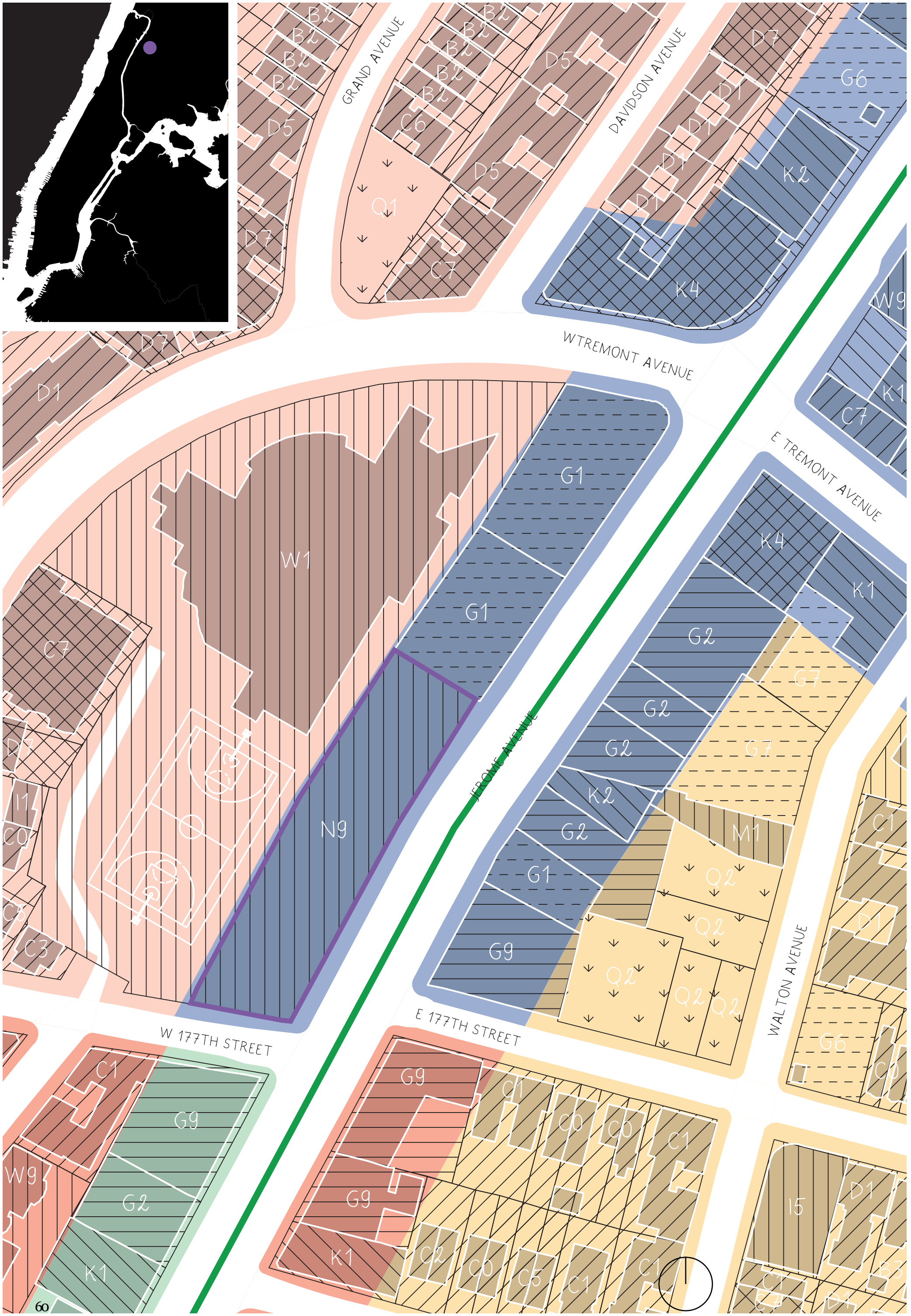


Figure 17: Zoning plan of Susan's Place surroundings © SD

THE CASE OF SUSAN'S PLACE

When looking at the region in which Susan's Place is planted, following residential and commercial districts can be identified. There are two commercial districts:

C4-4D *"C4 districts are mapped in regional centers where larger stores, theaters and office uses serve a wider region and generate more traffic than neighborhood shopping areas."* [28]

C8-3 *"C8 districts, bridging commercial and manufacturing uses, provide for automotive and other heavy commercial services that often require large amounts of land."* [29]

There are also three residential districts:

R7 *"R7 zoning districts are medium-density apartment house districts that encourage lower apartment buildings on smaller lots and, on larger lots, taller buildings with less lot coverage."* [30]

R7D *"R7D contextual districts promote new medium-density contextual development along transit corridors that range between 10 and 11 stories."* [31]

R8 *"R8 zoning districts are high-density apartment house districts that encourage mid-rise apartment buildings on smaller lots and, on larger lots, taller buildings with less lot coverage."* [32]

These districts are further specified into different categories based on their land use.

RESIDENTIAL BUILDINGS

One & Two Family Buildings

B2 Walk-up Apartments - Three Families
B3 Converted from one family

Multi-Family Walk-Up Buildings

C0 Walk-up Apartments - Three Families
C1 Walk-up Apartments - Over Six Families with Stores
C2 Walk-up Apartments - Four Families
C3 Walk-up Apartments - Four Families
C5 Walk-up Apartments - Converted Dwelling or Rooming House
C6 Walk-up Apartments - Cooperative

Multi-Family Elevator Buildings

D1 Elevator Apartments - Semi-Fire-proof (without Stores)
D5 Elevator Apartments - Converted

MIXED RESIDENTIAL & COMMERCIAL BUILDINGS

C7 Walk-up Apartments - Over Six Families with Stores
D7 Elevator Apartments - Semi-Fire-proof with Stores
K4 Store Buildings (Taxpayers Included) - Predominant Retail with Other Uses

COMMERCIAL & OFFICE BUILDINGS

K1 Store Buildings (Taxpayers Included) - One Story Retail Building
K2 Store Buildings (Taxpayers Included) - Multi-Story Retail Building

OPEN SPACE

Q1 Outdoor Recreation Facilities - Parks/Recreation Facilities
Q2 Outdoor Recreation Facilities - Playground

PUBLIC FACILITIES & INSTITUTIONS

I1 Hospitals and Health - Hospitals, Sanitariums, Mental Institutions
I5 Hospitals and Health - Health Center, Child Center, Clinic
M1 Churches, Synagogues, etc. - Church, Synagogue, Chapel
W1 Educational Structures - Public Elementary, Junior or Senior High
W9 Educational Structures - Miscellaneous
N9 Asylums and Homes - Miscellaneous

TRANSPORTATION & UTILITY

G2 Auto Body/Collision or Auto Repair
G9 Miscellaneous Garage or Gas Station

PARKING FACILITIES

G1 All Parking Garages
G6 Licensed Parking Lot
G7 Unlicensed Parking Lot

LOCATION

At 1921 Jerome Avenue, one can find Susan's Place. It is a homeless shelter for medically frail and mentally ill women collocated with a health center operated by Care For the Homeless. In zoning terms, it is defined as N9: Asylums and Homes (Miscellaneous). This differs from other shelters, who are often defined as N2: Asylums and Homes (Homes for Indigent Children, Aged, Homeless). This could be explained due to the collocation with the health center.

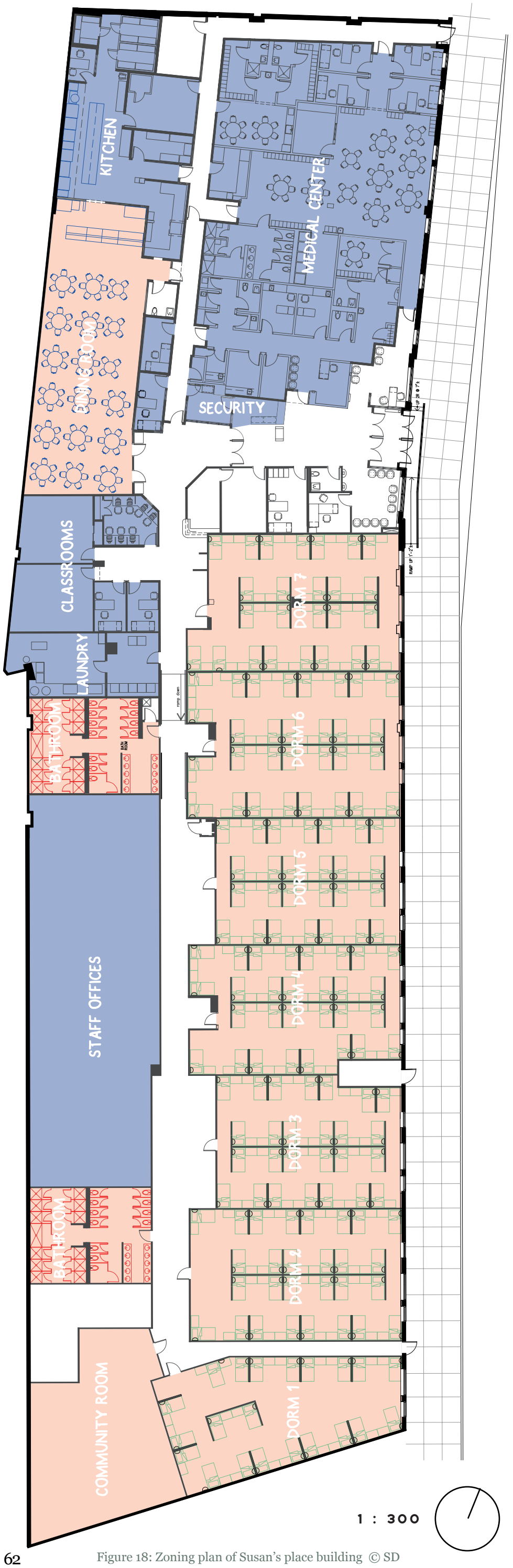


Figure 18: Zoning plan of Susan's place building © SD

LAY-OUT OF THE BUILDING

The building itself can also be assessed as a zoning plan. There are two main districts, a residential and a commercial one.

RESIDENTIAL DISTRICT

The residential area is defined as the zones where the residents conduct their main activities of the day. This includes the dorms, bathrooms, dining hall and living room.

The dorms range from 19 to 29 beds in one dorm. Every two beds, there Is a wall at eye-level. The two beds in this hub are separated by two lockers or by two dressers with a lock. The lockers are about 4 feet high (120 cm), while the dressers are about 6 feet high (185 cm). Every bed has its own bedside lamp. The moving game that appears in JAMS, doesn't seem to occur here.

There are two bathrooms. Both border the staff offices. There are 13 showers and 11 toilets in each bathroom. This makes the shower-resident ratio 1 to 8 and the toilet-resident ratio 1 to 9.

The dining hall serves three meals a day for the residents There are about 30 tables with each about 6 chairs. This makes up to 180 places. There is also a tv displaying the day's news.

The living room is a community room where residents can sit through the day. There is a tv and couches and chairs.

COMMERCIAL DISTRICT

The commercial area is defined as the zones where the staff conduct their main activities. This includes the medical office, staff rooms, staff offices, kitchen, and classrooms.

There are offices for case managers and housing. Case managers manage each client's case and help them get documentation to get out of the shelter. Housing helps the clients get either housing or supportive housing. They search for openings in supportive housing programs and propose the client to the program director.

The staff rooms are for the staff taking their breaks and to store their belongings.

The classrooms are used for workshops. There is also a computer lab for the residents.

The medical clinic serves the population of the shelter, but also patients coming in who are not in the shelter.

There is also a waiting room, which is not in use because the clients cannot receive any visits. As S.T. said: "We used to allow some visitors in that waiting area, but as you see, it's a tiny waiting area. So we discourage visitors. But if somebody needed to have a visitor, a family member or so, we'll let them. But we don't advertise it, because it just wouldn't be doable to have 200 women having visits. We just simply couldn't do it." Next to the waiting room there is the lobby. Residents are being scanned here through a metal detector and checked in at the security desk.



Figure 19: The outside of Susan's Place © SD



Figure 20: Dorm with lockers © SD



Figure 21: Dorm with dressers © SD



Figure 22: Community room © SD

HISTORY

The idea of co-locating health centers in facilities where people experiencing homelessness already congregate, such as soup kitchens, shelters, and drop-in centers, was relatively new in the late 1980s. Care For the Homeless used this idea back then to increase access and to reduce barriers to health services for New Yorkers experiencing homelessness.[33]

After providing health care services at several other shelters, Susan Neibacher, who was the Executive Director of Care For the Homeless at the time, had the idea to operate a shelter themselves. They operated the Kingsbridge Women's Assessment Center from 1996 until 2000, when the city closed down the location. [34]

CFH still wanted to continue their work and they searched for a new location. This is when they found the old warehouse on 1921 Jerome Avenue. The buildings surrounding the shelter were mainly car shops and garages. 'I think our neighbors are great', S.T., the director of shelter operations at Susan's Place, tells, 'They never complain.' They completely gutted and renovated the building into a shelter facility. Susan passed away before they could open their new facility. So when they opened in 2008, they dedicated it to her naming it Susan's Place. [35]

This opening was about a year later than planned, due to some community concerns. As a compromise, the facility was downsized to 180 residents.



Figure 23: The sunny spot of the facade © SD

CREATIVITY OF THE RESIDENTS

Although the building itself can be seen as zoned with strict restrictions on any activity, some residents of the shelter seem to find pleasure in creating their own spaces. For example, there is a door that forms a small cove at the facade that fits one or two wheelchair, and at a certain time of day it is exposed to the sun during which a resident sits in this cove enjoying the warmth of the sunlight.

Many of today's shelters are buildings that have been repurposed over time. This can be either a good fit, as is the case with Susan's Place, or a necessary evil. Shelter buildings cannot all be converted to housing, due to zoning laws, the location and the structure of some shelters. Many of the congregate shelters, to which Susan's also belongs, are zoned inside as much as the environment outside. All functions are divided into different nodes, forming a functional chain of uses. This zoning makes these shelters difficult to convert to housing, as the overall structure would have to be completely rebuilt.

HOMELESS FAMILIES IN NYC

Family homelessness has been on the rise in New York City since the recession of the 1990s. It has only recently started to decline, but part of this drop was created by the eviction moratorium during the pandemic: less people getting evicted, means less people ending up homeless. Something New York City has been successful at, is keeping homeless families on the streets. There are no homeless families living on the streets.

This trend in surging family homelessness is also seen in other countries, but it remains critical in New York City. From the 131 924 people counted on a single night in 2021 who were part of a homeless family with children sheltered in the United States of America, 38 258 were residing in New York City. This means that about 29% of the homeless families sheltered in the United States of America were sheltered in New York City on that night. (PIT, 2021)

TYPOLOGIES TO SHELTER FAMILIES

New York City has three different typologies to shelter homeless families. There are family commercial hotels, family clusters and family shelters.

The use of family commercial hotels occurs in two different forms. The first form rents rooms in for-profit commercial hotels. These rooms are operated by non-profit operators under contract with the DHS. Another form converts entire hotels into shelters where every family gets their own room with kitchenette.[36]

Family clusters were launched back in 2000 by mayor Giuliani as a temporary, emergency solution for the city's homeless population. A cluster is a privately-owned residential building the city rents units from.[37] Other rent-paying tenants also reside in this private building. According to a report made by the NYC Department Of Investigation (DOI) in 2015, cluster sites are "*the worst maintained, the most poorly monitored and provide the least adequate social services to families.*"[38]

Both family commercial hotels and family clusters were deemed bad solutions to shelter homeless families. That is why Mayor De Blasio announced in 2019 that the city would shift its focus from these typologies to family shelters.[39] Family shelters are residential settings in which the services are provided on site. Each family receives a unit with a bed, bathroom, living and kitchen. The services provided include: security, case management, housing and sometimes youth programs.

WHY DO FAMILIES END UP IN SHELTER?

There are different reasons families end up in the family shelter system. A DHS survey in 2016 showed that the main reason families end up in shelter is domestic violence (30%). The next most common reasons were eviction (25%), overcrowding in their current residence (17%), immediate return (16%) or other reasons (13%). Immediate return means the family was previously in shelter and could not sustain permanent housing which resulted in a return within 30 days. Other reasons include discord, unlivable conditions and Administration for Children's Services related causes.

FAMILY SHELTER VERSUS ADULT SHELTER

Family shelters differ from adult shelters in their lay-out. Families are bound to stay together in a unit, which means every family receives their own unit with kitchen(ette) and bathroom. This opposed to the dorms, communal bathrooms and cafeteria the adult shelter system offers.

Other differences, as mentioned before, are the eligibility procedures families have to go through (Intake Centers p. 42 and the surveillance technology (Protection versus Privacy p. 50)

THE NUMBERS

There are a total of 291 facilities in New York City that shelter homeless families. Most of the facilities are in the Bronx or Brooklyn. More specific, there are 73 facilities in the Bronx, 51 in Brooklyn, 31 in Manhattan, 19 in Queens and 1 on Staten Island. Most of these facilities are family shelters. There are 175 family shelters, 65 family clusters and 51 commercial hotels. All of these accommodate the 10 104 homeless families with children currently sheltered in New York City.

WHERE DO THEY COME FROM?

Approximately 650 families with children from the East New York district entered a shelter in 2015, making this district the one with the most families entering shelter. Residents from Bayside, Queens were the least likely to enter shelter that year, with only 5 homeless families with children entering shelter. (ICPH, 2019)

WHERE DO THEY GO?

Families with children are more likely to find shelter in the Bronx or in Brooklyn, as these boroughs have the highest shelter capacity for families. More specifically, the Concourse/ Highbridge (1,200 units) and East Tremont (919 units) neighborhoods in the Bronx and the Brownsville (753 units) neighborhood in Brooklyn have the most shelter units for families with children. [40]

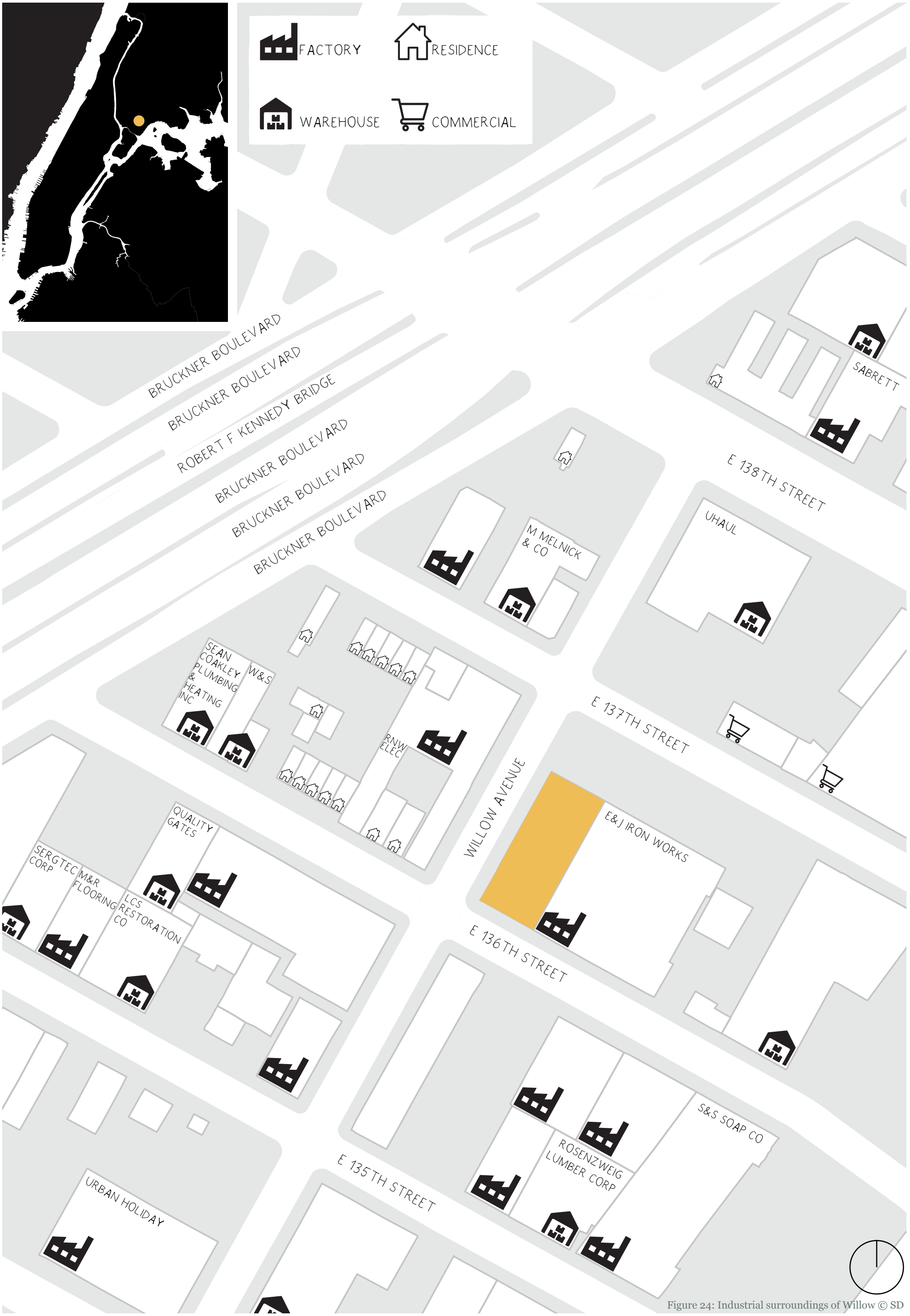


Figure 24: Industrial surroundings of Willow © SD

THE CASE OF WILLOW

Willow is a family shelter in the Bronx which has 102 units for families of three. It is operated by BronxWorks, just like Jerome Avenue Men's Shelter (p. 52) BronxWorks operates a total of 3 family shelters, all of which are located in the Bronx.

LOCATION

Willow is located at 190 Willow Avenue in the Bronx. It is situated in a manufacturing zone, which is why it is surrounded by factories and warehouses. It is across the street from another shelter facility for single adult men at 164 Willow Avenue. The Bruckner Expressway separates the shelter from any residential areas.

POPULATION

Willow is designed for families of three. M.J. says that most of the families she encounters are young adults with children trying to be independent.

THE PROCEDURE

There are two types of families staying in the shelter. There are the conditional and the eligible families. The conditional families are the ones whose eligibility status is still pending. They can stay in the shelter during this decision, but they cannot receive any services towards permanent housing. This decision can take up to 9 months. When families were deemed ineligible before the COVID-19 pandemic, they had to pack their stuff and go back either to the intake center or wherever they were staying before. After the COVID-19 pandemic, they are allowed to stay during their Fair Hearing procedure. Once a family is deemed eligible, the social services/housing office can start working towards housing. The city wants this move to happen within 9 months, but this is often not the case. MJ says some of the families have been with them for over 2 years.

SERVICES

The shelter offers multiple services. The first service one encounters when entering the building is security. The security decides whether one can enter the building. In the basement one can find administration offices, social services/housing offices, a medical office, a recreation room and a laundry room. The administration organizes daily life in the shelter and keeps an eye the vacancies in the building. The social service/housing office works towards finding permanent housing for the families residing in the shelter which have been found eligible. The first floor has a childcare which can be used occasionally when a parent has to go on a job interview. As M.J., the shelter director of Willow, said: *"We offer everything except for food."*



Figure 25: Willow seen from the outside © Free Clinics



1 : 225

Figure 26: Willow floorplan © SD

BUILDING LAY-OUT

Willow is a six-story building that provides shelter for up to 102 families of three. When entering the building, one directly meets the security which decides whether to let you in. There are two possibilities to enter the building. As a visitor, one can only visit the room on the left, which is the common room. Visitors are not allowed in the room. As a resident, one enters at the right. The first floor has 12 units and a childcare. The upper floors each have 18 units. The basement level houses most of the services such as a laundry room, a medical office, a social service/housing office, a recreation room and the administration offices. The roof has a playground for the children to play.

UNIT

All units are similar. Upon entering there is a bathroom, left or right. This bathroom is equipped with a bathtub with a showerhead, a toilet and a lavatory. When continuing straight into the room, one comes in the main area of the room where the kitchen, living room and sleeping room intertwine. The kitchen is equipped with a fridge, a sink and an electric stove to avoid fire hazards. The sleeping room has two beds and the living room has a table and two chairs. It is possible to receive an extra chair and/ or bed when necessary. The units and unit doors can be decorated a little bit, as long as it causes no fire hazard. Each family receives their own key to their unit.

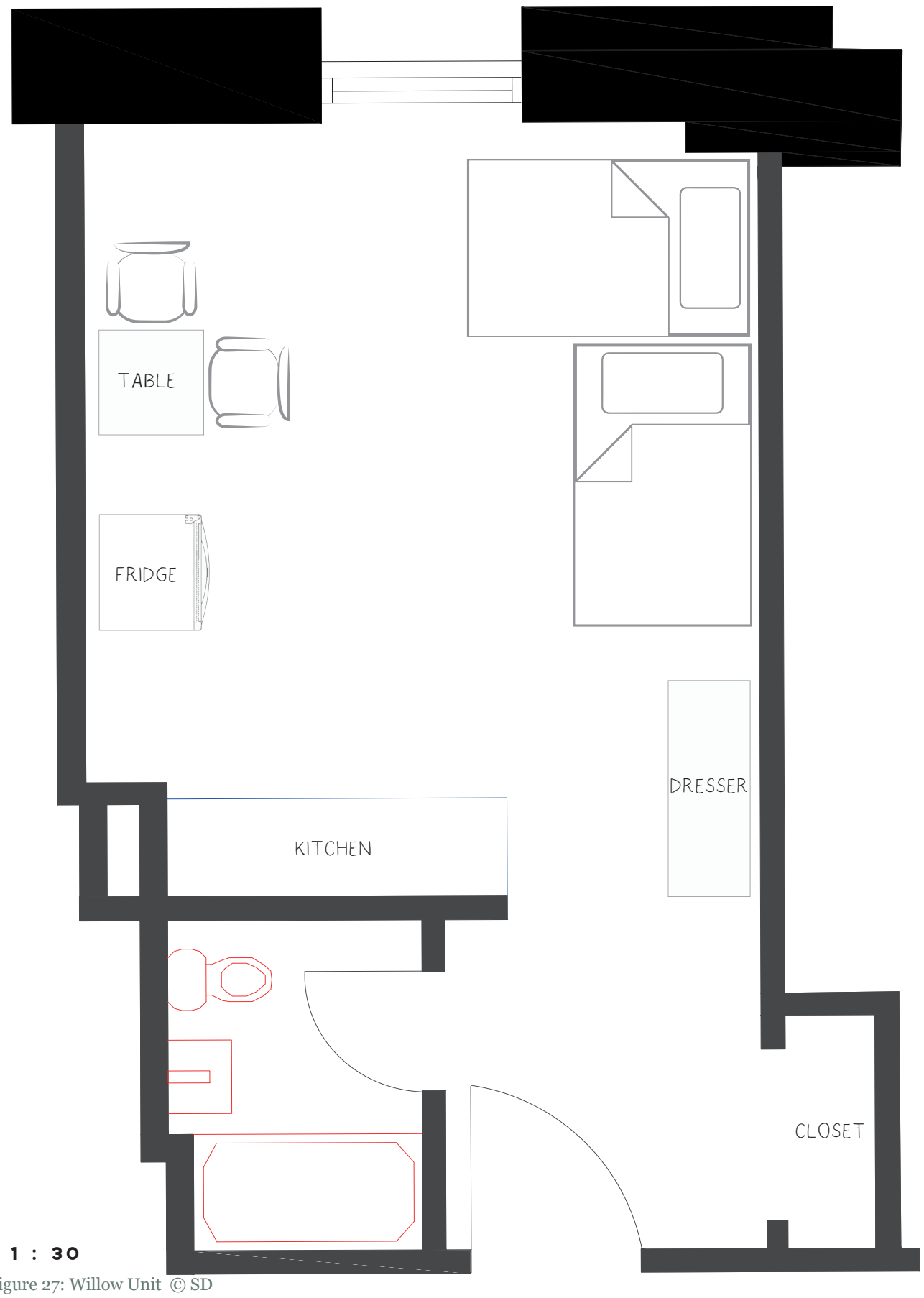


Figure 27: Willow Unit © SD

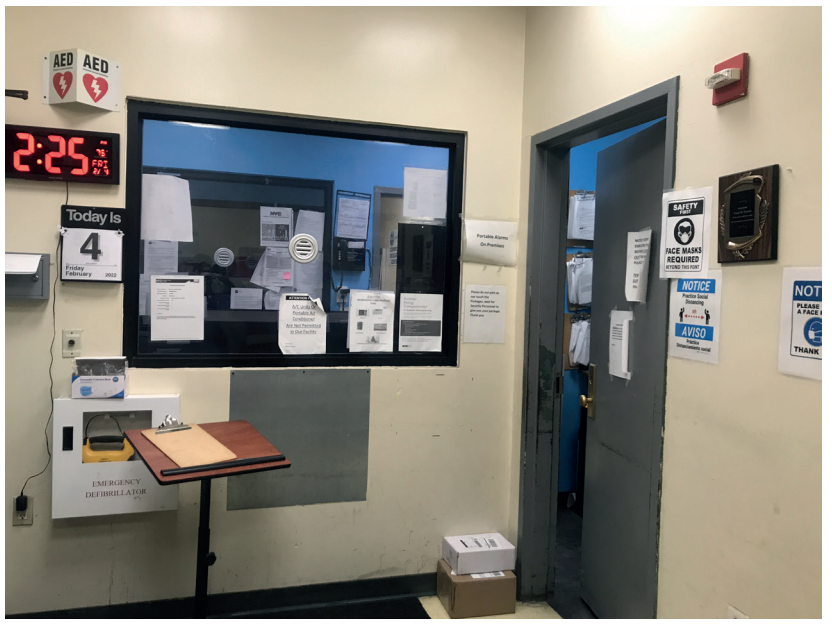


Figure 28: Security at entrance © SD



Figure 29: Common room © SD

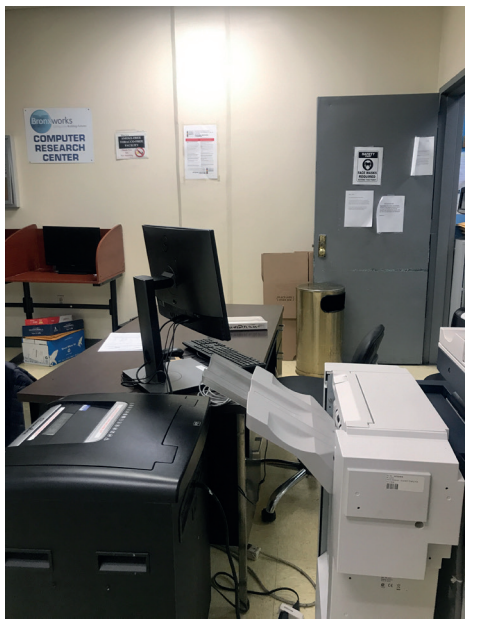


Figure 30: Common Room © SD

Families who end up in a shelter are given a micro-apartment that has everything they would need in a home. The shelters for families do not have common bathrooms and cafeterias where food is prepared for the residents, as was the case in the shelters for single adults. The residents live more independently and take care of their own unit. The problems that occurred in the single adult shelters seem to be less of a problem here, since each family gets its own private space.

African American Planning Commission

(800) 621-HOPE (4673)

Offers culturally specific services to African Americans

Allen Women's Resource Center

(718) 739-6200

Offers Christian specific services

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Arab American Family Support Center

(718) 643 - 8000

Offers culturally specific services to immigrants and refugees

Barrier Free Living

(212) 677-6668

Offers services to people with disabilities
OCFS Licensed and Approved

Connect

(212) 683-0015

Crime Victims Treatment Center

(212) 523-4728

Edwin Gould Services for Children and Families

(877)-STEPS-94

STEPS to End Family Violence

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Garden of Hope

(877) 990-8595

Offers culturally specific services to Chinese immigrants

Good Shepherd Services – Safe Homes Project

(718) 499-2151

OCFS Licensed and Approved

HELP USA

(718) 922-7980

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Henry Street Settlement

(212) 577-7777

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Jewish Board Family & Children's Services

Please see their website for the various hotline numbers

Offers Jewish specific services
OCFS Licensed and Approved

Korean American Family Service Center

(718)-460-3800

Bilingual Korean/English; offers Korean specific services

NYC Anti-Violence Project

(212) 714-1141

Bilingual Spanish/English hotline; offers LGBTQ specific services
OCFS Licensed and Approved

New Destiny Housing

(646) 472-0262

Ohel Children's Home & Family Services

800) 603- OHEL (6435)

Offers Jewish specific services

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Queens Legal Services

(917)-661-4500

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Safe Horizon

(800) 621-4673

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Sakhi for South Asian Woman

212-868-6741

Multilingual hotline; offers Asian specific services

Sanctuary for Families

(212) 349-6009

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Seamen's Society for Children & Families – Safe Passage

(718) 447-7740

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Services for the UnderServed (S:US)

(800) 621-HOPE (4673)

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Urban Justice Center Domestic Violence Project

(718) 875-5062

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Urban Resource Institute

(888) 279-2211
or
(888) 252-2890

OCFS Licensed and Approved

Violence Intervention Program

(800) 664-5880

24/7 bilingual Spanish/English hotline
OCFS Licensed and Approved

Volunteers of America, Greater New York

(800) 621-HOPE (4673)

OCFS Licensed and Approved

W.A.R.M. (We All Really Matter)

(917)736-0680

Provides non-residential domestic violence services

Womankind

(888) 888-7702

Multilingual hotline;
Asian populations specific services
OCFS Licensed and Approved

Figure 31: Programs serving domestic violence survivors © SD

DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SHELTER

Domestic violence shelters provide a safe place for domestic violence survivors to reside and heal from abuse. The NYC Human Resources Administration (HRA) describes domestic violence as both physical violence (such as hitting, slapping, or kicking) or emotional violence (such as threatening, constant insulting or constant criticizing) struck upon the victim or their environment.[41]

In New York City, there are 28 programs serving domestic violence (DV) survivors. [42] Most of them provide service across the 5 boroughs of New York City, which are Manhatten, the Bronx, Brooklyn, Queens, and Staten Island. Some of them specialize in services for particular parts of the population. These specialized services can be for Jewish, Christian, Korean, ... people.

TYPES OF DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SHELTERS

There are two types of domestic violence shelters in New York City, namely Tier 1 and Tier 2 shelters.

Tier 1 shelters are emergency shelters. These are either for single adults or for families. There are more family Tier 1 shelters than single adults. These are shelters for people in immediate danger. One can stay here for up to six months.

Tier 2 shelters are transitional shelters. These only exist for families whose needs are not resolved after the six months in the emergency shelter. One gets transferred from emergency shelter to transitional shelter after the six months are over. The length of stay in a Tier 2 shelter can go from 6 months up to 18 months.

One of the main differences between these two types of shelters is the way they are funded. The Tier 1 shelters are funded for each person staying at the shelter, while the Tier 2 shelters are funded for each family staying at the shelter.

MAXIMIZING SAFETY

The domestic violence shelters are not shown on the Infrastructure Map (p. 38) because their address is top-secret for safety reasons. This also means there are other safety measures taken in a DV shelter to ensure its location stays secret.

One cannot live in a DV shelter in the same borough as one used to live. (For example, when you used to live in the Bronx and you wish to enter a DV shelter, this shelter will be in Manhattan, Brooklyn, Queens or Staten Island)

One cannot have any visitors over, even if they are close friends or related. If one wants to meet with people, it must happen outside of the shelter.

Not even the neighboring buildings know it is a DV shelter. They often notice it over time, but they are never told. This means the buildings try to remain anonymous in their surroundings as much as possible.

HOW TO GET INTO A DOMESTIC VIOLENCE SHELTER?

There are three different ways you can get into a domestic violence shelter. You can call the NYC 24-hour domestic violence hotline (1-800-621-HOPE), go to the hospital, or go to the police.

They will assess your need and help you. You will be picked up from a safe location, the hospital, or the police station. From there, you will be brought directly into the domestic violence shelter. Everything you will need is foreseen and the unit will be completely installed upon arrival. You do not have to go through the central intake other shelter residents have to go through.

THE CASE OF SHELTER 'X'

Shelter 'x' is a domestic violence operated by Urban Resource Institute (URI). It is a Tier 2 shelter that serves families that have been in shelter for at least six months. URI is a nonprofit organization that was founded in 1980 in Brooklyn.[43] Today it is the nation's biggest provider of domestic violence shelters and services. It has both regular and domestic violence shelters in Brooklyn, Queens, and Harlem.

LOCATION

The location and surroundings of the building cannot be specified to ensure the safety of the survivors residing in the building.

THE BUILDING

The building has 44 units spread over 7 floors. The first floor has 1 one-bedroom apartments and 1 three-bedroom apartment. From the second floor up to the seventh floor, each floor has 4 two-bedroom apartments and 3 one-bedroom apartments. From the third floor up, six out of the seven apartments have a balcony.

The outdoor parking lot was turned into a playground and a dog run. URI has a unique program that allows survivors to bring their pets along called People and Animals Living Safely (PALS)[44]. They noticed that many victims did not dare to leave the dangerous situation they were in out of fear that the abuser would hurt their pet.

SERVICES

The cellar is used to house all the services the shelter is offering. There are offices for the social workers and case managers. They work there to help the residing families to move on and find their own place. There is also a computer room with recreation possibilities for the youth residing at the shelter. Another service offered is short-term childcare. This is for parent who have to on a job interview or another short-term obligation. They cannot be used on the daily, it is only meant for occasional use.

SECURITY

When entering the building, there are two sets of doors as a matter of security. There is a buzzer, so security can let people in. Security is located in what was originally designed to be a one-bedroom apartment. Residents have to sign in when they are coming in and sign out when they are leaving.

SINGLE OCCUPANCY OR SHARED UNIT

There are two possibilities to fill in each unit. It is either one or two families in a unit. When two families are housed together, they each receive their own bedroom and bathroom with a key. This is a new system that was generated recently due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Before, families would share a bathroom. URI is looking to update this through their building portfolio to ensure comfort for all the residents.



Figure 32: The first floor of Shelter 'x' © SD

Figure 33: The second floor of Shelter 'x' © SD

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UNIT

Each unit has a kitchen, a dining, and a living space and a seprate bedroom. The kitchen is provided with an electric stove, an oven, a fridge, and a dishwasher. The dining room has a table with two chairs. More chairs can be requested when necessary. The living room has a couch. The bedrooms either have single beds or bunk beds and all have a key to be locked. Residents receive their own key to their unit.

WELCOME BOX

Every new family receives a box with everything they would need to inhabit the room. This includes pots, pans, linen, towels, soap, ... This is to help survivors making the transition into shelter. The goal is to help the survivors focus on healing rather than worrying about possible obstacles that could possibly prevent people from coming into shelter.



Figure 34: Bedroom © SD

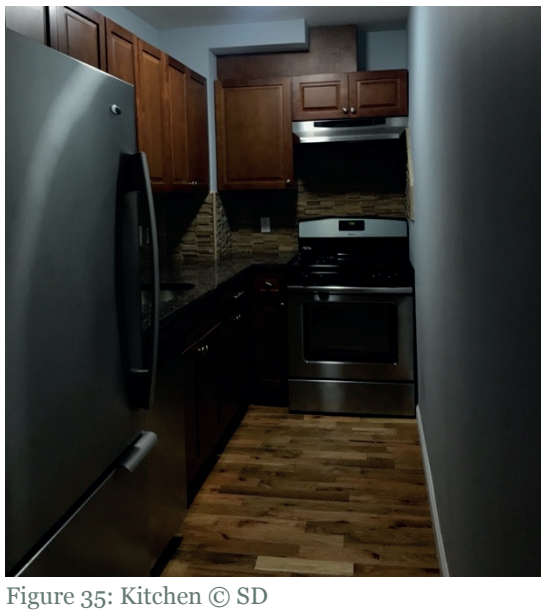


Figure 35: Kitchen © SD

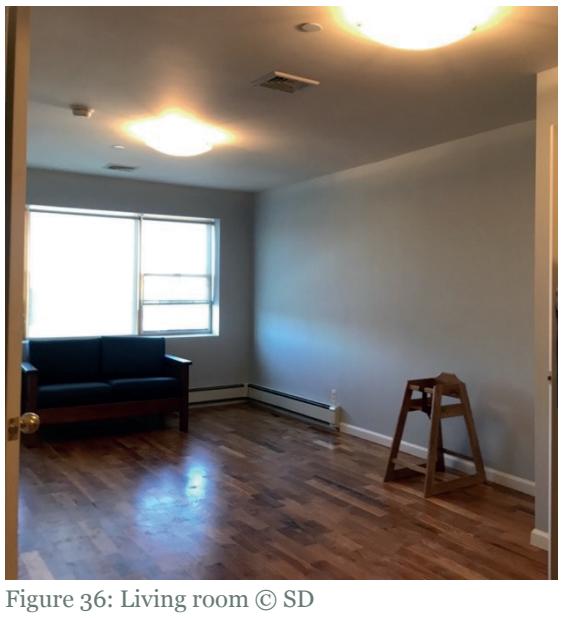


Figure 36: Living room © SD

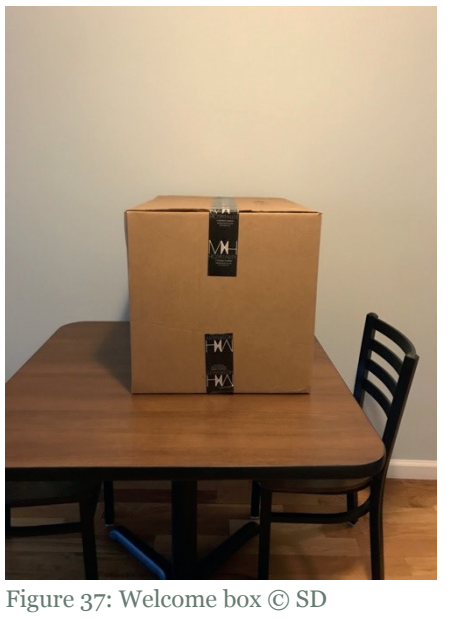
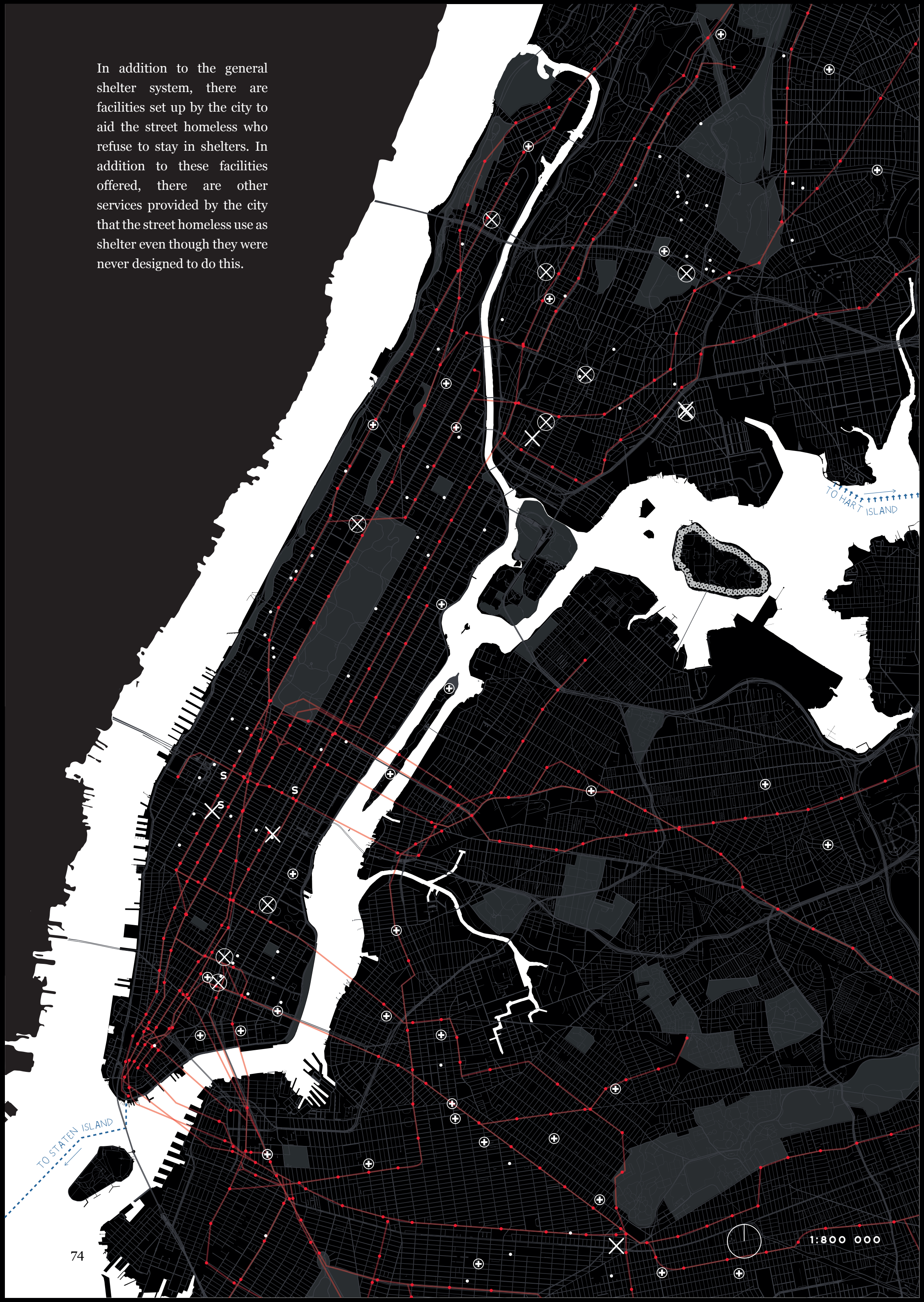
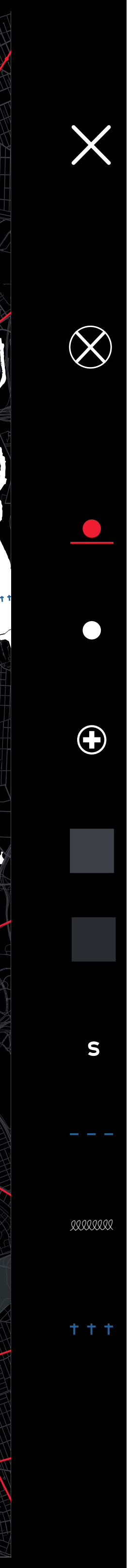


Figure 37: Welcome box © SD

Domestic violence shelters differ from ordinary shelters in the way they are organized, funded, and attended. To enter a domestic violence shelter, one does not go through the central intake, but calls upon the police, the hospital or the domestic violence hotline. The organization then focuses on the healing process of the survivor, trying to facilitate as much of the transition process as possible by providing all the necessities. The safety of the residents is also ensured more severely than in the general shelter system by keeping the shelters anonymous to its surroundings and prohibiting residents from inviting friends and family.

In addition to the general shelter system, there are facilities set up by the city to aid the street homeless who refuse to stay in shelters. In addition to these facilities offered, there are other services provided by the city that the street homeless use as shelter even though they were never designed to do this.





STREET HOMELESS

(#FOUND/#TOTAL)

DROP-IN CENTER (7/7)

"The drop-in centers provide them [the homeless] with the opportunity to come indoors, to have meals, to take showers, ... We have locker rooms where they can store their belongings. We have access to medical services through a contract with a medical provider, we do have a nurse on staff to do routine checks. There's an array of case management services that can also help them to begin the process of determining how to get access to permanent housing to get them off the street. It's a non-residential setting, so to the extent people need to stay there overnight, we have some large room where they sit at the tables and chairs and they can spend the night there. We do have relationships with (or we had relationships before COVID) a number of churches and synagogues around the city. They would provide overnight accommodations for some of the clients who were in the drop-in center. We would bus them to the houses of worship at about 7.30-8.00 at night and then we'd pick them up the next morning at about 7 o' clock in the morning and bring them back to the drop-in center." (F.S, CEO at Urban Pathways)

SAFE HAVEN (14/17)

"The safe haven is a residential setting. [...] It does not require individuals to go through that central intake. They don't have to go to the facility on 3rd avenue where there are thousands of other people trying to get access. They can come directly into the safe haven with a referral from one of the drop-in- or outreach programs that are operable in the city. They have to be chronically homeless, so they have to have been individuals living on the streets for any period of time in order to qualify, but it bypasses the large shelters. The safe havens do not require our clients to commit to a case management plan as a condition of remaining indoors, there is no curfew." (F.S.)

SUBWAY SYSTEM

"The trains are the best place to get some sleep, the safest place. At least they were." (The New York Post, 2022)

STATION — ROUTES

EMERGENCY FEEDING SITE

"There are two ways to get free food quickly: groceries from a food pantry, or a cooked meal from a community kitchen. There are places to get free food in all five boroughs. Everyone is eligible for emergency food assistance, regardless of immigration status or how much money you have."
(ACCESS NYC, s.d.)

HOSPITAL

"The Health & Housing Consortium led an independent effort to count the number of people experiencing homelessness who were seeking care or shelter in NYC hospitals. This population is considered the "hidden homeless" because they are missed by the City's estimate: 226 individuals experiencing unsheltered homelessness counted in NYC hospitals on a single night" (Health & Housing Consortium, 2020)

STREETS

"In January 2021, the city estimated around 1,100 people live on the streets and in parks, although the tally is widely considered an undercount." (New York Post, March 26 2022)

PARKS

"It is possible to sleep in the park as a homeless person as the park is vast at 843 acres and has many places to hide. It has gotten significantly harder in recent years however. The park is closed at 1am and has its own police precinct which patrols it after hours. Those who are found in the park are either ticketed or arrested." (Quora, 2014)

S

PUBLIC TRANSPORTATION HUB

"Dilks, a man staying on the street near Port Authority, said he has avoided outreach workers for several weeks because he did not think they had much to offer him. He said he had heard the term SafeHaven before, but did not think they were a realistic possibility." (CITYLIMITS, March 15 2022)

FERRY TO STATEN ISLAND

"I don't remember when we first took the ferry tot Staten Island. (I'm writing this two months and a half later, still taking the boat every day, except one) [...] Free bus, free ferry, nothing else to do, what's not to like?" (The Homeless New Yorker, March 23 2020)

PRISON

"*People released from Rikers or state prison frequently end up in the city's crowded shelters, further fueling the homelessness crisis and restricting their individual opportunities. More than half of New York City residents paroled from state prison went straight to Department of Homeless Services shelters in 2017, NY1 reported. They accounted for 1 in 5 new shelter admissions that year."* (CITYLIMITS, September 20 2021)

FERRY TO HART ISLAND

"Hart Island is a graveyard of last resort. Since 1869, New York City has owned and operated this potter's field—the largest in the country. City workers put unidentified or unclaimed corpses in simple wooden coffins, load them onto a ferry and entomb them in trenches across the island. The homeless, indigent and stillborn all lie within eyesight of the hyper-kinetic, high-rolling inhabitants of the Manhattan skyscrapers across the water. "Hart Island is like a shadow of New York City," says Justin von Bujdoss, 45, the cemetery's chaplain. "It reflects the lives of people who live on the margins—the homeless, the sickly, the neglected, the forgotten and overworked." (TIME, November 18 2020)

FACILITIES USED BY STREET HOMELESS

"In his announcement, de Blasio noted that though it is not illegal to be homeless, 'it is illegal to harass New Yorkers, use drugs, erect a makeshift shelter, urinate in public, and commit other quality of life crimes." [1]

The Department of Homeless Services defines three different kinds of street homeless appearances: an encampment, a pop-up location or a hotspot.[2] All of these can appear on different locations across the city, such as streets, parks, the subway system, the ferry, and train stations.

ENCAMPMENT

An encampment is an outdoor location where a fixed, visible structure arise. Two or more individuals gather here. They are often under bridges or in remote areas. Encampments or obstructions are not allowed in New York City. [3]



Figure 38 : An encampment on Riverside Drive © SD

POP-UP LOCATION

A pop-up location is a type of street homeless that appears quickly and is usually temporary. There is often some level of debris such as carts or cardboard.[4]



Figure 39 : A pop-up location on 5th Avenue © SD

HOTSPOT

A hotspot is a location where two or more homeless gather without a structure.[5]



Figure 40 : A hotspot in front of the Bowery Mission Tribeca Campus © SD

FACILITIES TO CHASE STREET HOMELESS

In some places, New York City can make it very clear that it does not want homeless people hanging around. This is made clear by some design choices the city or residents have made, the number of 311 calls a neighborhood makes, or the police raids that are conducted.

HOSTILE DESIGN

In the design of public space, sometimes clear choices are made to prevent homeless people from sitting or sleeping there. But as a result, the quality of that public space can suffer. An apparent example is the Moynihan Train Hall, an extension of Penn Station in Midtown Manhattan. This train hall recently opened to the public and when it did, people were quite surprised. There were almost no places for passengers to sit to wait for their trains. It is believed that this was done to prevent homeless people from sleeping on the benches, but this made the train hall uncomfortable for its daily users, who are forced to sit on the floor.[6]

311 CALLS

311 is a phone number in New York City that people can use for non-emergency city services, such as wrong-way parking, noise complaints or blocked driveways.[7] In 2008, this number was also made available for reporting a homeless person on the street who needs help.[8] This was done out of good intention so outreach teams can be send out to help these people, but the number has also been used by people who think the homeless person sitting in their neighborhood is an inconvenience that should be removed.[9]

POLICE RAIDS

Mayor Eric Adams has made his intentions with the homeless very clear, in that he wants to drive them all out of the subway system and encampments.[10] He has done this by using the police as an executive force. In doing so, he wants to drive the homeless inside, to safe havens.[11] But when homeless people do not want to cooperate and hand over their tents to the Department of Sanitation to see them disappear into the garbage truck, they are arrested.[12]



Figure 41 : Passengers forced to sit on the floor © Inga Saffron

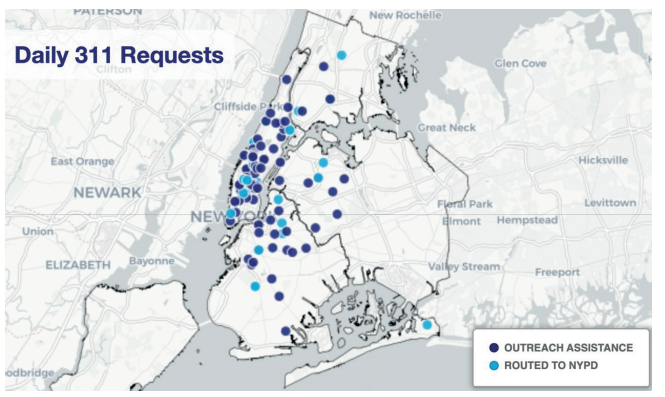


Figure 42 : Dashboard from August 1st 2021 showing 311 calls about homeless © HOME-STAT



Figure 43 : Police packing up a homeless encampment in garbage bags at Tompkins Square Park © Stacie Joy

FACILITIES TO HELP STREET HOMELESS

The city has different facilities to accommodate the street homeless. First, there are outreach teams that are patrolling through the streets looking for street homeless people they could help. There are also drop-in centers which gives street homeless the opportunity to come inside for a meal, a shower and/or case management. If they have experienced multiple episodes of street homelessness and they do not wish to enter the shelter system, they can get into a safe haven. All of these programs are low-barrier to target the unsheltered individuals who may be resistant to accepting other services.[13]

These facilities will be discussed in the following pages with a case for each as an example.

OUTREACH



Figure 44 : Outreach team engaging street homeless met at a subway station © The New York Times

DROP-IN CENTER



Figure 45 : A look into Olivieri Drop-In Center © Rise of Broken Women

SAFE HAVEN



Figure 46 : The Pyramid Safe Haven © Welcome2TheBronx

HOME-STAT		
Total number of New Yorkers who are— (1) known to HOME-STAT outreach teams; AND (2) confirmed to be experiencing unsheltered homelessness; AND (3) currently being engaged by HOME-STAT outreach teams; AND (4) included in the record, also known as the City's 'by-name list' of street homeless individuals —as of December 31, 2021.	1,766	
	Location of First Engagement	**Count**
Location of point of first engagement with HOME-STAT outreach teams, to the extent available, for those New Yorkers in the record referenced above—	Delayed Data Entry or No Entry*	211
	Bus Shelter	1
	Drop-In Center (DIC)	22
	Hospital	33
	Social service provider office	64
	Park	89
	Phone	56
	Playground	0
	Ferry Terminal	0
	Street	848
	Subway	378
	Other	64
	Grand Total	**1766****

Figure 47 : Quarterly raport of December 2021 ©HOME-STAT

OUTREACH

The Homeless Outreach and Mobile Engagement STreet Action Teams (HOME-STAT) describes itself as *"the most comprehensive street homelessness outreach effort ever deployed in a major American city, administered by the City's DHS."* [13] It is a program that brought together existing homeless response and prevention programs and gave them new tools to better identify, engage and direct homeless New Yorkers to appropriate services and ultimately permanent housing.[14] This initiative was presented by Mayor De Blasio in 2015 as a new effort to address the homelessness crisis that emerged during his administration.[15] It added three new elements to the city's existing homeless prevention and response policies: proactive canvassing, immediate response, and citywide integration and management of individual cases. [16]

> Proactive canvassing meant that the Mayor's Office of Operations began an effort to actively canvass every block from Canal Street to 145th Street daily. A HOME-STAT investigative team also began a daily inventory of hotspots in the five boroughs. The Office of Operations created a dashboard that maps service requests, data from the HOME-STAT research team, from the outreach teams, and from the police.[17]
>
> By expanding contracted Street Outreach Team staff and the NYPD's Homeless Outreach unit, HOME-STAT sought to build a rapid-response capacity to respond to 311 calls* within the hour.[19] In 2020, the NYPD's homeless outreach unit was disbanded, leaving civilian agencies in charge of outreach.[20]
>
> HOME-STAT has established citywide case-by-case integration and management of the various outreach teams. This provides case management for street outreach services to ensure that each service offered by the city is well integrated.[21]

OUTREACH TEAMS

Since then, the city seems to have been divided into different zones monitored by different organizations. Six of the main outreach teams are BronxWorks, Breaking Ground, Goddard Riverside, Center for Urban Community Services (CUCS), Bowery Residents Commitee (BRC), Project Hospitality and Urban Pathways (UP).

The Bronx is primarily monitored by BronxWorks. Their Homeless Outreach Team (HOT) engages people living on the streets 24 hours a day, seven days a week. They help them transition into housing. BronxWorks offers many other programs in the Bronx, including homelessness prevention programs, transitional shelters, and stabilization beds. These stabilization beds are also monitored by their outreach team.[22]

Manhattan is monitored by several organizations. Goddard Riverside, Center for Urban Community Services (CUCS) and Breaking Ground have been working together since 2007 in the Manhattan Outreach Consortium (MOC). The MOC is a partnership of several agencies responsible for outreach and housing in Manhattan. Each agency engages in outreach in its own community. This is because they each have roots where their institutional knowledge is strongest. [23]

Queens and Brooklyn are primarily monitored by Breaking Ground.[24]

Staten Island is mainly monitored by Project Hospitality.[25]

The subway stations, Penn Station, and Grand Central Station are monitored by the BRC.[26]

Port Authority is monitored by Urban Pathways.[27]

* NYC 311 is a telephone number and app in New York City that is used for all government information and non-emergency services. It was established in 2003.

SHELTER INTAKE CENTERS

WHO	WHERE TO GO
Adult men	**30th Street:** 400-430 East 30th St./1st Ave., Manhattan Subway: 6 to 28th St.
Adult women	**Franklin Shelter:** 1122 Franklin Ave., Bronx Subway: 2/5 to 149th St., then #55 bus to 166th St. & 3rd Ave. or the #21 bus to 166th St. & Boston Road **HELP Women's Center:** 116 Williams Ave., Brooklyn Subway: C to Liberty Ave.
Adult families with no children under 21 years old	**Adult Family Intake Center (AFIC):** 400-430 East 29th St., Manhattan Subway: 6 to 28th St.
Families with children under 21 AND pregnant women	**Prevention Assistance and Temporary Housing Office (PATH):** 151 East 151st St., Bronx Subway: 2, 4 or 5 to 149th St. - Grand Concourse.

24-HOUR DROP-IN CENTERS FOR ADULTS

Mainchance	120 East 32nd St. in East Midtown Subway: 6 to 33rd St.
The Living Room	800 Barretto St., Bronx Subway: 6 to Hunts Point Ave.
Olivieri Center	257 West 30th St. near Penn Station Subway: 1/2/3/A/C/E to 34th St. - Penn Station
The Gathering Place	2402 Atlantic Ave. in Brooklyn Subway: A to Broadway Junction
Project Hospitality	25 Central Ave. in Staten Island Subway: No subway service

Call 311 or Notify us through the NYC 311 app for iPhone or Android

(2/16)



FREE SHOWERS

NEW LOCATION

SALVATION ARMY MIDTOWN

542 W 46TH STREET (NEAR 11TH AVE)

MONDAY - SATURDAY NOON - 4 PM

For those in need of hygienic facilities during the COVID-19 crisis.

Showers and Toilets
Towels, soap, and hygiene kits will be provided.

Emergency Supplies
Masks, hand sanitizer, socks, bottled water and snacks will be provided.

Resource Guides
A printed and up-to-date guide of soup kitchens and other open resources will be available.

For more information please visit: https://www.coalitionforthehomeless.org/covid-19/

Provided in partnership by: The Salvation Army; Medecins Sans Frontieres / Doctors Without Borders; coalition for the homeless

NYC WARMING CENTERS

Source:

https://www1.nyc.gov/site/dhs/outreach/street-outreach.page

Service Buses

Throughout the year, DHS operates five "service and support buses" strategically placed at locations throughout the City, providing unsheltered individuals with temporary respite from outdoor conditions at night, including serving as warm locations during colder weather and cooler locations during warmer weather. Staff are on-site to engage each individual, person by person, and provide additional information about the full range of services available to them.

Service buses are located at:

MANHATTAN:

Penn Station (34th Street + 7th Avenue)

- Accessible via Subway: A/C/E train to 34 Street/Penn Station

Bellevue Hospital (E. 30th Street between FDR Drive + 1st Avenue)

- Accessible via Subway: 6 train to 28 Street Station

QUEENS:

Queens Hospital Center (82-68 164th Street, Jamaica, NY, 11432)

- Accessible via Subway: F train to Parsons Boulevard Station

Elmhurst Hospital Center (79-01 Broadway, Queens, NY, 11373)

- Accessible via Subway: 7 train to 82 Street Station

BRONX:

Lincoln Hospital (234 E. 149th Street, Bronx, NY, 10451)

- Accessible via Subway: 4/5 train to 149 Street-Grand Concourse Station

New York Common Pantry
8 East 109th Street
New York, NY 10029
Phone: (917) 720-9700

HYGEINE SERVICES:

SHOWERS:
Mondays, Wednesdays, Thursdays and Fridays, 9:30 am– 1:00pm
Sign ups for showers must be done in person before 10:30am.

LAUNDRY: CALL FIRST
Laundry services are available for all homeless guests on Monday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Fridays.
Sign ups must be done in person before 10:30am.

HAIRCUTS:
Haircuts are available for all guests on Thursdays*.
Sign ups must be done in person before 10:00am.
**Date is subject to change*

EMERGENCY MAILING ADDRESSES

(Each organization is currently giving mailing addresses).

***Coalition for the Homeless:
129 Fulton Street
New York, NY
10038
Phone 1-888-358-2384
(Monday-Friday, 9am-5pm)

***Church of the Holy Apostles
296 9th Ave,
New York, NY
10001
Phone (212) 807-6799

***General Delivery NYC
390 9TH Avenue
New York, Ny
10001
Monday
(212) 330-3296

Drop In Centers
Open 24 hours

MANHATTAN
Mainchance
120 East 32nd Street in East Midtown
Subway: 6 to 33rd St.

BRONX
The Living Room
800 Barretto Street (at Lafayette Avenue)
Subway: 6 to Hunt's Point Avenue.
Open 24 hours a day, seven days a week, including holidays.

The following Drop-In Centers are open from 7:30 am - 8:30 pm:

MANHATTAN
Olivieri Center
257 West 30th Street near Penn Station
Subway: 1/2/3/A/C/E to 34th St.-Penn Station

BROOKLYN
The Gathering Place
2402 Atlantic Avenue
Subway: A to Broadway Junction

STATEN ISLAND
Project Hospitality
25 Central Avenue

Project Renewal
Medi-Van

Questions about Project Renewal? Please call Pat Troy at 212-620-0340.

Monday
Holy Apostle 28th & 9th Ave., 11:30- 2 p.m.

Tuesday
St. Francis 31st Street & 6th Avenue
7- 8:30 a.m.

Bowery Mission
227 Bowery, 9:30 a.m.- Noon

For Ages 15-25
RWA 520 Gates Avenue &Thompkins, Brooklyn
4-7 p.m.

Wednesday
St. Bart's 109 E. 51st Street, 7- 9 a.m.

Trinity Avenue B & 9th Street, 10 a.m.- 12:30 p.m.

Project Renewal
Medi-Van Cont'd.

Thursday
Holy Apostle 28th Street & 9th Avenue 11 a.m.- 1 p.m.

45 Avenue D
3:30-7 p.m.

Friday
For Ages 15-25
RWA 520 Gates Avenue &Thompkins, Brooklyn
4-7 p.m.

Saturday
St. Michael's 25 West 99th Street between Broadway & Amsterdam, 9:30 a.m.- 2 p.m.

St. Joseph 6th Street & Sixth Avenue, 12:30- 3 p.m.

INSPIRE OUTREACH
STREET SHEET
Manhattan
Emergency Services
Resource Booklet

Updated 6-5-2012
The Street Sheets produced by Amanda Parrish Block

Questions, corrections, suggestions or additions?

Please visit
inspireoutreach.net

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Amanda Parrish Block

City Shelters		
Adult Family Intake Center 29th St & 1st	Couples only, walk-in no referral needed	212-401-4704
Brooklyn's Women's Shelter 116 Williams Ave & Liberty Ave	Intake for women, walk-in, no referral needed	718-483-7700 or 311
Franklin Armory 1122 Franklin Ave near 166th St, Bx	Intake for women, walk-in, no referral needed	347-417-6240 or 311
ICL 2110 Borden Ave & 21st St, Ons	Veterans only, referral from TORCH (see Private Shelters)	718-784-5600
Intake Shelter 430 E 29th St & 1st Ave	Intake for men walk-in, no referral needed	212-481-0771 or 311
PATH Emergency Assistance Unit (EAU) 151 E 151st St, Bx	Families only shelter, no need to call ahead	800-994-6494 917-521-3900
Drop In Centers		
The Bridge 551 W 125th St & Old Broadway	Walk-in mental health services, 11am - 1pm	212-663-3000 ext 372
Main Chance Grand Central Neighborhood Social Service Corp 120 E 32nd St & Park	3 Meals daily, 7am - 7pm; rehab, housing assistance, 24 hours showers & rest	212-679-4527
Olivieri Center 257 W 30th St & 8th Ave	Men and women, 6am - 6pm	212-947-3211
Safe Horizon 209 W 125th St & Adam Clayton Powell Blvd	Ages 23 and under, M - F, 12:30pm - 6pm; showers, Sa & Su, 12pm - 4pm, no W	800-708-6600
Woodstock Senior Center 127 W 43rd St bt 6th & 7th Ave	Breakfast, M - F, 8am - 10am, Sa, 9am - 10:30am; lunch, daily, 12pm - 1:30pm	212-575-0693
Job Training		
The Doe Fund, Inc. 232 E 84th St bt 2nd & 3rd	Job training for homeless	212-628-5207
Workforce Development Center 99 Essex St & Delancy St	Job training, GED prep, job placement	212-478-5400 ext 209

Private Shelters		
American Red Cross 150 Amsterdam Ave & W 66th	Temporary housing for seniors, meals and casework, needs history of paying rent	212-875-2250
Bowery Mission 227 Bowery St bt Spring & Prince	Meals, M - F, 12pm & 6:15pm; shower and clothes, T & F, 1:30pm	212-674-3456
Cathedral Community Cares New Hope Men's Shelter 1047 Amsterdam Ave	Referral required for intake appointment	212-316-7581
Covenant House New York 460 W 41st St bt 9th & 10th	Runaways and homeless youth, counseling crisis intervention	212-613-0300
Dwelling Place of New York 409 W 40th St bt 9th & 10th	Women only, 30+, MI, bring ID, must be drug & alcohol free	212-564-7667
Inwood House 320 E 82nd St bt 1st & 2nd	Maternity shelter, 13 - 22 only, pre and post-natal care, foster care program, ACS referral	212-861-4400
Missionaries of Charity 405 W 127th St & Convent Ave	Women only, domestic violence shelters and services, AM entry, soup kitchen, M - Su, 9am - 10am, no Tu	212-222-7229
New York Foundling 509 6th Ave bt 16th & 17th	Maternity shelter, pre and post-natal care Referral needed	212-886-4031
NYC Rescue Mission 90 Lafayette St bt White & Walker	Bed, M - F, 5pm, Sa & Su, 3pm; breakfast, dinner and clothing	212-226-0214
Queen of Peace Shelter 335 E 145th St & 3rd Ave, Bx	Temporary housing for homeless individuals, must be in by 4pm	718-292-0019
VA TORCH Program 25 Chapel St & Jay St, Bk 8th Fl	Shelter services and housing for veterans	718-439-4354
Yorkville Dignity Shelter 8 E 109th St & 5th Ave	Men only, recovery program, jobs, housing, meals, M - F, 8am - 9am & 12pm - 6pm	212-410-2264

Transitional Housing		
Door Transitional Center	Seniors, no history of MI, 2 - 4 months, M - Th, 9am - 5pm, F, 9am - 3pm, call first	212-580-0001
Detox		
Bayley Seton Crisis Center 75 Vanderbilt Ave, Staten Island	Detox, medicaid not needed, intake over the phone, pick up	212-818-5375 800-273-1114
Central Harlem Sobering Station 419 W 126th St & Convent Ave	Detox, walk-in, medicaid or referral not needed, must have ID	212-865-6133
Project Renewal 8 E 3rd St & Bowery	Detox, walk-in, no referral needed	212-763-0596
Clothes and Haircuts		
East 7th St Baptist 205 E 7th St bt B & C	Th, 10am - 11am; Sa, lunch, except 1st Sa	212-673-0471
Ephesus 7th Day Adventist Church 101 W 123rd St & Lenox Ave	Tu, 11am - 1pm, ring bell on 2nd door	212-662-5536
Middle Collegiate Church 50 E 70th St bt 1st & 2nd	Clothes, M, 4pm - 6pm; food pantry, W, 8am	212-477-0666
Riverside Church 91 Claremont Ave bt 120th & 122nd	Haircuts, M & Tu, 1pm - 4pm	212-870-6700
St. John the Divine 1047 Amsterdam Ave & 112th St	Clothes, Tu & Th, 10am - 1pm; food, Su, 10am - 1pm	212-316-7581
St. Luke's Lutheran 308 W 46th St & 7th Ave	Clothes, 1st M, 11:30am - 1pm; food, Tu & Th, 1pm	212-246-3540
St. Paul's House 335 W 51st St bt 8th & 9th	Tu, 10am - 11am; food, M - Sa, 7am	212-265-5433
Entitlements Benefits and Advocacy		
Burden Center 1484 1st Ave bt 77th & 78th	Adults 60+, living in E 57 - 96 St, M - F, 9am - 5pm	212-879-7400
Catholic Charities 1011 1st Ave bt 55th & 56th	Immigration questions and help	212-419-3700

Entitlements Benefits and Advocacy Continued		
Coalition for the Homeless 129 Fulton St & Nassau St	Fund, youth, crisis prevention, housing and job training, 8am	212-964-5900
Immigration & Naturalization Service 26 Federal Plaza	Official immigration info and paperwork	800-375-5283
Immigration Hotline	General info for immigrants	800-566-7636 212-419-3737
Lenox Hill Neighborhood House 331 E 70th St bt 1st & 2nd	Food stamps, medicaid, landlord/tenant issues, representation	212-744-5022
Medicaid Office 330 W 34th St bt 8th & 9th	M - F, 8am - 6pm, walk-ins accepted	212-630-1566
MFY Legal Service 299 Broadway & Duane, 4th Fl	Advocacy, legal lines open 9am - 5pm	212-417-3700
New York City Housing Authority 250 Broadway & Murray St	Section 8 assistance, appointments only, M - F, 8am - 5pm, no W	212-306-3000 917-492-8900
Partnerships for the Homeless 305 7th Ave & 27th St, 13 Fl	Social security, M - F, 9am - 5:30pm, Family resource	212-645-3444
Public Assistance 165 E 125th St bt 3rd and Lexington Ave	Public assistance, food stamps, job center	212-860-7420
Public Benefits Resources Center 105 E 22nd St & Park Ave	Volunteer specialist; entitlements	212-614-5552
Social Security Administration Office of Public Inquiries	Social security, M - F, 7am - 7pm	800-772-1213
Urban Justice Center 123 Williams St bt Fulton & John, 16th Fl	Legal consultation	646-602-5600
Veterans Affairs Department 245 W Houston & Varick	Veteran affairs general info	212-807-7229
Veterans Affairs Division 423 E 23rd St & 1st Ave	Veteran affairs general info	212-686-7500

 Figure 48 : Information sheets taped all over the walls of the outreach office © Urban Pathways

OUTREACH TEAM IN PORT AUTHORITY

WHY PORT AUTHORITY?

The Port Authority Bus Terminal is the main bus terminal for buses coming into Manhattan.[28] It is operated by the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey (PANYNJ). PANYNJ is the port authority that operates the ports of both New York and New Jersey.[29] The company is owned by both states. It operates bridges, tunnels, airports and seaports. The bus terminal is located in Midtown Manhattan, one block west of Times Square, between 8th and 9th avenues and 40th and 42nd Street. It is considered the largest bus terminal in the United States and the busiest in the world when considering passenger frequency.[30] Outreach at Port Authority Bus Terminal is managed by Urban Pathways. An outreach team is needed here because homeless people from other states sometimes take the bus to New York City. They know about the right to shelter and come to New York for shelter.[31] Another reason homeless people stay here is because it is a large public building that allows them to stay inside.

Urban Pathways has an office on the underground floor. Two social workers are always present here.



Figure 49: Entrance to the outreach office © SD

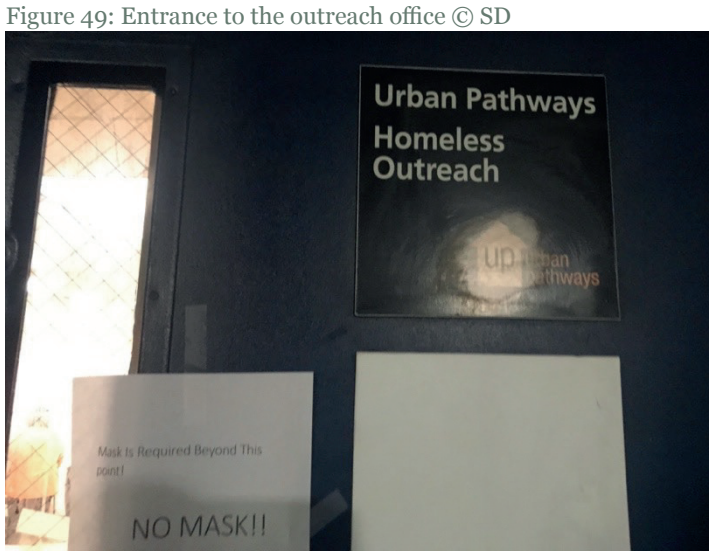


Figure 50: Sign on the outreach office © SD

OFFICE LAY-OUT

Upon entering the office, there are 5 cubicles on the left, shielded by plexiglass. In three of the cubicles there are desks where the outreach workers write down the number of people they have encountered and the number of people they have spoken to. One cubicle is used as a kind of archive and contains all the paperwork. Another cubicle stores all the donated clothes and the bags that are to be distributed to the homeless. Each bag contains soap, toothpaste, ChapStick and information about the shelters. This information is also posted on the walls of the office, but not all of it is up to date. Some of this information is shown here.

On the right side are four chairs side by side for visitors to wait. Next to these chairs are lockers for the staff. There is a corner mirror right next to the door so the staff can see who is entering the office.

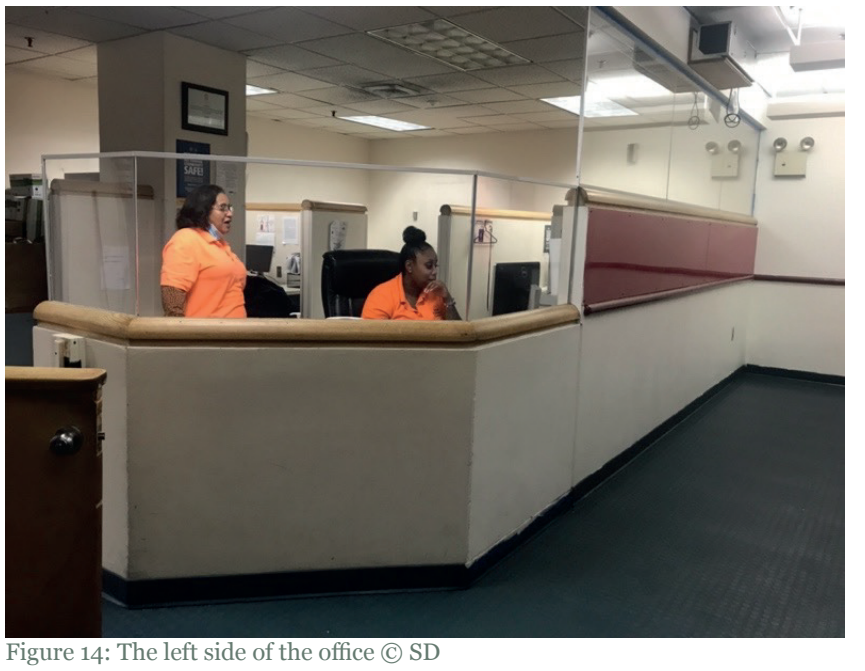


Figure 14: The left side of the office © SD

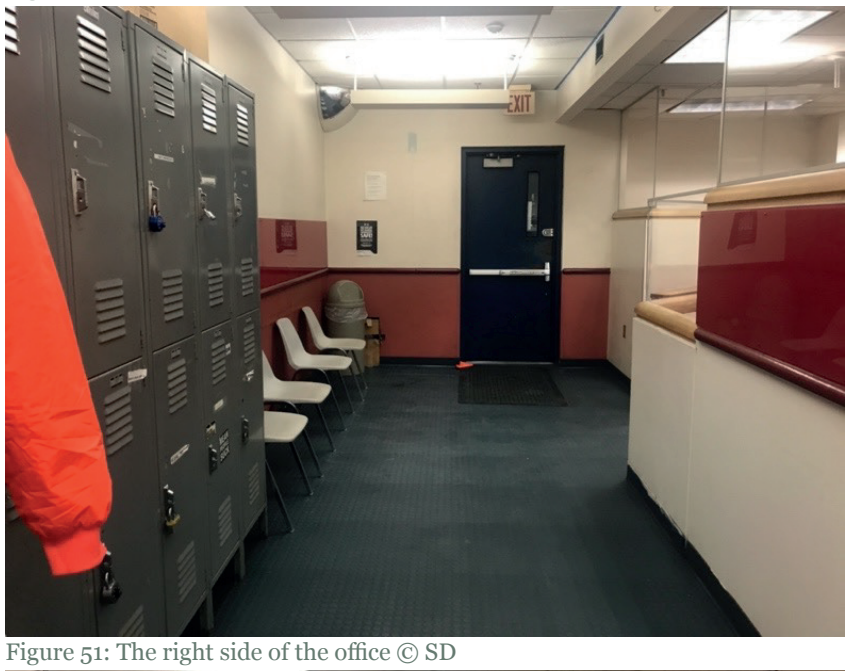


Figure 51: The right side of the office © SD

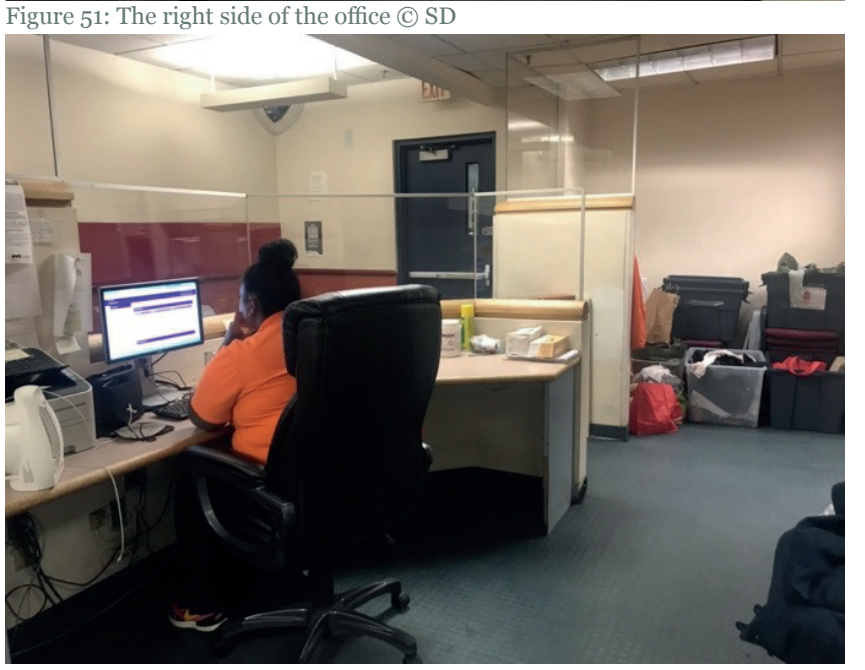


Figure 52: The cubicle with the donated clothes and give-away bags © SD

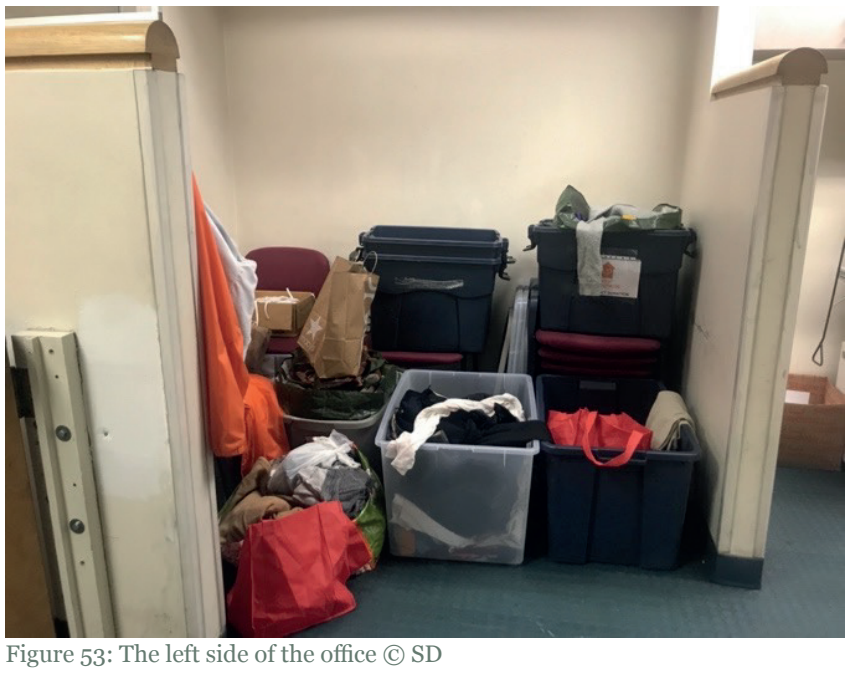
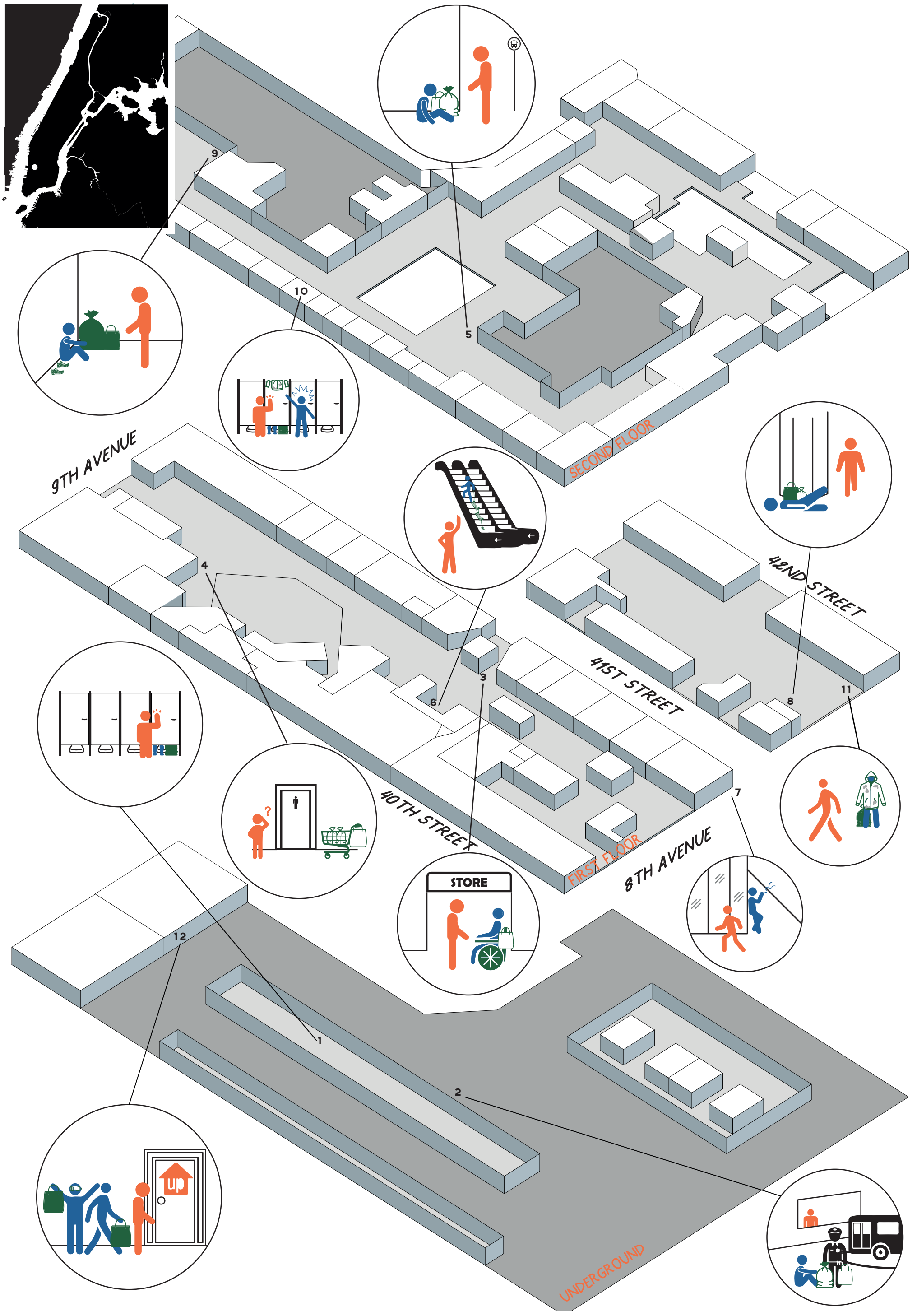


Figure 53: The left side of the office © SD



82 Figure 54: The Port Authority Bus Terminal with all the situations indicated © SD

The outreach team of Urban Pathways does two rounds through the bus terminal: the first at 6:30 am and the second at 10 am. The first round they count the homeless present in the bus terminal, and they look for new faces. The second round they go looking for these new faces and they offer them services if they want. They address people who are not following the two rules:

1. People are not allowed to sit on the ground.
2. People are only allowed to sit on a bench if they have a bus ticket.

The last rule clearly applies for people they recognize that are staying at the terminal.

After every round they go back to the office and give in how many people they saw. They have a by-name list they keep up with all the people residing at the terminal. There is another team doing the night shift, but there does not seem to be much communication between the two teams. As one of the outreach workers said: “I don’t know how many actually sleep here. That’s for the night shift. But it’s difficult to keep up, because sometimes they [the homeless] give us a name and a different name to the night shift.”

Following are all the situations encountered on the round at 10 am.

1. The first person encountered was a woman in the women’s bathroom. She had all her belongings with her in the bathroom stall. It was clear she was residing at the terminal, because all of her belongings were stocked in trash bags. An outreach worker knocked on the door and asked her to come out. She did not react.

2. This was not a direct encounter. From afar, an outreach worker spotted a homeless man being searched by the police. He was sitting on the ground while they were searching through his bags. ‘There are less homeless people here [at Port Authority] since the police started doing more sweeps’, the outreach worker uttered.

3. A woman was sitting in her wheelchair in front of a store. She was dressed warmly while sitting inside. Her wheelchair was packed with all her stuff. When an outreach worker approached her, she demanded to keep 6 feet distance from her. The outreach workers laughed but respected her wishes. They talked with her and tried to reach out to her, but she kept repeating that they should keep 6 feet distance. The outreach workers continued their round.

4. A cart was found next to the men’s bathroom. It looked like someone’s belongings, with different trash bags and clothes hanging on to it. The outreach workers looked for its owner in the area, but no one seemed to be coming back for the cart.

5. A woman was sitting on the floor near one of the bus stops. “Ma’am, you can’t sit on the floor here”, one of the outreach workers said to her. She stood up and left to the bus stop.

6. A man walked around with two baskets and a shoe bound together with a rope. He walked around in clothes that clearly did not fit him. The outreach workers spotted him from afar stepping on the escalator. “That’s Oscar, one of our chronics* ”, one of the outreach workers said. They followed him on the escalator and asked him how he was doing. They told him he could come in the office for new clothes. He just smiled and nodded. He then went on and took the escalator back down.

7. A woman was seen smoking outside. She was keeping an eye on the outreach workers. The outreach team walked right passed her. “Ignore her, yesterday she started screaming at me and I’ve had it with her”, one of the outreach workers said to the other.

8. A man was doing leg lifts on the floor before he saw the outreach team arriving. He then quickly stood up, took his bag and walked away into the mass. The outreach workers did not see him anymore and decided to move along.

9. A man was sitting on the floor in a corner of the station. He had taken off his shoes and set up all his belongings in the corner. The outreach worker went up to him and told him he was not allowed to take his shoes off and sit on the floor. She said he could always come by the office for help if he wanted. The man stood up, put his shoes on, and walked away.

10. A woman was hiding in a bathroom stall. Her jacket was hanging over the stall, but her bags were clearly visible from underneath the stall. An outreach worker knocked on the door to talk to her, but another woman started screaming at the outreach team. She screamed about her human rights and that this was not okay. The outreach worker tried to calm her down, but the screaming woman did not want to hear it. The outreach team left and continued the round.

11. The same woman hiding in the bathroom stall was seen again later with another woman and a child at the exit. Her jacket was clearly recognizable, as there were some stains on it. The woman turned her back to the team, so they would not see her. The outreach workers looked at her but continued their round.

12. The last people encountered were two transgender people wearing very bright and colorful clothes. They seemed to have thrown on anything they could have found that was colorful. One of them was wearing ski goggles but was not wearing shoes. The outreach worker approached them and said they could come in for some shoes. They followed along to the office. One of them asked the other: “Oh, we’re going to the precinct?” “No, you’ve been here already”, the other answered. They got some shoes and a bag with utilities from the outreach workers.

Upon leaving an outreach worker remarked: *“Normally in here it’s hectic. Yesterday I had to take an Advil because I was getting a migraine.”*

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* Chronics is a name they give the people they see coming back.

DROP-IN CENTER

Drop-In Centers (DICs) are designed to facilitate obtaining services and to help remove barriers that may prevent street homeless people from taking the first step toward temporary and permanent housing.[32] It is a non-residential setting, meaning that one can come in for the night to sleep on a chair but cannot obtain a bed there. They can help a homeless individual transition off the streets if they wish to do so.[33] Some DICs have connections to faith-based shelters where clients can get a bed for one night at a time.[34]

Drop-in centers provide specialized services to meet the immediate needs of the homeless. These services may include serving hot meals, handing out clothing, taking a shower, doing laundry, helping to find a job, helping to apply for benefits, counseling, case management and getting connections to health care (both medical and mental health care). [35]

There are seven DICs scattered throughout New York City. Two are in Manhattan (Olivieri and Mainchance) and two others are in the Bronx (The Living Room and The Haven). Brooklyn (Gathering Place), Queens (Breaking Ground) and Staten Island (Project Hospitality) each have 1 center.[36] Most DICs are located near major public transportation infrastructures. For example, Mainchance in Manhattan is near Central Station and Project Hospitality on Staten Island is near the Ferry Terminal. This is because many homeless people stay in these major transportation hubs.[37] They see it as a way to sleep sheltered without entering in the shelter system. According to R.K., Olivieri's program director, some of the homeless people they encounter come from out of state. He says they either decide to come to New York because of the right to shelter, or they are sent by their social workers from out of state.

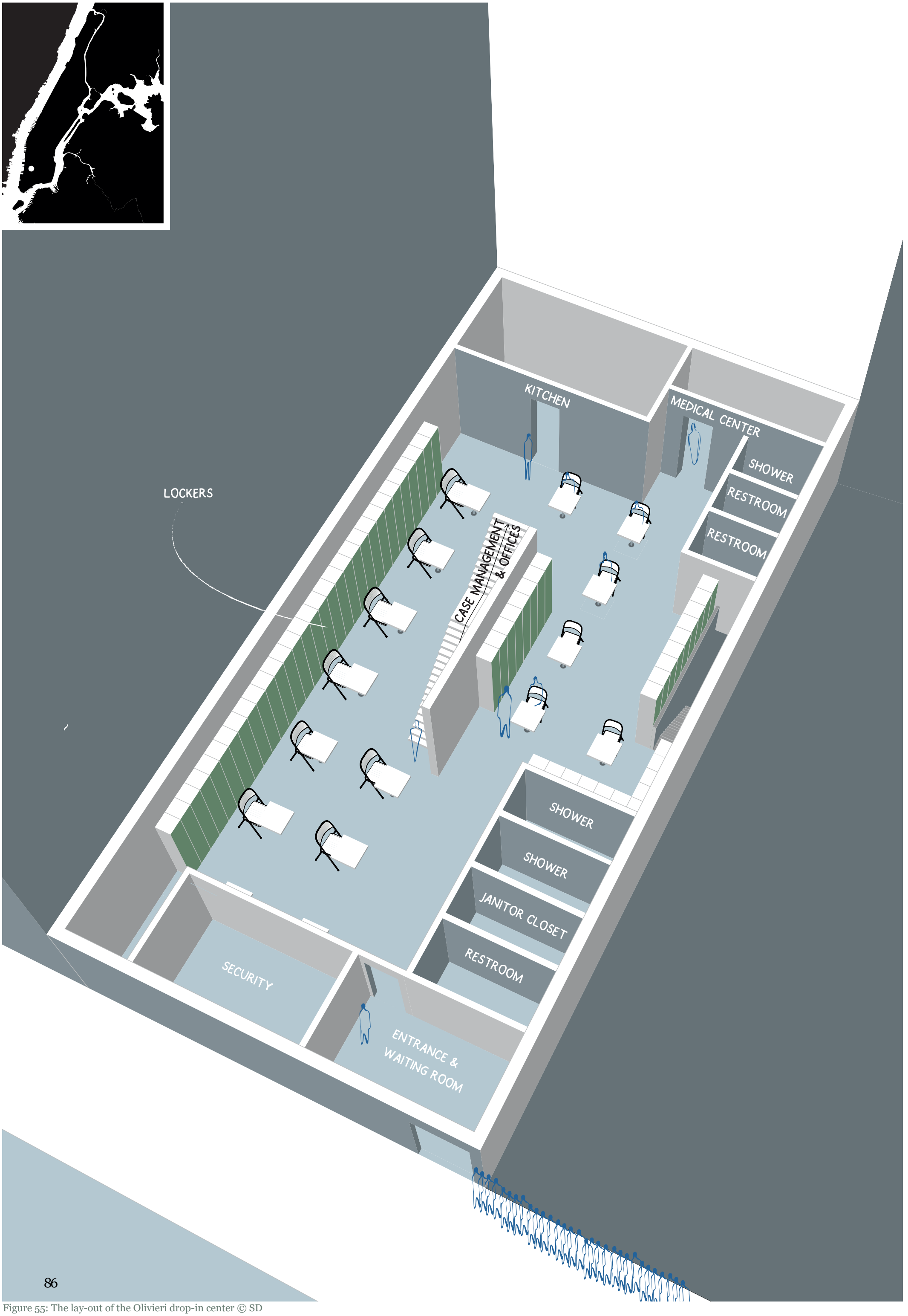


Figure 55: The lay-out of the Olivieri drop-in center © SD

THE CASE OF OLIVIERI

Olivieri is a Drop-in center in Manhattan operated by Urban Pathways near Penn Station.

PENNSYLVANIA STATION

DICs are often located near major public transportation facilities. The Olivieri DIC is located at 257 West 30th Street between 7th and 8th avenues. It is within walking distance of Pennsylvania Station (Penn Station). Penn Station is a train station for all regional trains in New York State.[38] According to the Penn Station Atlas, there were over half a million daily users before the pandemic.[39] It is also a place that many homeless people consider their "home address." As one commuter explained to the New York Post: "You can barely get off the trains without seeing somebody that's in need and/or somebody that's panhandling."[40] The station has an outreach team that tours the building to approach homeless people to get help or shelter. One of the centers they refer to in this regard is the Olivieri Drop-In Center.



Figure 56: A person sleeping on the subway stairs near Penn Station on September 17th ©NYPost

SURROUNDINGS

The Drop-In Center is surrounded by skyscrapers, even though Olivieri is only two stories tall. On the same street there are 13 residential hotels, 7 spaces for rent, 6 fur stores, 4 restaurants and 5 other stores. So most of the other buildings on the street are either residential hotels, rental spaces or fur stores. According to R.K., the drop-in center gets blamed for people smoking on the street. *"It's a very posh street,"* continues R.K., *"all these stores used to be furriers."*


Figure 57: The original facade © Homeless Shelter Directory


Figure 58: TThe renewed facade © SD

FACADE

The front facade was recently renewed. The original facade was a white storefront. Now it is a black one with covered windows. There is no visible logo or sign showing that it is a DIC or that Urban Pathways is the operator. R.K. says there will be a small hidden logo on the door, but it won't be obvious. He says customers also do not want to be seen going into a DIC.

HISTORY

According to R.K., the building used to be a fur store, like the other buildings in the neighborhood. Urban Pathways bought the building in the 1980s and turned it into the Antonio G. Olivieri Drop-In Center for Women.[41] It was the first center in the country to provide services specifically for homeless women.[42] 'Homeless women would come in with their garbage bags filled with their belongings,' says R.K. In 2009, the program was transformed into a co-ed[43] program.[44]

POPULATION

The average age of the people who come into the DIC is 50, and they are all over the age of 18.[45] As mentioned earlier, both men and women are served here. Couples are also welcome. No pregnant women, victims of domestic violence or families come to the center.

IMPACT OF THE PANDEMIC

Before COVID, the facility could accommodate 90 people and send 70 people to faith-based shelters. Since then, the facility has rented 60 rooms in a hotel for people who work with a case manager to handle the loss. The facility sends them to this hotel at night so the tables are free for other people to sleep at the center. The tables used to be bigger and could seat four at each table. This way they used to be able to accommodate 90 people compared to the 17 people they can offer a seat now.



Figure 59: The facility before the pandemic seen through the security camera © Olivieri



Figure 60: The facility after the pandemic seen through the security camera © Olivieri

OPERATIONAL TEAMS

There are three teams operational in the facility. There is an administrative team, a clinical team, and an operations team. All of these teams are there to help homeless people successfully transition into housing. The facility aims to help homeless people find a place in society and a permanent home by using basic therapeutic services.[46]

The administrative team consists of the case managers and social workers. The case managers provide individual counseling and assistance to which their client is entitled. In this way, they try to provide the client with a place to stay. This can vary from client to client. Some clients need rental assistance, while others need supportive housing. According to R.K., people who work tend to be easier to move out.

The operations team is the staff that manages the daily routine of the facility. This includes security, organizing courses on money management, vocational training, providing food three times a day and all other activities that happen in the DIC.

The clinical team contracts with a medical provider and a nurse on the facility staff. They do routine check-ups and provide both medical and mental health services.

LAY-OUT OF THE BUILDING

The building itself has two floors. The first floor is the actual drop-in center where people can get a table and chair to sit down. On the second floor are offices for staff and a conference room for meetings between case managers and clients.

Upon entering the building, there is a waiting room with two chairs and a table. Security on the left checks everyone before allowing them access to the facility. They note your name, time of arrival, birthday and contact person. Once you are registered, security will let you through the door.

The next room you enter is the main sitting area. There are 17 tables with each one chair each set up across the room. During the day, the chairs are occupied by people who work with a case manager. Once you have a case manager, you can stay at the center permanently for 9 months and whenever you want. If you don't have a case manager, you can only come in the evenings for a chair and a table. You have to leave after breakfast at 8 o'clock. You can come back the next day, but after five days, the staff will start asking you questions and engage you to work with a case manager.

Every night there is a line of people outside of the center hoping to get one of the 17 chairs. Before entering to the drop-in center, the staff does a to decide who gets to sleep in the center.

People who work with a case manager are also given a locker to store their personal belongings. These are scattered throughout the first floor of the facility.

There are three toilets and three showers that can be used by anyone who enters the center.

In the back there is a kitchen and a medicine room. The kitchen serves three meals a day and has a microwave so clients can prepare their own meals.

As you walk up the stairs, you will see a conference room on the right. Here managers and clients can meet for advice. There are also several offices for staff and case managers.



Figure 61: A view on the kitchen, medical room, some tables and lockers © SD



Figure 62: A toilet and some showers at the facility © SD

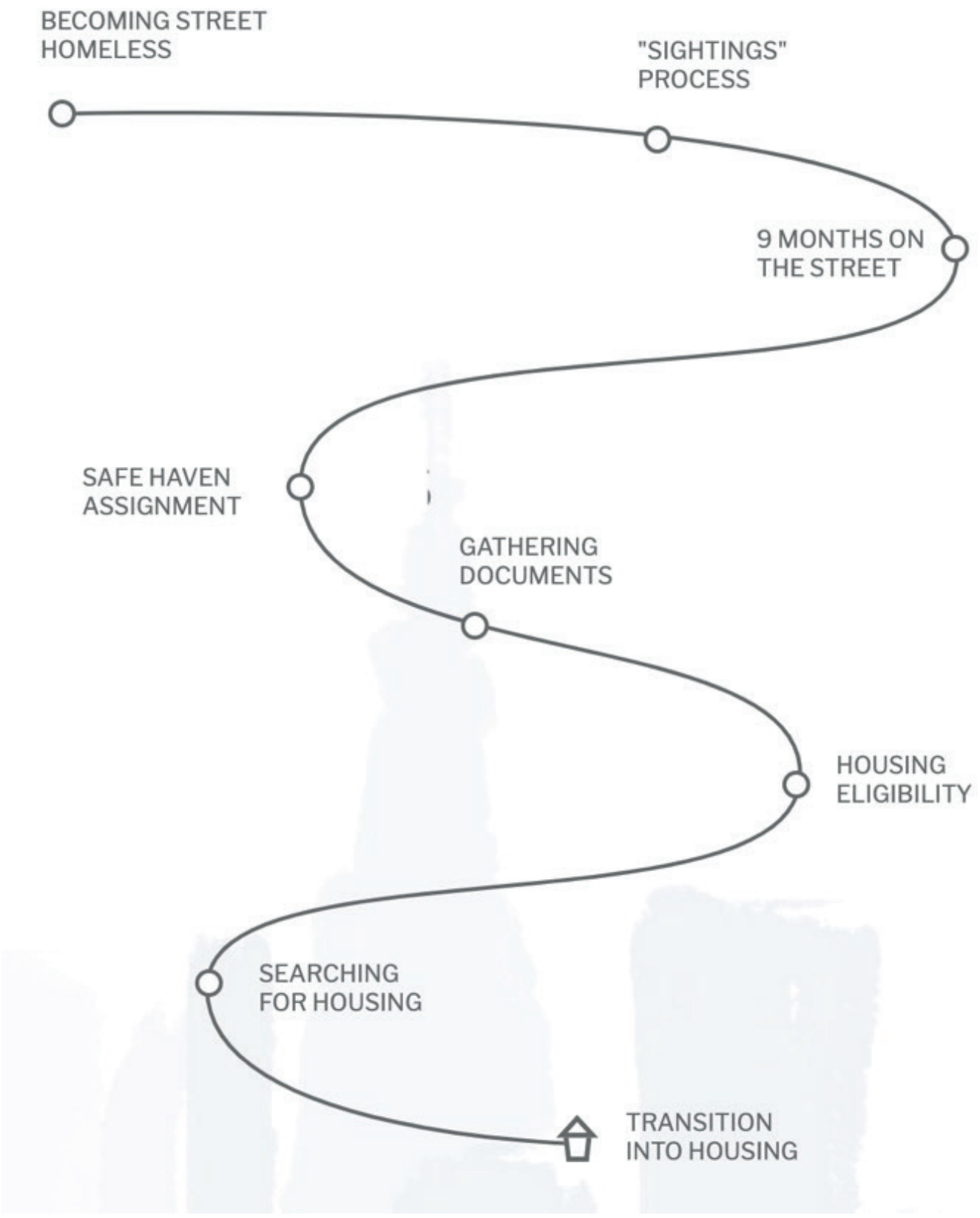


Figure 63: New York City's Street-to-Home Journey © Human NYC

SAFE HAVEN

Safe Havens are a form of transitional housing established in 2007 to provide services to chronically homeless adults.[47] They have more flexible rules and regulations than the general shelter system to create a low-threshold program. Safe havens provide supportive services to help their clients find permanent housing. These services include case management, addiction treatment and mental health services.

There are 16 Safe Havens in New York City, spread across all five boroughs except Queens. There are 8 in Manhattan, 6 in the Bronx, 2 in Brooklyn and 1 on Staten Island. A 2016 study found that most Safe Havens are located within ¼ mile of a subway entrance or exit and within ½ mile of support services.[48]

People can get into a Safe Haven with a referral from an outreach team or drop-in center. There is a standard procedure before someone can receive a referral. The procedure begins with a "sightings" process.[49] New York City mandates that a homeless person must have been randomly spotted at their place of sleep at least three times before they are offered an outreach case manager. [50] Homeless people have told Human NYC* that this is a confusing and dehumanizing step of the procedure. After they are offered an outreach caseworker, the city of New York requires that a person must have lived outside for nine months of the last two years to be eligible for temporary or permanent housing.[52] After this, they can be placed in a Safe Haven. But demand is currently outstripping demand, so they have designed a vulnerability index to ensure that those who need it most get it first. [53] Eric Adams, the current mayor of New York City, announced that he would invest in safe havens and stabilization beds. [54] He would create 1,400 beds, bringing the total to 4,000.

* "Human.nyc works to end street homelessness through research, organizing, advocacy, and most importantly by lifting up the experiences and expertise of people directly impacted by street homelessness." (Human NYC, n.d.)

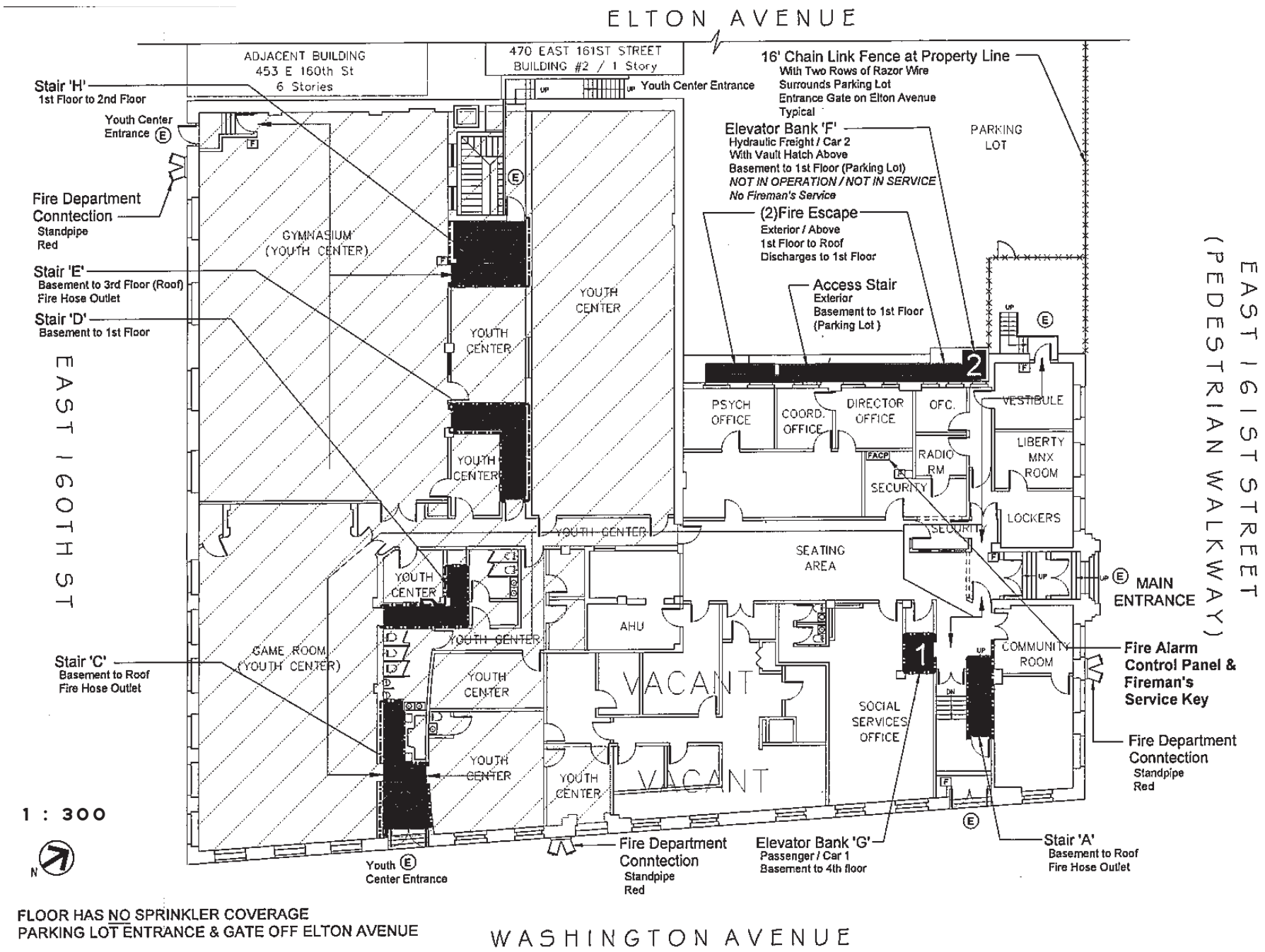


Figure 64: The first floor of the Pyramid © BronxWorks

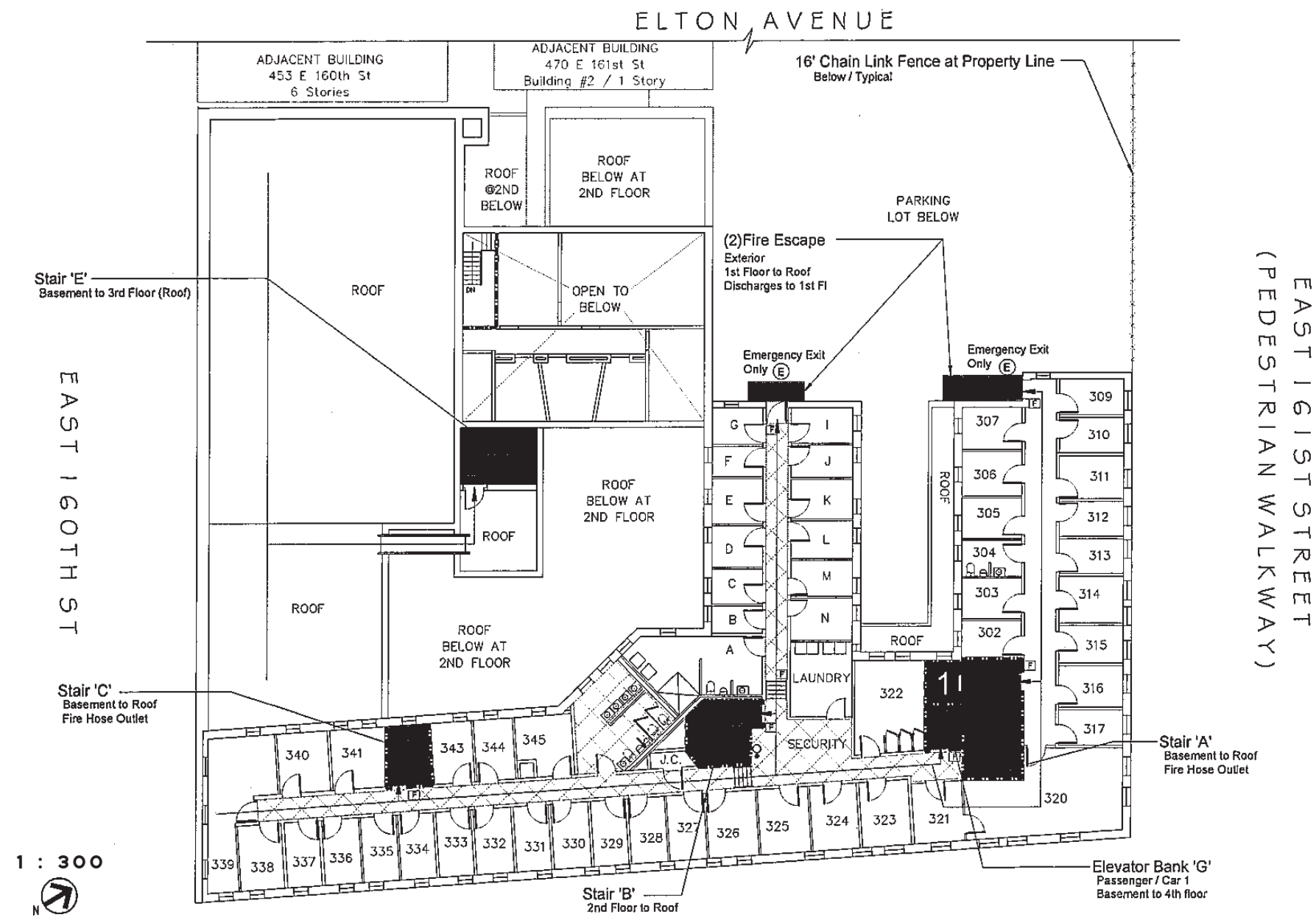


Figure 65: The third floor of the Pyramid © BronxWorks

THE CASE OF THE PYRAMID

The Pyramid is a safe haven for 125 chronically homeless men in the Bronx that is operated by BronxWorks.

SURROUNDINGS

The Pyramid is located in a residential area. There is one other building on the same block and this is a mixed commercial and residential building. At the front of the building is a park. D.R., program director of The Pyramid, says they see this park as their outdoor space where the clients can enjoy the outdoors.

THE BUILDING

The building is a 4-story building in red brick. It is partly used as a youth center and partly as a safe haven. The first floor is shared by both of these programs. The youth center has a gymnasium and a game room to serve as a childcare after school. The rest of the building is used by the safe haven. The first floor has the safe haven entrance, security office, administration offices and common room. The third floor has about 35 rooms that used to provide shelter for 125 men before COVID. This meant that each room was shared by 3 to 6 men. When the pandemic hit, having this many men in a room was not allowed anymore. Each room could only accommodate 1 or 2 men. To limit their loss, they opened the second floor to add more rooms. By opening the second floor, another 30 rooms were added, which meant that the safe haven still had a total of 125 residents.

HISTORY

The building used to be a juvenile detention center. There are still some remnants from that time visible. Barbed wire is stretched all over the roof and parking lot, and some rooms still have benches hung along the walls from the time they were cells.

UNIT

Each unit is a room with one or two beds. The position of each bed is taped to the floor to ensure that the beds were a safe distance apart during the pandemic. Residents are not given keys to their units; they must ask security to open or close their rooms. People can bring in their own furniture such as TVs, … in if they can prove they bought it themselves. Staff require to see proof of purchase before anything enters the building, to make sure residents don't bring in furniture they found on the street or in the trash.

CAROUSEL OF BEDS

The system for filling beds is different than in the shelter system. Each bed is initially assigned to an outreach team. When a bed becomes available, this outreach team is given the opportunity to fill it. If the outreach team does not do so within 7 days, the bed goes 'open market' and can be filled by any outreach team. If another outreach team fills the 'open market 'bed, the bed becomes their property and they can fill it first the next time the bed becomes available. D.R. could not say how many beds each outreach team had in this facility because it has changed so much over time.

EXIT STRATEGY

There are several ways a person can leave a shelter or safe haven. One either finds affordable housing or is admitted to supportive housing or receives rental assistance to live independently. All of these are acquired with the help of caseworkers.

Affordable housing and rental support are outcomes that are most common in the shelter system for families with children. To qualify for rent assistance, you must prove that you really need help by spending 90 days in a shelter, which C.L. says is driving more and more people into the shelter system.

Supportive housing is more often the exit strategy for single adults in the shelter system and for chronic street homeless, but the intake at supportive housing is different than the intake at the shelter system. Shelters must ask supportive housing providers how many beds they have available. In the event that they have a vacancy, shelters must present possible candidates to the supportive housing operator The operator can then choose which candidate to give a place in his supportive housing program. But, as S.T. states, *"We also have the additional barrier of supportive housing wanting to see 7 or 8 people to choose one, because they want to get the people who are less ill. Because the people who are more ill are harder to deal with. They may be less compliant with medication, less compliant with staff, less complaint with name a hundred thins, but they are also the ones who need it the most. So we end up sometimes getting stuck for a long time with the severely ill, because the supportive housing programs cream. They want to get the better of the clients."*



Figure 66: A shared room, one can see tape on the floor to distance the beds © SD

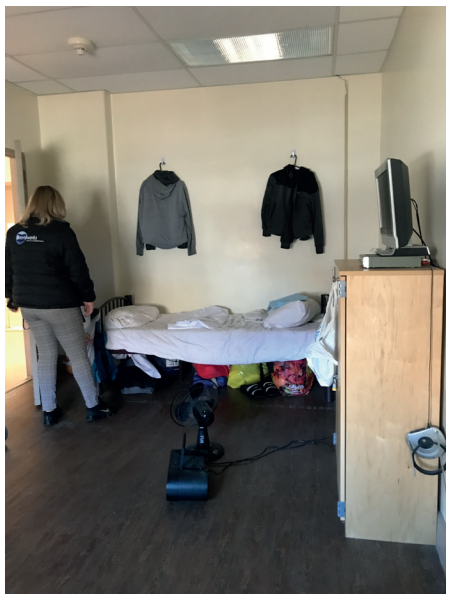


Figure 67: A single room © SD

After examining the infrastructure of the homeless on the streets, there seem to be three ways in which a public space can be used. A public space can either be used by homeless people or drive them away or provide them with shelter. The city has defined three ways in which homeless people shape their own sanctuary in a public space. Either they make an encampment, a pop-up location, or gather at a hot spot. But making encampments, urinating in the wild and . are prohibited in New York City, so the city sometimes designs public spaces to evict homeless people. This happens physically through hostile design but can also happen indirectly through 311 phone calls and police raids. The city hopes that these evictions drive the homeless to the facilities designed by the city to accommodate them. These accommodations may offer services ranging from providing clothing or food to providing shelter. The homeless traverse these facilities on a daily basis and can become entangled in a tug-of-war between accommodating and ejecting spaces.

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SHELTER

HOTEL

NYC LOCKDOWN

SPOTLIGHT ON THE SHELTERS

STRUGGLE FOR ACCEPTANCE

MOVE BACK TO SHELTERS

JAMS

SUSAN'S PLACE

WILLOW

RAMADA INN

CENTRAL PARK WEST

THE LUCERNE

OYO HOTEL

HOTEL AT FIFTH

BELLEVUE

THE BOWERY MISSION

1:800 000

HOMELESS CRISIS²

General times of crisis or recession often impact the homeless population, either by creating a homeless crisis or by fueling a pre-existing homeless crisis. In 2020, the COVID-19 pandemic forced the world into a lockdown, but New York City was already facing a homeless crisis before the pandemic. Fears arose that this pandemic could be the final blow to people on the brink of homelessness, creating a homelessness crisis². Congress and the Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC) tried to prevent this by instituting an eviction moratorium, preventing people from getting evicted during the pandemic even if they did not pay their rent. What it did not do was waive the rent, which meant that people still had to pay their rent by the end of the eviction moratorium. If they could not, they would be after the moratorium endid. This alarmed advocates that the end of the moratorium could mean a dramatic increase in evictions. Advocates were also concerned about the conditions of the homeless who resided in the congregate shelters during the pandemic, as it was all but possible in these conditions to ensure a safe distance between residents.

Each development of this crisis was extensively reported in various news papers, so it was decided in this chapter to depict the course of the homeless crisis through news articles going around at the time.

NYC IN LOCKDOWN

The COVID-19 pandemic held the entire world in a stranglehold, forcing cities to close their public facilities. The otherwise vibrant city of New York seemed to be put on pause. But while everyone was required to stay in the safety of their own homes, those who did not had that roamed the city trying to survive without their regular hangouts or illegitimate income. The next section shows excerpts from the diary of The Homeless New Yorker, a homeless man who was staying at the Bowery Mission Tribeca Campus when the pandemic hit the city nest to the evolution of the lockdown. His diary shows his first-hand experiences during the pandemic.



Figure 1: Chinatown during the lockdown © Charlie Bennet

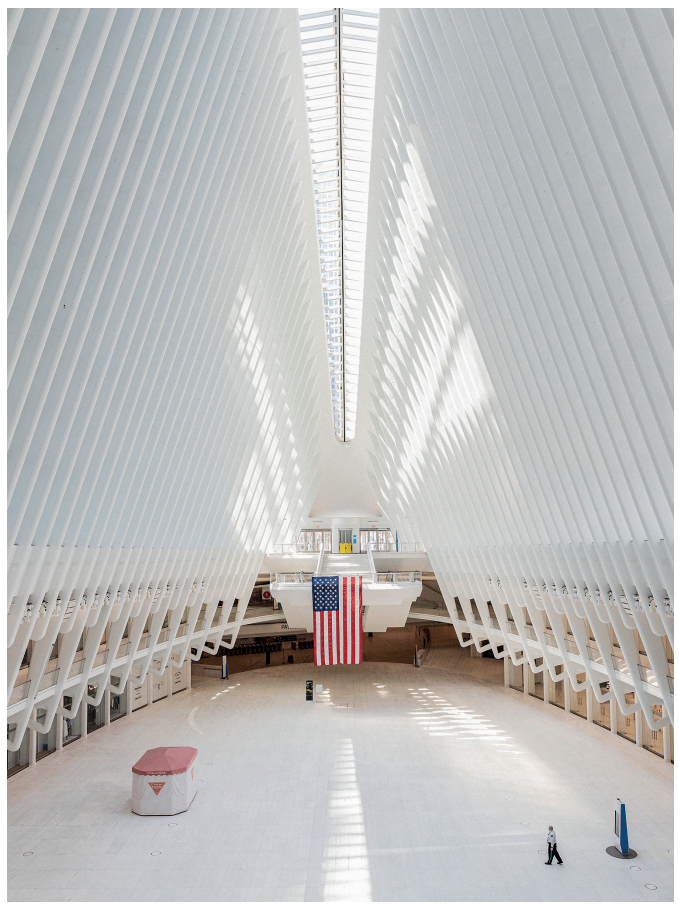


Figure 2: Oculus during the lockdown © Charlie Bennet

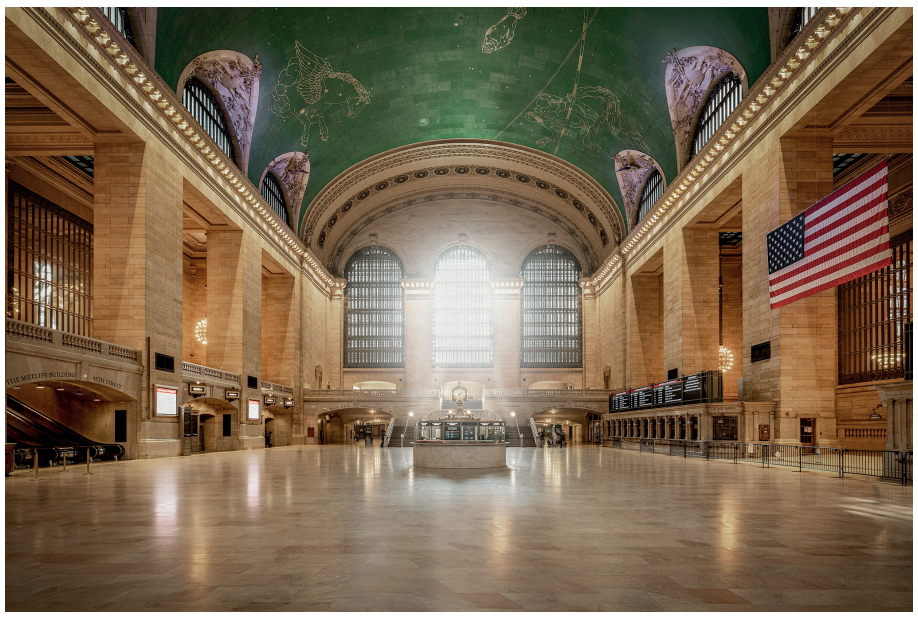


Figure 3: Central Station during the lockdown © Charlie Bennet



Figure 4: The subway during the lockdown © Charlie Bennet

MARCH
1
2020

Coronavirus in N.Y.: Manhattan Woman Is First Confirmed Case in State[1]

"Gov. Andrew M. Cuomo on Sunday confirmed New York State's first case of the coronavirus, saying that a woman contracted the virus while traveling in Iran and is now in New York City isolated in her home."
(The New York Times, 2020) [2]

MARCH
12
2020

"New York City this week will shut down all theaters, nightclubs and concert venues due to coronavirus, and all dining establishments will become take-out and delivery only, the mayor announced Sunday night. The changes begin 9 a.m. Tuesday."
(CBS News, 2020) [3]

NYC declares state of emergency, de Blasio says coronavirus 'could easily be a 6-month crisis'says coronavirus 'could easily be a 6-month crisis' [4]

MARCH
14
2020



Figure 5: Tweet from the New York Public Library announcing that it was closing all of its locations © Twitter

"The New York Public Library announced that all its branches would close today, due to the coronavirus epidemic, until further notice. Libraries throughout the country are known as places where homeless people spend daytime hours – read, look for jobs or rentals, print resumes, stay in touch with friends and loved ones, or sleep. But these closures didn't seem to do much damage: we could still hang out at the McDonald's, Starbucks, or Dunkin' Donuts, each of which provides free WIFI, seating, and table space, so what's the problem, right?"
(Homeless New Yorker, 2020) [5]

MARCH
15
2020



Figure 6: The first mass that was given through a livestream in New York City © The New York Times

"The Roman Catholic Archdiocese of New York, which includes Manhattan, the Bronx, Staten Island, and a half-dozen nearby upstate counties, announced that it would no longer offer public Masses." (Homeless New Yorker) [6]

MARCH 17 2020

"I pick up my bags, pass one park and cross another. I walk into the building that houses the New York City Housing Authority, also known as NYCHA, and the City Council, the local body of legislators. […] Three security guards are sitting behind the desk. This place is guarded like a fortress. "Can I speak with Councilwoman Chin, or someone from her office?" I ask. I'm also prepared to ask about Councilman Steve Levin, chairman of the General Welfare Committee, which oversees the Human Resources Administration, the Department of Homeless Services, and all homeless shelters; Councilman Mark Levine, Health Committee chairman; and Council Speaker Corey Johnson. "They're all gone, closed", says one of the security guards. Bummer. "So what should I do with myself?" I ask. "My shelter puts us all out for the day like nothing happened, but there's nowhere to go, everything's closed. Where can I charge my phone?" "Oh, at the bank over there." He points to the side door that leads to a Citibank branch. The door is open. I thank him and walk into the bank. A young brunette, shapely and energetic, with smart eyes, perhaps Asian, notices me and points at a double power outlet in one of the pillars. "You can charge in this outlet, the other one doesn't work." She points at another pillar. I thank her, put down my bags next to the working outlet, plug my phone in and put it on the floor, then take out a book and read it, keeping the phone in view. […] Overall, it's a pretty nice hangout. Banks are essential services, nobody will close them, right?" (Homeless New Yorker, 2020) [7]

MARCH 22 2020



Figure 7: A dorm at the Bowery Mission Tribeca Campus, the shelter the Homeless New Yorker was staying at © SD

" 'So what plans does the Mission have for us for today—stand outside and crap in our pants?' I asked at the front desk after breakfast. We were still put out to fend for ourselves all day each day, with nowhere to go, no restrooms; and I still had yesterday's misadventure in Bryant Park in my mind. The front-desk assistant's answer made my jaw drop. 'If that's your choice…' Come on. The mayor and the governor took away the libraries, coffee shops and fast-food restaurants, the Mission does not allow us to stay in, we have no other place to go, and you're calling it 'my choice'? Turning the truth upside-down, adding insult to injury, blaming us for what you have inflicted upon us?" (Homeless New Yorker, 2020) [8]

MARCH 25 2020

"At breakfast today, the tall chef announced that that would be our last one indoors, sitting down. The next morning (and every morning since), we're called from dorms, floor by floor, in groups of 5, and given each a brown bag with food and an 8-oz. cup of coffee by the door, to eat outside. There are trash cans in the street, but there's nowhere to sit down, nowhere to wash our hands, no restrooms. And it's cold." (Homeless New Yorker, 2020) [9]

Congress Addresses Housing Crunch Amid Coronavirus Pandemic[10]

Figure 8: Article announcing the start of the eviction moratorium

MARCH 26 2020

"I usually take out my phone in bed at home after lights go out and surf the Net until the battery dies. After it did now, I counted six different guys coughing. Out of 72, that's 1 in 12, or an 8% infection rate." (Homeless New Yorker, 2020) [11]

SPOTLIGHT ON THE SHELTERS

After the first month of the pandemic, questions arose about homeless shelters and their conditions. In particular the congregate shelters were the subject of discussion because, according to The New York Times, they had *"beds so close together that the people sleeping there can hold hands*." The DHS decided to shelter the homeless from the shelters into hotels to guarantee a safe distance between clients to ensure their safety.

MARCH 23 2020

'Trapped on Rikers': Jails and prisons face coronavirus catastrophe as officials slowly authorize releases

"As an emergency measure, Mayor Bill de Blasio authorized the release of 40 inmates Friday, but the city's Board of Corrections called that number "far from sufficient to protect against the rapid spread of coronavirus in the jails." The mayor approved the release of 23 more people Sunday, and his office is reviewing 200 other cases to determine whether more people will be released." (The Washington Post, 2020) [12]

APRIL 13 2020

"While much of New York City is staying inside, a crisis has taken hold among a population for whom social distancing is nearly impossible: the more than 17,000 men and women, many of them already in poor health, who sleep in roughly 100 group or "congregate" shelters for single adults. Most live in dormitories that are fertile fields for the virus, with beds close enough for people sleeping in them to hold hands." (The New York Times, 2020) [13]



Figure 9: A clean-up team getting ready to disinfect a shelter on Ward's Island
© The New York Times

'It's a Time Bomb': 23 Die as Virus Hits Packed Homeless Shelters[14]

MAY 16 2020

Jerome Avenue Men's Shelter Residents Quietly Move to Four-Star Manhattan Hotel Amid Pandemic[15]

"During the pandemic we moved to a hotel. So the clients had single rooms or double rooms. It was in Midtown, it was called OYO. Everybody moved: clients, staff, our clinic, everyone. The WiFi at the hotel wasn't the best. It was so much so that even when we moved in, we got our own personal hotspot because we just could not perform the duties that we needed to." (T.G.)

AUG 9 2020

We were in three hotels, unfortunately. After we moved the first 100, about a week later, they [DHS] said they want the rest of the 100 move. So we have another shelter in Midtown, and in the process of moving that shelter, they called me to say they wanted the other 100 to move. We have a lot of women with walkers and wheelchairs. Because of the way we move, the first 100 went to one hotel. Then we had to split them because of the wheelchair accessibililty. So we ended up in three hotels, one in the Bronx, Ramada Inn, one on 33rd Street and Fifth Avenue, Hotel at Fifth and one on Central Park West [Park West Inn]. (S.T.)

Another Local Hotel Shelters Women Who Are Homeless, 'For Our Safety'[16]

STRUGGLE FOR ACCEPTANCE

When homeless people were housed in hotels scattered around the city, some shelter residents ended up in upper class neighborhoods where they would not normally roam, such as Upper Manhattan. The hotels were happy to rent out their rooms to the DHS, because there were no tourists to keep them from going out of business. But a this move ensued a debate in these upscale neighborhoods as to whether the homeless should stay here or be moved to another neighborhood.

AUG 18 2020

What Happened When Homeless Men Moved Into a Liberal Neighborhood[17]



Figure 10: The Lucerne hotel, where the struggle between shelter residents and their neighborhood hit an apex © The New York Times

"I see a lot of people that are sort of down on their luck either high or intoxicated, and I see more of them than I normally see," said Gary Kokalari, who has lived in the neighborhood for over 30 years. "People are generally concerned to go outside now," he added. "The fear is palpable." On the other side are neighbors like Amanda Fialk, a clinical social worker, who said in an interview that she was appalled by "some pretty tone-deaf, racist, biased, privileged" things people have said on social media. "To the best of my knowledge being homeless is not a crime, but we're treating these people like criminals," Ms. Fialk added." (The New York Times, 2020)[18]

N.Y. Will Move Homeless Men From Liberal Neighborhood After Backlash[19]



Figure 11: The entrance of the Lucerne © The New York Times

"Nearly 300 homeless men who had been temporarily living in a hotel on the Upper West Side of Manhattan will be relocated after weeks of backlash from some residents who said the men had diminished the quality of life in the upscale neighborhood." (The New York Times, 2020) [20]

SEPT 8 2020

OCT 21 2020

Home of Randy Mastro, Lawyer for Shelter Opponents, Vandalized With Red Paint[21]







Figure 12, 13 and 14: The front door of Randy Mastro's house, the lawyer of the neighborhood residents who wished for the shelter residents to move © Twitter

OCT
23
2020

The Rich in New York Confront an Unfamiliar Word: No[22]

"On Monday, a group of Upper West Siders who had organized against the placement of 235 homeless men in a residential hotel in their neighborhood received some unwelcome news. On the morning the men were supposed to move far downtown, a judge ruled that they could remain where they were. Relocating would be too disruptive and traumatic to people piecing their lives back together amid a pandemic." (The New York Times, 2020)[23]

NOV
25
2020

"The city's strategy has sparked legal threats, protests, news conferences and the formation of several neighborhood groups — some opposed to these shelters and others in favor. But caught in the middle of the political push-and-pull are the displaced men whose lives have often been upended by evictions, unemployment and other traumatic events." (The New York Times, 2020)[24]

Homeless Men Must Leave Upper West Side Hotel, Judge Rules[25]



Figure 15: Messages left in front of the Lucerne in support of the shelter residents © TheCity

FEB
12
2021

Advocates for homeless people sue the New York subway system over pandemic rules[26]

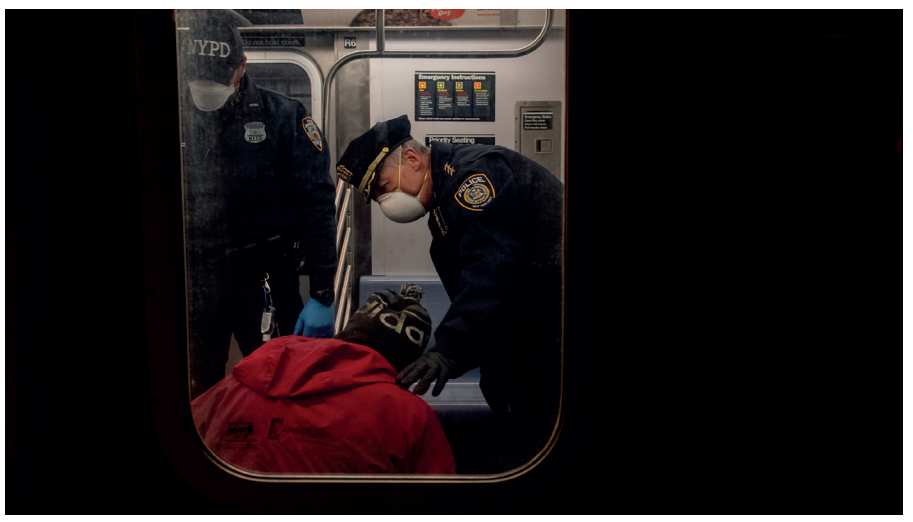


Figure 16: Homeless man being removed from the subway © SD

"Advocates for homeless people in New York City sued the Metropolitan Transportation Authority [MTA] on Friday over a series of Covid-19 rules that the suit says unfairly target people who shelter in the city's subways. The rules prohibit people from staying in a subway station for more than an hour or after a train is taken out of service and ban carts more than 30 inches long or wide. They were enacted on an emergency basis last April and made permanent in September."
(The New York Times, 2021) [27]

MOVE BACK TO SHELTER

As the lockdown began to ease, the residents were moved back to congregate shelters. The move was not as swift as the DHS had hoped. Some shelter residents were reluctant to leave, having lived in reasonably good conditions and wishing that the shelter system would provide similar conditions. These residents were often removed by force or waiting. After the first residents of the shelter were moved, a motion was filed by the Legal Aid Association arguing that the move had not been done lawfully and was an infrignement on the lives of infirm people. This caused the move to be halted for two weeks, but it was later resumed after the organization of the relocation was improved.

JUNE 3 2021

Homeless Men Lose Court Battle to Stay in Upper West Side Hotel[28]



Figure 17: Shelter residents moving out of the hotel © The New York Times

"New York City was cleared to move dozens of homeless men out of an Upper West Side hotel called the Lucerne, after a state appeals court on Thursday rejected an effort to stop the city from relocating them to another hotel downtown. The decision resolved a nearly yearlong battle that had become a flash point for questions about race, class and tolerance in an affluent liberal enclave. But it comes at a time when the city is reopening for tourism and already making plans to move over 9,000 homeless people out of hotels and back into barrackslike group shelters. Hotels have been used as emergency shelters since early in the pandemic to stem the spread of the coronavirus." (The New York Times, 2021)[29]

JUNE 16 2021

8,000 Homeless People to Be Moved From Hotels to Shelters, New York Says[30]

"New York City plans to move about 8,000 homeless people out of hotel rooms an back to barrackslike dorm shelters by the end of July so that the hotels can reopen to the general public, Mayor Bill de Blasio said on Wednesday. The announcement signals the beginning of the end to a living arrangement that was popular with many homeless people, many of whom said that the private hotel room provided a vastly better living experience than sleeping in a shelter. Some said they would sooner live in the street than go back to a group shelter, where many residents are battling mental illness or substance abuse or both." (The New York Times, 2021)[31]

JULY 9 2021

N.Y.C. Halts Plan to Move Homeless People From Hotels After Legal Filing[32]

"New York City's effort to move more than 8,000 homeless people from pandemic hotels to barrackslike group shelters ground to a halt on Friday morning, after the Legal Aid Society filed a motion accusing the city of violating the rights of people with respiratory conditions and other medical and psychological problems. The city's sudden decision followed several chaotic weeks of forced relocations, angry protests and an hours long standoff last week when 25 men locked themselves in their rooms at the Four Points by Sheraton hotel near Times Square." (The New York Times, 2021)[33]



Figure 18: Advocates protesting the move back to shelters © The New York Times

JULY 26 2021

New York Moves Homeless People From Hotels to Shelters as Virus Cases Rise[34]

"New York City resumed the process of transferring thousands of homeless people from pandemic hotel rooms back to barracks-style group shelters on Monday, two weeks after a judge halted the moves on the grounds that the city was not giving adequate consideration to people's health." (The New York Times, 2021)[35]

AFTERMATH OF THE PANDEMIC

As shelter residents gradually returned to the congregate shelters and the city prepared for tourists, the questions the pandemic had raised lingered around. Would the shelters have made adjustments to improve safety? What will happen after the moratorium ends? These questions clearly lingered with the public as well, as they continued to appear in news reports.

AUG
2
2021

In N.Y.C., a push to bring back tourists includes razing homeless encampments [36]

"As New York City strives to lure back tourists and office workers, it has undertaken an aggressive campaign to push homeless people off the streets of Manhattan. City workers used to tear down one or two encampments a day. Now, they sometimes clear dozens. Since late May, teams that include sanitation workers in garbage trucks, police officers and outreach workers have cruised Manhattan around the clock, hitting the same spots over and over." (The New York Times, 2021) [37]

AUG
16
2021

"The city's strategy has sparked legal threats, protests, news conferences and the formation of several neighborhood groups — some opposed to these shelters and others in favor. But caught in the middle of the political push-and-pull are the displaced men whose lives have often been upended by evictions, unemployment and other traumatic events." (The New York Times, 2021) [38]

Shelters Were Supposed to Get Better Air Circulation This Year. They Didn't. [39]

JAN
14
2021

New York's Eviction Moratorium Is Ending [40]

"The state eviction moratorium was a lifeline for tenants when their incomes dried up in the early weeks of the coronavirus pandemic. Now the state is taking a risky step as Omicron-driven infections continue to surge: Officials are allowing the ban on evictions to expire on Saturday." (The New York Times, 2022) [41]

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CONCLUSION

There is no universal definition for homelessness, enabling different interpretations of the term. It was found that even within the United States of America, the definition of homelessness varies across departments, implying that governances can act at different levels when talking about homelessness. The difference in definitions makes it difficult, if not impossible, to get an overall view of the number of homeless people in the world. The United States made an attempt at counting the number of homeless people in the country based on the definition of the US Department of Housing and Urban Development, which means that this count does not include the invisible homeless. As a result, these numbers are only a shadow of the truth, as not all homeless people are necessarily on the streets or in shelters. Yet, despite these hard-to-quantify numbers, certain trends can be seen in recent history. It can be seen that family homelessness has increased dramatically in recent decades and that the eviction moratorium implemented to curb the covid-19 pandemic caused the number of homeless families in shelter to decline for the first time in a long period of time.

The census of homeless people sleeping in shelter in New York City goes back to 1983, when the right to shelter was established for every New York citizen. Prior to this, New York City already had a long architectural and urban planning history with different typologies and specific locations to accommodate and house the homeless, the sick, criminals, etc. Kim Hopper described how these efforts first began as an effort by society toward its weakest and gradually became an institutional feature adopted by the city. Over time, the system became increasingly diversified and expanded to result in the current system with more than 600 buildings.

These buildings are scattered throughout the urban fabric, forming a complex network of different typologies. What became particularly clear when analyzing the urban fabric was that the majority of street homeless are located in Manhattan, lower Manhattan to be specific, while the majority of shelters are located in the Bronx and Brooklyn.

People who wish to enter shelter, must first go to the intake centers. These serve as a gateway to the shelter system and are divided based on gender and type of family. When entering an intake center, one receives a referral to a shelter and one's applicants file is opened. Depending whether one enter the system alone or as a family, one will have to go through an eligibility procedure.

Once in the shelters, the tension between privacy and protection is palpable. Just as described in Goffman, residents tend to take part in actions that constitute resistance to control, but by doing so they often oblige the operator to control them even more. Control can be translated into zoning inside the building: sleeping quarters, restrooms, office, and so on are all organized into nodes in such way that they can be easily overseen. The zoning of shelter buildings in their surroundings is just as remarkable, as they are often located in industrial and commercial neighborhoods rather than residential ones. The typology most often found in New York City is the family shelter, which again indicates the growing need of the homeless families in New York City. These shelters have a layout that differs from standard adult shelters because they were designed as micro-apartments. However, to gain access to these shelters, one must prove to the city that one is actually homeless, to avoid people to take advantage of the system. These eligibility procedures have been sharpened lately, so people have to wait longer before they can start their case for cheaper housing or rental assistance. A special form of shelter are domestic violence shelters. These take extra security measures compared to the regular shelter system to ensure the safety of domestic violence survivors.

Street homeless people are referred to the shelter system through outreach teams that patrol the city 24/7 across the 5 boroughs. Each district has been assigned its own responsible non-profit organization. The purpose of these teams is to keep an eye on the street homeless in the neighborhood. Either a caring eye, by offering services if the homeless person is in demand, or a monitoring one, since many of the street homeless prefer the streets or stations to the shelter system and thus try to avoid the outreach workers. For those who do not want to enter the shelter system, other programs are provided by the city. A first program are the drop-in centers: low-threshold facilities where there are fewer obligations. As long as there is room, no one is turned away. One trade-off, however, is that one does not get a bed to sleep in but a chair and a table. Another program for street homeless people are the safe havens. These have been established specifically for chronic street homeless since 2008. To qualify for these, one needs a referral from an outreach team and this is only possible if an outreach team considers one street homeless for 9 months over the past 2 years. The spaces in these facilities are highly desired because there is less control, but they are also fewer in number so gaining access after referral can still be difficult.

The 2020 covid-19 pandemic marked a sudden and drastic change for the shelter system. The Congregate shelters proved not safe enough to house the homeless population, so the decision was made to move the shelter residents to hotels across the city. This move did not go unnoticed and sparked a fierce public debate about whether or not to move the homeless back to the congregate shelters. Parties both for and against the move staged protests, drawing renewed attention to the shelter system and its issues. Yet by the end of the pandemic in 2021, the decision was made to move the homeless back to their congregate shelters.

The debate that ensued brought the entire homeless crisis and the shelter system that accommodates it back to light. As a result, both new challenges and new opportunities were discovered for the city and its shelter system as to what will happen after the moratorium if the rents keep rising and if the shelter system learned anything from the hotel experience it gained during the pandemic.