

EVALUATING TRANSITIONAL HOUSING FOR SINGLE-PARENT WOMEN

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Abstract

The body of research that examines the residential experiences of single parents and their children continues to grow. The role of specially designed housing and programs in reducing housing poverty and improving the overall condition of women's lives, however, is unclear. In June 1993, 26 low income, single-parent women who are former residents of a transitional housing program were interviewed to determine the extent to which the housing and program were successful in helping them to meet their personal goals and the objectives of the program. The information collected from each former resident provides insights into individual, housing/program, and community resources, plus characteristics necessary to improve conditions for single mothers and their children.

Introduction

Housing and neighborhoods shaped by the needs of single-parent women must include attention to their risk of victimization and their need for services nearby. The findings from previous investigations have identified a number of obstacles faced by single mothers and their children. As primary care-givers for their children, the responsibility of locating quality child care and education and providing food and shelter falls to them. "Shelter poverty" represents a major obstacle facing single-parent women (Birch, 1985; Stone, 1993) that is exacerbated by women's low salaries, lack of employment opportunities, child care, and transportation costs. In addition, they face discrimination due to race, gender, and marital status.

The body of research that examines the residential experiences of single parents and their children continues to grow (Birch, 1985; Leavitt & Saegert, 1984; Mulroy, 1988; Russell, 1991; Spain, 1988; Sprague, 1991). Furthermore, an increasing number of initiatives have been introduced to link housing and support service targeted to specific populations of women (Franck & Ahrentzen, 1989; Schwartz, et al., 1988; Shlay, 1993). The role of these targeted housing programs in reducing poverty and improving the overall condition of women's lives is unclear.

The investigation described in this paper provided an opportunity to evaluate the specific success of one transitional housing program, Passage Community, located in Minneapolis, Minnesota. Although a case study, viewed more broadly the research allows an examination of the "housing bundle"¹ as a vehicle for promoting family stability and as an underlying dimension in improving families' lives. The centrality of housing in impeding or promoting opportunities is undeniable (Mulroy, 1988; Shlay, 1993; Sprague, 1991; Stone, 1993), yet it has often been overlooked in discussions of economic development strategies, urban revitalization, or as part of welfare reform initiatives.

In this paper, the background information on Passage Community and the housing program and supportive services it contains are described. The major questions addressed include:

- (1) What are the past and current support service needs and concerns of former residents?
- (2) How do the former residents of Passage Community evaluate its success, and how might this evaluation shape future housing and service delivery?

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- (3) What are the attributes of "successful" former residents?
- (4) What lessons learned from Passage Community can be applied more broadly to other housing programs of this type?

Recommendations for improving the likelihood of participants' success are discussed.

Background

Passage Community in Minneapolis, Minnesota was designed to respond to the needs of single-parent women and their children by providing a secure, supportive, and affordable housing environment. It opened its doors to residents in the summer of 1986. The stated housing and program goals are:

- (1) to develop affordable and appropriately designed housing;
- (2) to assist women in identifying their own goals and developing their own definition of self-sufficiency;
- (3) to help women become self-sufficient, economically, psychologically, and socially;
- (4) to develop programs that meet the needs of single-parent; and
- (5) to assist women in utilizing existing community services to achieve goals for self-sufficiency.

To be selected to live in Passage, applicants must be low-income, eligible for a Section 8 rental subsidy, and willing to identify goals and take an active part in activities such as support groups, resident meetings, and workshops. No children over the age of 12 years may reside at Passage². Applicants from the waiting list are interviewed by staff prior to admission and must provide documentation that they are, or will soon be, enrolled in school or working. Residents may stay up to two years.³

A full-time Program Director at Passage Community is responsible for tailoring program delivery to individual residents' needs. She meets with each woman at least once a month, and more frequently if necessary. In these meetings residents review their progress and barriers to accomplishing goals and develop monthly action plans. The Program Director also assists women in gaining access to a wide set of community resources. She is responsible for providing residents with information and arranging workshops, programs, and services they may need.

The housing program and supportive services are contained in a 17-unit, three-and-one-half-story apartment building⁴. The building selected to house the program needed substantial rehabilitation before the first residents were able to move in. The units range in size from one to three bedrooms. Seven two-bedroom units are made available to women with Section 8 existing certificates. The seven three-bedroom units have Section 8 "moderate rehabilitation" subsidies attached to them. Fair market rents, based on HUD guidelines, are charged for remaining units. There is one handicapped-accessible unit. Space initially devoted to a child care program was converted to offices and to after-school child care when it became clear that an on-site, full-day program was not economically feasible.

Passage Community is located in an inner-city neighborhood known to locals residents as Whittier. The Whittier neighborhood is residential in character and provides convenience stores, fast-food restaurants, and a full-service grocery within walking distance. A number of community schools, public schools, and adult education and training programs can be found in the neighborhood or are accessible by public transportation. Potential employment opportunities for adults exist nearby. Like many other inner-city neighborhoods around the country, however, crime and drug trafficking have reportedly increased in Whittier since Passage Community opened its doors in 1986. For former residents of Passage, the location of the housing program threatened the very security that they were trying to attain by moving to the community. These negative aspects of the location of Passage Community were identified from the housing program's inception. The fear of crime and the quality of the neighborhood schools were identified by the first residents of Passage Community as the two most disturbing features of the area (Cook, 1989).

Data and Method

Of the 77 former residents of Passage Community, 26 were located and 25 participated in a face-to-face interview⁵. Attempts were made to contact all former residents of Passage Community. Because records were not always complete, locating former residents was one of the more challenging aspects of the study. Prior to beginning interviews, program and administrative staff of Passage Community sent letters to all former residents soliciting participation in the study. When telephone numbers were available, former residents were contacted and asked to participate.

Each interview lasted about two hours, and was usually conducted at the participant's current residence. Several surveys were mailed to former residents who lived outside the Twin Cities, and one mail survey was completed. The questionnaire was extensive and each respondent was reimbursed \$50 for completing the interview. There were three sections to the questionnaire. In the *first* section, former residents were asked about how things were for them prior to moving to Passage Community; or, about the time when they first moved to Passage. The *second* section asked about Passage Community and the importance of program activities. These questions asked former residents to consider what they remembered as most (and least) helpful for them as they tried to reach personal goals. In addition, these questions were designed to assess how successful Passage Community was in meeting its goals for women and children. The *third* and last section of the interview asked questions about life for former residents since leaving Passage Community. Current concerns and needs were identified.

Two methods were used to assess the success of the housing and support services delivered by Passage Community: participant self-assessment and program assessment. First, former residents were asked to evaluate their own concerns and to reflect on their own strengths and weaknesses in many areas, ranging from self-esteem to parenting skills, relationship problems, and job stability. These questions were asked of residents for two time periods, just prior to moving into and since moving from Passage Community. Second, former residents were asked to detail what they believed to be the strengths and weaknesses of the housing and support services delivered by Passage Community. Former residents were asked to evaluate the success of Passage Community in achieving each of the stated housing program and supportive services goals and objectives.

Results

The results are divided into three sections: comparisons of prior and current situations and concerns of former Passage Community residents; evaluation of Passage Community by former residents; and a comparison of "successful" and other former residents of Passage Community.

Comparisons of prior and current situations and concerns of former Passage Community Residents

One of the major benefits of living in Passage Community appears to be the opportunity to go to school. (See Table 1.) Most former residents reported having completed some college, and three had completed college degrees while living at Passage Community. In addition, a majority of the former residents indicated that they wanted to receive more schooling. For some former residents, however, educational attainment has been limited. Of the eight residents who had not completed high school when they moved into Passage Community, five have yet to graduate.

The number of employed former residents increased from 6 to 10. About half of those who were not currently working said they would prefer to work but had not found suitable employment, or they worried about child care. Some respondents, however, said they preferred *not* to work, usually because they wanted to complete some schooling and/or because they were caring for their young children. Of the 26 former residents surveyed, 20 were receiving Aid-to-Families with Dependent Children (AFDC) when they moved into Passage Community and 17 are currently recipients of AFDC.

The current housing situation of former residents is interesting. Two of the 26 respondents are now homeowners. On the other hand, there are more former residents receiving

Section 8 currently than before. One goal of Passage Community staff, of course, is to link residents with available resources such as subsidized child care and housing. This point notwithstanding, it appears that the issue of affordable housing is still problematic for former residents of Passage Community.

Table 1. A comparison of selected factors prior to moving into and since moving from passage community.

	Prior %	(N)	Currently %	(N)
Education				
Less than H.S.	31	(8)	19	(5)
High School Graduate	19	(5)	8	(2)
Some College	46	(12)	58	(15)
College Graduate	0	(0)	12	(3)
Other	4	(1)	4	(1)
Employed (YES)				
Employed (YES)	12	(6)	38	(10)
AFDC (YES)	77	(20)	65	(17)
Section 8 (YES)	23	(6)	54	(14)
Tenure				
Own	0	(0)	8	(2)
Rent	100	(26)	85	(22)
Other	0	(0)	8	(2)
Own Car (YES)				
Own Car (YES)	23	(6)	42	(11)
Worry about income				
All the time	58	(15)	23	(6)
Most of the time	15	(4)	27	(7)
Some of the time	8	(2)	27	(7)
Just now and then	4	(1)	8	(2)
Not at all	15	(4)	15	(4)
Satisfaction with life				
Satisfied	19	(5)	42	(11)
Neither	15	(4)	46	(12)
Dissatisfied	65	(17)	12	(3)

Former residents of Passage Community report that their current concerns differ from those they experienced just prior to moving in. Compared to when they first moved to Passage Community, these items have become *less* significant concerns for them:

- (1) relationships with spouse or significant other
- (2) financial/economic stress
- (3) domestic violence or abuse
- (4) substance abuse or drug addiction
- (5) self-esteem
- (6) amount and kind of education
- (7) ability to pay rent.

Some major concerns still persist for former Passage Community residents. For some residents, legal problems and relationships with children continue to be major concerns.

Respondents were asked to rate the quality of eight aspects of their lives in time one - prior to Passage Community residence -- and in time two -- currently (Table 2). Each item was rated as excellent, very good, good, fair, or poor. On nearly every aspect examined there was improvement, especially in self-esteem and family cohesiveness. Half of the 26 women interviewed, however, continued to rate their income, job skills, employment record, educational status, job security, and employment opportunities as fair or poor.

Taken together, the findings suggest that the overall quality of life for former residents of Passage Community has improved. In general, relationships with significant others have

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improved, substance abuse and domestic violence have lessened, and there are marked improvements in self-esteem. In addition, there are more former residents who are employed and who no longer receive AFDC than previously. These data indicate, however, that some aspects that would improve economic prospects for former residents continue to be problematic: job skills, educational status, job security, and employment opportunities. These poor evaluations seem to stem from two sources (1) lack of affordable child care and (2) lack of job skills and employment opportunities.

Table 2. Self-assessment by passage community residents, currently and prior to moving in.

	Prior Fair-Poor		Currently Fair-Poor		Difference
	%	(N)	%	(N)	(N)
Self esteem	77%	(20)	23%	(6)	14
Family cohesiveness	46%	(12)	4%	(1)	11
Income	81%	(21)	58%	(15)	6
Job Skills	69%	(18)	50%	(13)	5
Employment record	65%	(17)	46%	(12)	5
Educational status	58%	(15)	50%	(13)	2
Job security	69%	(18)	65%	(17)	1
Employment opportunities	62%	(16)	62%	(16)	0

Evaluation of Passage Community Housing and Program

Overall, former residents evaluated housing more favorably than the programs offered at Passage Community. Most former residents reported being very satisfied with the housing opportunities that Passage residence provided them. Nineteen of the respondents said they were very satisfied or satisfied with the housing portion of Passage Community's service.

Affordability and design stand out as the most successful components of Passage Community. Two items were considered strengths of the building and unit design: caretaking and maintenance of the building and overall quality and size of units. Management was generally viewed as responsive to requests for repair and attentive to care of the building. The spaciousness and good appearance of the building received praise from some former residents as well.

Aspects of the building that were considered a weakness by several former residents included mice, lack of air conditioning, inadequate security and easy access through ground floor apartments, no safe play areas for children, and apartments that were too small. Residents surveyed said the building location is good because it is accessible to public transportation, child care when it was on-site, stores, employment, school, and job training opportunities. The neighborhood, however, was generally felt to be very dangerous. In addition, lack of children's spaces within the building and the loss of the on-site child care were mentioned most frequently as disappointing to former residents.

Less than half of the 26 respondents said they were very satisfied or satisfied with the program opportunities Passage Community offered them. Seven former residents were dissatisfied or very dissatisfied with the program opportunities. Just under half of former residents felt Passage Community staff and programs were not successful or only slightly successful in helping them to identify their goals, define self-sufficiency, utilize community services, or provide programs that they needed.

Former residents were asked to describe the elements of Passage Community's program and housing that were most important to achieving self-sufficiency. Usually respondents said that they were required to set goals and that staff expected that residents report progress on goals. Some former residents reported that the short-term stay made them feel compelled to get on with their goals. Affordable housing was viewed as very helpful, as was the supportive community created by other residents. "Neighbors were always looking out for you," one resident wrote. When asked to identify the ways that they had become self-sufficient over the course of their-stay at Passage Community, former residents said they learned responsibility and motivation, identified available services and obtained job skills or

employment, went to and completed desired schooling, learned to accept support from others, and improved their self-esteem.

Characteristics of Successful Former Residents of Passage Community

The most difficult aspect of this research was to establish a definition of “success” of Passage Community and then to determine a means to measure this success. At least in the mind of funders, the success of the housing program and support services is inextricably bound to the “success” of former residents. For funders, and indeed for former residents of Passage Community themselves, one definition of success is related to economic self-sufficiency; that is, the capability to support of supporting one’s family without receipt of government subsidies.

For the purposes of this study, successful former residents were defined as those who do not currently receive Aid-to-Families with Dependent Children. Nine of the 26 women surveyed fit this definition; however, four receive Section 8 rental subsidies (Table 3). Two of the nine are homeowners. Eight of the nine women have made strides in attaining more education since moving from Passage Community. Three are college graduates. Each of the six who have not completed college indicate that they are still enrolled in school to complete educational goals. It is worth noting that all of the successful former residents were at least high school graduates prior to moving to Passage Community.

Table 3. Selected characteristics of successful former residents of passage community.

	Successful N=9	Others N=17
Length of stay		
3 to 6 months	-	35 %
6 to 12 months	44 % (4)	18 (3)
13 to 24 months	56 (5)	29 (5)
25 to 36 months	-	18 (3)
Prior education		
Less than H.S.	-	47 (8)
H.S. graduate	44 (4)	6 (1)
Some college	56 (5)	47 (8)
Current education		
Less than H.S.	-	29 (5)
H.S. graduate	11 (1)	6 (1)
Some college	56 (5)	59 (10)
College graduate	33 (3)	-
Other	-	6 (1)
Employed prior to passage (YES)	22 (2)	-
Employed while at passage (YES)	67 (6)	41 (7)
Currently employed (YES)	78 (7)	18 (3)
Homeowners (YES)	22 (2)	-
Housing subsidy (YES)	44 (4)	59 (10)

Seven of the successful residents are currently employed. Only three of the other former residents interviewed are employed; one in a six-week summer job, another in temporary work, and the third in a college work-study program. Most of the successful former residents also were employed while living at Passage Community, but only two were employed just prior to moving in.

All of the successful residents lived at Passage Community for at least 11 months. The majority stayed one and one-half to two years. Surprisingly, two of the successful residents were evicted for lease infractions after a year or more stay.

Successful residents appear to be those who had explicit goals prior to moving to Passage Community. It is significant that these former residents often say they “didn’t need” or

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"didn't use" program offerings because they had defined goals already. Throughout the interview, these successful respondents were likely to make comments indicating that they were responsible for their current success and that their achievements were mostly individually accomplished:

"I became self-sufficient while living at Passage Community, but I did it on my own."

"I didn't fit the model, so I wasn't reached; I had identified goals before coming to Passage."

"I've always been resourceful."

"Passage gave me an affordable place to live so I could concentrate on my job... I didn't want to participate in the programs."

"I went to school and got a job, but Passage Community was of no help in achievements."

For the most part, these successful former residents apparently felt that the programs offered at Passage Community were geared to those residents who needed to set goals, not advance already established goals. For them, the housing affordability and housing targeted for single parents was the most important and defining feature of Passage Community.

In answer to the question "what elements of Passage were most important to assisting you in achieving self-sufficiency?" these successful former residents said: affordability; transportation; convenient location; other women and friends; program component was important; *women only* very important; housing that was affordable, learning about community agencies and resources; and meeting different people.

A common theme among successful former residents is that programming at Passage Community can be improved. More professional and specialized staffing was suggested such as career counselors, social workers, or family counselors. A second theme among successful former residents is the need to better screen in-coming residents. "Screening for motivation" and "quick eviction if not working out," were recommended by several former residents.

Discussion

A post-occupancy study is an important step in the process of providing housing for targeted populations. Numerous programs sponsored by both the public and nonprofit sector have been established over the last decade that profess goals and objectives similar to those of Passage Community (Franck & Ahrentzen, 1989; Shlay, 1993). Consistent and comprehensive longitudinal data are necessary to understand the short- and long-term effects of these transitional housing programs.

This case study illustrates some of the fundamental issues facing single-parent women: job skills and employment opportunities and child care responsibilities. Despite improvements in educational status, single-parent women find it difficult to negotiate job and child care responsibilities. Furthermore, many of the available jobs available to women do not offer living wages. Occupational segregation and discrimination against women with children in the labor market continue to limit their opportunities.

Recent indicators suggest that the majority of jobs to be added to the U.S. economy in the next decade will be low paying⁷ occupations (Trumbull, 1994). To the extent that women and minority women are relegated to these jobs, their long-term progress toward economic self-sufficiency will be limited. Women at all income and educational levels need to become advocates for single-parent women and their children.

The findings also identify potential pitfalls for housing programs designed to be transitional in nature, among them screening and identification of program needs of incoming residents. At least three broad categories of single-parent women who might need transitional housing can be identified (Cook, et al., 1988). Each category of women needs a different array of hard and soft support services⁸, remedial programs, and counseling. One resident profile consists of individuals who have

- (1) stress-filled lives;
- (2) undeveloped management and coping skills;
- (3) economic and social vulnerability; and
- (4) need for comprehensive, highly individualized support services.

The support services needed by this group are intense and expensive.

A second resident profile consists of individuals who are able to organize themselves but need and seek communal living situations in which peer support is available. Support needs for this group are likely to be readily available in the community. The last resident profile group includes individuals who place a high value on privacy and self-sufficiency; require a good flow of up-to-date information on topics such as housing, transportation, bank loans, credit, and child support; and are experienced in using information successfully.

Depending on the profile of the residents, transitional housing programs will need to either

- (1) hire at least one full-time program staff person who has experience and professional training;
- (2) contract with some agency or individual as part-time program staff to work intensively with very needy residents;
- (3) limit the number of very needy residents;
- (4) preclude residents classified as very needy.

There are a number of existing measurement tools that assess family and individual, child and adult needs. These should be used to screen and develop highly individualized programs for residents.

More goal-directed and career-oriented women may find transitional housing does not meet their needs and expectations. Responses from former residents suggest that more opportunities to meet with professional woman and to attend professional meetings would have been welcomed. These less needy residents should be engaged to work in the neighborhood, participate in fund-raising efforts, and/or to serve as mentors to other residents.

Women are vulnerable in urban neighborhoods and perceive their personal safety and that of their children to be at risk. Transitional housing programs can include involving residents in a "pro-active stance" against crime. Residents can be encouraged to identify solutions to safety and security problems and participate in a building/neighborhood "watch group." Resident children can also be involved in after-school programs that teach them about safety. Increased security can also be provided by adjustments to the housing itself; securing ground level windows, providing peep-holes; locks on inside and outside doors, installation of alarm, monitoring and/or security building and unit systems and good indoor-outdoor lighting at entries, stairwells, and on-site.

The results of this study suggest that there should be more attention to the needs of resident children, not just the single parent. Resident in-take and exit evaluation ought to include an assessment of children's needs and successes. It is possible that the real success or failure of transitional housing programs lies in provision of a stable home environment for children. This study yielded only anecdotal information on children's lives prior to, during, and after living at Passage Community. Many residents of transitional housing have been involved in abusive relationships, have been abused as children, and are in need of parenting skills. Programs in transitional housing should include: child development and guidance, family relationships counseling, family abuse and violence counseling, financial counseling and management, and housing and home ownership counseling.

Former residents talk a lot about staff and resident interaction. It is clearly an important part of their recollection of life at Passage Community. Some former residents cite favoritism, racism, and cliques as detrimental to their progress while residents of transitional housing. Turnovers in staff play havoc in the lives of residents and become the focus of attention, rather than the progress toward individual and family goals. Frequent changes in staff results in significant gaps in program continuity and delivery. The selection of committed, professional staff should be considered a high priority among directors of transitional housing facilities.

Conclusions

Passage Community has served nearly 100 single-parent women since its doors opened in 1986. Despite nearly 10 years in operation, this is the first comprehensive assessment of the success of the housing program and supportive services. Shortcomings in record keeping over the decade mean that this first comprehensive assessment falls short of identifying conclusive evidence that former residents of Passage Community have significantly improved their quality of life. Only 26 former residents were surveyed.

Some of the study's findings are very promising. The women and their children who come to Passage Community are very poor. Of the 26 surveyed, nine are well on their way to "self-sufficiency" both in economic and socio-psychological terms. Societal and personal constraints, however, continue to stymie the progress of many former residents of Passage Community. As the study shows, seven former residents still have not completed high school. Other former residents find that even with high school degrees and some college education their job skills do not yield a "living wage." Child care and medical costs mean working at minimum wage is not economically feasible; subsidized income and housing costs are essential. Structural constraints such as job and housing discrimination and child care and medical costs make progress seemingly insurmountable.

Research suggests that the constraints identified in this study stymie housing adjustment. In most models of housing adjustment, socio-psychological dimensions are important predictors of housing adaptation and adjustment (Morris & Winter, 1978). In so far as housing is a social adaptation process, understanding how individuals and families secure and retain housing is of significance (Priemus, 1986). Housing professionals need to include the assessment of these socio-psychological dimensions as a part of their housing counseling and advocacy. Furthermore, housing researchers need to continue to examine the effect of "predispositional" and "organizational" constraints and the important role they play in housing and neighborhood satisfaction (Morris & Winter, 1978). Comparisons of the effect of constraints between single-parent households and other households have had only limited attention (Winter & Morris, 1982). The rise in the number of single-parents, and the children who will live in these households, suggests their housing needs and decisions warrant additional attention.

Public policy must tackle housing as well as welfare and health care reform. Housing policy can serve as a vehicle for promoting family self-sufficiency (Shlay, 1993) and add to the arsenal of tools used to combat persistent poverty. To date the housing program and supportive services at Passage Community have had only modest effects. In order to be successful, Passage Community and other similar initiatives must tackle the enormous obstacles facing families that have a long history of poverty. To undo some of the consequences of this history requires tightly focused programs, targeted delivery, and frequent reevaluation of the available housing programs and supportive services. Nothing less will move single-parent women and children out of poverty.

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Endnotes

1. "The term 'housing bundle' suggests that housing is a composite of terms, including tenure, neighborhood characteristics, and access to local amenities" (Shlay, 1993:460)
2. This restriction on teenagers living in Passage Community is modeled after Warren Village, a housing development for single-parents in Denver, Colorado. According to Warren Village planners, teenagers require special programming and additional space, supervision, and staff, which are cost prohibitive for a small housing development. After deliberation, the board of directions of Passage Community, Women's Community Housing, Inc., decided to avoid these costs. Although lifting the age restriction has been considered, to date it is still in effect.
3. Over the years since Passage Community opened, some residents have been granted extensions and lived there for a third year. Residents may move out any time during the 2 year period when they deem themselves ready both economically and/or psychologically. Of course, some residents are evicted or leave the housing/program finding that it does not meet their expectations or needs.
4. See Cook, "Passage Community: Second-stage housing for single parents" in Franck & Ahrentzen (1989) for a more complete description of the building design and the development of the housing program and supportive services. The architectural program addressed six key issues viewed as essential in housing single-parents and their children: (1) homelike in quality; (2) scale, density, and arrangement of the units; (3) community and privacy; (4) safety and security; (5) indoor and outdoor connection; (6) use of quality materials. See also Cook, et al. (1988). *Expanding Opportunities for Single-Parent Families through Housing*. In this publication, the architect for Passage Community, M. Vogel-Heffernan, depicts the site considerations, spatial arrangement, and materials important to providing appropriately designed, quality housing for single mothers and their children.
5. Although it is likely that the low response rate skewed the results of the investigation, it is not clear whether nonrespondents were likely to be more, less, or equally successful as the former residents that were interviewed.
6. The interpretation of self-assessment of past feelings and actions has some inherent flaws. Since former residents were asked "to think back to the time just prior to moving into Passage Community," they were being asked to rely solely on their memory of that time.

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It is possible that former residents under- or overestimate their previous concerns. Because in-take and exit interviews were not consistently undertaken, however, only this current perspective on the past was available.

7. More than one-half of the total U.S. job growth between the years 1992 and 2005 will occur in 25 occupations (in order of number of thousands of jobs): retail sales; registered nurse; cashiers; general office clerks; truck drivers, light and heavy; waiters and waitresses; nursing aides, orderlies, and attendants; janitors and cleaners; food preparation workers; systems analysts; home health aides; teachers, secondary school; childcare workers; guards; marketing, sales supervisors; teacher aides; top executives; maintenance workers; gardeners, except farm; teachers, elementary; food counter workers; receptionists; accountants; clerical supervisors; cooks, restaurants.

8. Support services can be divided into two categories (Cook, et al., 1988): *hard services* -- those that respond to basic needs for income, housing, employment, job training, vocational education, child care, health care, and nutrition, and *soft services or personal social services* -- those that help individuals respond to personal difficulties requiring counseling, assistance with child development abusive situations, self esteem and family stress.