

DEFINING ELIGIBLE FAMILIES IN PUBLIC HOUSING AND WELFARE: THE TRADITIONS, VALUES, AND LEGALITIES OF FAMILY FORM

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Key Concepts: AFDC, Eligibility, Family, Family Formation, Public Housing, TANF, QHWRA, Welfare

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Charlotte C. Johnson**

Abstract

This paper examines how the definition of family, within Federal public housing and welfare policy, corresponds with changes in family patterns in America from 1950 to 2000. The definition of family as used to determine welfare eligibility is extremely important not only for how it defines recipients of cash aid but also because of how it affects public housing clients. In the name of economic vitality, needy individuals might choose to define their family according to the lowest common denominator to gain access to both welfare and public housing, thus negating diverse forms of family. Since family definition serves as an important gate-keeping device for program benefits to otherwise eligible families, it is important to establish if policy definitions of family reflect changing patterns of need or perceived normative definitions of “proper” family form. While public housing policy is the focal point of this research, it is necessary to review both housing and welfare policy to ascertain the impact of welfare policy’s definition on overlapping participants. The changes in policy definition will be juxtaposed with cultural and legal shifts in family form to explore the policy’s interaction with larger social trends. Public housing and welfare policy beginning with their respective inaugural legislation, the Wagner-Steagall Housing Act of 1937 and the Social Security Act of 1934, and their subsequent revisions are examined to track modifications to family definition. U.S. Census Bureau Current Population Reports, Series P20-537, “America’s Families and Living Arrangements” data from 1950-2000 and Persons of Opposite Sex Sharing Living Quarters (POSSLQ) forecasting have been used to track social trends related to family composition patterns. Additionally, Federal and State Supreme Court rulings related to family formation and Domestic Partner legislation in California and Vermont have been used to gauge the legal legitimacy of varying family forms. Among the study’s findings is public housing legislation’s ongoing broad definition of family, the degree of influence welfare policy has historically had on the family form of public housing residents, and public housing’s new “mixed family”. Recommendations for future research include an examination of public housing’s new “mixed family” issue and an examination of the impact on family form of the current public housing and welfare legislation: Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act (QHWRA) and Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF).

Dedication

To my family, those of blood and those of choice, who believe that I can and will excel in life as well as academia.

To the social service workers from my youth, who did their best to provide me with opportunity.

To my creator for endowing me with the tenacity, courage, and faith to challenge the status quo and explore the potential of my humanity.



Table of Contents

.....

Abstract	ii
Dedication	iii
List of Abbreviations	v
Introduction	1
Methods	3
The American Concept of Family and Aid Programs	4
<i>Pre World War II</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Public Housing: World War II – 1998 Reform</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Welfare: WWII - 1996 Reform</i>	<i>9</i>
<i>Changing Family Forms 1940-2000</i>	<i>11</i>
New Models of Public Aid	17
<i>Temporary Assistance for Needy Families—1996</i>	<i>17</i>
<i>Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998</i>	<i>19</i>
Legal Definitions of Family	20
Conclusion	24
<i>Recommendations for Future Research</i>	<i>26</i>
References	28
Vita	31

List of Figures

Figure 1: All Married Couples as a Percent of All Family Households: 1940-2000	11
Figure 2: Status of Unmarried Population 1950-2000	13
Figure 3: Household Types as a Percent of all Households: 1960-2000	14
Figure 4: All Children Under 18 Living with Never Married Parent by Parent: 1960-2000	15
Figure 5: All Grandchildren Living with Their Grandparents: 1970-2000	16

List of Abbreviations

ADC	Aid to Dependent Children
AFDC	Aid to Families with Children
GAO	General Accounting Office
HHS	Health & Human Services
HUD	Housing & Urban Development
PHA	Public Housing Authority
POSSLQ	Persons of Opposite Sex Sharing Living Quarters
PRWORA	Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act
QHWRA	Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act
TANF	Temporary Assistance for Needy Families
WWII	World War II

Introduction

What you see depends less on the viewed than the view.

Public housing and welfare programs have developed within a historical context and as such must be discussed in that context. Likewise, recipients of public housing and welfare assistance did not evolve in a void; they exist in the temporal realm of traditions, social values, and legislation. To separate historical context from a program and its recipients creates a schism between real and idealized objectives and needs. However, in discussions regarding public housing and welfare recipient eligibility little regard has been given to the reality of multiple family forms, societal shifts, or how family definition within program legislation affects client behavior.

How family definition in public housing and welfare policy is constructed is extremely important because of its effect on client eligibility. During the screening process, applicants to public housing must meet eligibility guidelines, one of which is income based on family composition. Historically, public housing residents' financial need status has been screened based on income, by family size, in relation to area median income. By determining income eligibility by family size, eligibility becomes dependent on what constitutes a family (Hollingsworth 1971:79; Mitchell 1985). Since public housing has traditionally been income based, servicing those below 80% of area median and from 1949 to 1998 targeted to the very poor (those under 30% of area median), a large portion of residents have historically been welfare recipients. The overlap between public housing and welfare is of concern because of how traditional welfare recipient families have been defined as children deserted by one or both parents, widows with children, children with one or both parents who are either physically or mentally incapacitated, and orphans. In effect, eligible welfare families were defined as a mother and her fatherless children or disabled parents with children. By defining welfare recipients as such, most two parent families were prohibited, extended family custodial arrangements were (are) suspect, cohabitation brought harsh sanctions, father-only families lost legitimacy, and fostering children to non-relatives was severely constricted. The definition of family as used to determine welfare eligibility is extremely important not only for how it defines recipients of cash aid but also because of how it affects public housing clients (Newman 1999). Welfare families are pressured to define their family according to the lowest common denominator to gain access to both programs, thus negating diverse forms of family.

Moreover, while family form has historically prohibited certain families from receiving program services, it also functioned to keep certain families in public housing and on welfare.

This circumscription of eligibility acts as a segregation tool creating two distinct classes: the deserving and the undeserving poor. It casts the shadow of impropriety on unacceptable family forms and invalidates an individual's freedom of choice. By dictating to those in financial need how their families must be formed for eligibility purposes, public housing and welfare legislation makes people choose between the family they want and the benefits they need.

It is the author's position that the construction of family within the legislative policy of public housing and welfare amounts to social engineering, because recipients clamoring for scarce resources will modify their family's form to gain access to more benefits (Murray 1984). Such was not the intent of either program's original legislation and it is the author's contention that public housing and welfare policy should not be interwoven and should be "family-neutral". Public housing and welfare were created as separate entities in the Federal government's attempt to establish a holistic approach to address conditions associated with extreme economic woes. Housing legislation began as a work program to stir economic growth during the Great Depression and welfare was created during the same period to care for children whose parents either died or deserted. It was only as public housing policy shifted and housing hardship preferences were designed that housing recipients began to mirror welfare recipients.

To better determine if the legislative definition of family has been responsive to shifts in culturally and judicially legitimate family forms, this paper reviews changes in the definition of family in public housing and welfare legislation and tracks those definitions against American demographic trends of family form and judicial rulings related to family formation. For the purposes of this study, the term public housing will be meant as a collective umbrella encompassing Federal-housing programs for low-income persons enacted first under the 1937 Wagner-Steagall United States Housing Act and revised in its subsequent amendments, and welfare will refer to cash assistance to the poor successively delivered under the Title IV of the 1934 Social Security Act by the Aid to Dependent Children (ADC), Aid to Families and Dependent Children (AFDC), and Temporary Aid to Needy Families (TANF) programs.

Methods

To track the interaction of the definition of family in public housing and welfare legislation with legally legitimate family forms and social demographic shifts, three separate trend line categories are used: the legislative, the judicial, and the demographic. By establishing when and in what manner family form has shifted within each category, it will be possible to determine if and how legislative policy has responded to judicial and/or demographic trends.

Using indexed United States Statutes at Large, the definition of family in the 1937 Wagner-Steagall United States Housing Act¹ and the 1934 Social Security Act Title IV² is traced from the initial legislation forward to the current legislation: the 1998 Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act³ and the 1996 Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act⁴ that established Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)⁵.

To establish positively sanctioned normative family forms, Federal and State Supreme Court decisions from 1940-2000 regarding family form are examined. As an additional measure of the legal acceptance of varying family forms, Domestic Partner laws in the states of California and Vermont will be examined.

Demographic trends are measured using U.S. Census data to track shifts in household composition. Family formation from 1950-2000 is examined to identify national trends for married couples, single mothers, single fathers, multigenerational living arrangements, and non-family care of children. These data are from the US Census Bureau's Current Populations Reports, Series P20-537, "America's Families and Living Arrangements." Rates of cohabitation are somewhat more difficult to trace, because the Census Bureau did not measure cohabitation until 1997. However, the Bureau has developed a method to measure historic cohabitation rates: persons of opposite sex sharing living quarters (POSSLQ). This study uses the POSSLQ as its measure of cohabitation trends.

¹ 75th Congress, Session 1, Chapter 896

² 74th Congress, Section 1, Chapter 531

³ Public Law 105-276

⁴ Public Law 104-193

⁵ Statistics collected by HHS and HUD are used to determine the overlap of welfare and public housing families.

The American Concept of Family and Aid Programs

Pre World War II

In order to better understand the value system behind the definition of family in federal public housing and welfare policy, a brief recount of American family traditions is in order. American colonists brought with them the concept of the Protestant, patriarchal family defined as the center of social order that enforced the laws of God. “Families assumed the responsibility for teaching religion, morality, the work ethic, obedience to the laws, and deference to authority, and general good conduct at home. Supported by prevailing norms and laws, the colonial family operated as the key unit for survival, socialization, and social stability” (Abramowitz 1988:52-53). The capstone of the colonial family ethic was marriage and the perpetuation of family life. Single women were viewed as a threat to the family ethic and out-of-wedlock childbirth was punishable by “public whipping, branding, and fines” (Day 1989:140). However, even in this environment single women did bear children.

By the mid-eighteenth century, strict bastard, adultery, and fornication laws were being passed to curtail out-of-wedlock births and to require the establishment of paternity, so that support could be channeled from the father to the child. Subsequent laws provided for the punishment of unwed mothers who could not identify the father. Indentured servants were not allowed to marry, and if they became pregnant they were required to pay their master for his loss of their services during the pregnancy. Slave marriages were not allowed and children born to a slave mother became the property of her owner. As a whole these rules functioned to keep the majority of illegitimate children off the dole (Abramowitz 1988:96-98).

Along with a set ideal of family, settlers arrived in America with a preconceived vision of public aid. The United States can trace the roots of its public housing and welfare program policy to the Elizabethan Poor Law of 1601 (Day 1989; Kratz 1999; and Trattner 1994). This “statute defined three major categories of dependents—children, the able-bodied, and the impotent—and directed the authorities to adapt their services to the needs of each: for children, apprenticeship; for the able-bodied, work; and for the incapacitated, helpless, or ‘worthy’ poor, either home (‘outdoor’) or institutional (‘indoor’) relief” (Trattner 11). This law established the standard for local responsibility for care of the needy, while clearly categorizing the types of needy individuals and relief methods for each category. It should be noted that the Elizabethan Poor Law was the result of mounting market forces where food was scarce, inflation was high, and the

streets were littered with social upheaval and as a result developed in such a manner as to compel men to learn a trade and work hard. However, widows with children, young children, the physically/mentally incapacitated, and the elderly were thought of as deserving and were provided for either in the homes of others or in institutional settings.

But by the early nineteenth century, everyone who wanted assistance in America had to live in poorhouses (indoor relief). These “houses of last resort” for the elderly, the disabled, the unemployed, orphans, and unwed pregnant women were terrible, dirty, and disorderly. By the late nineteenth century these homes became public old-age homes as states decreased the number of residents by moving younger able-bodied persons to the streets (Katz 1999: 60). Able-bodied individuals were no longer considered deserving of public aid and were expected to provide for themselves regardless of the nation’s economic state.

The treatment of the poor during this period is reflective of the prevailing American cultural paradigm of self-reliance. This paradigm was applied to families as well as individuals. Although, wealthy families had servants who cared for their children, homes, yards, and other physical needs, they were viewed as self-sufficient. However, it was a romantic paternalist view of self-sufficiency where the male cared for financial needs and the female over-saw, but took little direct responsibility for, care of the home and children. Thus females were kept dependent on their spouse’s income and benevolence. In 1873, Supreme Court Justice Bradley⁶ proclaimed,

“Man is, or should be, woman’s protector and defender. The *natural* and *proper* timidity and delicacy which belongs to the female sex evidently unfits it for many of the occupations of civil life. The constitution of *family organization*, which is founded in the *divine ordinance* as well as in the *nature* of things, indicates the domestic sphere as that which properly belongs to the domain and functions of womanhood. The harmony, not to say identity, of interests and views which belong, or should belong, to the family institution is repugnant to the idea of a woman adopting a distant and independent career from that of her husband...The paramount destiny and mission of woman are to *fulfill the noble and benign offices of wife and mother*. This is the *law of the Creator*.”
(Emphasis added)

Justice Bradley’s Spenserian division of sex-roles was the prevalent thought of the period’s dominant class: Protestant, Anglo-Saxon males. In 1873, not 10 years after the end of the Civil War and nearly 50 years before the end of Suffrage, white males dominated political life. In 1870, African American males were granted the right to vote, however, they could exercise their right do so only when they were “allowed” to the polls. African American males

⁶ *Bradwell v. State*, 16 Wall. 130, 141 (1873)

were faced with physical intimidation and literacy testing when they tried to vote, and all women regardless of race were disenfranchised from the vote by virtue of their sex. These voting regulations meant that white males determined the who, what, when, and how of government social policy and the judiciary that upheld the policy's legalities. Laws regulating women's rights included a woman's inability to hold office, serve on juries, or bring suit in their own name. Moreover, married women were little more than chattel, denied the legal capacity to hold or convey property or to *serve as legal guardians of their own children* (Abramowitz 1988). Such was the state of mainstream, dominant, American values by the late nineteenth century; African American men were men in name, but lacked the social standing to execute the rights given to Anglo-men. And, women were mere spokes in the procreative unit, incubators for children, not creators, owners, or directors of their own destiny.

It was in this cultural context that public aid swept across America. Middle-class and upper-class women with limited access to careers began in various states to form volunteer social aid societies. Individuals from these groups went door-to-door preaching the value of hard work, but did little to relieve the immediate suffering of the poor. However, Almshouses and Settlement houses were opened by a variety of local agencies to house the deserving poor; widows, orphans, or disabled until they could become financially stable and establish independent households. The well-educated upper class volunteers kept excellent records that led to the development of sanitary laws to decrease illness and improve housing conditions for the poor. These laws were part of the foundation for public housing policy's objective to provide safe, decent housing (Trattner 1993).

Public Housing: World War II – 1998 Reform

Prior to federal involvement, aid for the poor was the providence of local, state, and private aid agencies. However, after the market crash of 1929 and with the Great Depression ravishing the nation, many hard working people were unemployed and it became clear that state and local agencies alone could not provide all of the assistance for the nation's needy. Government at a federal level had to assume a portion of the responsibility. President Roosevelt developed a series of comprehensive stopgap assistance programs to simultaneously create jobs and grant direct cash aid to needy families. Among the programs he established was the National Industrial Recovery Act developed in 1933, under which the Housing Division of the Public Works Administration emerged to promote housing starts and job creation. The initial Public Works Act was created as an employment stimulus not a housing program, but by 1937, the

Housing Division of the National Industrial Recovery Act was expanded to create the 1937 Wagner-Steagall Housing Act⁷. In the name of business stimulation and a reduction in unemployment, the 1937 Act “provide[d] financial assistance to the States and political subdivisions thereof for the elimination of unsafe and unsanitary housing conditions, for the eradication of slums, for the provision of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for families of low income.” While the new act sounded more like the reforms of the nineteenth century, it can clearly be linked to its history as an economic stimulus policy.

In keeping with its traditional economic objectives, the initial Housing Act did not define “families”; it did however define “families of low-income” as “families who are in the lowest income group and who cannot afford to pay enough to cause private enterprise in their locality or metropolitan area to build an adequate supply of decent, safe, and sanitary dwellings for their use.” Since, Federal policy had no specific family definition, states and localities were allowed to create their own tenant screening criteria with the one restriction that income guidelines be met. This rule meant that the definition of family was at the discretion of individual Public Housing Authorities (PHA). During what Pynoos termed the Happy Years of Public Housing 1937-1950, ground rules for rejection included unmarried couples and out-of-wedlock children. During this period, tenants, though faced with precarious financial states due to the nation’s over-all economic woes, adhered to the prevailing middle-class standards of religious based morality (1986: 12-13).

The limited housing alternatives of these economically strapped families were further exacerbated by an increased shortage of housing during WWII. Young men who could have been building houses were away fighting a war, scarce financial resources were directed to the war effort and construction materials were redirected. The nation’s housing supply was on life support and as WWII drew to an end an influx of new renters and homeowners was about to enter the already over-burdened market.

By the time WWII ended, the urban landscape was scorched by blight and cities faced a severe shortage of decent, safe, sanitary, low-income housing options. The 1949 Housing Act⁸, or Urban Renewal as it was commonly called, attempted to clear the inner-city slums and provide housing for the very poor. However, Urban Renewal cleared more housing units than it replaced leaving many poor homeless (Wright 1981; Mitchell 1985). Although, the programs had been designed to house the very poor, in actuality by 1968 only 125,000 units of the demolished 425,000 had been replaced (Wright 1981:227-234). While a myriad of possible

⁷ 75th Congress, Session 1, Chapter 896

⁸ 81st Congress, Session 1, Chapter 338

family forms had existed within the previous housing situations, many of the displaced families found themselves at the mercy of PHA program administrators. Although the new Federal regulations required public housing authorities to accept only the very poor, many local agencies continued to screen tenants based on their own criteria including requiring ‘complete families’ composed of two parents with several children (Wright 1981; Pynoos 1986).

It was during this period that the first definitive language regarding family form was written into Federal public housing policy. The Housing Act of 1959⁹ declared that “the term families means families consisting of two or more persons, a single person who has attained retirement age as defined in section 216(a) of the Social Security Act or who has attained the age of fifty and is under a disability as defined in section 223 of that Act, or the remaining member of a tenant family.” This definition was revised in 1961¹⁰ to repeal eligibility of disabled, single persons fifty and over. However, this revision was modified in 1964¹¹ to add single handicapped persons to the list of eligible family forms. Again in 1966¹², family was further refined to include “low to moderate-income persons who are less than 62 years of age.” With this addition, public housing policy made eligible a plethora of family forms. This broad definition of family has remained in effect in Federal public housing policy for nearly forty years. However, welfare policy was not as liberal in its definition, and with a majority of public housing residents also receiving welfare, family definition in welfare policy became critical to how families in public housing defined themselves (Morris 1978; Newman 1999).

It was during this time that the face of public housing shifted from that of families with traditional middle-class values experiencing an economic crisis to single mothers. This shift occurred because of hardship preferences written into public housing policy. While these preferences were meant to provide housing for individuals in extreme poverty, in actuality it created concentrations of impoverished single women with children. As public housing became housing of last resort for many people, it also became the logical housing choice for those on welfare. Since those on welfare were the same persons that met public housing’s income preference guidelines, public housing developments were filled with welfare recipients. It was this concentration of poverty that led to the near collapse of public housing. Public housing had become what it sought to replace--unsafe, unsanitary, deteriorating hovels filled with the poorest or the poor. After such an experience, it would seem logical that public housing policy should separate itself from welfare policy, but in actuality it has not. And while income preferences

⁹ Public Law 86-372

¹⁰ Public Law 87-70

¹¹ Public Law 88-560

¹² Public Law 89-754

have been removed, public housing is still directed towards those with the lowest incomes and there are site-based, hardship preferences, so that those receiving welfare are still the majority of public housing tenants.

Welfare: WWII - 1996 Reform

The Social Security Act of 1935¹³ under which Aid to Dependent Children (ADC) was established was created as part of President Roosevelt's New Deal initiative. In 1935, Title IV of the Social Security Act created the ADC program ““for the purpose of enabling each State to furnish financial assistance, as far as practicable under the conditions in such State, to needy dependant children” Under this initial policy, a dependent child was defined as “a child who under the age of sixteen has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the death, continued absence from the home, or physical or mental incapacity of a parent and who is living with his father, mother, grandfather, grandmother, brother, sister, stepfather, stepmother, stepbrother, stepsister, uncle, or aunt in a place of residence maintained by one or more such relatives as his or her home” (74th Congress Chapter 531: Sec. 406). This definition negated married, two-parent families and/or the legitimacy of cohabitating couples and permitted States to enact their own requirements for determining the criteria for desertion. For example, Wisconsin required that the wife charge the father with abandonment as a condition of eligibility. Moreover, the charge had to be criminal not civil (Hollingsworth 1971:74).

Prior to 1961, even unemployed able-bodied men were kept out of the house by regulations requiring the family's benefits be either decreased or stopped if a man was found in the house. To catch recipients breaking the “man-in-the-house” rules, night raids and other surveillance methods were used. It was not until the 1961 Aid for Families with Dependent Children—Unemployed Parent¹⁴ (AFDC-UP) program that Federal policy permitted chronically unemployed fathers to live in the home. Under the 1961 amendment for a period of one year from June 1961 to May 1962, the definition of family would “include a needy child under the age of eighteen who has been deprived of parental support or care by reason of the unemployment (as defined by the State) of a parent”¹⁵ Extended, in 1967, AFDC-UP became a compulsory program permitting unemployed fathers to remain in the home while the family received benefits (Davies 1996:198). However, it was not until 1968, when a Selma, Alabama waitress was charged when she left her children in the care of a man while she worked, that the “man-in-the-house” rule was overturned in a unanimous Supreme Court decision. But, as of

¹³ 74th Congress, Section 1, Chapter 531

¹⁴ Public Law 87-31

¹⁵ Ibid.

1969, only twenty-four states had enacted any provisions to allow unemployed fathers to remain in the house and the mother to receive welfare benefits (Piven 1993).

While AFDC policy was changed to allow men to be part of the home, it was officially tightening the reins on a woman's reproductive freedom by legislating "good-girl" budget incentives. In 1967, amendments to welfare policy imposed a budgetary freeze of federal funds to states with AFDC cases resulting from desertion or out-of-wedlock births (Abramovitz 1988; Day 1989). As legislative policy was changed to correct eligibility requirements that mandated one-parent families and caused parents to desert in an effort to secure funds, family choice was constricted by mandates to require marriage and/or dual parental involvement. Additionally, social workers were given more power to remove children from homes "because of the poor environment for child upbringing in homes with *low standards including multiple instances of illegitimacy*" (Emphasis added) (Abramovitz 1988:338). These program norms continued throughout the 1970s and into the late 1980s.

During the recession of the late 1980s, America once again found many hardworking families unemployed and living in poverty. It was in this atmosphere in 1988 under project Self-Sufficiency that Congress mandated all states to provide AFDC to two-parent families. As declining economic stability forced more families into the fierce competition to gain access to the available public aid, Congress debated the fate of AFDC. By 1994, welfare reform was inevitable and in 1996 President Clinton signed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act into law creating TANF. It is in TANF legislation that "marriage" is promoted as a key objective. While previous welfare legislation inadvertently caused the dissolution of families seeking assistance, this policy openly promotes marriage.

Welfare policy is not the place for the promotion of family type: TANF is an economic assistance program to aid those who are unemployed or underemployed and/or unable to work because of a physical/mental disability. It should not be a platform for promoting a particular view of morality. And while the promoted state of marriage is a valuable family form, it is promoted as an exclusive form that presupposes that legal marriage is the highest form of personal commitment and all marriages are heterosexual in nature, since homosexuals cannot legally marry. If legislators are promoting marriage as a means to increase economic stability, it stands to reason that in actuality what is being encouraged is economic reliance upon a partner who has agreed to take legal responsibility for the other's financial well-being. This reliance does not have to come in the form of heterosexual legal marriages lest we confuse family choice and economic stability.

Changing Family Forms

As America entered the 1940s, middle-class standards created socially sanctioned familial roles that pervaded society. However, the economic turmoil of the previous decade had left many either unemployed or underemployed, and the familial associations among those struggling to survive assumed forms that allowed them to survive. This meant that the prevailing middle class norms were not necessarily the majority. Though 76% of all families were married couples, living arrangements were diverse. For example, extended family members, including aunts, uncles, and grandparents, would live in one house or several single mothers would share a room to decrease the cost of shelter and to disburse household tasks (Morris 1978; Coontz 1992; Ritzdorf 1997). As the United States was emerging from the Great Depression, money was scarce and men were still considered to be the family's principal financial provider and women were considered to be caregivers for the home and children.

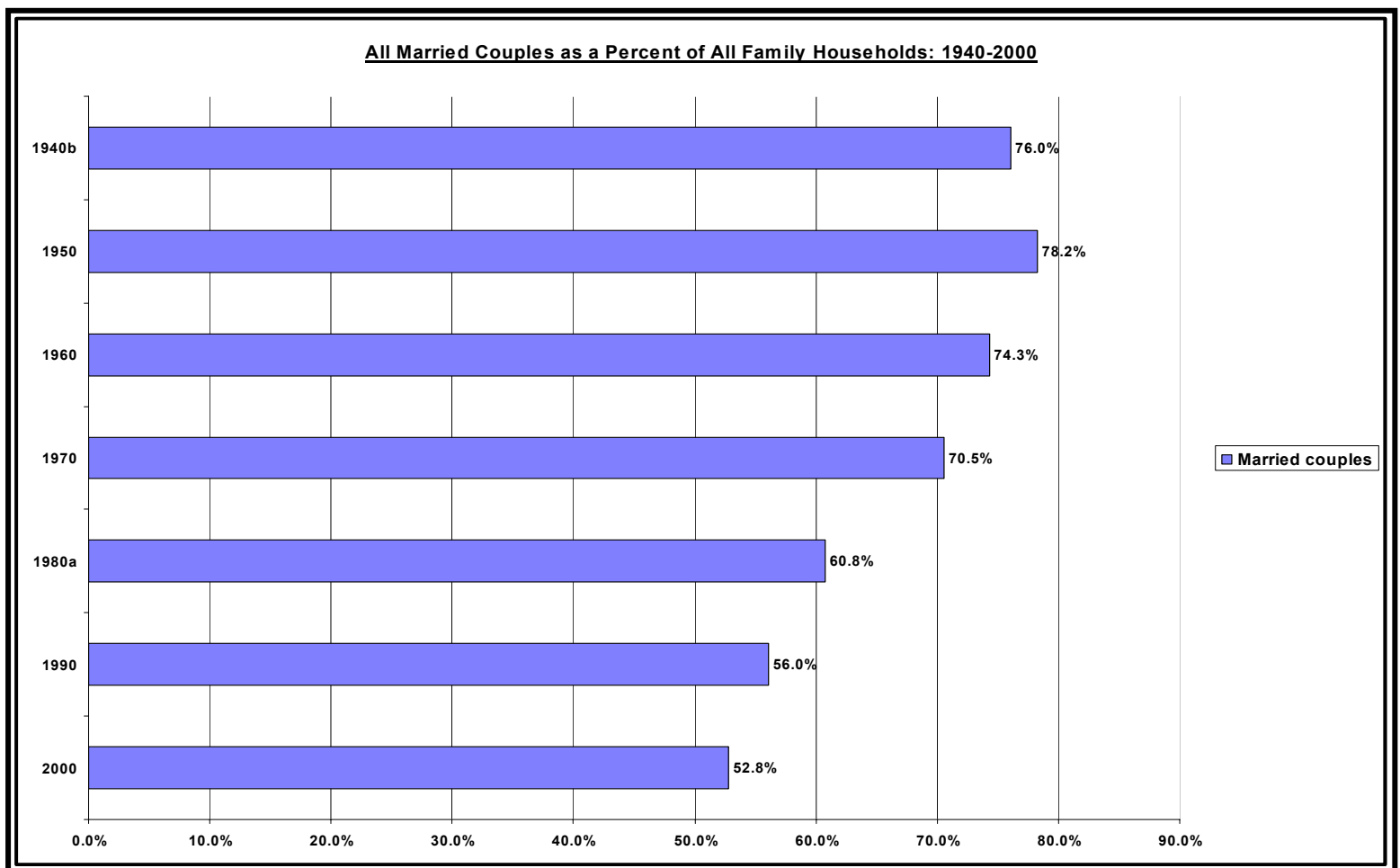


Figure 1: All Married Couples as a Percent of All Family Households: 1940-2000
Data from the U.S. Census Current Population
a=Revised using controls based on the 1980 census
b=Based on 1940 Census

When America joined WWII in 1942, many young working men were called to arms and women took on jobs outside the home, such as factory workers, pilots, and baseball players that had previously been reserved for men. Rosie the Riveter was the new model of womanhood. However, when WWII ended, women were expected return to the home and domestic life. In a surge of postwar-nationalism many women returned to expected roles, such as teaching, nursing or domestic life. In 1950, married couples reached their zenith at 78% of all family types. (See figure 1.) Young men returning from war were able to purchase homes using low-interest loans for veterans. While many chose to immediately marry and settle into family life, others chose to enter college under the GI Bill, which paid for their tuition. Many of these men elevated their economic status and built their idealized family lives. People who had previously shared living arrangements now had the means to move into separate households.

The stereotypical American family was created as “mom, dad, 2.3 kids, a dog named spot, and a house with a picket fence”. Embracing the concept of the independent nuclear family (a husband, wife, and their children) middle-class families of the fifties created their built world accordingly and left behind the prewar life (Wright 1981; Coontz 1992; Trattner 1994; Lehr 1999; Bauman 2000). During this decade, suburbs exploded as these independent, middle-class, white families moved out of the crowded inner cities and into the sanctuary of single-family detached houses in cul-de-sacs (Ritzdolf 1997). Inner cities, especially those in the large industrial areas of the North and Midwest, became the providence of migrating Southern blacks and poor working-class whites. The new middle-class white families perpetuated the romantic version of Victorian era family life where men provided financial resources and women kept the home, cared for the children, and lived to please their husband. American developers grabbed onto this concept of family and built suburban subdivisions where women were to stay home and care for the children while men went to work in the city. These new islands of nuclear-family independence were middle-class castles far from crowded inner cities. A family living in suburbia was said to have “made it”. However, the post-war euphoria that created the illusion of the idealized family form was short lived.

The Feminist movement, Civil Rights movement, and sexual revolution of the 1960s opened the door for women to take charge of their reproductive and marriage choices, and the not so traditional family began to fade as quickly as it had begun, and in the subsequent decades the percent of married families steadily decreased from its high of 78% in 1950 to a low of 53% in 2000 (Coontz 1992). (See Figure 1.) Although the percent of married families began to decrease, the percent of never-married persons also decreased. This apparent contradiction was possible because during the same time frame the percentage of those divorced tripled. (See

Figure 2.) Discontented Americans in search of the fictive, traditional *Leave-It-to-Beaver* life began practicing serial monogamy, leaping into and out of marriage.

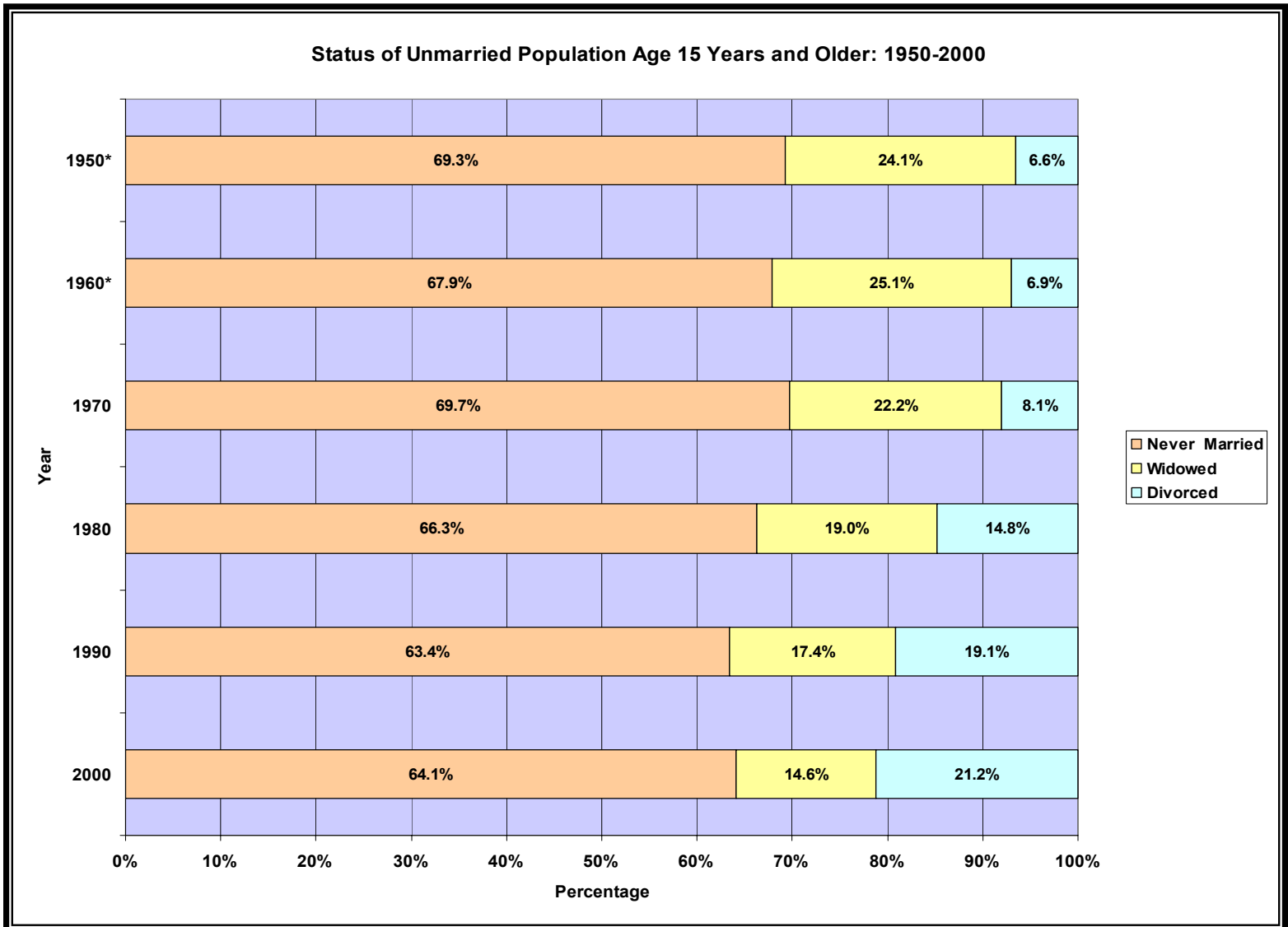


Figure 2: Status of Unmarried Population 1950-2000
Information from the US Census: * Data from the Decennial Census

Likewise, the amount of cohabitation, as measured by POSSLQ projections, increased sharply after 1970 indicating that more and more people were redefining family by choosing either heterosexual or homosexual cohabitation instead of marriage. (See Figure 3.)

Household Types as a Percent of All Households: 1960-2000

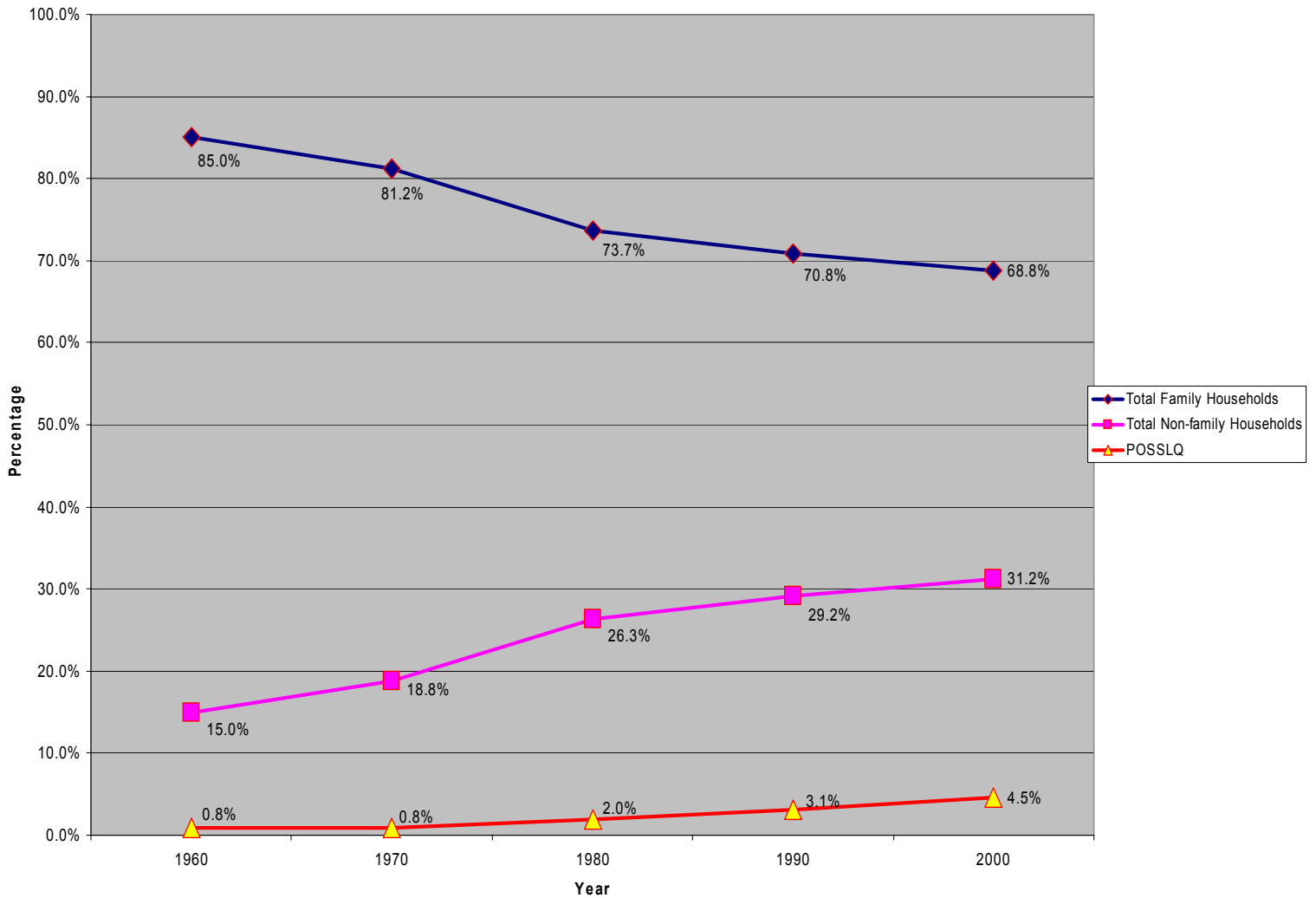


Figure 3: Household Types as a Percent of all Households: 1960-2000
Information from US Census

As the social perception of marriage shifted, so did the perceptions of childbearing. More never-married women began choosing to bear children outside of marriage.¹⁶ This national trend has been experiencing a steady increase since the 1960s with a high of 41% in 2000. In like fashion, more never-married fathers have chosen to assume the role of primary care-giver. (See Figure 4.) Trends indicate that both males and females have decided that parenting does not require marriage. However, in some situations the single parent has been unable or unwilling to care for the child and has given over the parental role to the grand-parent(s).

¹⁶ GAO report GAO/HEHS-94-92 details the demographic trends related to never-married mothers: both AFDC recipients and non-recipients.

All Children Under 18 Living with Never Married Parent, by Parent: 1960-2000

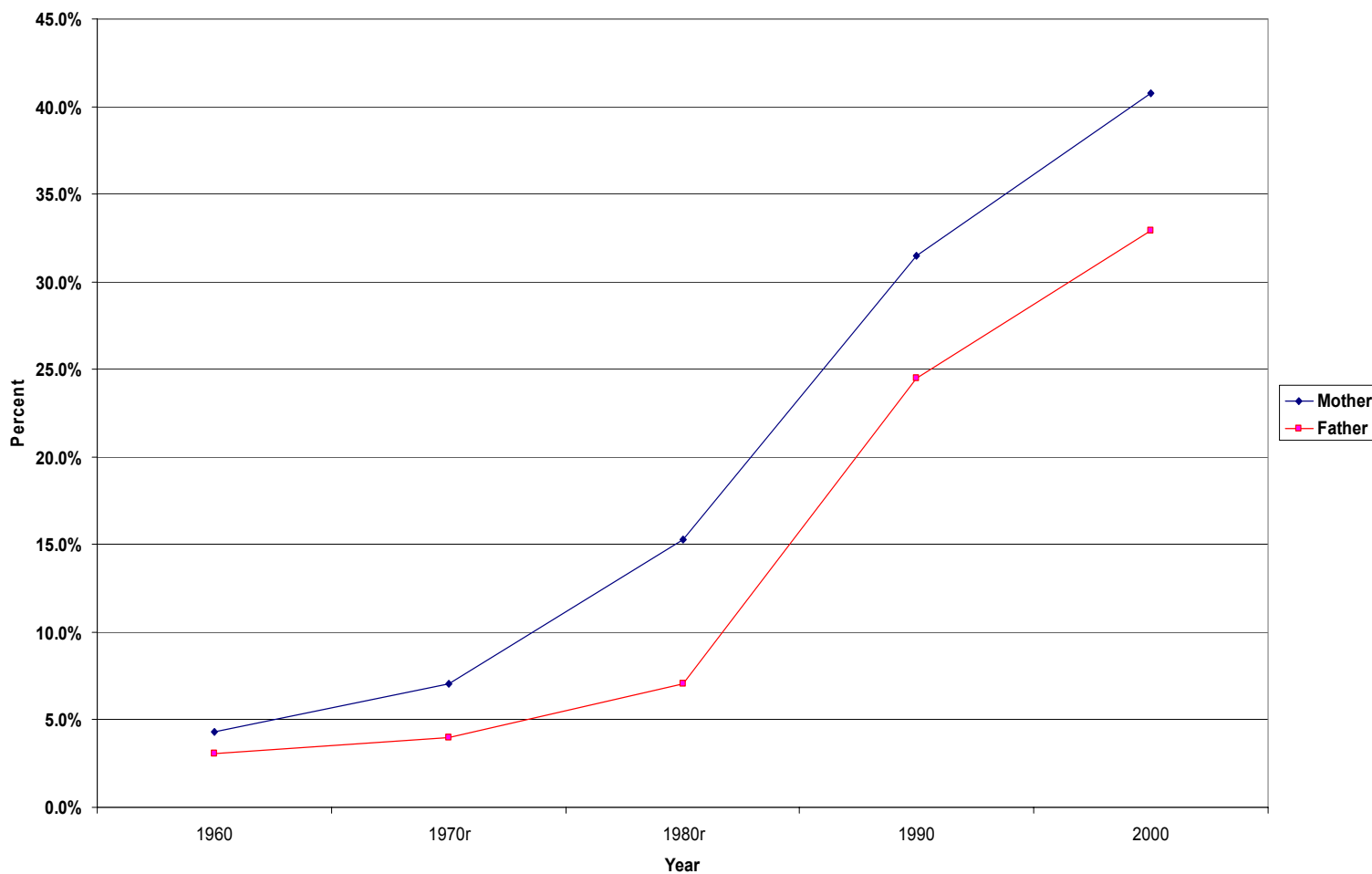


Figure 4: All Children Under 18 Living with Never Married Parent by Parent: 1960-2000
Data from the U.S. Census Current Population Survey
r=Revised based on population from the decennial census for that year.

The rate of multigenerational homes, those where a grandparent is the acting guardian of a grandchild, has steadily increased over the last thirty years. Whether this is a function of the decreased occurrence and longevity of marriage is debatable, the increase of grandparents caring for their grandchildren is undeniable. The rate of grandchildren living with grandparents has increased from 3% to 5% since 1970. (See Figure 5.) While the majority of those living with their grandparents have one or both parents living in the same home, 35% of these grandchildren are living without their parents in the home.

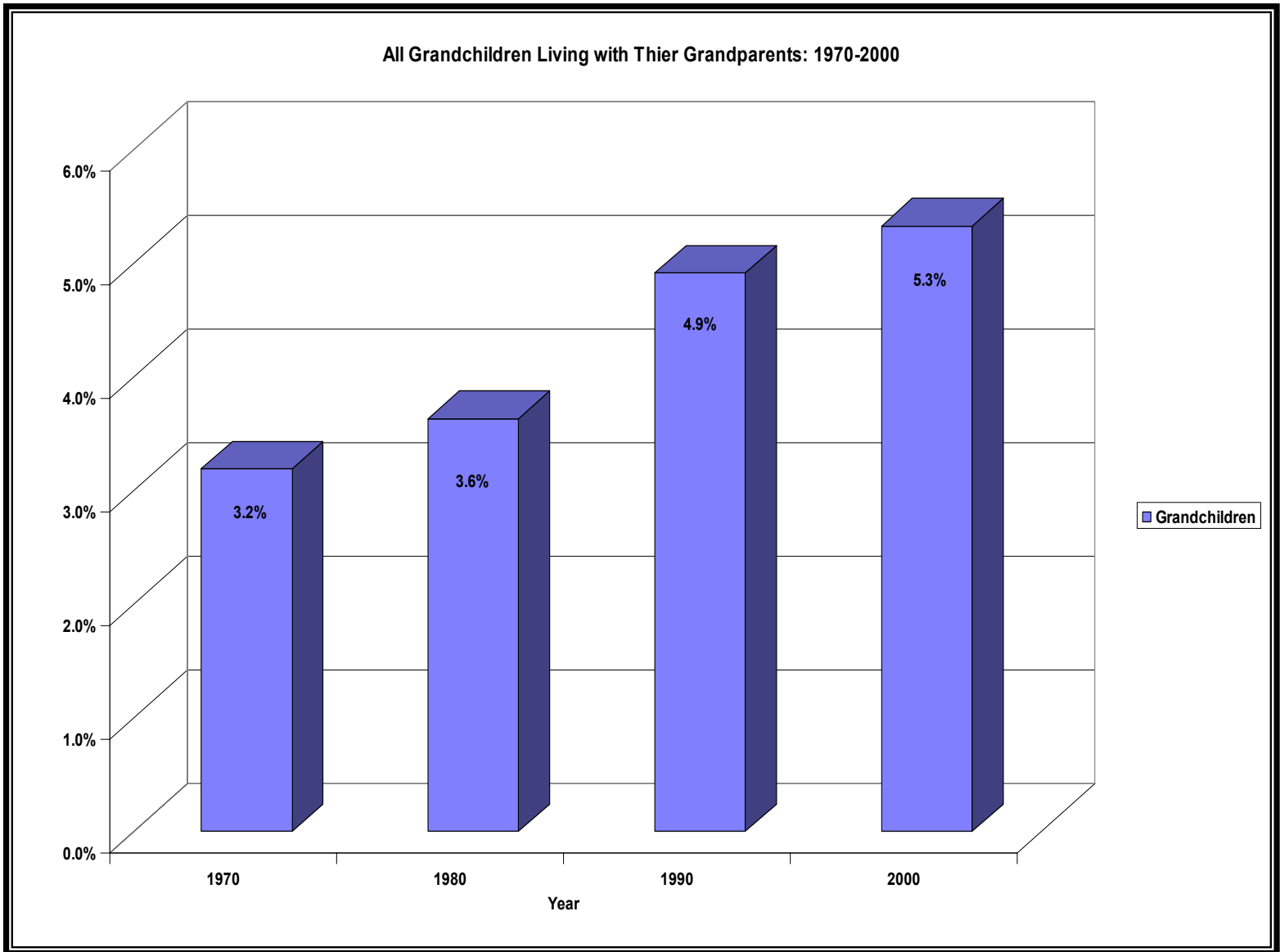


Figure 5: All Grandchildren Living with Their Grandparents: 1970-2000
 Data from the U.S. Census Current Population Survey

While the issues of childbearing and childrearing have been the center of heterosexual concerns, the central issues for homosexual partners have been to establish the legitimacy of their sexual choices, familial union, and the procurement of benefits that come with a fully sanctioned marriage relationship (Lehr 1999; Samar 2000). It was not until 1968 and the *Diagnostic and Statistical Manual for Mental Disorders (2ed.) (DSM-II)*, that homosexuality was removed from the list of mental illness. In the thirty years since, the acceptance of same-sex relationships has blossomed. As of 2001 in both California and Vermont homosexual couples were granted the legal right to enter into domestic partnerships with the same benefits as

heterosexual marriages.¹⁷ Children are being raised within these homes where stability has become the test of “family”, not heterosexuality.

A realistic description of family reflects a mosaic rather than the 1950s idealization. From married-with-children, to single-and-loving-it, from empty-nesting to multigenerational home-life, from homosexual as mental illness to homosexual as normal, there are multiple options of the American family form. However, the new federal TANF legislation has decreed that the idealized married family is best, by placing marriage as a primary objective of TANF.

New Models of Public Aid

Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)—1996

There is need to give special attention to the welfare reform policy of 1996 because although the definition of family went unchanged, three of the four purposes of the new TANF program relate to family formation—*promotion of job preparation, work and marriage; prevention and reduction of out-of-wedlock pregnancy; and the formation and maintenance of two-parent families* (Fremstad 2002:1). By using language such as “marriage”, “out-of-wedlock”, and “two-parent”, the TANF objectives have in effect defined preferred family forms as non-single, blood and/or marriage relationships. Taken alone, the language in the new objectives is troubling. When coupled with the fact that the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunity Reconciliation Act that enacted Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF) eliminated assistance as a state entitlement program, in lieu of a block grant program guaranteed only till 2002, it is alarming. Leading welfare expert, Senator Daniel Moynihan, “termed the bill ‘the most brutal act of social policy since Reconstruction’” (Katz 1999: 327). Moreover, this new plan devolved administrative responsibility from the federal government to the states, allowing each state to design its own programs based on those same legislative objectives that promote “traditional” families (Schorr 2001:7).

The impact of such policy is nothing short of social engineering. The new regulations bear no resemblance to national trends of cohabitation as measured by POSSALQ projections. As indicated in Figure 3, Americans are choosing not to marry and more are choosing to cohabitate both with and without children. Rodriguez (1998) reported that “[m]any *families with children that are officially defined as ‘single parent’ actually contain two unmarried parents.*” At best, the new TANF policy ignores these social trends; at worst, it is an active attempt to

¹⁷ California Family Code §297 (2001) and Vermont Title Fifteen V.S.A. § 1204 (2001)

curtail freedom of choice for the poor. Additionally, same-sex couples are not permitted to legally marry and those who file as domestic partners in California, Hawaii, and Vermont are not permitted to carry that status across state lines. TANF effectively disallows diversity of family form within its service populations by writing into its objectives desirable family types. While it may be argued that this legislation is simply correcting the problems created by the AFDC mandates of the 1950s and 60s, rushing from one extreme to the other does not solve a problem.

The new TANF policy holds special significance for public housing residents because of interaction between housing and welfare administrators. As Daskal explains, “Some agencies use joint application and or recertification forms... [and] some housing agencies are establishing admissions priorities that emphasize welfare-to-work efforts” (1998:7). In addition to admissions policy, it is conceivable that special programs at individual PHAs might direct social services towards strengthening marriage while negating the needs of single-parent, multigenerational, or cohabitating families. Is it the legislative intent to increase the number of marriages by giving married couples increased access to programs and resources? Increasing the number of marriages does not mean that these will be healthy marriages or that the children created or housed in them will be benefited (Motliff 2000). While the same argument can be made that non-marital unions can be an unhealthy environment for children, it is important to note that TANF is an economic stability program. And as such, should TANF benefits not be equally available to all family types that are experiencing a financial crisis?

Another means by which TANF policy functions to curtail multiple family forms is the state imposed family caps on welfare that were developed as a mechanism to decrease the number of out-of-wedlock births. “Twenty-three states, representing approximately one-half of the nation’s TANF caseload, have implemented some variations of a family-cap, breaking the traditional link between a family’s size and the amount of its monthly welfare check” (GAO-01-924). This program works by: a) disallowing any increase for an additional child born; b) only allowing partial benefits for a new child; or c) setting TANF at one sum no matter the family size. While it may well act to decrease out-of-wedlock births, Brandon (2001) found that the “[g]rowing reluctance across all levels of government to provide income support for needy families may accelerate the upward trend in parent-child separation” (1). In states with family caps, a mother may be placed in the position of choosing between an existing child and a conceived child or grandparents may be called upon to provide financial support for the additional child.

Moreover, states have been given an incentive to decrease abortion. The “Bonus to Reward a Decrease in Illegitimacy” was enacted as part of PRWORA. Under this program, each

year the five states with the largest decline in the illegitimacy ratio will be receive a \$20 million bonus. “Proponents of the bonus expect it to reduce the prevalence of non-marital childbearing and therefore lower the welfare caseload,” however to receive the bonus states must show a decline in the ratio of abortions to live births (Dye 1999: 142). The obvious questions are what do decreasing abortion rates have to do with decreasing illegitimacy rates and how will this program affect accessibility to abortion services? However, these concerns appear lost within the legislative rush to decrease the welfare rolls by eliminating new children on the dole and increasing marriage. While there has been a short-term decrease in the welfare rolls, TANF has done little to address the underlying causes of welfare reliance, such as educational levels and the distance between the minimum wage and the cost of living. TANF’s new legislative objectives do perpetuate a patriarchal society where the way out of poverty’s grip is to marry and be supported by a spouse.

Quality Housing and Work Responsibility Act of 1998

Like TANF, aspects of QHWRA’s stated purpose are troubling. The most troubling is the rush to deregulate and decontrol public housing agencies, so that they may perform as property and asset managers¹⁸ where PHAs have greater latitude in the resident screening process. Couple this objective with the requirement that “not less than 40 percent [of public housing] shall be occupied by families whose income at the time of commencement of occupancy do not exceed 30 percent of the area median”¹⁹ and QHWRA has created a policy were at least 40% of its population probably overlaps with the TANF recipient population. This situation creates a troubling outlook for the variation of families receiving public housing benefits. Reminiscent of earlier generations, current public housing policy defines family in such a way as to permit diversity. However, it is inconsequential if a) PHAs have such latitude that managers feel free during the screening process to impose their personal moral biases, and b) 40% of the tenants are TANF recipients who have to work within TANF limitations and directives.

GAO recently issued a report to HUD addressing how PHAs could better serve their TANF population. In its report GAO commented that “HUD could consider using the community builders as part of its strategy to implement [GAO’s] recommendation on promoting the benefits of using assisted housing developments as places to deliver services related to welfare reform.” To this end, HUD has developed Welfare to Work (WtW) to give housing preference to TANF recipients who are *in compliance* with TANF’s work requirements. While the program was created by HUD, the particulars for developing selection criteria are left to

¹⁸ Public Law 105-276, Section 502

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, Section 16

individual PHAs. In *Ending the Stalemate* (1996) Mary Nemmo pointed out the key element to the public housing crisis was public housing's "inability to learn". She followed up this point by listing several critical elements, the first of which is that "public housing should not be restricted to housing the very lowest income households or isolated from the total neighborhood and the total community's economic and social structure."

Additionally, the new legislation has created implementation procedures for Section 214 of the Housing and Community Development Act of 1980: non-citizen regulations. As a result a new family type: the "new mixed family" has been created. These are families where one person is not a U.S. citizen. This lack of citizenship of even one family member means that rents set at a higher rate increasing the difference between a person's ability to pay and the required rent. In cases where tenants can not afford the higher rent charges, residents are moving out of public housing and into more affordable housing even when the alternative housing is substandard. These families are of extreme interest because of the potential power current policy has on how these families define and redefine themselves to obtain access to quality housing.

Legal Definitions of Family

Circa 1940, the legal norm for family was defined as those related by blood, adoption, or marriage. While these legal parameters appear to be rather self-explanatory, they are in fact misleading. The state of technology during the 1940s made it impossible to determine if a child was actually one's biological child. Subsequently, a standard was established that when a married woman became pregnant, the husband was assumed to be father. If another man stepped forward and claimed to be the father of a married woman's child, the adulterer was denied parental standing.

In the 1960s and 1970s towns across America influenced family form by writing into their zoning regulations limits on the number of unrelated persons (those not joined by marriage, blood, or adoption) living in a residence (Thomas 1997: 48). The constitutionality of these zoning regulations were brought before the Supreme Court in 1974 when the Village of Belle Terre attempted to enforce its resident limits on a group of six college students sharing a house.²⁰ In *Belle Terre*, the Supreme Court ruled that the ordinance did not restrict fundamental rights. The Court only required that such ordinances have a "rational relationship to permissible state

²⁰ *Village of Belle Terre v Boraas*, 416 U.S. 1 (1974), 94 S. Ct. 1536

objectives.”²¹ This ruling set the Court’s tone regarding unrelated persons living together by permitting localities to disallow cohabitation or “fictive kin and the sharing of households by, for example, two unrelated single mothers and their children” by virtue of zoning regulations (50). *Belle Terre* remains the federal benchmark used to create local ordinances limiting the number of “fictive kin” living together.

While *Belle Terre* determined the limits of zoning related to unrelated persons, *Moore v. City of East Cleveland*²² set the standard for zoning ordinance restrictions on the types of related individuals permitted to live together. Under the Cleveland ordinance, no more than one adult and his or her spouse and children were considered a legitimate household. Mrs. Moore, who was living with her son and two non-brother grandsons, was given notice that she was in violation of East Cleveland’s housing ordinance by having two non-brother grandchildren living in her home. Mrs. Moore claimed that her right to Due Process under the Fourteenth Amendment had been violated. In the Opinion of the Court, Justice Powell remarked, “When the government intrudes on choices concerning family living arrangements, the usual *deference to the legislature is inappropriate*, and the Court must examine carefully the importance of the governmental interests advanced and the extent to which they are served by the challenged regulation.” The majority opinion, which found in favor of Moore, explained that the constitutional protection of the *sanctity* of the family granted by the Due Process Clause is not confined to the boundary limits of a nuclear family: a couple and their dependent children. Moreover, “[t]he history and tradition of this Nation compel a larger conception of the family.” Justice Brennan, writing a concurring opinion for the majority, declared that although the nuclear family was the model in the majority of white households “the prominence of other than nuclear families among ethnic and racial minority groups including our Black citizens, surely demonstrates that the ‘extended family’ remains a vital tenant of our society.”²³

Beyond addresses due process issues related to zoning regulations infringement on family composition, the Supreme Court has refined the constitutional foundation of the rights to marry and parent. These rulings are tremendously pertinent to understanding the breadth of choice for the creation of various family forms legally permitted to the general populous. Once the parameters of the legally sanctioned family have been determined, it is possible to discern if public housing and welfare policies have kept pace with the legal shifts in family choice.

Prior to 1967, Virginia did not allow interracial marriages, even if the marriage had been performed and was legal in another state. Individuals married to a person of another race could

²¹ Ibid. 1540

²² *Moore v. City of East Cleveland*, 431 U.S. 494 (1977)

²³ Ibid. 123.

be jailed upon returning to Virginia. In 1967, the Supreme Court ruled on the grounds of equal protection that interracial marriages are valid²⁴. Again in 1978, the Court struck down a state marriage prohibition. A state rule requiring that residents owing child support had to have a court order to marry was invalidated in *Zablocki v Redhail*²⁵. In 1987, the right to establish a marriage was granted to prisoners.²⁶

In addition to determining who could marry, standards for parental privilege were being set. In general principle, the right to parent was granted to criminals in 1942 when the Court invalidated an Oklahoma statute providing forced sterilization of certain criminals.²⁷ A series of cases beginning in 1965 and stretching to 1977 permitted first married couples²⁸, then unmarried individuals²⁹, and finally minors³⁰ the right to contraception. *Roe v Wade*³¹ further broadened parental options when it established the right to abortion. However, it was not until 1992³² that married women were permitted to have abortions without the consent of their husbands. While the comparison between contraceptive choice and legislative objectives in public housing and welfare legislation may appear unrelated, in-fact in all instances there is a question of personal freedom to create a family and the value biases involved.

As the Court was setting guidelines related reproductive rights, it was also deciding how biological ties to children were to be weighed against marriage ties. In 1972, the Court ruled that an unwed father had the right to custody of his children after the death of their mother, invalidating the assumption that unwed fathers are unfit.³³ By 1979, unwed fathers had been granted the basic right to block an adoption.³⁴ However, in 1983 the Court refined its view of unwed fathers by declaring, “When an unwed father demonstrates a full commitment to the responsibilities of parenthood...his interest in personal contact with his child acquires substantial protection...but the mere existence of a biological link does not merit equivalent constitutional protection.”³⁵ In 1989, the Court firmly established its position on biological rights versus marital rights when a biological father sought visitation rights after the child’s mother returned to her husband. The child had been fathered during an adulteress affair and the Court held that

²⁴ *Loving v Virginia*, 388 U.S. 1 (1967)

²⁵ *Zablocki v Redhail*, 434 U.S. 374 (1978)

²⁶ *Turner v Safley*, 482 U.S. 78 (1987)

²⁷ *Skinner v Oklahoma*, 316 U.S. 535 (1942)

²⁸ *Griswold v Connecticut*, 381 U.S. 479 (1965)

²⁹ *Eisenstadt v Baird*, 405 U.S. 438 (1972)

³⁰ *Carey v Population Services International*, 431 U.S. 678 (1977)

³¹ *Roe v Wade*, 410 U.S. 113, 152-53 (1973)

³² *Planned Parenthood v Casey*, 505 U.S. 833, 852-65 (1992)

³³ *Stanley v Illinios*, 405 U.S. 645 (1972)

³⁴ *Caban v Mohammed*, 441 U.C. 380 (1979)

³⁵ *Lehr v Robertson*, 463 U.S. 248 (1983)

nothing in the American tradition required protection for “adulterer” fathers³⁶. This ruling clearly positioned marriage as a greater tie to a child than biology.

Although marriage was given higher standing than biology, the Supreme Court has not permitted same-sex couples to enter into the marriage covenant. In 1986 in *Bowers v Harwick*,³⁷ the Court upheld the criminalization of consensual sodomy, on the ground that the Constitution had no tradition of protecting “the fundamental rights of homosexuals to engage in sodomy.” The Supreme Court denied homosexuals the validity of forming the physical bonds that are held sacred in heterosexual relationships. However, in 1989, the State Supreme Court of New York took a bold step and ruled that the “term ‘family’, as used in rent-control laws, can refer to a gay or lesbian couple” and granted a surviving gay partner the right to stay in a rent controlled apartment after the death of his partner (Samar 2000:314). By 1992, homosexuality was more positively sanctioned and a Manhattan judge “approved the adoption of a six-year-old boy by the lesbian partner of the child’s natural mother” (326). While not all states have been as liberal in the acceptance of same-sex families, California and Vermont have developed state-wide domestic partner legislation that conveys virtually the same rights and privileges as marriage. However, the Defense of Marriage Act³⁸, enacted in 1996, permits other states to ignore same sex partnerships and the Federal government to deny gay couples the same benefits as heterosexual couples. The Defense of Marriage Act states, “No State, territory, or possession of the United States, or Indian tribe, shall be required to give effect to any public act, record, or judicial proceeding of any other State, territory, possession, or tribe respecting a relationship between persons of the same sex that is treated as a marriage under the laws of such other State, territory, possession, or tribe, or a right or claim arising from such relationship, nor has the Federal legislation been found unconstitutional.”

And while the Fair Housing Act³⁹ protects persons based on familial status, “familial” was defined to mean those relations created either by blood or by law as follows:

One or more individuals (who have not attained the age of 18 years) being domiciled with a parent or another person having legal custody of such individual or individuals or the designee of such parent or other person having such custody, with the written permission of such parent or other person. The protections afforded against discrimination on the basis of familial status shall apply to any person who is pregnant or is in the process of securing legal custody of any individual who has not attained the age of 18 years.

³⁶ *Michael H., v Gerald D.*, 491 U.S. 110 (1989)

³⁷ *Bowers v Harwick*, 478 U.S. 186 (1986)

³⁸ Public Law 104-199

³⁹ 42 U.S.C. §§ 3601-3619, 3631 (1982 & Supp.1989)

A cohabitating couple did challenge the familial status criteria in *Hann v Housing Authority of Easton*⁴⁰ and it was ruled that a PHA cannot refuse assistance to unmarried cohabitants. Although this ruling was at the state level, it has vast ramifications at all levels. PHAs still have the discretion to make a determination of what constitutes a “family” as long as it is in accordance with local laws and policies, including state and local fair housing laws. For instance, the family definition upheld in *City of LaDue v Horn*⁴¹ prohibited a cohabitating couple and their children of previous marriages from living together. While there have been extensive cases related to family formation, there is no clear direction for Federal welfare or housing policy. Court rulings have permitted interracial marriages, but denied same-sex marriages. Homosexuals have been permitted to keep the rent-controlled apartment of the partner, but sodomy was not legal. Single fathers have been given increased rights to see their children, but fathers of children conceived by adulteress wives have been denied parental rights. The legalities of family formation is a muddled concept, one that has shifted with changing societal normative and remains in flux.

Conclusion

The results of this study indicate that while Federal public housing policy has historically offered a definition of family that has allowed for a diversity of family forms, the selection biases of local PHAs and welfare policy have been much more restrictive. This finding is troublesome because of the current public housing policy requirement that not less than 40% of the dwelling units shall be made available to families whose incomes do not exceed 30% of area median, many of whom are likely to be welfare recipients. Murray (1984) and Morris (1978) indicate families will modify their structure to gain access to the greatest amount of scarce resources. In interviews conducted during a study of an unidentified Midwest low-income housing complex, Moore (1969) found that many families changed their composition to be eligible for ADC. At the time of Moore’s research, this conformity meant that fathers unable to financially provide for their children moved out of the home, so that the mother could claim desertion and collect welfare benefits as well as being preferenced for public housing. It also meant that women took male companions who would provide financial assistance but not live in the home. Under the new TANF policy, instead of men deserting so the family can procure more

⁴⁰ *Hann v Housing Authority of Easton*, 709 F. Supp.605 (E.D. Pa 1989)

⁴¹ *City of LaDue v Horn*, 720 S.W. 2d 745 (Mo. App., 1986)

benefits, unwed couples would marry to open the way to more program funding (Baker 1999; Cabrera 2000; Brandon 2001; Shirr 2001).

While the institution of heterosexual marriage has historically been an integral part of the American society, this position alone is not reason enough to create legislative objectives that promote such institutions in programs directed towards the financially disadvantaged. TANF policy explicitly sets as its objectives increasing the number of married persons, though society at large has steadily moved away from marriage as the majority family form dropping from a high in 1950 of 78% of all family households to a low in 2000 of 53%. Additionally, the term marriage as has been defined by the Supreme Court leaves out an entire section of society: same-sex couples. Although, there are Domestic Partnership laws in California and Vermont that give same-sex unions equal status with marriage, these unions are not federally recognized. Moreover, while it has been ruled by the Pennsylvania Supreme Court that PHAs cannot deny access on the grounds of non-married cohabitation it is unclear how this affects same-sex cohabitation. And for the increasing number of individuals choosing not to accept marriage as the arbiter of “proper relationships”, this ruling will add validity of their chosen family form. Nevertheless, the Supreme Court has given marriage its blessing as the supreme sacred family forming institution within American society. If a child is born during the course of a legally sanctioned marriage then parental rights are assumed, however if a child is born within the confines of a homosexual relationship the “other-mommy” has no assumed rights or legal standing. Perhaps more distressing is the finding that an adulterer has no legal footing to claim parental rights to his child and marriage supercedes biological connections.

Over the last nearly forty years Supreme Court has granted ever-increasing rights to individuals to choose how to define their family, but in *Michael H., v Gerald D.*, the Court ruled that marriage relations took precedence over biological ties. While the Court has permitted great latitude for people to regulate their reproduction, it has set a hierarchical framework of legitimate family form. The direction of the Court is inconclusive and troubling especially in light of the legislative objectives tied to TANF and public housing mandates.

With the devolution of administration to the local level in the current public housing and welfare policy, the definition of family form in public policy is extremely important. Since its inception Federal legislators have granted broad descriptors of family form in public housing legislation, however the mandate that not less than 40% of public housing residents be below 30% of the area median family income in practice links TANF’s legislated objectives to public housing. Additionally, the devolution of administrative obligations to the local level opens the

door for individual PHAs or PHA agents to impose personal interpretations of morality on family composition that may not reflect the diversity found in America.

It is the position of this researcher that legislation created to enhance financial stability should be family neutral. If program administrators use legislative positions to reinforce their personal moral conceptions of legitimate family composition, the consequences could be as devastating as those that nearly caused the collapse of public housing. In the early years of public housing and welfare, benefits were given to the “deserving” poor as defined by the moral biases of screening personnel. These definitions of the “deserving” poor led AFDC to strictly enforce the “no man in the house” rule that when coupled with federally mandated public housing preferences created projects filled with extremely poor female-headed households. Though it was not the intention of AFDC legislation to cause the dissolution of marriages and the crisis that ensued in public housing, the effect was that family units were shattered and public housing quickly became hovels of last resort instead of transitional homes. Authors of the current QHWRA in their haste to develop a comprehensive plan to remedy this condition have laden the current legislation with goals related to personal morality and fallen short on meeting the basic concern of creating sustainable financial stability for all households. Although income targeting could lead to concentrated poverty, there are mechanisms to create mixed income housing complexes to dilute the concentrations of poverty in public housing.

Recommendations for Future Research

There are nuances and complications of the interaction between family composition and eligibility to public housing and welfare that this researcher was unable to address. Additional directions for research related to family composition include:

1. A comparative study of the family composition of public housing households, pre-TANF and post-TANF, to more closely examine the effects of welfare policy.
2. A detailed study addressing the issue of the elderly in public housing who are caring for their children and/or grandchildren (multigenerational families).
3. A study of the new “mixed-family” (citizens with non-citizen relatives or domestic partners) in public housing and welfare to determine the effect citizenship requirements have on their family form.
4. A follow-up to this study reviewing future changes in Federal public housing and welfare legislation to examine its coherence with cultural norms and legalities.
5. A study to ascertain if there has been a significant increase in marriage of welfare recipients since the TANF reform and the longevity of these marriages.

6. A study to determine if PHAs have developed programs corresponding to TANF objectives related to promoting marriage and decreasing out-of-wedlock births.

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Vita

Charlotte C. Johnson

Charlotte Johnson, a Master's student in the Department of Urban Affairs and Planning Virginia Tech, received the HUD Community Development Work Study Fellowship. Focusing on community development and social policy, Charlotte worked at several internships including a community capacity building project in Roanoke, Virginia and an affordable housing project for the Town of Blacksburg. For her dedication to the social issues of Planning, in 2002, Charlotte was awarded the Brenda Crawford Award for Demonstrating the Ideals of Planning and Social Justice. Upon the completion of her studies at Virginia Tech, Charlotte will be moving to Elkhart, Indiana to work in Community Development.

Prior to attending Virginia Tech, Charlotte worked from 1997-2000 in Thomasville, Georgia as a domestic violence shelter advocate serving women and children during times of emotional crisis and imminent physical danger.

Charlotte Johnson holds a B.G.S. with concentrations in Anthropology, Biology, and Psychology from Valdosta State University. And, she plans to pursue a degree in Constitutional Law and/or Urban Anthropology. She hopes to use her education to help those in need help themselves.

Charlotte is married to her life-mate William MacLeod and is a mother of two; the youngest born during her studies at Virginia Tech.