Journeys through homelessness: an ethnographic investigation into the lived experiences of homelessness in Glasgow

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Abstract

This thesis investigates the lived experience of homelessness in Glasgow, Scotland. Since Scottish devolution in 1999, homeless legislation and policy in Scotland has diverged in important ways from the rest of the UK while, over the same period, the local authority in Glasgow has implemented major homelessness and housing policies. Resources, in homeless and other welfare and social support services, have also been under pressure from a decade of austerity in the UK. This creates a unique legislative, policy, and service-design context in the city with implications for how homelessness is experienced there.

In order to understand the lived experience of homelessness, the thesis draws on the mobilities literature including the concepts of flow and journey. Both journeys and experience are things that have to be passed through and, therefore, journeys provide an analytical lens through which lived experience can be viewed. The thesis is based on eight months of ethnographic fieldwork between November 2017 and June 2018. Relying principally on participant observation, the researcher focussed on the spatial and conceptual journeys of homeless individuals, and those that support them, in order to uncover the complex and dynamic relationships in which homelessness is experienced.

This thesis reveals the ways in which homelessness constitutes an experience of extreme precarity. While precarity in homelessness is not a new or ground-breaking observation, by looking at the journeys of homeless individuals, this thesis shines a light on the all-encompassing and relentless nature of that precarity and how it is experienced in variegated ways. It argues that precarity, freedom, and deservingness exist in complex and reciprocal relationships with each other, mediated by the distribution of power in this field. It shows the impact of these relationships on the lived experience of individuals including on their trajectories through their homeless journey, the knowledge and skills that they build, the actions and interventions that they are subject to, and how they are evaluated by themselves and others

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My partner, Kris, has helped me through my anxieties and insecurities during this PhD and has been supportive in so many ways. Thank you for everything Niunia.

Author's Declaration

I declare that, except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this thesis is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

Print name:

Signature:

Definitions/Abbreviations

CRU	Crisis Residential Unit (of Glasgow Homelessness Services)
GCC	Glasgow City Council
GHN	Glasgow Homelessness Network
GHSCP	Glasgow Health and Social Care Partnership
LSU	Long Stay Unit (of the Glasgow Homelessness Services)
RSVP	Rough Sleepers and Vulnerable Person Team (Simon Community)
WNS	Winter Night Shelter

Chapter 1 Introduction

I always felt a bit weird about working out of a medical consulting room. These were generally used by GPs but, on a Friday afternoon, the four rooms in this corridor of an East End health centre were turned over to me and some colleagues to deliver our respective methadone clinics. It was 20 minutes after my clinic had officially finished but I was waiting on one more service user, Joe, to arrive. I was trying to cut him some slack because he had become homeless a few weeks earlier and was having a really difficult time. About 10 minutes later, after I had packed up all my files and prepared to leave, Joe arrived flustered and limping.

He had been moved from his bed and breakfast accommodation in the West End of the city to a hostel in the South Side two days earlier. He had walked the 3.5 miles to the clinic despite the pain of his leg ulcers because he had no funds for public transport. He was still using heroin, usually injected, and we discussed the risks of this and the strategies he could use to try and avoid using. He'd been travelling into the city centre on a regular basis to beg for money, which he preferred to other methods of obtaining extra cash but still found humiliating. Because the medic had left at the end of the clinic, I could not arrange a change to his methadone dose that day but agreed to contact him at the hostel to discuss this the following Monday. In the meantime, he needed a change of pharmacy to one nearer where he was now living (he had to walk across the city for his dose yesterday). As well as discussing his drug use and other health needs, we also discussed an upcoming medical assessment for his benefits – his anxieties about this and about how he would get there on the day. I reminded him of his appointment with his probation officer and the fact that he has missed some appointments and needed to keep on top of this. He looked exhausted to me but still managed to be pleasant and friendly during the appointment. He thanked me for his prescription and set off on his way to his new pharmacy.

1.1 Are you going to do a PhD or what?

The above vignette is drawn from my experience as a frontline addiction practitioner in Glasgow. It comes from a particular interaction with one service user though is representative of my interactions with those that I was working with who experienced homelessness during the 12 or so years that I was in this line of work. This experience marks a beginning of an idea about this thesis. My overall impression of it was that homelessness was hard work.

Joe (not his real name) had to put in an incredible amount of work in order to maintain his heroin habit and to engage with a range of services, all while being moved to different areas of the city. When I thought about his experiences, I saw movement in my mind. Having to be at different locations at different times in order to get what he needed - and it was difficult, often painful movement for him. Experiences like these changed the way I looked at and thought about individuals who were homeless. When I saw someone begging in the city centre, I imagined all of the places that they had to be when they were not sitting in that spot outside of Central Station.

This was not the only beginning to this research. Indeed, while I had an impression of homelessness involving hard work and much movement, I did not consider conducting research at all until I completed a MSc in Drug and Alcohol Studies in 2014. After graduating from this, my dissertation supervisor (Dr Kate Reid) asked me the question that titles this section, setting in train several decisions and events that have ultimately led to the completion of this research and the production of this thesis.

This thesis is concerned with the lived experience of homelessness rather than with its causes or solutions, though these topics do arise in the thesis in the literature that is reviewed and where they have been raised and discussed by participants. The reasons for this focus on lived experience are twofold. Firstly, there is already a broad and deep field of research and literature on homelessness including causation and prevalence, which will be covered in more detail in Chapter Two. Secondly, my interest is in the subjective dimensions of homelessness – what it feels like and how it is coped with – which a focus on lived experience has the potential to reveal. However, the findings and contributions are useful to policymakers and service providers.

Wilhelm Dilthey's (1952) conceptualisation of lived experience (which will be further elaborated in Chapter Three) incorporates cognitive, affective, and conative elements with each relating to past, present or future experiences, and is used as the base of the conceptual framework of this thesis. Understanding lived experience requires investigation into how people think, feel, and act in the present, while also acknowledging that past experiences and future expectations will influence those experiences.

Lived experience is like a journey in that they are both things that have to be passed through. Both Heidegger (1971) and Desjarlais (1997) discussed experience as moving through a landscape, both physically and metaphorically. In this research, I have focussed on both the spatial and the conceptual journeys of participants and it is this focus that has produced the findings presented in the thesis. In this way, I have used a mobilities perspective to investigate the lived experience of homelessness.

In this opening section I have sought to position myself and my journey to and through this research. Some events have influenced my trajectory before and during this study, nudging or bumping me off in different directions. One element of the research that remained steady both in planning and execution was the research site, Glasgow, to which I will now turn.

1.2 Why Glasgow?

There are many reasons why I chose Glasgow as the research site, not least of which is that my experiences of working with those who were homeless were in the city and, therefore, my interest in finding out more about their lived experience was directed here. It made the research easier in some respects and more difficult in others. I live in Glasgow, which meant I had easier physical access to the field. I also had contacts in various services that were useful for implementing a strategy for recruiting participants and had a good knowledge of the overall policy and service context. However, there were also difficulties and drawbacks in doing research 'at home' in terms of distance from the field, and personal and ethical considerations, which will be further explored in Chapter Four.

I also had many compelling reasons for conducting research into homelessness in Glasgow aside from my relationships within the city. Glasgow is Scotland's largest city with (in 2018) an estimated population of 626,410 within the local authority boundary and over 985,000 inhabitants in the Greater Glasgow and Clyde Health Board catchment area (National Records of Scotland, 2019). The city has poorer health and mortality outcomes when compared to other large cities like Liverpool or Manchester; this is because it was made more vulnerable through a range of interacting historical factors such as deindustrialisation,

poverty, deprivation, and UK economic decisions (Walsh, 2016). Glasgow also has the highest number of homelessness applications in Scotland and an acute lack of temporary accommodation (Shelter Scotland, 2019a).

Since the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, homelessness legislation and policy have been devolved matters and have seen some marked divergence with that of the rest of the UK. Indeed, Scotland's homelessness policy and legislation has been widely lauded as some of the most progressive in the world (Goodlad, 2005; Shelter Scotland, 2011b). This unique national policy context interacts with changes in service provision and housing policy in the city over the last 20 years. For example, the 'hostel closure and reprovisioning programme', which was completed in 2008, aimed to close the large scale hostels and replace them with smaller and more appropriate forms of accommodation (Fitzpatrick et al., 2010). Additionally, in 2003, Glasgow City Council approved the transfer of their housing stock to Housing Associations through a staged transfer programme in order to improve investment in the stock and promote community ownership (Gibb, 2003) something that the local authority has since cited as a reason for a backlog of homelessness applications (GHSCP, 2015).

Glasgow also has a range of services in the third sector that interact with statutory services and homeless individuals in ways distinctive to the city, creating a unique homelessness policy and service context that further interacts with the particular geography, history and climate of Glasgow. All of these factors have implications for the lived experience of homelessness in the city and make it a unique place to undertake such research.

1.3 Aims and questions

The main aim of this study was to understand the lived experience of homelessness in Glasgow. To do this, I focussed on the spatial and conceptual journeys of those that were homeless and those that supported them between November 2017 and June 2018 in order to try and answer the following original research questions:

1. How is homelessness understood and experienced in Glasgow by a) individuals who are homeless and b) by those that support them?

2. How do individuals who are homeless navigate and interact with their physical and social environment and what does this tell us about their lived experience?

Having such broad research questions brought both benefits and drawbacks. I was interested in the overall experience of homelessness in Glasgow and was open and prepared to go wherever fieldwork took me. This meant that I found myself in a variety of different situations by following opportunities, individuals and relationships. While this helped me develop a broad and diverese understanding of how homelessness was experienced, the data collected were also very broad and diverse and at points during analysis I found myself questioning my decision.

Farrugia and Gerrard (2016, p.277) argued for research approaches that '*do not begin from the assumption that the generation of better policy and/or services must be the primary justification for homeless research*' and this was certainly not my starting point. However, despite the broadness of the questions, the reality of this type of study meant that I was always only going to be able to see parts of the lived experience of homelessness for some individuals, and much of my data ultimately focusses on how homelessness *services* were experienced. This was influenced by the recruitment strategy and by participant understandings of what a homelessness researcher would be interested in, both of which will be discussed in detail in Chapter Four. It is also an indication of the prominent role of the service industry in the lives of homeless indivdiuals, something that has been recognised by other homelessness scholars (cf Gowan, 2010; Ravenhill, 2008). This thesis can go some way towards answering the original research questions, though whether they could be answered definitively and comprehensively by any study is questionable. In attempting to partially answer them, this thesis contributes answers to a subset of more specific questions:

1. In what ways does the Glasgow context influence how homlessness is experienced there?

1.1. How are services designed and implemented in Glasow and in what ways does this impact on the lived experience of homelessness?

1.2. How do homeless individual experience homelessness services?

1.3. How do homeless individuals experience the 'routes through' homelessness that are provided by services?

2. How do homeless individuals understand their homelessness in ways that are different to service providers and policymakers?

2.1. How do individuals account for their experiences of homelessness and are these similar or different to how homelessness is explained in other areas such as in research, policy, and society in general?

3. What specific knowledge and skills related to their homelessness do individuals develop and in what ways?

4. What does focussing on different scales of movement tell us about the lived experience of homelessness and how it is represented?

5. How do homeless individuals experience and manage time?

6. Do individuals get 'stuck' in homelessness? How is this 'stuckness' experienced by them and how is it represented by service providers and policymakers?

1.4 Original Contribution

Through the use of mobile, relational ethnography, within the unique context of Glasgow, this thesis makes original contributions to knowledge that are empirical, conceptual and methodological, and relate to the fields of homelessness, mobilities, ethnography, and social policy.

I explore homeless mobilities at different scales, highlighting similarities and differences between how homeless individuals are imagined to 'flow' through services and processes, and how these journeys are experienced by individuals. Rather than flowing, services and processes could sometimes be experienced as confining and 'sticky', sapping at personal agency and freedom. I also show how homelessness services and homeless individuals change and adapt in relation to each other within the unique political, geographical, and historical context of Glasgow.

In this thesis, I unpack the nature of precarity in homelessness showing how it underpins relentless assessments of the 'deservingness' of homeless individuals and how this, in turn, drives the development of particular types of knowledge and skills for those affected. In doing this, I also examine the complex and mutually reinforcing relationship between precarity and freedom for homeless individuals, including how precarity and freedom drive both compliance with and resistance to homelessness services and processes.

The thesis also contributes to debates surrounding homelessness policy by identifying implications in relation to: the range and flexibility of the routes through homelessness that are provided; the importance of understanding (non) engagement with services; the interaction between national policy and local practices and resources; the interface between local practices and individual characteristics and experiences; and considerations on how to take into account homeless individuals' experience of time in service design and provision.

1.5 Outline of the thesis

In Chapter Two, I review the homelessness literature. I begin by discussing some of the debates around defining homelessness and the difficulties associated with such a task. I then review two major areas of focus in the literature: prevalence and causation. These are important areas of research, not least because they influence resource allocation and the finding of possible solutions; however, while academic research into homelessnes in the UK more often uses qualitative methods, policy discourses around prevalence and causation tend to be centred around quantitative approaches. In the last section of Chapter Two, I review qualitative research into homelessness in order to demonstrate what such

approaches can add to our understanding of it, and to begin to make the case for the use of ethnography as a methodology uniquely positioned to approach my research questions.

In Chapter Three, I introduce the main concepts that will be used throughout this thesis and review some of the literature in relation to each of them. The concept of lived experience is set out using Wilhelm Dilthey's *erlebnis*, which has been used and interpreted by other scholars including philosophers and anthropologists. This concept is synthesised with that of journeys after I argue that both are analogous with each other – both have to be passed through. A review of the mobilities literature unveils the different aspects of lived experience that can be revealed by a focus on movement and journeys. In this chapter I also introduce Bourdieu's interrelated concepts of field, capital, and habitus, which are used later in the thesis to discuss the power dynamics in the homelessness field and how these impact upon lived experience. Finally, I introduce the related concepts of precarity and freedom.

Chapter Four details the methodological approach and the specific methods I used for data collection and analysis. I discuss some of the benefits and some of the difficulties in conducting ethnography 'at home'. I also discuss entering and being in the field including the recruitment strategy, the nature of relationship-building and identity, details of the participants, and the implications that these had for the types of data that could be collected. In this chapter I also discuss a range of ethical considerations including informed consent, the vulnerability of participants, incentives/compensation, and exiting the field.

Chapter Five is an unusual chapter in that it is a composite of methods, data, and analysis, which have been juxtaposed in a way that reflects the partial and unpredictable nature of my relationships in the field. I have constructed this chapter in this way in order to give the reader a better understanding of the complex, partial, and unpredictable nature of the fieldwork, which will act as a platform from which to better apprehend the data and findings in this and later chapters. This chapter also introduces in more detail some of the participants and services from the field.

In Chapter Six, I take a detailed look at the journeys of participants and how these are shaped by the precarity of their situation. I start with conceptual journeys in the form of life stories – the ways in which participants accounted for their circumstances and explained their homelessness. These narratives followed similar patterns that have been shaped by repeated interactions with services and public discourses. The spatial day-to-day journeys of those that were homeless reveal how some become skilled and knowledgeable about how to interact with and negotiate successfully with a range of different services. However, services are not always predicatable and success or not may be related to decisions taken on levels far removed from the individual in question. Velocity also reveals the precarity of homelessness as individuals were kept waiting or moved suddenly based on the decisions of others. The chapter ends with an analysis of the routes through homelessness that were permitted by service design and policy.

In Chapter Seven, I examine flow, friction, and freedom in homelessness. The first part of the chapter looks at stuckness in homeless spaces and shows how those who are homeless categorise and perceive stuckness in sometimes radically different ways to service providers and policymakers. Participants' stuckness was related to their precarity and their freedom – the extent to which they had to wait for the decisions of others and the level of agency that they felt able to exercise. I make use of a comparison of three different users of an emergency shelter to show how stuckness is perceived by the service staff and the implications of this frame for the actions and interventions that were targetted at the different service users. In the second part of the chapter I change to a temporal view on stuckness. Whether hope or boredom was foregrounded in their experience of time had implications for how it was reacted to by participants – the ways in which individuals tried to control or collapse time.

Chapter Eight concludes the thesis by reviewing the chapters and bringing together the different threads of argument that run throughout them. I specifically discuss the benefits of focussing on indvidiual experiences and argue that this gives a unique perspective by getting underneath analyses at higher scales. The unique contribution of this work lies in its ability to drill down into

the lives and narratives that underpin prevalence statistics and causation theories and to pose questions from the perspective of the individual. It brings togther the themes of precarity and freedom, the deserving and undeserving discourse, and power.

Chapter 2 Calculated homelessness?

2.1 Introduction

The breadth and depth of research into homelessness is considerable, with a variety of perspectives and methodological approaches taken. In this chapter I review some of this literature in order to contextualise the research and also to begin to lay the foundations of a methodological argument – to begin to make the case for ethnography as the means of pursuing the aims of this research. In doing this, I seek to recognise and value the contributions that different approaches offer, including the one that I have taken. I first look at how authors have attempted to define homelessness internationally before considering how it is defined in legislation and policy in the UK and Scotland specifically. These definitions are important because they guide local authorities and other services in terms of how they implement services to assist those who are homeless. I then explore two broad areas of homelessness research: prevalence and causation.

Prevalence studies seek to understand both the nature and the scale of homelessness by estimating total numbers affected and tracking trends. This is an important area of homelessness research, not least because the figures produced by it can influence the resources made available to assist those who experience it. In the second section, I review some of the prevalence data for Scotland and, in particular, the reports of a longitudinal study: 'The Homelessness Monitor' (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Fitzpatrick et al., 2015). In the third section I move on to causation, an inevitable but potentially problematic route for homelessness research to take. This area has been heavily influenced by the dichotomy of the 'new orthodoxy' or the balancing of structural and individual factors that contribute to homelessness. The relationship between these factors has been recognised as complex and dynamic in recent years, though I conclude the section by reviewing evidence that argues for an understanding of causation that takes into account the life stories of individuals – a task better suited to qualitative approaches.

In the final section I review literature from qualitative studies into homelessness in order to explore what these can contribute to our understanding of it. The

use of qualitative methods, and particularly ethnography, can add to understandings of homelessness. By asking different questions, and by analysing the issues from different perspectives, qualitative approaches can better grapple with questions surrounding the lived experience of homelessness.

2.2 Defining homelessness

In this section, I explore the ways in which homelessness is defined. Definitions in the UK are bound up with legislation and policy, which has diverged markedly in Scotland since this policy area was devolved to the Scottish Parliament in 1999. These categories and criteria for assessing homelessness continue to change and evolve and are used to direct local authorities in their duties towards those who are assessed as meeting them.

Bourdieu argued that the act of defining, or representing social experience carries with it symbolic power (1991) while Desjarlais commented that '*to describe someone as homeless announces a lasting identity*'(1997, p.2). This highlights the power dynamic in homelessness definitions. There are those with the power to define homelessness, such as professions, governments and academia, and then there are those who are affected by those definitions (Ravenhill, 2008). Aside from issues of power, defining homelessness is not a straightforward matter.

> *There is no single, universally accepted definition of homelessness* (Fitzpatrick, Kemp and Klinker, 2000, p.8).

The quote above holds true when one attempts to grasp what homelessness is from the international literature. There is no international consensus on the definition of homelessness with the UN Habitat (2000) taking the view that homelessness is a lack of adequate housing in relation to the standards that would be expected within the specific country in which it occurs.[1] This is perhaps unsurprising given the considerable differences in political, cultural, social and economic conditions across the world. Indeed, most research and

[1] However, for statistical purposes, the United Nations defines homelessness households as 'households without a shelter that would fall within the scope of living quarters. They carry their few possessions with them, sleeping in streets, in doorways and on piers, or in any other space, on a more or less random basis' (OHCHR, 2015, p.1).

policy that aims to define and conceptualise homelessness has arisen in developed industrialised nations, which can be problematic when applied to developing countries in the 'global south' (Speak, 2013).

One international conceptualisation that has been developed is the European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS), which begins by defining home in three domains:

> Having a home can be understood as: having an adequate dwelling (or space) over which a person and his/her family can exercise exclusive possession (physical domain); being able to maintain privacy and enjoy relations (social domain) and having a legal title to occupation (legal domain) (FEANTSA, 2006).

The absence of some or all of these domains is how homelessness and housing exclusion are defined, which are further divided into four main categories of 'rooflessness', 'houselessness', 'insecure housing', and 'inadequate housing' (FEANTSA, 2006). The first two categories are taken to define homelessness, while the second two are taken to define housing exclusion.

While it has been argued that ETHOS represents a well conceptualised definition of homelessness that has been well received and utilised in Europe (Edgar et al., 2010), there are some limitations such as the apparently arbitrary threshold between homelessness and housing exclusion. Amore, Baker and Howden-Chapman (2011) argue that, given the three domains of home are appropriate measures of basic requirements of human habitation, exclusion from two of these three domains should be considered homeless. In the ETHOS model, only when individuals are excluded from all three domains, or from both legal and social domains, are they considered homeless. Where exclusion occurs in other combinations, they are instead considered to be in housing exclusion.

Busch-Geertsema, Culhane and Fitzpatrick (2016) attempt to incorporate the ETHOS model with the critiques of Amore (2013), Amore et al. (2011) and Speak (2013) in their proposed 'global framework for conceptualising and measuring homelessness'. In this framework, the authors use Amore's (2013) core concept of homelessness to argue that homelessness represents severe housing deprivation. They argue that '*homelessness denotes a standard of housing that*

falls significantly short of the relevant adequacy threshold in one *or more domains*' (2016, p.125, emphasis added) amending the domains somewhat in line with their understanding. This broader definition is more akin to definitions used in the UK.

In the UK, definitions of homelessness have been incorporated into legislation and policy in order to make clear the duties of the state to those who come within the scope of the definitions set out. These legal and policy definitions include not only those who have no accommodation (roofless) but also those who have accommodation that is considered unsuitable, such as where there is a threat of violence, or if the accommodation is temporary. This could be considered a very broad definition in the context of other developed nations including the USA, France, Spain, Canada, the Netherlands, Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic, which have used the more literal definition of 'roofless' to define homelessness and to determine who has the right to access resources to address it (Fitzpatrick, Quilgars and Pleace, 2009). The reasons for broader definitions of homelessness in the UK are complex and are rooted in its cultural, social and political history. For example, Ken Loach's 1966 drama *Cathy Come Home* highlighted structural causes of homelessness and gave rise to organisations such as Crisis, which campaigns on homelessness issues (Crisis, 2014). These developments effected shifts in public opinion and debate, whereby there was more recognition of how individuals may become homeless due to factors outwith their control and led to calls for more action by the state to address the issues. Other strands of debate also had an effect on definitions of homelessness. For example, feminist critiques of the welfare state and the authority of government organisations introduced discourses and debates relating to the meaning of 'home' and the marginalisation of women in relation to housing and homelessness (Burrows, Pleace and Quilgars, 1997). These debates influenced the widening of the definition of homelessness as more recognition was given to what 'home' means. Does an individual 'feel at home' if they live in fear of violence that is perpetrated there for example?

Much of the discourse in relation to homelessness in the UK has been influenced by the official responses to it (Burrows et al., 1997) and a search of relevant literature will quickly uncover a range of qualifying and conditional terms such

as ‘intentionally’ and ‘unintentionally’ homeless, which are tied fundamentally to legislation and policy. The politically contested nature of homelessness can produce opposing pressures on how it should be defined. For example, governments may try to narrow the definition in order to restrict the size of the political problem that they have to resolve, while charities and campaign groups may lobby for a wider definition that secures the right to support for a greater number of people in need (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Too narrow a definition risks underestimating the size of the issue and, therefore, may lead to insufficient resources being made available to tackle it; too wide a definition risks diluting the particular harm and distress of acute homelessness by conflating it with other (important) issues such as overcrowding and insecure tenure (Burrows et al., 1997). Definitions are important in the UK context because local authorities have a duty to support those who have been so defined by their assessments, which are guided by provisions in legislation.

The Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977 was the first piece of legislation solely relating to homelessness in the UK. It was passed during a time when conflicting political ideologies had produced different explanations of homelessness resulting in the homeless population being divided into ‘deserving’ and ‘undeserving’ or unintentionally and intentionally homeless respectively (Burrows et al., 1997). The former were considered victims of circumstances and affected by structural, socio-economic causes, such as a lack of housing stock, while the latter were thought of as choosing their homelessness by refusing to fulfil their responsibilities in relation to work or acceptable social behaviour. Under the 1977 Act, homeless people had to prove that they were unintentionally homeless, that they had a ‘local connection’ within the authority to which they were applying, and that they were in a situation of ‘priority need’ in order to receive statutory support. Local connection is typically taken to mean that an individual has lived or worked in a local authority area, has family who live in the area, or has another special connection to the area. Priority need was used to categorise households that included pregnant women, children, or other vulnerable persons such as older people, or those who had physical and mental health problems.

The current legal definition of homelessness in Scotland comes from Section 24 of the Housing (Scotland) Act 1987, as amended, which defines homelessness for the purposes of the Act as follows:

> A person is homeless if he/ she has no accommodation in the UK or elsewhere. A person is also homeless if he/ she has accommodation but cannot reasonably occupy it, for example because of a threat of violence. A person is potentially homeless (threatened with homelessness) if it is likely that he/ she will become homeless within two months. A person is intentionally homeless if he/ she deliberately did or failed to do anything which led to the loss of accommodation which it was reasonable for him/ her to continue to occupy (Scottish Government, 2012, p.71).

Under the 1987 Act, any person making a homeless application to a local authority has the right to temporary accommodation while their application is assessed. They were then entitled to settled accommodation if they were assessed as unintentionally homeless and in priority need. While priority need remains part of the statutory assessment in England and Wales, the Homelessness etc. (Scotland) Act 2003 started in motion a process to abolish it, which was eventually completed with the passing of the Homelessness (Abolition of Priority Need Test) (Scotland) Order 2012. This commitment was widely lauded as the most progressive homelessness legislation in the world (Shelter Scotland, 2011b) and the then Scottish Executive was awarded the 'Human Rights Protector Award' from the Centre on Housing Rights and Eviction (Goodlad, 2005). However, this change has also been identified as one of a range of potential explanations for a trebling of homeless households in temporary accommodation in Scotland between 2002 and 2011 (Watts et al., 2018a). Following consultation, the Scottish Government have announced plans to implement provisions of the 2003 Act that will effectively remove the requirement for a local connection to the authority to which the person is applying, and would restrict the assessment of intentionality only to those found to have deliberately manipulated the homelessness system (Scottish Government, 2019a, 2019b), further removing potential barriers for individuals seeking support.

In addition to legislative changes, the Scottish Government (2018a) has adopted a policy that is supportive of the Housing First model and is seeking to have this as a key element in all homelessness services in Scotland. The Housing First

model was developed in the United States and is described by Tsemberis (1999) as the separation of housing and support services with the former being a basic right.[2] Using this approach to homelessness, individuals with complex needs are allocated a permanent tenancy without any condition to accept support or treatment, though they are offered this in their home and community. This is a change from what Tsemberis called 'linear residential treatment' whereby individuals would have to move through treatment or support services in order to become 'tenancy ready' before being able to access permanent housing. The model has been introduced in many different countries including across Europe (Housing First Europe, 2019) and was successfully piloted in Glasgow between 2010 and 2013 (Johnsen, 2014b). The organisation involved in the pilot, Turningpoint Scotland (2019), still operate a Housing First project in the city and the Glasgow Health and Social Care Partnership (GHSCP) have committed to the model in their Rapid Rehousing Transition Plan 2019-24 (Miller, 2019). This plan was published after fieldwork was concluded. Accessing homelessness support, whether via Housing First or other services, still often relies on meeting the definitions set out in legislation.

These definitions are often used in research into homelessness, such as providing categories that can be counted in order to provide prevalence statistics. Research on homelessness is produced within, and influenced by, cultural and political contexts. The relationship between research, funding, policy and intervention in the field of homelessness may explain why academic definitions are often centred on legal definitions, causation, policy formation, and service delivery, as Farrugia and Gerrard argue:

> [T]he political investments driving homelessness research create entanglements between research narratives and the discursive definitions and pragmatic requirements of welfare service interventions (2016, p.268).

Homelessness research therefore contributes to discourses that manage the social relations and subjects that they define. This can be seen in the growing number of studies into Housing First programmes for example (cf Busch-

[2] Tsemberis (1999) was describing a homeless programme in New York, however, the name 'Housing First' was borrowed from an earlier project in Los Angeles.

Geertsema, 2013; Chen, 2019; Kozloff et al., 2016). Terms such as intentionally/unintentionally homeless, rough sleeping, and complex needs are defined and used as categories that can be counted and weighed in quantitative research into homelessness, which I discuss in the next section.

In this section, I have reviewed some of the literature in relation to homelessness definitions. While there continues to be debate internationally and domestically about how to define and categorise homelessness, legislative and policy definitions carry weight in terms of the lived experience of homelessness in Scotland because they determine who can access statutory support in relation to it. These definitions have been influenced by and influence discourses in relation to homelessness including in academia and in wider society. There continue to be changes to definitions of homelessness, which have implications for how it is assessed, responded to, and, ultimately, how it is experienced by individuals. The data presented in this thesis are largely focussed on a narrower subset of the most extreme forms of homelessness. As will be discussed in Chapter Four, this is due to a number of interacting factors including my position in relation to the field and the recruitment strategy employed. While wider forms of homelessness are not addressed in this work, I do see them as important social issues and recognise the impact that they have on the lives of those affected.

2.3 Counting homelessness

A key area of focus for research on homelessness is prevalence; a move from the conceptual work of defining to the empirical work of measuring that which has been defined. This research is vitally important in terms of its influence on legislation, policy, and services. Its influence comes from its ability to explain the extent and nature of the issue as well as the effectiveness of responses to it. In this section I review some of the prevalence data for Scotland and look at how policy choices have affected trends across the country and in Glasgow specifically.

Local authorities and the Scottish and UK Governments collate and report statistics in relation to homelessness in line with the definitions and categories set out in legislation and policy. However, this is not a straight-forward process

as there are difficulties in counting some categories of homelessness. The Homeless Monitor is a longitudinal study in the UK commissioned by Crisis and The Joseph Rowntree Foundation. Since 2011 it has collated and analysed data on homelessness from a wide range of sources (including from governments and local authorities) in relation to the UK home nations. The 2015 report for Scotland defines homelessness as:

- People sleeping rough.
- Single homeless people living in hostels, shelters and temporary supported accommodation.
- Statutorily homeless households - that is, households who seek housing assistance from local authorities on the grounds of being currently or imminently without accommodation.
- 'Hidden homeless' households - this is, people who may be considered homeless but whose situation is not 'visible' either on the streets or in official statistics. Classic examples would include households living in severely overcrowded conditions, squatters, people 'sofa-surfing' around friends' or relatives' houses, those involuntarily sharing with other households on a long-term basis, and people sleeping rough in hidden locations.

(Fitzpatrick et al., 2015, p.1)

The authors note that the last category is difficult to assess in terms of prevalence and trends, though they are able to provide some analysis of risk factors in this area such as overcrowding.

It is difficult to gauge exact numbers of rough sleepers because, as is noted in the last bullet point, some people may be sleeping rough in hidden areas. Previous attempts to provide numbers of rough sleepers in urban areas have used 'stock counts' whereby enumerators would record the number of people they could observe sleeping rough in a particular location at a particular time (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Mark-recapture counts, which were hitherto used in the field of ecology to count various species, were also used to make calculations in relation to rough sleeping. However, these methods have been critiqued as imprecise and flawed with, for example, the 1991 census count not

finding any rough sleepers in the Birmingham area despite local services having contact with individuals reporting that they were (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Because of these issues, the authors of the Homeless Monitor take a more robust approach to estimating the prevalence of rough sleepers. Numbers of rough sleepers are currently calculated in Scotland by asking all homeless applicants (i.e. those individuals who have sought support from local authorities on the basis of homelessness but who have not yet been assessed as 'statutorily homeless') whether they had slept rough the night before at the point of application. In 2017/18, 4.4% (n=1,537) of all applicants in Scotland reported sleeping rough the night before though this was highest in Glasgow where 8.8% (n=460) were recorded as such (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019, p.xiv). While women account for 45% of the overall homeless population in Scotland, they represent a smaller proportion of the rough-sleeping population accounting for between 9% and 22% (ibid, p.78).

Because of the difficulties in obtaining accurate figures for some categories of homelessness, the authors make use of different sources of data such as combining information from the Scottish Household Survey with that collected from homeless applications to local authorities in order to estimate the overall prevalence of homelessness in Scotland (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019, p.xi). By incorporating data from the Scottish Household Survey with that above, the authors estimate that 5,300 individuals slept rough in 2017 with a nightly snapshot of around 700 (ibid). The 2019 report for Scotland in this study suggests that the numbers of individuals experiencing homelessness of any kind have been relatively stable for the last five years, though there is considerable variation between local authorities (ibid).

Statutory homelessness peaked in Scotland prior to the Global Financial Crisis of 2007 and then was on a reducing trend until 2014 (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015) though has since plateaued at circa 35,000 formal assessments per year (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019). The downward trend prior to 2014 has been attributed to the implementation in 2010 of a homelessness prevention strategy known as 'Housing Options', which seeks to explore all potential options to improve a housing situation and prevent homelessness for individuals and families from the earliest presentation to the local authority (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015). However,

the Scottish Housing Regulator (SHR, 2014) noted concern that the scheme may lead to underreporting of the level of homelessness as some individuals and families, where there is clear evidence of homelessness, are not subject to a homelessness assessment because they are directed via the Housing Options scheme. This concern has been echoed by other organisations such as Shelter Scotland (2011a) which argued it was being used to 'gatekeep' services by preventing some homeless households from making a homeless application. When Fitzpatrick and her colleagues accounted for these changes, an estimated 54,000 approaches or presentations were made in Scotland during 2014/15 (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015). While this total number had reduced by 20% in 2017/18, there had been changes in recording practice that raised some questions relating to the reliability of the data (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019).

The number of households in temporary accommodation has remained between 10,000 and 11,000 at any one time in Scotland since 2009/2010 (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Fitzpatrick et al., 2015). The number of homeless households in temporary accommodation saw an almost three-fold increase between 2002 and 2011 and they have since been sustained at historically high levels; this has been linked to the strengthening of rights and entitlements in legislation, including the phasing out of priority need categories (Watts et al., 2018a). Local authorities previously reported significant increases in the length of time spent in temporary accommodation by those assessed as homeless, citing increased demand since the abolition of priority need, issues of supply in relation to permanent social housing, and welfare changes as contributing to this issue (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015). Bed and breakfast and hostel accommodation are generally considered to be the least suitable temporary accommodation where single people are more likely than families to be accommodated (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019). The Scottish Government (2017a) has limited the use of bed and breakfast accommodation for families with children and pregnant women to seven days (a reduction from 14 days) and was consulting during 2019 on how to implement this for all homeless households including single people, who account for around two thirds of all homelessness in Scotland (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019).

Since the mid-90s, homelessness trends in Scotland have tended to be more directly impacted by policy changes than by changes in housing markets, as can

be seen following changes to priority need categories in the early 2000s and the introduction of housing options already discussed (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015).

Within Scotland, Glasgow has a unique homelessness situation when compared to other local authorities in that it has the highest number of homelessness applications and an acute lack of temporary accommodation (Shelter Scotland, 2019a). Glasgow City Council has repeatedly failed in its statutory duty to provide temporary accommodation to all homeless applicants, which is, at the time of writing, an ongoing public concern (Scottish Government, 2018b; Shelter Scotland, 2019b). The council has cited unique pressures as contributing to this issue in the city.

In 2003, Glasgow City Council approved the transfer of their housing stock to housing associations through a staged transfer programme in order to improve investment in the stock and promote community ownership (Gibb, 2003). Facilitating the transfer of Glasgow's housing stock was arguably an underlying motivation for the introduction of the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 and the transfer was supported by both Scottish and UK ministers politically and with financial incentives (Kintrea, 2006). In recent years, the Glasgow Health and Social Care Partnership (GHSCP, 2015) identified the fact that Glasgow was a 'stock transfer authority' as being one of the factors in creating a backlog of homeless applications, as they were unable to secure sufficient settled tenancies from housing associations (known as Registered Social Landlords or RSLs) in order to discharge their duties in relation to these applications. They argued that this backlog was creating problems in providing temporary accommodation to all homeless applicants. The Scottish Housing Regulator, however, found that the local authority was making too few referrals to RSLs, was taking too long to make those referrals, and was not challenging the refusal to accept referrals by some RSLs (SHR, 2018).

In this section, I have reviewed some of the prevalence and trend data in relation to homelessness in Scotland, which has been relatively stable in recent years though with variations between authorities and high numbers of individuals in temporary accommodation. Glasgow has the highest number of homeless applications and of rough sleepers in Scotland. It has also had difficulties in meeting its statutory duty to provide temporary accommodation for all homeless

applicants, which may relate to previous political decisions taken in the city as well as the high rates of homelessness experienced there. This evidence has started to reveal Glasgow as a city where local and national political decisions have interacted to create a unique context in which homelessness is experienced. Towards the end of this section, the focus shifted to the impact of policy changes on the prevalence of homelessness and this naturally starts to switch attention towards causation. In the next section, I explore the causation literature in more detail.

2.4 Accounting for homelessness

In this section I consider some different perspectives on how homelessness is caused. I start by describing the 'new orthodoxy' of homelessness research, which has sought to understand the interaction between individual and structural factors in order to explain how homelessness is caused. This concern with trying to balance issues of structure and agency has parallels with the work of Bourdieu. In trying to reconcile the agency/structure dichotomy, he introduced a dialectical approach and, specifically, the concepts of field, capital and habitus (Bourdieu, 1989) which I introduce and further elaborate in Chapter Three. In causation research, there have been adaptations and critiques of the new orthodoxy, which I also introduce in this section. I conclude the section with an argument that causation may be best understood within the context of individual experiences and life stories – a task suited to qualitative research.

The seeking of causal explanations is an inevitable route for homelessness research to take, though it can be problematic. These *'[…] research narratives have played a central role in the constitution of homelessness as a significant and politically visible matter of concern'* (Farrugia and Gerrard, 2016, p.268). Defining homelessness as a social problem sets it apart from the 'mainstream' or the 'norm' and, in so doing, isolates it from the wider socio-political context in which it exists. It is made an aberration of a normally functioning society and so a cause or explanation must be found in order to identify the particular mechanisms for intervening to resolve it (Farrugia and Gerrard, 2016).

A useful starting point in causation research is what has been described as the new orthodoxy of homelessness research, that is the balancing of individual and

structural causes (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Pleace, 2000). The orthodoxy is considered new in comparison to an older one where deviance alone was deemed to be the cause of homelessness. In the new orthodoxy, individual explanations relate to personal characteristics, or more often behaviours, that are located within individuals and households such as mental illness, drug or alcohol addiction or relationship breakdown, whereas structural causes are external to individuals and tend to focus on issues such as housing supply, unemployment and welfare provision (Fitzpatrick et al., 2009).

Pleace (2000) proposed that a new orthodoxy of homelessness involved structural variables that create the *conditions* for homelessness, to which vulnerable people (due to individual characteristics) were more at risk. He suggested that this explained the higher level of support needs within homeless populations compared to the general population. However, Fitzpatrick (2005) argued that structural and individual causal factors are not easily separated from each other. For example, is family breakdown related to individual characteristics or societal changes in relation to marriage and the family? She proposed a critical realist theory of homelessness within a 'layered social reality' whereby housing, economic, interpersonal and individual factors interacted in unpredictable ways and with no single set of factors assumed to have primacy (ibid). In the Homeless Monitor, Fitzpatrick and her colleagues (2019, 2015) routinely report on macroeconomic changes such as GDP, unemployment levels, and housing supply while also analysing the impact of policy changes in relation to homelessness and welfare, and the prevalence of additional support needs such as those around mental health and addiction.

The relationships between these macroeconomic and structural factors and individual circumstances is complex and dynamic, however. Poverty is a structural issue that is affected by political and economic circumstances including levels of unemployment, living costs, housing supply, and education (Treanor, 2018). Moreover, poverty is a key determining factor in homelessness (Anderson and Christian, 2003; Anderson and Tulloch, 2000; Fitzpatrick, 2005; Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). Poverty is also indicated as a risk factor in children suffering Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) including domestic violence, abuse, and neglect (Treanor, 2018). The experience of ACEs in turn is a risk

factor for experiencing extreme poverty (ibid), which is also linked to a range of other so-called individual characteristics and behaviours, which in turn are linked to homelessness, such as poor physical and mental health, problematic alcohol and drug use, experience of local authority care, and involvement in offending behaviour (FEANTSA, 2017; Fitzpatrick, 2005; Fitzpatrick et al., 2000). In this evidence it becomes clear that structural factors create the conditions for the development of individual characteristics and behaviours that then further interact with structural factors in a mutually reinforcing relationship that Fitzpatrick (2005) attempts to capture in her critical realist theory. A pathways approach is used in this theory and others in order to understand individual routes through homelessness.

The concept of pathways emerged from homelessness research that held the view that events occur in an individuals' route or pathway into, through and out of homelessness into secure housing (Anderson and Tulloch, 2000). However, Somerville (2013) argued that much of the research reflects a housing pathway rather than a homeless one, and the range of pathways identified may be more related to researcher interests and the focus of studies.

Somerville (2013) agrees with Fitzpatrick (2005) that there is a lack of specificity in relation to risk factors. He also calls into question the implied understanding of causation, giving the example of linking unemployment to homelessness. While this may seem to be a simple economic process of unemployment leading to a lower (or non-existent) income, which in turn leads to an inability to pay for housing, he argues:

> the fact of unemployment in itself tells us little about how homelessness is 'caused': what is important is how that unemployment is perceived by the homeless men themselves and how exactly the experience of unemployment fits into their own life history. It may turn out that each individual experiences unemployment in a way that is unique to them, with the consequence that it relates to their homelessness in a way that is also unique (Somerville, 2013, p.389).

Therefore, he contends that it is only possible to understand the causes of homelessness within the context of the biographies and life histories of the individuals affected.

Somerville (2013) also highlights an issue with the facticity of homelessness, which in his opinion has been created by the monopolisation of homelessness discourse by governments and policy. This has had the effect of disconnecting the discourse of homelessness from the reality of it as it is experienced by individuals. He refers to the new orthodoxy as an '*epidemiological approach*' (ibid, p.389) that attempts to reduce the issue to a range of variables that can be measured independently from the social relations in which they exist. He is not satisfied by Fitzpatrick's realist solution for '*…simply translating the "new orthodoxy" into a new language, without making any substantive changes to the sense of it*' (p.399) and for its focus solely on the physical dimensions of homelessness (lack of housing).

Somerville (1992, 2013) argues for a multidimensional understanding of homelessness that incorporates not only objective, physical dimensions but subjective dimensions such as the lack of love or joy (emotional), the lack of hope (spiritual) and the lack of having a place in the world or belonging (ontological). He advocates caution in the use of a pathways concept for understanding homelessness although he submits that this approach can prove useful in spite of its 'fuzziness' (Somerville, 2013).

Examinations of pathways into and through homelessness can return to the epidemiological approach described by Somerville in that they often list risk factors that cause, contribute to, or entrap individuals in homelessness such as age (Anderson and Tulloch, 2000) or exposure to trauma (Martijn and Sharpe, 2006). If the multidimensionality of homelessness is accepted, then

> it would seem to make sense to adopt the widest possible interpretation of a pathway as the life history of a particular individual (Somerville, 2013, p.390).

In Chapter Three, I introduce the concept of journeys and argue that this provides a useful lens through which to understand the lived experiences of homelessness. For me, pathways suggest a focus on route whereas journeys

incorporate the route, the means of travel, the motivation, the velocity, and the subjective experience of the voyage, which I have found to be more useful in addressing my research questions.

In this section, I have reviewed some research into the causes of homelessness starting with the new orthodoxy, which seeks to understand the interaction between individual and structural factors. While the critical realist theory was more nuanced (and has some parallels with the Bourdieusian concepts that will be introduced in Chapter Three) I concluded this section by arguing that understanding the subjective dimensions of homelessness, including the lived experience of individuals and their life history, can add to our understanding of homelessness. These subjective dimensions can be usefully investigated using qualitative methods. In the next section I review some of the qualitative literature in order to show how these studies can provide different, valuable perspectives on homelessness and how it is experienced.

2.5 Recounting homelessness

Qualitative studies into homelessness have been able to focus how individuals think and feel about their homelessness and how they act and react to it. The studies reviewed in this section have used a variety of methods to gather and analyse data including qualitative interviews, observation, participant observation, and visual methods. The purpose of reviewing these studies is to highlight the ways in which qualitative approaches are well suited to addressing my research questions and that ethnography is particularly well placed in this regard. I start with a study that made use of qualitative interviews.

Life histories were used by McNaughton (2007) in her study of homelessness in Glasgow where she conducted a secondary analysis of data she had gathered from longitudinal qualitative interviews. McNaughton was interested in the journeys through homelessness of her participants and, in particular, what she referred to as 'flip-flopping' whereby participants would oscillate between doing well and progressing through their homeless journeys and then relapsing to drug or alcohol use and regressing back from that progress. She introduces 'edgework' as a tool in her analysis. This is a concept developed to define and explain voluntary risk-taking specifically at the edge of normative behaviour,

such as extreme sports, and involves the negotiation of a boundary such as that which exists between consciousness and unconsciousness or between life and death (Lyng, 1990, 1991, 2014).

Edgework involves negotiating these boundaries by engaging in a range of activities, using different skills and invoking a range of sensations including self-realisation, self-actualisation, and self-determination (Lyng, 1990). In addition, participants in Lyng's research reported increases in focus, feelings of control over their environment and a sense of hyper-reality where their experiences during edgework were felt to be more 'real' than their day-to-day existence. Individuals develop strategies to try and find meaning and choice, such as through the consumption of identity-relevant materials that is evident in capitalist societies (Lyng, 1990). For those with little socio-economic resources, however, this search for meaning and choice may take a different route, as was argued by McNaughton (2007) in her application of edgework to homeless individuals. McNaughton argued that a lack of capital (Bourdieu, 1991) contributes to the identity, self-concept, choices, and agency of individuals. She argued that her participants' drug use was a form of edgework with the goal being to '*find some self-actualisation or control… or to escape the isolation or disaffection they feel by being marginalised and 'poor'* (McNaughton, 2007, p.72).

McNaughton's participants used edgework as a means of control in relation to their traumatic experiences even though this exposed them to additional trauma and depleted their capital further (McNaughton, 2007).

> Simply put, people feel self-actualized when they experience a sense of direct personal authorship in their actions, when their behaviour is not coerced by the normative or structural constraints of the social environment (Lyng, 1990, p.878).

McNaughton's work therefore challenges constructions of homeless individuals in neoliberal societies as 'failed consumers' of housing (Flint, 2003) and, therefore, as moral failures who either lack agency or misuse it. McNaughton reconstitutes these individuals as active agents in their own lives, using edgework to seek the same things in life as other individuals: 'a unified definition of self' or self-actualisation.

Qualitative work, such as McNaughton's, can be used to add further layers to quantitative research. For example, the link between psychological trauma and homelessness has been well established (FEANTSA, 2017) as has the link between homelessness, substance use and mental health issues (Pleace, 2008). McNaughton's work gives an alternative perspective to these findings by suggesting that substance use may be an active strategy of control rather than simply a reaction to life experiences or an underlying causal factor for homelessness. However, while emphasising the agency of her participants, McNaughton also contextualises their choices in relation to their structural poverty. In this way, the new orthodoxy continues to frame the explanations of continuing homelessness in her work. In Chapter Seven I analyse substance use as a means of controlling (or rather collapsing) time, which some participants had in abundance. Unlike McNaughton, I argue that the substance use of my participants was a defensive strategy used to deal with fear and boredom, rather than an active attempt at self-actualisation.

Using qualitative interviews and observations, Knowles (2000) tracked the lives and journeys of the clients of Montreal's community mental health system, many of whom were homeless. Knowles' participants were eager to present themselves as having control over themselves and their lives. In analysing their journeys through the city, however, Knowles revealed lives that were fragmented by a fragmented system where a sense of control was often the only means to reassure oneself or to mask one's humiliation. Knowles' work highlights the ways in which her participants were moved around by different systems and services and the ways in which they had to 'insert' themselves in the city.

> This is a city built for consumption. Other activities and the lives attached to them must be fitted in at the edges of these priorities and around the *versions of personhood* which they sustain (Knowles, 2000, p.219, original emphasis).

Fitting in at the edges included the use of spaces that people tend to move through rather than dwell in, such as the stairwells of shopping malls. '*Remaining* invisible *is the price of using public spaces*' (ibid, p.221, original emphasis). This is an interesting insight into the lived experience of those who are homeless and how they use different spaces in the city. What are the

different interacting factors that lead to a desire to be invisible, and what can this tell us about the lived experience of homelessness? Apparent in this work is how participants were perceived by wider society and how this impacted upon their identity and their behaviour, as can be seen in this participant's account of why she did not engage in 'panhandling' (begging):

> […] that's why I wouldn't go panhandling. I mean, I deal well enough with rejection, but having 300 people a day telling you [screaming] 'Get a job you fuckin asshole' or just 'NO NO NO'. Two or three hundred 'Nos' in a day, you start to twitch […] (ibid, p.221)

In this account, wider societal discourses of homelessness and its causes (laziness, moral failure etc.), interact with, and impact upon, those affected by homelessness. This participant internalises (or starts to twitch) her mass rejection from and by society, though she takes some action to prevent this by refusing to go panhandling. Following a 10-year ethnographic study, Ravenhill (2008) argued that this rejection by mainstream society has a dehumanising effect that can lead those affected to seek to secure 'a self' from other sources, including from what she calls 'homeless culture'. Homeless culture is local in that it refers to local homeless communities or 'scenes' and is made up of the relationships and networks between individual homeless people, their environment, and the range of services and institutions with which they engage. This provides for the ontological security of individuals who have otherwise been rejected from mainstream society. For those populations that are considered by policymakers as 'hard to reach' (cf Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Shelter Scotland, 2018b), are there difficulties in leaving local homeless scenes and the relationships that have been built in them? There may be factors other than the usual indicators of complexity (mental health problems, drug and alcohol issues etc) that operate to sustain individuals in homeless situations.

Working from a symbolic interactionist perspective, Goffman (1963a) introduced the concept of a 'spoiled identity' whereby stigmatised individuals accept that they display characteristics that they and others find unacceptable. A potential response to this is that stigmatised individuals may turn to other such stigmatised people in order to find some acceptance (Goffman, 1963a). Repairing a spoiled identity can be a difficult process as has been shown in relation to recovery from addiction (Biernacki, 1986; McIntosh and McKeganey,

2000, 2001) and so rebuilding a 'mainstream' identity and escaping the homeless culture may prove difficult for some.

The idea of a homeless culture, however, can be problematic in how it ascribes a homeless identity on individuals through its implied processes of adaptation or acculturation. Ravenhill (2008) made extensive use of observation of homeless individuals in public places. This may have the effect of reifying a homeless identity, as life lived in public places makes obvious behaviours that are otherwise hidden for others (Parsell, 2011). In this way, those involved in alcohol and drug use, or in violence that is hidden from public view are unlikely to be ascribed identities that are so based. Also, because individuals engage in particular social relations or practices in the context of their homelessness does not necessarily set them apart from mainstream cultural ideas or influences. Individuals may not become used to their homelessness or feel 'at home' on the street and may still view home as a house; a place where they can be safe and can pursue a 'normal' life (Parsell, 2012).

Based on ethnographic research with young homeless people in Australia, Barker (2013) also questions the notion of a homeless culture. While the young people in his study displayed behaviour and practices that could be considered counter-cultural (in that they went against mainstream cultural norms), he argued that they were not completely disconnected from their wider cultural and social world. The young people sometimes expressed remorse in relation to the actions that they had taken, even though these had resulted in some gains for them with their social groupings. Barker (2013) uses instead the concept of 'negative cultural capital' to explain the behaviour of the young people. Negative cultural capital '*does not refer to the absence or deficit of capital, like a financial debt*' (p.361). Rather, it is a specific type of capital that can be invested in through practices that, while considered antisocial or transgressive by the wider society, afford those involved with particular power in relation to their own groups. For example, involvement in criminal or violent behaviour may seem destructive and counterproductive, but it may also serve to protect the individual within their group or provide access to economic capital. While not the same concept, there are similarities between negative cultural capital and 'street capital' (Sandberg, 2008b, 2008a; Sandberg and Pedersen, 2009)

whereby the skills required for success on the street are in opposition to those required for success in mainstream life. However, this does not necessarily mean that individuals are unable to see things from the mainstream perspective. The young people in Barker's (2013) work cope with and adapt to their particular circumstances – '*keep [their] heads above water*' (p.370) – but view this within the parameters of the wider social and cultural world in which they are positioned, rather than from within a so-called homeless culture.

Ethnographic studies have further explored the issue of identity among homeless individuals. The homeless men in Gowan's (2010) study in San Francisco, for example, participated in collecting discarded bottles and other items that could be exchanged for money at recycling centres. These activities were used and discussed in relation to a masculine identity of 'hard working' in order to avoid stigmatising labels such as homeless and lazy. Similarly, Perry (2013) examined how non-homeless identities are performed by homeless individuals and how they use particular spaces in order to facilitate them. In this study, some businesses such as late-night cafés and bookstores allow homeless individuals to 'hang out' there, particularly during cold weather. Perry refers to these as 'urban hybrid spaces' and argues that, through their physical and social nature, these spaces allow those that use them to take on the identity of patron and avoid the stigmatising label of homeless. These activities may help to repair or mitigate a spoiled identity.

As outlined in the section on causation, the ways in which homelessness is discussed and explained produces different responses to it. Qualitative research has also grappled with the complex issue of causation. Following her ethnography of street homelessness, Gowan (2010) proposed that the discourses in relation to homelessness can be categorised as 'sin talk', 'sick talk' and 'system talk' whereby the causes of homelessness are attributed to moral liability, pathological incapacity, or structural injustice respectively. The solutions implicit within these discourses, therefore, are punishment, treatment, or social change; though Gowan notes the latter and system talk are often attributed less importance than individual explanations, which may demonstrate the persistence of the original orthodoxy of homelessness.

Interestingly, in Gowan's analysis, even homeless individuals were more likely to use sin talk and sick talk. She argued that sin talk was privileged over system talk because it involved more personal agency and a degree of hope, which has similarities to the arguments of McNaughton (2007) outlined earlier. Sick talk is privileged by services and, therefore, individuals need to be able to engage in it in order to engage with them. Gowan argues that the homelessness service industry is a fundamental part of how homelessness is understood and experienced by those individuals affected by it. In Chapter Six, I discuss individuals' life stories and how they are structured to meet the 'deserving' narrative required by services. System talk was more prevalent in the stories of my research participants, which may reflect differences in the homelessness systems and discourses of the UK and the USA.

Even when the discourse of homelessness is focussed on structural causes or 'system talk', it can still invoke the concept of personal success or failure. This can be by reducing individual agency to a subjective failure to include oneself in the mainstream, from which homelessness sits separately and as a barrier to (Farrugia and Gerrard, 2016). Structural inequalities are, therefore, framed as barriers that deter individuals from including *themselves* in the mainstream. If these barriers are removed, the reflexive and rational consumer will re-engage in 'normal' society and conduct themselves accordingly (ibid).

Qualitative research can foreground the lived experiences of participants, giving unique perspectives on the subjects that they study. Desjarlais (1994; 1997) achieves this in his ethnography of a homeless shelter in Boston by highlighting the subjective experiences of his participants in rich, detailed accounts. An example of this can be seen in his account of the experience of 'street dwellers':

> The inattention [of passers-by], which often comes close to a lasting ritualized excommunication, can add to a dweller's sense of being a ghostly non-person, absent and silent in the world of others. This dynamic must be disturbing and dissonant for those who face it: while one readily takes oneself to be a fully ordained person, that assumption can be checked or cancelled by the actions or inactions of others, leading to a situation in which an individual can become, paradoxically, 'a person of no existence' (Desjarlais, 1997, p.125).

In this rich description and analysis, Desjarlais is able to explore what homelessness means to the individual's experience of personhood. Marx argued '*consciousness is […] from the beginning a social product*' (1976, p.49) and so when the street dwellers in Desjarlais' account are socially ignored it has implications for their consciousness: the extent to which they are a person. These types of qualitative analyses help to bring the lived experience of the individual back into focus in a field that can be fixed on definitions, prevalence and causation. The discourse of deserving and undeserving can be challenged by analyses such as Desjarlais' because the focus is changed from 'who deserves support?' to 'who deserves to be a person'?

This ethnographic work allowed Desjarlais to detail how his participants coped with the adversity that they faced, and how they interacted with a society from which they were disconnected by '*stepping out of the flow of time' (1994, p.896)*. They were able to get away from persistent stress and adversity by making use of spaces that were of low value to others in order to make themselves invisible, which has parallels with Knowles' findings in Montreal.

Desjarlais (1997) argued that thick description, derived from phenomenological assessments, was the only way to understand the complexity and subtlety of subjective experience and, even then, that this was only 'scratching the surface'.[3] Following Heidegger (1971) Desjarlais argued that experience is a *journey* through the temporal and spatial landscape of an individual's life, which can be made sense of through narrative. The concepts of lived experience and journeys are brought together in more detail in Chapter Three.

In this section, I have reviewed some qualitative research into homelessness. This work has been able to explore and analyse the lived experiences of homelessness including the role of agency and structure in decision-making, relationships and homeless culture, identity and personhood, and explanations for becoming or remaining homeless. Farrugia and Gerrard (2016) argue for research approaches that does not set out solely to improve policy and services, and these studies do not. That said, their results can have practical applications

[3] Thick description is a way of writing about observations that includes contextual details so that the observed behaviour can be better understood. It was most notably developed by Geertz (1973).

for services, policymakers, and academics by helping to develop better understandings of how homelessness is felt and experienced at the level of the individual.

2.6 Conclusion

In this Chapter, I have reviewed some of the considerable body of literature on homelessness. I began by discussing some of the debates and issues associated with defining homelessness including international, UK, and Scottish approaches and some of the ways that these definitions have shaped responses to it. As well as highlighting the ways in which definitions of homelessness have changed and are changing, I introduced the unique service, policy and legislative context that exists in Glasgow, which contributes to the lived experience of homelessness here. This means that Glasgow provides a very distinctive context in which to conduct research into the lived experience of homelessness.

I then reviewed two areas of research that are particularly influential in policy discourse: prevalence and causation. The difficulties that arise in prevalence research relate to both contested definitions and the nature of the subject being studied. This is particularly apparent with the category 'hidden homeless'. Nevertheless, researchers deploy a range of techniques in order to be able to provide reliable estimates of the numbers of individuals experiencing homelessness at a given time. These studies are particularly useful for the state and other organisations who allocate resources to try and address homelessness. They show that Glasgow has a unique homelessness problem in the Scottish context, which may relate to the population and the interaction between local and national policy decisions. Prevalence studies, however, are not able to elaborate in any detail on how homelessness is experienced.

Much of the literature on causation focusses on the balance between structural causes of homelessness and individual characteristics or behaviours, otherwise known as the new orthodoxy. Quantitative studies in this area do start to deal with broad areas of experience by identifying that those who are homeless are more likely to experience poverty or mental health problems, for example. While the interaction between structural and individual factors is complex and dynamic, these are used to underpin prevalence studies. Because of the

complex interaction of different factors within the lives of unique individuals and families, a focus on the life histories and lived experiences of homeless individuals can give a greater understanding of causation in particular cases.

Qualitative methods have the advantage of being able to focus on individual lived experiences and life histories. The results from qualitative studies, and ethnographies in particular, can be used to address questions that cannot be answered by quantitative approaches, or to add different analytical layers and perspectives to them. Ethnographies have been used in homelessness research to explore issues such as the use of public space, homeless culture, and homeless identities. Because of its relational nature, ethnography has been used to identify different discourses of homelessness and to bring into sharp focus the impact of homelessness on individuals in terms of public attitudes, policies, and service designs. While I would argue that the understandings of homelessness that come from these studies are worthwhile in and of themselves, they have also been useful politically. For example, they can raise public awareness of different aspects of homelessness, assist policymakers and service designers to understand the impact of their policies and practices and, therefore, whether changes are required.

Many of the ethnographies reviewed in the previous section have, however, been carried out in North America and so in a different cultural and political context than that in which this research was undertaken. The findings presented in this thesis, therefore, develop an understanding of the subjective experiences of homelessness in the context of the unique legislative, policy, and service environment that exists in Glasgow.

This thesis is concerned with the lived experience of homelessness and, in particular, what the journeys and mobilities of those who are homeless can tell us about that lived experience. In Chapter Three, I introduce and examine the concepts of lived experience, journeys, field, precarity and freedom, and argue why these concepts are useful for addressing the research questions outlined. In Chapter Four, I explain the methods used in this study and make the case for ethnography as the chosen methodology.

Chapter 3 Conceptual framework

3.1 Introduction

In this chapter I will outline the conceptual framework to be used in the thesis, which has changed and developed over the course of the PhD. When working on the very first iteration of my research proposal, I knew that I was interested in investigating what it was 'really like' to be homeless in Glasgow. Before any notion of a theoretical or conceptual framework, my experiences in frontline addiction services had left me with the impression that homelessness was hard work. The research questions circled the concept of 'everyday reality' but finally came to rest on the 'lived experience' of homelessness. This concern with lived experience puts the framework within the broad area of phenomenology.

The chapter is divided into four sections. The first begins by defining the concept of lived experience and explaining its importance for the social sciences, and its place in this thesis, by introducing the work of Wilhelm Dilthey. Lived experience goes to the heart of the entire research project, forming the base onto which the other concepts are built. The relationships between journeys and lived experience are outlined in the second section, which also places journeys within the context of the relatively recent 'mobilities turn' in the social sciences. A review of the mobilities literature reveals examples of how a focus on journeys can be productive in investigating lived experience. The third section introduces Bourdieu's three interrelated concepts of field, capital and habitus. These concepts are particularly useful for analysing social spaces, such as the homelessness field, and the power dynamics that exist within them. Finally, the related concepts of precarity and freedom are introduced, which will be used to frame Chapters Six and Seven.

3.2 Lived experience

In this section I introduce the concept of lived experience and define it in line with how it was conceptualised by Wilhelm Dilthey. I explore how lived experience involves thought, feeling, and action, which are related to the past, present, and future respectively. I conclude the section by drawing parallels

between lived experiences and journeys. Desjarlais (1997) thought that lived experience was a fundamental element of being human and argued that:

> [t]o try to write about humans without reference to experience is like trying to think the unthinkable (p.12).

Perhaps because of this, lived experience is a concept that is ever more widely used in social scientific research (McIntosh and Wright, 2019). It is not, however, always specifically defined. The implication of this is that its meaning is universally understood, an 'existential given' that requires no further explanation. This position has been critiqued by Desjarlais and others, so, in order to both justify and explain its use in this thesis, a brief foray into the realm of philosophy is required.

As a branch of philosophy, phenomenology was founded by Edmund Husserl and developed by other proponents such as Heidegger, Sartre and Merleau-Ponty among others (Zahavi, 2018). Phenomenology is the study of the structures of experience and consciousness and has a focus on '*the intersection between mind and world, neither of which can be understood in separation from each* other' (Zahavi, 2018, p.30). However, rather than engage extensively with the phenomenological literature generated from Husserl onwards, I turn instead to a philosopher who predated Husserl but who nonetheless was close to his phenomenological thinking (Tillman, 1976): Wilhelm Dilthey. I will use Dilthey's conceptualisation of lived experience and its structures with the aim of developing an approach that Desjarlais called a 'critical phenomenology' that

> can help us not only to describe what people feel, think, or experience but also to grasp how the *process* of feeling or experiencing come about through multiple interlocking interactions (1997, p.25, original emphasis).

Unable to read German, I have relied on the English translation of some of Dilthey's work by Hodges (1952) and on the interpretations of this work by Victor Turner (1988), Arpad Szakolczai (2008, 2017), and Bjørn Thomassen (2009, 2012, 2014) in particular. These last three make use of Dilthey's work from anthropological perspectives and so have influenced my framework in the sense that they emphasise the cyclical interaction between thought and experience

and between meaning and consciousness, showing that the processes involved in these interactions are worthy of investigation.

For Wilhelm Dilthey, *erlebnis*, or 'lived experience', was the fundamental difference between the basis of the human sciences and the natural sciences. He submitted that the human sciences are necessarily based on lived experiences concerned as they are with human behaviour, thought and meaning. Dilthey argued, in his theory of knowledge, that all human thought and meaning derive from experience and that philosophy should seek to explain this from within experience rather than apply an external order to it.

> All thought-structures arise out of experience, and derive their meaning from their relation to experience. There is no 'timeless world' of meanings, or essences, or rational principles; there is no clear-cut distinction, such as is drawn by the German Neo-Kantians, or the Italian Neo-idealists, or Collingwood, between the rational level of experience and the irrational, the 'spirit' and the 'psyche'; there is not 'metaphysical subject' or 'transcendental self' such as is found in orthodox Kantian and post-Kantian theories of knowledge. There is only the human being, the mind-body unit (*psychophysische Einheit*) living his [sic] life in interaction with his physical and social environment; and out of this interaction all experience and all thought arise (Dilthey as translated by Hodges, 1952, XVIII-XIX, original emphasis).

According to Dilthey, experience has three interacting and interdependent elements: cognitive, affective, and conative. Each of these three elements relates also to the temporal nature of experience with cognition or meaning relating to past experiences, the affective aspects being to the fore during present experience, and conative or action relating to future experience. Turner clarifies this association:

> Put briefly, the category of meaning arises in *memory*, in *cognition* of the *past*, and is cognitive, self-reflexive, oriented to past experience, and concerned with what phenomenological sociologists might call 'negotiation' with the 'fit' between present and past. The category of *value* arises dominantly from *feeling*, that is it inheres in the *affective* enjoyment of the *present*. The category of *end* (goal or good) arises from *volition*, the power or faculty of using the will, which refers to the *future* (Turner, 1988, p.214, original emphasis).

Desjarlais (1997) picks up on the temporal nature of experience in the way narrative and stories are ordered to convey a sense of time in lived experiences,

although he also cautions against assumptions that lived experiences can only be grasped through narrative. Each experience also constitutes what Dilthey called a 'force' in the sense that it is affected by past experiences and has an influence on what will be experienced in the future. Therefore, understanding the 'lived experience' of homelessness (or anything) requires investigation into cognitive, affective, and conative elements of it as they relate to past, present, and future experience. As will be detailed in Chapter Four, the methods associated with ethnography are particularly well suited to such an investigation. For example, Ellis and Flaherty (1992) bring together works that foreground '*thick ethnographic description of emotions grounded in lived experience*'(p.4) in order to challenge what they see as weaknesses in a sociology overly concerned with its relationship to the natural sciences, and that creates distances between the constituent parts of subjective experience through both method and perspective.

Experience relates to something that is undergone, is participatory, and is imbued with emotion. In an analysis of the etymology of the word experience, Szakolczai (2009, p.149) argues that its Proto-Indo-European origins (per) relate to a '*successful completion of a passage*' and that other derivatives of this root word, such as fear and pearl, indicate the emotional content of such passages.

Heidegger ([1959] 1971) is also aware of this spatial 'passage' of experience when he writes '*[t]o experience is to go along a way. The way leads through a landscape*' (p.61). The landscape has both temporal and spatial qualities that must be passed through, and, in this way, experiences and journeys are analogous. In the next section, I examine how a focus on journeys can be a useful way to explore lived experience. By paying attention to how and why people journey, and the landscapes through which they travel, we can gain insight into their lived experience.

3.3 Mobilities: flows and journeys

In this section I introduce concepts from the mobilities literature, which has grown since the 'mobility turn' (Hannam, Sheller and Urry, 2006) within the social sciences. Within this literature, scholars use a variety of concepts in order to show how a focus on mobilities is a useful perspective to take in

understanding human life. These concepts include flow and journey, which are compared and contrasted in terms of the different analytical work that they do. I then argue that mobilities and journeys are constitutive of people and place and show how individual journeys can reveal important aspects of the lived experiences of those that make them.

3.3.1 Turning towards mobility

As was argued at the end of the previous section, journeys can be seen as analogous with experience as things that have to be 'passed through' (or lived through in the case of this thesis). Heidegger's (1971) analogy of experience as a journey through a landscape was taken up by Desjarlais who said '*[t]o experience is to move through a landscape at once physical and metaphoric*' (1997, p.20). Journeys and mobilities are areas of social science that have grown in the wake of a 'mobility turn', as will be detailed in this section before exploring the ways in which this perspective has been fruitfully used to explore lived experience.

Cresswell (2006) introduces a tripartite structure of mobility that resembles the Diltheyean structure of experience as he argues that mobility is a concept that means more than just movement. It includes the physical act of movement (conative) between two points; however, it also includes representations and *meanings* that make sense of the movement, and it includes the embodied (affect) practice of the movement (ibid). So, while the physical act of movement is the empirical part of mobility, there are also social elements. For example, walking may mean different things to different individuals such as to backpackers versus refugees. The embodied practices of mobility interact with meanings and emotions to create different experiences. Walking when tired or in pain, or with a sense of foreboding, will be experienced differently from walking with hope or expectation. Experiences of movement can also depend on who is doing the moving and why:

> As we approach immigration at the airport the way our mobility feels depends on who we are and what we can expect when we reach the front of the line […] Whether we have chosen to be mobile or have been forced into it affects our experience of it (Cresswell, 2010, p.20).

Mobility is a useful concept for examining lived experience, concerned as it is with the past, present, and future. Take the example of approaching immigration above. The lived experience of it depends on where one has come from (past) and where one is trying to go (future), both of which impact on how it is 'felt' in the present. While in reality this entanglement of movement, representation and practice cannot be easily separated, their separation can be useful for analytical and theoretical purposes (Cresswell, 2010).

At the level of theory Urry, (2000a, 2000b) argues for a 'mobile sociology' that is able to take account of the complexities of a world where society is no longer contained within bounded nation states. He argued that much of twentieth century sociology had *'failed to register the geographical intersections of region, city and place, with the social categories of class, gender and ethnicity* (Urry, 2000a, p.348), and that the global networks and 'flows' of people, ideas, images and objects within, across, and between societal borders necessitated a focus on these movements and mobilities. This is not to say that the social sciences had been uninterested in mobility prior to Urry's intervention. Movements of various types have been the object of study in many of the social sciences for some time, including geography and sociology (Cresswell, 2010). However, while some areas of study have ostensibly been about movement, such as transport or migration, they have often treated this movement as an accepted fact rather than an area worthy of examination itself:

> In migration theory, movement occurred because one place pushed people out and another pulled people in. So, despite being about movement, it was really about places. Similarly, transport studies have too often thought of time in transit as 'dead time' in which nothing happens – a problem that can be solved technically. Mobility studies have begun to take the actual fact of movement seriously (Cresswell, 2010, p.18).

Additionally, disciplinary boundaries resulted in different areas of research into mobility and movement being kept apart from each other. The 'mobilities turn' in the 21st Century has meant that research findings, theories and methodologies from different disciplines can be brought together to focus on mobility as their central question (Cresswell, 2010; Hannam et al., 2006). Predictably, some of the issues previously raised within different disciplines have re-emerged in the mobility literature. Massey's (1994) geographical perspective on space, place

and gender, for example, asks a number of critical questions about mobility and its relationship with power that are reflected in the later works of prominent mobility scholars including Urry (2007).

3.3.2 Flow

Flow is a concept that has entered the social sciences in different ways and from different origins over time, leading to its variegated definition and use (Rockefeller, 2011). Originally used to describe the movement of liquids, the term itself has also been fluid in that it has been used in relation to the movement of a range of different physical and abstract entities and phenomena including materials, conversation, energy, money, time, and people. In sociological and anthropological terms, it has developed since the second half of the 20th Century and has been closely linked or associated with work that focusses on the transnational processes of globalisation (ibid).

Some time ago, Harvey (1989) described the concept of 'time-space compression' whereby technologies were allowing communications and people to move and connect more quickly, enabling social relations to be maintained at greater distances. In other words, the world was speeding up and spreading out (Massey, 1994). Since Harvey's description, 'time-space compression', or globalisation, has arguably increased with continued technological changes that have negated the necessity of any correlation between social and spatial distance (Urry, 2000a). Flow, therefore, has been a useful concept for understanding major changes to information technology and transportation systems and the implications of these for how society is organised and structured, such as in the work of Arjun Appadurai, Manuel Castells, and John Urry.

Appadurai (1990) discusses the 'global cultural flow' across different dimensions whereby people, images, technology, finance, and ideas flow across national boundaries and interact in uneven and unpredictable ways with each other and with the localised and historically situated perspectives that exist in the places that they arrive in. While this has long been the case, Appadurai noted that the increased speed, scale and volume of such '*flows is now so great that the disjunctures have become central to the politics of global culture*' (ibid, p.301).

In this way, flow is implicitly defined as the transnational movement of these different peoples and commodities and Appadurai uses it to explain how local cultures and social structures are influenced and changed by these flows.

Castells (2010 [1996]) defines flows in his book The Rise of the Network Society:

> By flows I understand the purposeful, repetitive, programmable sequences of exchange and interaction between physically disjointed positions held by social actors in the economic, political and symbolic structures of society (p.442).

He further argues that flows dominate economic, political, and symbolic life because society is constructed and organised in networks in order to facilitate flows such as flows of money, information, and people.

Similar to both Castells and Appardurai, Urry (2000a) described mobile technologies (telecommunication, transportation etc) as 'scapes' and the things (people, ideas, communication, etc) that move along them as flows. Both he and Castells argued that there are social, economic, and technological inequalities in and between societies that create differentiated access to flows. In short, some people and places are better connected than others. In this way, all of social and economic life are affected by the patterned and networked mobility of various flows so that

> [i]ssues of movement, of too little movement or too much or of the wrong sort or at the wrong time, are central to many lives, organisations and governments (Hannam et al., 2006, p.1).

Kroeber (1952) argued that flow could be used to describe the movement of meanings and values *between* different cultures and also those movements *within* a particular culture. In analysing this, Rockefeller (2011) argued that the difference between these two senses of flow is rendered obsolete when one considers culture from a global perspective because the outside of any single thing (city, culture, etc) is also the inside of something larger that contains it. This is how flow is characterised in the work of Jensen (2006) who mines the concepts of Simmel and Goffman in order to re-examine movement and flow in the contemporary city. She argues that by focussing on small scale, everyday flows of people, materials, information, and symbols, an understanding can be

developed in terms of how those flows stack up to make and remake society as a whole. For example, cities are planned and practised according to the movement of their citizens, information, ideas, images, and goods (Urry, 2007).

However, the implied smoothness of flow is a major area of critique of the concept, with different authors arguing that it inadequately captures small scale mobility, individual experience, and agency. It is to these critiques that I now turn.

3.3.3 Journeys don't flow

While recognising the usefulness of flow in examining movement at large scales, Rockefeller (2011) argues that it '*does so at the cost of making it harder to understand the scales at which practice and agency are manifestly important*' (p.566). Similarly, Lelievre and Marshall (2015) argue that the language of flow obscures individual, or small-scale mobility and action by turning it into pure movement. This is problematic because 'micro journeys' are important for understanding the interface between the biological and the social, between political subjects and political institutions. In this way, the language of flow creates the distances between the constituent parts of lived experience described by Ellis and Flaherty (1992) earlier. While accepting Urry's (2000a) 'mobile sociology' as a framework for social science research, Knowles (2010; 2011) also rejects the concept of flow because of its implied smoothness, arguing in the later paper that:

> [p]eople and objects do not flow. They bump awkwardly along creating pathways as they go. They grate against each other, dodge, stop and go, negotiate obstacles, back-track and move off in new directions propelled by different intersecting logics. They do all of these things and more […] but they do not flow (2011, p.138).

Knowles advocates the use of 'journey' as a conceptual tool for analysing mobility because it takes into account differences between people and differences in scale, while also prompting further critical questions about how, where, and in what circumstances people journey. She defines journeys as '*temporally limited travel sequences executed by a variety of means*' (Knowles, 2011, p.138). In this way, the concept of journey is useful for unpacking routine day-to-day journeys, more long-haul journeys, and also as a metaphor for life as

it is lived in a sequence of scenes. Journey is a concept that more adequately captures movement at the level of the individual, whereas flow better captures aggregate movement. The concept of journey is useful in this thesis because of the parallels with lived experience as a 'passage through' with temporal and spatial qualities. Knowles argues that journeys are constitutive of people and of places and, used as an exploratory tool, can give insight into social inequalities at different scales.

> The activities of travel, journey and navigation *fabricate* the social world as well as reveal it. They expose what flow conceals, in ways that support comparison, exposing differences between places and between lives. Not difference in the anodyne sense in which it is often used, but difference that *stacks-up* to something more systematic in its chaos: to the way things work at micro and macro scales, as local and trans-local streams of activity (2010, p.378, original emphasis).

As conceptual tools, 'mobilities', 'flow' and 'journeys' have been used effectively in the social sciences to examine a range of social phenomena. The next section will detail some of the ways that these concepts have been used in the social sciences in order to elaborate their usefulness in this thesis and, in particular, how they can be used as a lens to focus on the lived experiences of participants.

3.3.4 The making of people... and places

Sheller and Urry (2006) argue that space and mobility are mutually constitutive of one another and that they produce power together, while Massey (1994) argued that place is constructed by a '*particular constellation of social relations, meeting and weaving together at a particular locus*' (p.154). It appears that people, places and mobility are interconnected, interrelated and interdependent concepts. It is only through mobility that people get to places, and places are constituted by the people who go to them, who bring with them a range of other materials that also make the place:

> So journeys are the very social practices that connect and constitute places. A place is made in the tangle of journeys crossing it. Journeys carry *plans*, intention that is not always realised […] journeys constitute people's lives: the kinds of lives they might live

> and the places in which they live them (Knowles, 2010, p.375, original emphasis).

The quote above outlines Knowles' view, which is in line with that of Massey noted earlier, that journeys are a fundamental and constitutive element of both people and places. This thesis is concerned with the lived experience of (some) homeless people in Glasgow so, when Knowles contends that people are ultimately the totality of their journeys, my interest in the concept is piqued. How people journey through their lives gets to the very nature of 'lived experience'; the journey represents lived experience. People and places are constituted by the journeys they undertake and those which pass through them and, therefore, understanding journeys provides a key to understanding lived experiences of social phenomena. This is particularly emphasised in relation to urban spaces:

> Journeys are the key to things of urban social significance. It follows that if the social world is fabricated in journeys then studying them will reveal crucial social substance (Knowles, 2011, p.139).

Homelessness is certainly a 'thing of [particularly] urban social significance' as evidenced by the breadth and depth of literature on the topic from right across the globe. Given this, what 'crucial social substance' may be revealed in the study of journeys within the field of homelessness?

Jensen (2006) uses the work of Goffman (1963b) to reconceptualise mobility in the contemporary city, particularly the street, which she states '*expresses nothing less than the informal, cultural norms of social interaction embedded in deep psychological structures of self-perception*' (p.152). She uses Goffman's dramaturgical approach, whereby individuals 'perform' social roles in public, to show that movement, journeys and mobility are more than the practical activities of getting from A to B. They contain and convey social meaning and symbolism:

> [I]t should be clear that the basic ways of getting about in the city by no means are trivial features of urban life. They express a material and practical dimension as well as an important symbolic dimension, because the socio-spatial relation is a dialectical dynamism of great importance. The socio-spatial relation 'works' by means of its coercive or enabling capacities for spatial practices. Furthermore,

> the socio-spatial relation conveys 'meaning' to social agents via multiple re-presentations, symbols and discourses (Jensen, 2006, p.153).

The meanings presented in these mobilities include identity and social ordering; therefore, the study of these mobilities and their patterns can reveal wider, societal issues. Each type of mobility comes with its own set of norms and practices that individuals have to master and comply with, or deliberately resist, and so bodies of knowledge emerge: '*[i]n other words, there are "cycling-knowledge" and "airplane-knowledge" etc. to be accumulated*' (Jensen, 2006, p.161). Knowles (2011) used the term 'navigation' to refer to how the journey is planned and executed, which she argued requires *'compressed knowledge about the world and how to live in it'* (p.139). In this way, navigation is a set of social skills and practices. Dilthey argued that all knowledge and meaning derive from experience, and so a focus on the types of knowledge and meaning contained within the journeys of participants provides a window into their lived experience. Are there particular sets of knowledge that relate specifically to the mobility of homeless individuals, and what do these reveal about the cultural and societal contexts in which they have developed? In Chapter Six, I discuss the mobility practices of participants including how the knowledge and skills that they have built up from previous experiences have a direct impact on current and future journeys.

3.3.5 Homeless mobilities

In an earlier ethnographic study into community mental health services in Montréal, which was introduced in Chapter Two, Knowles (2000) followed the journeys of two homeless men as they traversed the city and the various services. The lived experiences of the men and how they related to their use of space in the city emerged through the study of their journeys. Issues of identity and control were apparent as the two men presented themselves as in control of their environment rather than vice versa. They used place and space strategically in order to become 'invisible' where required, such as spending time in the stair well of a shopping mall. This is a place where people generally move through rather than linger; it is a place of low social value to some but is useful to the two men. Desjarlais (1997) argued that homeless people '*root themselves in spots that lacked full-time value and significance to others*'

(p.99) and that they '*get what is left and unguarded/unprotected*' (p.103). The fact that homeless individuals travel to, linger or dwell in, these places of low social value reveals important aspects about their lived experience of homelessness and how this is embodied.

In her analysis of public discourse and social policy in the United States, Kawash (1998) contends that homeless individuals, through their 'placelessness', embody a tangible and corporeal message of social failure. By being present and visible, homeless bodies come to represent this failure and are in turn represented in society as dirt and waste that exists outside of the public realm.

> The public view of the homeless as 'filth' marks the danger of this body *as body* to the homogeneity and wholeness of the public […] The solution to this impasse appears as the ultimate aim of the 'homeless wars': to exert such pressures against this body that will reduce it to nothing, to squeeze it until it is so small that it disappears (Kawash, 1998, p.329, original emphasis).

Kawash's analysis highlights how public opinion in relation to homelessness can manifest itself in the practices of both authorities and homeless individuals themselves. The 'homeless wars' she refers to are the sustained discourses and policy initiatives in the United States during the 1990s that positioned those who were homeless as simultaneously outside of society (dirt) and present, which required a response (cleaning). The policies of the 'homeless wars' were aimed at removing homeless individuals from public spaces and keeping them out.

An examination of the journeys of individuals can expose the (actual or perceived) pressures that are placed upon them in terms of where they should be, where they are 'allowed' to be, and how they are able to get there. It may be strategically useful for individuals to become 'invisible' in terms of avoiding unwanted attention, but it also indicates how the subjective experience of these individuals is affected by the actions and inactions of others including the authorities. Mastering these sets of norms and practices allow individuals to accumulate a body of 'homeless-mobility' knowledge that incorporates public perceptions and opinions, the behaviour and practices of authorities, mental maps of places and routes, and a range of ways to conduct oneself in a variety of situations, all of which represent their lived experience of homelessness.

Evidence for this interactional accumulation of knowledge and skills can be found in the work of Jackson (2012, 2015). In her ethnography of young homeless people in London, Jackson shows that the mobility of her participants is shaped by a range of actual and perceived threats and surveillance from both formal and informal sources. For example, the young people in Jackson's study refer to one bus service as the 'free bus' due to the fact that the tickets are not regularly checked. Because of their economic marginalisation, the bus is a useful resource to them. However, it comes with the risk of an interaction with the authorities, and potentially serious consequences, because the bus is targeted for raids by the police and immigration services. The behaviour and practices of the young people in Jackson's study, and other groups of people before them, has been shaped by and shapes the actions and practices of the authorities. Both develop in relation to one another.

This speaks to a complex and mutually constitutive relationship of people, practices and places that is uncovered by a focus on mobilities and journeys:

> The new mobility paradigm argues against this ontology of distinct 'places' and 'people'. Rather, there is a complex relationality of places and persons connected through performances […] Thus activities are not separate from the places that happen contingently to be visited. Indeed, the places travelled to depend in part upon what is practised within them (Sheller and Urry, 2006, p.214).

For example, Meneses-Reyes (2013) shows how street vendors in Mexico City have developed a variety of practices over time in relation to the various levels of regulation that have been applied to them by authorities. Unlicensed vendors have had to develop a body of knowledge and skills in order to avoid authorities and possible incarceration. For example, certain places and zones are avoided at particular times. Over time, this patterning of the unlicensed vendors' movements and practices has led to the development of informal areas of street commerce; that is, a place has been created by the mobilities and activities of the vendors. Similar to the example of the 'free bus' in Jackson's study, the authorities' and street vendors' behaviours develop and change in relation to one another and, in so doing, make and remake the places where they operate and move. In this way, 'the street' is a place that is constructed by all of the mobilities of social actors using it, whether authorised or not:

> [I]t is precisely in the analysis of this exchange that we can identify how certain movements, practices and identities can be traced on a static map, while the street defined and designed by urban regulators is dynamically transformed into a space by people in movement (Meneses-Reyes, 2013, p.351).

In this example, particular 'street places' are created by people engaged in activities, and the patterns of the activities that take place there. However, particular activities in particular places can also be patterned by what is imagined or expected to happen there.

3.3.6 Imagining movement

The street is a very specific example of a public place and Blomley (2007) has shown that it is also a place where movement is privileged. He examined Canadian anti-begging laws and the various human-rights-based challenges to these, finding that none of the challenges were successful because of the activities that the street was deemed to be for by the courts and authorities. While there are strong arguments that individuals should be free to express themselves, including the expression of the pain related to their poverty and homelessness through begging, it was judged that this could not be at odds with the intended use of the public space. The corollary is the example of shouting political slogans in a public library – it is acceptable to express political views but not in the public library, which is a place where silence is expected. The street is a place where movement is privileged, and obstacles have to be justified:

> *Baldly stated, the sidewalk is a traffic corridor: beggars are obstacles* (Blomley, 2007, p.1700).

> *The street and the sidewalk are understood as a space of objects, both moving and static. The code does not privilege persons, but rather treats panhandlers and mail-boxes as on the same ontological plane* (ibid, p.1703).

These imaginations of how the street should be used transfer into the actions of authorities and services, and individuals themselves. They can also manifest in the built environment and this can play an important part in the length of time individuals can spend in a particular area or the activities that they are able to do there.

> 'Hostile architecture' is a relatively recent term […] that loosely describes various structures that are attached to or installed in spaces of public use in order to render them unusable in certain ways or by certain groups (Petty, 2016, p.68).

While 'hostile architecture' is a relatively recent *term*, the practice of using the design of public spaces to encourage or discourage particular types of behaviour is a long established one. For example, Davis (1990) compares how the city of Los Angeles promoted a vision of 'liveability' as being the use of public space for relaxation and rest, while at the same time

> the city [was] engaged in a merciless struggle to make public facilities and spaces as 'unliveable' as possible for the homeless and the poor (p.232).

Examples of this struggle (part of the 'homeless wars' referred to by Kawash) are the use of specifically designed benches and outdoor sprinkler systems to discourage people from rough sleeping. In the examples noted earlier, homeless people lingered and dwelled in places that others moved through, but here we can see their ability to linger being restricted. Their lingering has been identified as a problem by others who take action to move them on. These are not spaces of 'low social value', just the opposite. These spaces are valued and, therefore, homeless individuals are squeezed out of them.

The environment will be affected by how planners, politicians and others in authority imagine the movement and mobility of the subjects of a particular city or region based on the various 'spatialised knowledges' that are produced through techniques such as statistics and regional or urban zoning (Jensen, 2011). How mobility is imagined or conceptualised, and then applied to individuals, carries social status and power in terms of assigning identities or categorisations to people (Cresswell, 2006). For example, the mobility of the 'commuter' is valued; it is imagined and planned for in very different ways to that of 'tramp' or 'migrant' (ibid). As was shown by Blomley (2007), how a space is then regulated or policed in terms of how it is expected to be used is also important.

In discussing borders, Bærenholdt (2013) highlights how their design and operation encourages certain regular practices and routes by preventing some

movement and enabling others. This analysis can be applied to the infrastructure of a city or to the design of a service. How does the built environment enable or restrict movement and for whom? 'Hostile architecture' can be deployed in order to try and control how places are used. The design of services, their operation, and their interaction with other services can work to keep people moving while keeping others still. Inequalities can be initiated and perpetuated in these designs. In Chapters Five, Six and Seven, I explore how services are designed and organised around an imagined flow of service users who are expected to move through processes and places in particular ways, and how staff privilege flow in these systems.

The use of space and mobility in the analysis of inequality is advocated by Manderscheid (2009) who argues that social and geographical space are inseparable, with the latter being just another social space among many. It is from the power relations across multiple social spaces that inequalities emerge, thus revealing their contingent and political character (ibid). She uses Sheppard's (2002) concept of 'positionality' as a means to describe how the social position of different entities (people, ideas, institutions etc) is relational to the position of other entities within different, interacting social spaces - *multiple interlocking interactions* to use Desjarlais' (1997, p.25) words again. As one particular social space, geographic place may convey a particular social position such as being from a poor or a rich area. However, individuals living in the same place will not necessarily occupy the same social position (Massey, 1994) highlighting that different positions in different social spaces may be interacting with each other.

> Thus, one's position in geographic space is not outside the social world but is highly interacting with positions in other social spaces […] I argue that the positionalities of actors in one social space are not independent of their positionalities in another social space but rather inter-dependent. But how these different spatialities of inequality interact with each other at a specific positionality, which one is dominant and whether they exponentiate or neutralize each other remains an empirical question (Manderscheid, 2009, pp.14-15).

Positionality is a useful concept for considering the earlier point that homeless people occupy, linger in, and use places of 'low social value'. Perhaps the first question to ask is what makes these places of low social value? For whom? A

place to shelter from the rain may be of high value to someone without the means to get dry. If some spaces are differently positioned in terms of the value given to them by different social groups, what does this mean for the people who use them? Does the fact that they position themselves, or are positioned by others, in these geographical spaces indicate the interaction of their positions in other social spaces? Are they 'squeezed' out of certain geographical spaces because of their social position or representation as argued by Kawash? Either way, mobility is a key organising principle in social positioning.

> Thus, if social relations constituting social spaces and defining positionality within these spatialities rest largely on mobilities, the ability to be mobile appears to be a very crucial force of stratification (Manderscheid, 2009, p.18).

Manderscheid (2009) argued that we can begin to better understand the complexity of social inequality by asking: '*How do different social groups form, perceive and experience their social spaces in relation to other social spaces? How open or closed are these spaces*' (p.21)? What positions in various social spaces do homeless individuals occupy? How do they relate to one another and how do they move between them? In Chapter Five I examine how participants viewed their social position in relation to where they were staying. Being on the street, or in a negatively viewed hostel conveys a different position than when they had been accepted into a residential service, for example.

3.3.7 Operationalising mobilities

A focus on mobilities and journeys has proved useful for examining a wide range of social phenomena including migration, mental health, urban planning and social inequality (cf.Blomley, 2007; Cresswell, 2010; Jensen, 2011; Jensen, 2006; Knowles, 2000; Manderscheid, 2009). Journeys have also been used to study homelessness, as in the case of Knowles (2000) and Jackson (2012), revealing particular aspects that may otherwise have remained hidden such as the impact of service design, or how systems and those that use them (or are targeted by them) develop in relation to one another. Manderscheid (2009) advocates seeing geographical space, and the mobility therein, as just one of many social spaces that are interdependent and interacting. Examining mobilities and journeys in geographical space reveals crucial information regarding the structure and

stratification of social inequality. A focus on mobilities is used in this thesis to reveal how places and people are constituted, and the different intersecting logics that motivate and contribute to journeys, giving insights into the lived experiences and subjectivities of participants.

In order to reveal the social relations and power distributions that produce and are produced by mobility, Cresswell (2010) proposes focussing on six elements of it: '*motive force, velocity, rhythm, route, experience, and friction*' (p.17). These six interrelated aspects, further elaborated below, are useful for thinking through homeless journeys and what they can tell us about the lived experience of homelessness, and they incorporate many of the concepts covered so far in this chapter.

'Motive force' relates to motivation for movement, which for people can be both internal and external (Cresswell, 2010). Whether individuals are forced or coerced to move is an important consideration, that has implications for how the movement is represented and experienced. If they do choose to move, is this a choice from an unlimited amount of options or are the choices constrained by needs, services, resources or the perceptions of the person themselves? The motivation to move may be based on the Diltheyean 'force' of past experience whereby choices, hopes, or expectations of individuals relate specifically to the body of 'homeless-mobility-knowledge' or navigational skills that the person has acquired.

The 'velocity' at which a person moves can relate to motivation in terms of making deadlines and curfews, or having to hurry through particular areas due to risks from authorities or other groups as seen in the work of Meneses-Reyes (2013) and Jackson (2012). They may also want to move slowly, to kill time, take in their surroundings or look for opportunities. Is there time for slowing down, for resting, or for leisurely movement? As was seen earlier, the design of the environment (Davis, 1990; Petty, 2016) or how it is policed or governed (Blomley, 2007) will have an impact on this. Perhaps moving quickly is not an option due to physical health problems. The mode of transport will affect speed and relates to 'access' (Kaufmann, Bergman and Joye, 2004) in relation to what transport is available and accessible to individuals in terms of, for example,

affordability and territoriality**.** There is also reluctance, hesitation, and trepidation to be considered.

The 'rhythm', and patterns, of movement can be linked to external factors such as the opening times of services, or the rhythms of city life in terms of the working day versus night and the week versus the weekend. Seasonal rhythms were important in this research, which took place over eight months and incorporated the whole of winter 2017/18. As will be detailed in later chapters, winter in Glasgow brings changes not only to the weather but to service provision and attitudes in relation to homelessness, and to the mobilities and journeys of homeless people. Rhythms of movement are part of the social order. For example, influxes of commuters arrive in the city's stations on their way to work in the morning reflecting work rhythms that have their origins in the industrial revolution (Schor, 1991). Indeed, the timetabling and pricing of train travel is orientated around this rhythm as can be seen in peak and off-peak tickets. When travelling on the train between 8am and 9am, I fully expect to encounter busy carriages and platforms, though I would be somewhat perplexed to find this situation at some other times. In this way '*[t]here is an aesthetics of correct mobility*' (Cresswell, 2010, p.24) where only certain kinds of movement look right within that order. Seeing someone walking on the hard shoulder of the motorway immediately draws the attention because it is not the right kind of movement in that place.

In this way the 'right' movement often also involves taking the right 'route':

> Mobility itself is 'channeled' into acceptable conduits […] Producing order and predictability is not simply a matter of fixing in space but of channeling motion – of producing correct mobilities through the designation of routes (Cresswell, 2010, p.24).

What routes homeless individuals use, whether these vary and why, are important questions to gain insight into the nature of the lived experience of homelessness. The built environment and how the use of public spaces is imagined or governed are factors in determining routes. There are physical or technological barriers to some routes, while other barriers are perceived such as feeling unwelcome or anticipating trouble in certain areas. Channelling one's movement through places of 'low social value' or slowing down in places where

there are opportunities is strategically important in terms of maintaining (in)visibility in relation to others, but it also reveals aspects of lived experience by highlighting the knowledge and meaning of routes that were chosen over others and the places that could and could not be passed through. There are also homeless journeys to be considered – the routes that individuals take through their experience of homelessness and, as will be explored in Chapters Five, Six and Seven, how services are designed and organised are key influencing factors in these.

As with all of these aspects of movement, the affective part, the 'experience', how it feels to move, is interdependent on the other elements. Being forced to move feels very different from choosing to move, while the anticipated costs and benefits of movement will also change how it is felt. Is the movement part of a 'performance' of self, an expression of freedom? How does it feel to have to move suddenly and unexpectedly, or to flee a frightening situation? How does it feel to enter a residential unit or a supported accommodation, wondering what or who you will find there? Previous experiences impact on current ones to explain, exacerbate, or mitigate them, like the Diltheyan forces described in Chapter Two.

Cresswell (2010) used the term 'friction' to explore how and when movement stops. When and how friction is applied or removed, and the movement quickens, slows or stops can also provide important information on the internal and external pressures that are exerted upon individuals. Who is stopped and searched by police, or stopped at immigration control and sent back? Again, physical and technological barriers, perceptions of the individuals themselves and of others, as well as resource limitations all come in to play in terms of stopping movement. Where is stopping allowed? Are some people prevented from stopping in certain places while others are free to do so? A focus on friction reveals and accepts the awkward bumpiness of journeys that do not flow. Chapter Seven is concerned with different types and experiences of friction - stuckness and waiting - which are an inevitable part of journeys. These experiences of waiting are also affected by past experiences and by hopes and expectations that have been built up along the way.

This section has introduced and reviewed concepts from the mobilities literature in order to demonstrate their usefulness in understanding the lived experience of homelessness, the central aim of this thesis. Flow is a concept that is useful for looking at mobility at certain scales. Given the critiques of it, it may seem to be a concept that is not of use in a thesis about the lived experience of individuals. This is not the case if considering the processes involved in moving through different services or understanding the transnational flow of ideas that brought Housing First to Scotland, for example. However, journeys take account of individuals and the awkward, unpredictable, and bumpy ways in which they travel. Journeys can be both spatial and conceptual, they involve agency, carry plans, and demonstrate knowledge, skills, and experience. The journey can be seen as analogous with experience in that they are both things that have to be passed through; both involve cognitive, affective, and conative aspects that relate to the past, present and future. Journeys are constitutive of people and of places, and they reveal the dynamics of power and social relations. In Chapter Five I map out some of my field of research, which is multidimensional, dynamic and complex. In doing so, I make use of the Bourdieusian concept of field which is introduced in the next section.

3.4 Field, capital, and habitus

Central to the work of Bourdieu are the concepts of field, capital, and habitus, which he argued are all interrelated and can only be defined '*within the theoretical system they constitute, not in isolation*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.96). Bourdieu (1989) contended that power and social position were attained through the accumulation of different forms of capital including economic, cultural, social and symbolic capital. Different types of capital can be exchanged for other types, with the clearest example being that economic capital can be exchanged for a range of cultural and social goods and services such as education and health. The amount of capital that an agent has will determine their social position or status.

Cultural capital is inherited because it is already accumulated from early childhood and is dependent, therefore, on the social position of the parents. It then becomes legitimised and certified, through the education system for example, and can be exchanged for economic capital in the form of a profession

or qualified job (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Social capital requires continuous maintenance through networks of contacts and relationships, which can be exploited by their members resulting in enduring inequalities in terms of social position (ibid). Economic, cultural and social capital are the main resources in society, and they constitute

> […] social space as a system of power relations, wherein the structure and volume of available capitals define specific social positions in relation to other social positions (Manderscheid, 2009, p10).

Capital is reliant on recognition in order to function; it is relational. When it is recognised by different agents and institutions within fields, Bourdieu referred to it as symbolic capital (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). A classic example is academic qualifications and accreditations, which have power not only within the field of academia, but also in other fields such as particular professions. It is only by being recognised as legitimate in these fields that these accreditations become a form of symbolic capital. These forms of capital can also vary in terms of their overall worth depending on how they are recognised and so the type and grade of the qualification, or the institution from which it was obtained, may be given greater or lesser weight within a particular field and, therefore, have implications for the position of the holder within that field.

Bourdieu sees all social spaces as fields, that is as spaces of objective relationships between differently positioned agents and institutions that have more or less capital of different types (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The concept of field can be applied at different scales of social space. At the macro level there is the field of power, which determines the position and interaction of all other fields that are contained within it and can be used to think of the national society. Below this level there are other broad fields such as the economic field or the field of cultural production, which are made up of still smaller and more specific fields such as the field of banks within the economic field, or the fields of art and science within the field of cultural production. At the micro level, individual families present as circumscribed fields with a small number of agents with differentiated power who are, thus, positioned differently within this specific field. There are also mesolevel fields that operate at midrange in terms of scope and complexity, such as the homelessness services within a particular municipal area (Emirbayer and Williams, 2005).

Fields and capital are highly interconnected because the structure of a field is determined by the distribution and structure of the varying forms of capital within it, and a '*capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field*' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.101). Different types of capital have different values in different fields, all of which are in a state of continuous flux because of the struggles between different actors and institutions in the field.

The third concept, habitus, refers to the different 'systems of dispositions' individual actors have acquired (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.105). These dispositions may have developed through primary socialisation within the family (primary habitus) or through secondary socialisation in different fields (Bourdieu, 2000, p.164) and ultimately impact on the type of strategies that actors will use within a field.

Bourdieu deployed the metaphor of 'the game' in order to make sense of these interrelated concepts (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). The field is seen as the game itself, though not one that has been purposefully created or that has explicit and codified rules. Agents in a field are viewed as players in the game, all of whom tacitly accept that the game is worth playing by their involvement or investment in it, which Bourdieu called *illusio*. The capital of each player is both the stake and the weapon that are used in the game, in that each player will use their varying forms and quantities of capital in order to conserve their position in the field or subvert the capital of others. The strategies of each player will be determined by their habitus, the systems of dispositions that they have developed in this game and in other games over time. In this way, each player plays their own game in relation to the specific quantity and structure of their capital at a particular point in the game in conjunction with the strategies and dispositions that they have built up over time 'playing games'.

Research that foregrounds lived experience can risk obscuring the social structures that contextualise and possibly cause or contribute to that experience (McIntosh and Wright, 2019). Indeed, Bourdieu (1977) has critiqued phenomenology for being overly subjectivist, giving too much attention to individual agency, and for failing to adequately take into account the wider structural constraints which consciously and unconsciously inform individual experience and action in the social world. He argued that his concept of habitus

allowed him to bridge the subjectivist/objectivist gap by showing how external structures are internalised into the habitus of individuals via a dialectical process.

However, Bourdieu, and his concept of habitus in particular, have been critiqued by Atkinson (2010; 2018) and Throop and Murphy (2002) for failing to take adequate account of the unique experiences of individuals and for downplaying the role of conscious, rational thought and action. Because of this, they argue that Bourdieu only nominally deals with subjective experience (Atkinson, 2018) and comes close to arguing that all agents who occupy a similar position in social space and have similar levels of the varying forms of capital will also have a similar habitus, resulting in a deterministic view of human thought, feeling and behaviour (Throop and Murphy, 2002). These authors advocate the use of phenomenological concepts to address these weaknesses in Bourdieu's theoretical constructs. While they turn to Husserl and Schutz, I have used Dilthey's conceptualisation of the structure of experience because it recognises the 'force' of past experiences on current and future thoughts, feelings and action, and it also takes account of individual agency in the conative/future element of lived experience.

The concepts of field and capital are used particularly in Chapter Five where I map out some of the actors and institutions in my field of research and the power dynamics between them. This description and analysis of some of the social spaces in which the lived experiences of participants developed and occurred provides a structural anchor point for those experiences. The social structures that shape and influence lived experience are further revealed in later chapters through the uncovering of commonality and intersubjectivity between the experiences of participants. From a social policy perspective, McIntosh and Wright (2019) bring together a range of literature and evidence to argue that research focussed on lived experience need not be individualistic. They discuss how many elements of the lived experience of individuals are shared and are common among comparable groups, revealing experiences that are 'rooted in prevailing forms and trends' (p.259). The forms and trends illuminated by this research into the lived experiences of homelessness are

themselves indicative of wider social structures that influence the thoughts, feelings and actions of individual participants.

Because of the weaknesses outlined earlier, habitus takes on a lesser role in the thesis in favour of the Diltheyan concepts outlined at the start of this Chapter. There are those who are critical of an approach to Bourdieu that makes partial or adapted use of his concepts (cf.Atkinson, 2011), however, a pragmatic approach to these concepts may be in keeping with Bourdieu's own theoretical practice (Lamont, 2012) and has been used by others including Dubois (2010) and Kaufman (2018). The concepts of field and capital are useful in Chapter Five because the power dynamics within the homelessness field, including the cooperation and struggle between services, had a direct impact on how homelessness was experienced. They are also useful for considering the 'new orthodoxy' of homelessness causation that was discussed in Chapter Two.

In the next section, I turn to the concepts of precarity and freedom, both of which have been discussed by Bourdieu, and many other prominent scholars, and exist in a mutually reciprocal relationship.

3.5 Precarity and freedom

Precarity is a relational term in that it describes a situation of dependence whereby one person relies on the agency of another in order to obtain something that they lack and require (Lemke, 2016). As a concept, precarity has grown as an area of interest in the social sciences over the last two decades since Bourdieu (1998) argued that it was everywhere. Bourdieu (1999) identified a correlation between the socioeconomic conditions creating job insecurity and the sociopsychological effects of this insecurity on the individuals affected. In this way, Bourdieu defined precarity as a labour condition that involved insecure, part-time, temporary work with low wages and a lack of social benefits (Millar, 2017). What this precarity means to an individual affected, and how they react to it, will vary according to their social position and their 'system of dispositions' (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992, p.105) or habitus.

While also discussing precarity in relation to insecure employment, Standing (2011) defines it as a class category arguing that the 'precariat' represent a

heterogenous group encompassing all those undertaking precarious work. He contrasts the insecure situation of the precariat to that of those who had a work-based identity through secure, stable employment in the Fordist-Keynesian post-war industrial years. However, classifying precarity as a class category has been critiqued for failing to recognise that it is experienced differently by different individuals at different times and in different places (Neilson and Rossiter, 2008) and for putting together in one category low and high paid workers in different industries (Waite, 2009). Also, by describing this class as 'dangerous', Standing invokes past pejorative terms for those who fail to meet normative working-class conceptualisations such as 'lumpenproletariat' and 'underclass' (Millar, 2017).

A third definition of precarity comes from Judith Butler (2004, 2009a; 2009b; 2011) who distinguishes between precarity and precariousness. The latter she identifies as an ontological position that stems from the inherent sociality of the human species – that we are interdependent and, therefore, vulnerable to each other – although she acknowledges that this is experienced differently across different social groups including gender, race, and class. Precarity is then defined in relation to

> that politically induced condition in which certain populations suffer from failing social and economic networks of support and become differentially exposed to injury, violence, and death (2009b, p.2).

In this way, precarity is distributed unevenly by political and socio-economic institutions making some populations more vulnerable to actual and symbolic violence.

Precarity, as a relational concept detailing the dependence of one individual on another (or others), is used to frame the journeys and the flows of participants in Chapters Six and Seven. In using this concept, I incorporate elements of both Bourdieu and Butler by recognising the importance of the socioeconomic conditions of participants and that their precarity is experienced and reacted to in variegated ways. While Bourdieu (1998) claimed that precarity is everywhere and Tsing (2015) argued that '*precarity* is *the condition of our time*' (p.20, original emphasis), it is unevenly distributed. Precarity was particularly

pronounced in the lives of the homeless individuals that I met during this study and this is laid bare in the examination of their journeys.

Both Bourdieu and Foucault recognised that precarity exists in a mutually reciprocal relationship with freedom because, '*to run risks, individuals have to be made free, but to exercise this freedom, they must be in a position to take risks*' (Masquelier, 2019, p.138). However, Bourdieu (1991) argued that precarity had become naturalised - perhaps because it is everywhere, it is the condition of our time – that it had become accepted as an inevitable part of life and, therefore, incorporated into the habitus and practices of individuals. This meant that, despite the constraints that it can impose, precarity may be viewed as liberating, such as in flexible labour markets. Individuals may, therefore, express and perform freedom in situations of precarity.

Freedom, like precarity, is variegated in how it is defined, experienced, and expressed. Butler (2009b) argues that freedom is performative, that '*[t]here is no freedom that is not its exercise; freedom is not a potential that waits for its exercise. It comes into being through its exercise*' (p.7) and that it is social and performed between people (Butler, 2015). In her analysis, Tsing (2015) argues that freedom is something that means different things to different groups and that it is ultimately something that is performed and exchanged between people in their interactions, rather than something static and objective.

Tsing's (2015) analysis comes from an extensive ethnographic study into the various international and translocal relationships that underpin the supply chains of Matsutake mushrooms to Japan, where they are a highly sought-after commodity. Some of the mushroom pickers in her book choose elevated precarity because, for them, freedom is a moral good that looks and is practiced in particular ways in line with the cultural context (in this case the culture of the USA, though also interacting with the past cultural contexts of immigrant pickers). So, according to Tsing, the work of picking Matsutake mushrooms in the forests of Oregon is difficult and precarious but it provides freedom from psychological trauma for white veterans of the American-Indochina wars; it provides freedom to the refugees from the different countries involved in those wars to regain some of their past experiences and environments; it provides opportunities to perform particular ideals of freedom and masculine identity; it

provides entrepreneurial freedom to go out of bounds in order to get an advantage; and it provides freedom to escape from obligations or bureaucratic processes. In this way, it is freedom from boring jobs, freedom from violent pasts, or from control and surveillance that they take from the precarity of their work. They are able to feel free *because* of their precarity rather than despite it.

Tsing (2015) describes how individual histories are layered into present circumstances, changing the way that freedom is understood, felt, and expressed. Like the Diltheyan force described earlier in this chapter, past experiences interact with present circumstances and influence how these are understood, felt, and acted upon. In Bourdieusian terms, each mushroom picker is playing their own game, with freedom as one type of symbolic capital, according to their own set of dispositions (habitus), which have been built up from 'playing games'.

With this in mind, we can think again about McNaughton's (2007) use of edgework that was discussed in Chapter Two. Having a sense of personal authorship in one's own life is a conceptualisation of freedom within the cultural context of the UK (and other countries). McNaughton's participants engaged in a particular form of precarity in order to exercise and perform that freedom, which she characterises as a sense of personal authorship in their lives, or self-actualisation.

Both precarity and freedom run through the data that is presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. The dependency of participants on others for material subsistence and shelter interacts in different ways with their ability to perform and express their versions of freedom.

3.6 Conclusion

This chapter has outlined the key concepts that frame this thesis. It has synthesised the concepts of lived experience and journeys. Journeys are analogous with lived experience in that they have to be passed through and involve cognitive, affective, and conative aspects as they relate to the past, the present, and the future. Journeys constitute people and places and so provide a

useful lens through which to explore the lived experience of homelessness by illuminating the ways in which individuals navigate and interact with their physical and social environment. Journey is a concept that is well suited to exploring individual movement, but flow is useful for examining aggregate movement or movement that is imagined, such as how individuals are imagined flowing through homelessness services and processes.

The Bourdieusian concepts of field and capital provide tools for understanding power within the social spaces of homelessness – the cooperation and struggle between different actors and institutions within the homelessness field – and the implications of these for the journeys and experiences that individuals have. Also, using Bourdieu's concepts, Manderscheid (2009) makes a convincing argument that geographical space is just another social space and how individuals and institutions are positioned within it interacts with how they are positioned in other social spaces. In this way, there is also synergy between the concepts of field and journeys. The journey through the field (geographically or otherwise) can highlight the positionality and power dynamics that influence lived experience.

These power dynamics in the homelessness field indicate the level of precarity in the lives of homeless individuals because of the level of dependency on others. This precarity is sometimes manifest in constraining and restrictive ways, but it also provides opportunities for the performance of freedom.

Chapter 4 Ways of working - methods

It was a cold mid-November day in Glasgow; though at least it had stopped raining by the time I was walking through town to meet Alistair. He had called me the day before to say that his support worker had given him an information sheet and that he was interested in taking part in my research. I was unable to decide if I was nervous or excited as I crossed the Squiggly Bridge[4] *on my way to the meeting point in Tradeston; I had only read about 'entering the field' up until that point. As I approached the meeting place, I saw a tall man wearing glasses talking to a woman who was half in and half out of a doorway to a small building. He noticed me, finished his conversation with the woman, and nodded 'Andrew'? We shook hands and exchanged the usual pleasantries about how nice it was to meet each other before deciding where to go for coffee. We settled on Café Nero and set out on a brisk walk in that direction. Alistair is in recovery from addiction and this topic of conversation, started on our walk, permeated the entire encounter. The route from where we were to the obvious crossing point to where we were going was through a grid system of streets and buildings. This meant that there were many permutations of actual routes that could have been taken, however, Alistair led me past a homeless hostel.*[5] *'That's where it all started for me' was the opening line to an itinerary of his journey through homelessness, which was inextricably tied to addiction and recovery.*

By the time we reached the café, I was already worried about whether I would remember the detail of what we had discussed. This feeling intensified because, after I had told him a bit more about the research, he started telling me his life story. I was yet to discover that people would spring their life stories on me with surprising frequency during the course of fieldwork. Alistair is no longer homeless. He got his tenancy through the 'Housing First' model and his appreciation of his home was abundantly clear when he talked about the things that he has: 'I have hot water'! He is in a much better position now and points out of the window of the café to the corner of the square and tells me 'I was sleeping over there just over a year ago'.

4.1 Introduction

The above account of entering the field has been developed from my first fieldnote in November 2017. I created this narrative form to bring some order to what ended up being an anxiety-affected, tangential and messy fieldnote. The

[4] Officially the Tradeston Bridge but known colloquially in Glasgow by this name.

[5] While officially referred to as an 'assessment centre', this 54-bed single-sex unit would easily meet the general understanding of the term hostel including the description given by Shelter (2018).

encounter draws out some important aspects of how the research progressed. In this chapter, I will explain the methodological approach and the specific methods used in this study. I will also engage with other factors that influenced data collection and analysis throughout the research. In the example above, we can see that the data are generated not only by interview but also by places, and from our journey through them. These things matter. Their influence can be seen in the topic of conversation and the tone in which it is discussed. The interactions between Alistair and me show how data are created between us, in the interplay between what I notice and what he wants to show me. Alistair chose one specific route from many possible alternatives because it enabled him to talk about and show me what he thought was important. This is a metaphor for the entire research project, which involved me following participants (both literally and metaphorically) while they showed me important aspects of their lived experience, while recognising that these were particular routes selected from many alternatives.

The methodology used in this research is ethnography, which, from an etymological perspective, literally means writing about people. It is commonly described as both a method of study and the results of that study (Bryman, 2012; Van Maanen, 1995). In this chapter, I will focus on ethnography as a methodology rather than a written result of study. Brewer (2000) argues that ethnography is a style of research that uses a variety of data collection methods to pursue its objectives: to understand the social meanings and activities of people in naturally occurring contexts, and the ways in which these meanings and actions influence and are influenced by their experiences. Its usefulness in considering the nuances, intricacies, and complexities of human experience (Dubois, 2009), positions ethnography as a methodology with unique benefits for pursuing my research questions about the lived experience of homelessness.

This chapter is divided into eight sections. In the first, I define the research field as a social space that is nested within and overlaps with other fields. The field is further discussed and contextualised in more specific detail in Chapter Five. In the second section, I discuss the nature of conducting research 'at home'. The third (and most substantial) section deals with entering and being in the field, including the strategies used for entering the field and recruiting

participants, which were largely focussed on those who were experiencing marginal homelessness including rough sleeping. It also discusses my changing identity in the field and the ways in which this influenced data collection. The fourth section gives details of the participants who were involved in this study in terms of demographics; it also discusses the nature of their involvement and the implications of this for the types of data that were gathered.[6] The methods of data collection are outlined in the fifth section including a discussion of how they were intended to be used and how they were eventually used during fieldwork. A short sixth section gives details on how data were recorded and analysed. While ethical topics are discussed throughout the chapter, the seventh section discusses informed consent, working with vulnerable groups, and incentives specifically. The final section is concerned with exiting the field.

4.2 A field within a field beside a field

Discussing the concept of field in this chapter has the potential to be confusing because the anthropological field in which fieldwork is undertaken can be conceptualised in ways that are both similar and different to the Bourdieusian concept that was introduced in Chapter Three. However, I think of fields as multiple, nested, and interacting. In Chapter Three I discussed how the Bourdieusian concept could be applied to different scales such as to the family, homelessness services within a particular municipal area, local authorities (bureaucratic field), and in broad areas such as the economic field or the field of cultural production, all of which sit within the field of power or national society. In this way, we can see how fields are nested and interacting. Individual actors and institutions may sit within many nested and interacting fields. For example, someone who is homeless will be an actor within the field of their family. They may interact with other homeless individuals all of whom act and interact within the local homelessness field, which contains local homelessness services with which they may also interact. Homelessness services may also sit within the bureaucratic field, which interacts with and is influenced by the economic field and all sit within the field of power. The field in which this research was undertaken sits within, overlaps, and interacts with the many fields in which participants and services were situated, and also with the fields in which I have

[6] A full, alphabetical list of participants referenced in the thesis is included in Appendix One.

been situated, including the academic field where research and literature on homelessness, ethnography, flow, and precarity (for example) are produced. In thinking through how I viewed my research field, I found it useful to create a diagram and have reproduced it below (see Figure 4-1) in order to assist the reader. This diagram is not intended to represent a comprehensive Bourdieusian analysis of the field, but, rather, a means of illustrating some of the complexity of it.

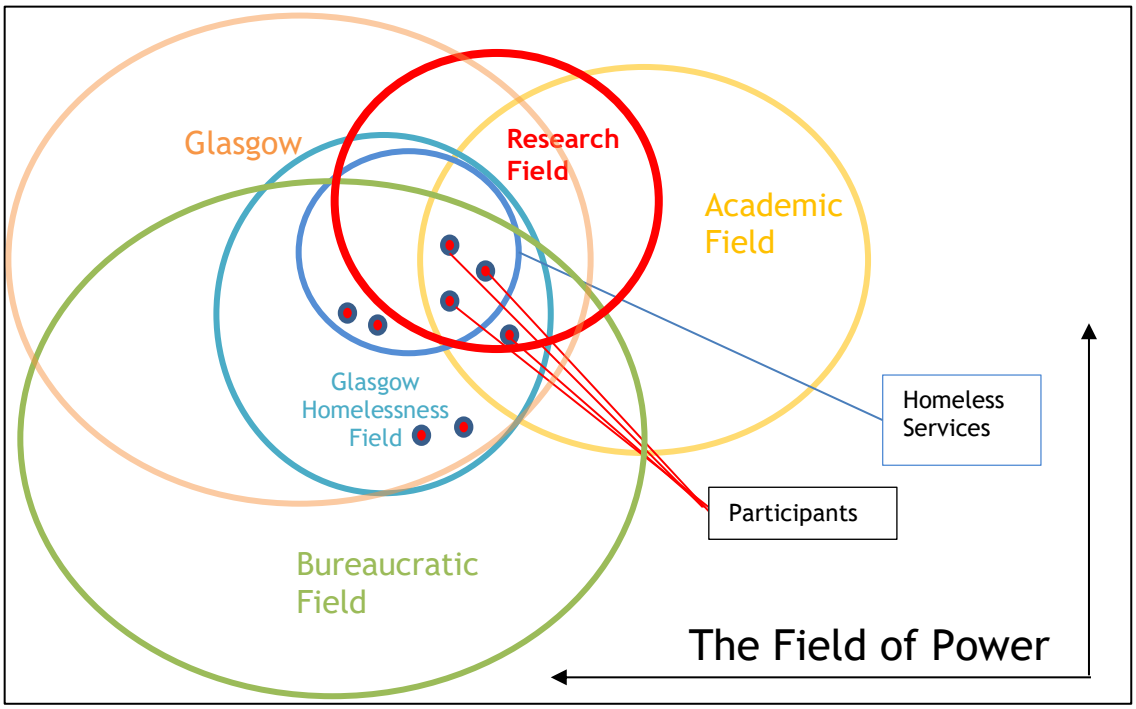

Figure 4-1 Diagram of the research field
The research field (in red) sits nested within and overlapping with many other fields.
Source: Andrew Burns

As set out in Chapter Three, Bourdieu used the term field to describe social spaces where actors and institutions are differently positioned in terms of the amount and types of capital that they have accumulated. Coleman and Collins (2006) describe the field of anthropological research as a social space too and, also outlined in Chapter Three, Manderscheid (2009) sees geographical space *as a type* of social space. Therefore, the research field is a social space that incorporates and interacts with other social spaces. Coleman and Collins (2006) argue that the research field is constantly changing and being performed in the interplay of relationships between the anthropologist and their participants. I would add to this that it also changes as both anthropologists and participants interact with other social spaces. For example, the anthropologist

contextualises and delineates the research field based on their interactions with other writers from the academic field while participants categorise and react to the anthropologist based on their interactions with other services, staff, and researchers (a topic which I discuss later in the chapter). In these ways, the research field is a set of emerging relationships: relationships between people, between people and places, between experience and journeys, between researcher and literature, and between the past, the present and the future. This conceptualisation of the field as social, relational and multidimensional has been apparent throughout the research process where I have constructed and reconstructed my research field during fieldwork, writing fieldnotes, and in writing up this thesis. The dimensions of the field are further explored in Chapter Five. In the next section, I discuss positionality before reflecting on some of the implications of conducting research 'at home'.

4.3 Field positions

Sheppherd's (2002) concept of positionality, which was introduced in Chapter Three, holds that individuals and institutions occupy different positions in different social spaces; these positions interact with each other and with the positions of others in those social spaces, creating differentials in power. This fits well with the idea of multiple, nested and interacting fields that was outlined in the previous section. The positionality of the researcher in these fields situates the knowledges that are produced. In other words, the type of knowledge that is produced depends on who produces it (Rose, 1997). Reflexivity is posited as a tool for avoiding what Haraway (1991) called a '*god-trick*'. That is, the production of knowledge that claims to be objective and impartial, knowledge that that claims to '*see everything from nowhere*' (Rose, 1997, p.308). Feminist critiques of such knowledge claims from Haraway and others (see also Harding, 1991) argue that researchers must situate their knowledge claims in relation to their positionality and that they should use reflexivity to make explicit the positions and subjectivities from which their knowledges are produced.

I make use of reflexivity throughout this Chapter, and in other parts of thesis, in order to situate the knowledge claims that are made. For example, I discuss the impact of conducting research 'at home' in the next section and the impact of

my ethnicity (white), gender (male), and personality on participant recruitment later in the Chapter. There are myriad other aspects of self that I could reflect upon. For example, I have previously worked in the local authority area where I undertook my research and I have publicly lamented reductions in funding, cuts to services, and personally challenged and debated allocation priorities with homeless caseworkers in Glasgow in the years prior to undertaking this study. These positions are influenced by my background and my left-of-centre politics, and all have an impact on my motivation to conduct this research in this way, ask the questions that I have asked, and in how I have collected, recorded, interpreted, analysed, and presented the data. However, setting out these categories of self and positionality in relation to different fields does not fully situate the knowledges that I have produced in this thesis. Indeed, reflexivity as a tool for understanding positionality and situatedness is underpinned by a questionable assumption that the self and the research contexts are knowable and made transparent through the deployment of such a tool (Rose, 1997).

As I discuss later in the Chapter, my position in the research field was one that was negotiated between me and others and the situation; it was not solely within my gift, but it was impacted by my whiteness, my maleness, and my previous experiences among other things. I cannot say exactly or comprehensively how my positions in different fields interacted throughout the research process. However, I do use reflexivity in order to acknowledge that they did, and that the knowledges produced, therefore, remain partial and contingent.

4.4 At home with homelessness?

I was brought up in a small town about 20 kilometres from Glasgow and have lived and worked in the city for over 23 years. Therefore, my study could fit within the category of 'anthropology at home'. Strathern (1987) argued that anthropologists were at home when their fieldwork was conducted within the same context from which the discipline emerged. In her definition, research is only really 'at home' if the people studied have the same representations of the world as the anthropologist; that is, that both agree that culture and society are objects for study. This definition can create problems in classifying whether or not any work is at home as well as giving rise to some counterintuitive

implications (Edwards, 2014). For example, I feel confident that my participants understood my desire to conduct research into homelessness, however, I cannot be certain that they agreed with me in terms of my views on how to study particular aspects of culture or society related to it. To conduct anthropological research into homelessness that was not at home, would one have to find a culture in which participants did not agree that homelessness was worth studying? A more straightforward description has been given Coleman and Collins (2006) who argue that anthropology is at home is when the context of fieldwork is similar to that of the fieldworker. This is the definition of anthropology at home that I have worked with, and I have used it in order to think about the ways in which undertaking such work at home may influence the type of data that can be gathered.

The field and fieldwork are defining elements of anthropology. Indeed, Geertz (1998, p.69) argued '*if fieldwork goes, or anyway so it is feared on the one hand and hoped on the other, the discipline goes with it*.' This relationship between the discipline and research practice led to debates about what constitutes a field and fieldwork and whether enough 'cultural distance' can be achieved when research is carried out at home. Gupta and Ferguson (1997) argued that a field is defined in relation to home, in its being *not home;* this created a hierarchy of fields whereby the more exotic, strange, and unhomelike a field is, the more that it is valued. Passaro (1997) encountered these types of evaluations when she studied homelessness in New York and contextualised this in terms of distance and 'otherness' being erroneously linked to objectivity, which she argued was a colonial hangover in terms of thinking.

These arguments now seem somewhat dated as they have been less prevalent in recent decades, with some arguing that enough distance is created through taking on the role of researcher (Collins and Gallinat, 2010). The issue of my distance from my field of research is complicated further by virtue of my occupational background. Because of the complex and interacting nature of substance use issues with homelessness (see, for example, Fitzpatrick et al., 2009; Thomas, 2012) I had regularly worked directly with people who were homeless and with homelessness services, experience which I believe acted as a 'double-edged sword' during fieldwork, which I discuss in the next section.

4.5 'What are you again Drew?'

My interest in homelessness is in the lived experience of it and what a focus on the journeys of individuals can tell us about this lived experience. Before fieldwork, the overarching research strategy was to use a variety of methods (as detailed in the next section) to achieve in-depth knowledge of the understandings and experiences of individuals in the homelessness field through high and prolonged exposure to them. This required the development of trust and rapport with participants with the aim that some of them would allow me to travel with them on their journeys.

In order to enter the field, which is arguably the most difficult aspect of fieldwork (Gobo, 2008), I made use of contacts within homelessness support services (one of the benefits of conducting research at home) in order to set up an initial phase of contact with potential participants. This was to provide a platform from which to develop trust and rapport in order to be able to engage in participant observation with some of those that I met. In addition to the contacts I had within homelessness services, I had also made new contacts through training seminars and other events relating to homelessness, which I was attending as part of my training and professional development plan in the first year of my PhD. Therefore, although my first field note was about the initial meeting with Alistair, 'entering the field' had actually started much earlier when I had made contact with and visited a number of services in the city.

When agreement was obtained, I spent time in these services developing relationships with staff and service users as a means of recruiting participants (and observing how the services operated). This involved getting to know staff and service users through being present in communal areas, taking part in activities, and becoming a familiar person within the settings. Although I did help in activities run by the various services, I did not become a formal volunteer so that my research role was not obscured. I was eventually able to spend more time with some participants including travelling with them on their journeys. I was introduced to more participants (services and homeless individuals) by individuals with whom I had developed a relationship in the course of research activities and was able to recruit others in this way. For example, I was introduced to the Winter Night Shelter (which will be described

in Chapter Five) by a staff member from a day service, and I met a participant (Raymond) while attending a street soccer event with another two (Tom and Harry). This alludes to a flexible approach to practicalities in the field.

While initially, much of my time in the field was spent 'in situ' in different services, I was also quickly caught up in different journeys. For example, my 'walk and talk' with Alistair on my first day in the field, or going to the Job Centre with Angela on my second day of fieldwork. On a day to day basis, I would have arrangements in place to visit either a particular service and/or meet up with participants elsewhere, although I would often meet participants in services. I spent 193 hours undertaking participant observation (not including interviews, writing up fieldnotes, or making arrangements relating to fieldwork). It is difficult to separate these hours between 'in situ' fieldwork and mobile fieldwork because often I would travel with participant to particulars services, or between particular services or other places, making the places part of the journey. Indeed, even the most static of field sites involve movement. That said, I would estimate that around half of my time in the field was spent relatively stationary in services and the other half was on the move.

In terms of recruitment, I approached different homelessness services to explain the project and ask if I could access their services in order to understand them and also to be able to recruit participants who were experiencing homelessness. When in the services, I would explain to staff in meetings or one-to-one who I was and what I was doing, and seek their consent to be involved in the study. Recruiting participants who were experiencing homelessness was typically through introduction (either by service staff or by other homeless participants) or by striking up a conversation spontaneously with individuals.

I was able to negotiate access to a range of services including residential services, day services, supported accommodations, emergency accommodations, and outreach services in order to recruit participants. The level of relationship with each service varied, with more time spent in some than in others. This was directly correlated to the depth of relationships that were developed with staff and there was a self-fulfilling prophecy at play during fieldwork whereby the stronger the relationships got, the more time I was able to spend there, which further reinforced the relationships, and so on. One factor that influenced this

was the previous experience of research within the service. This impacted on the expectations of staff about how often and how long I would be there, and the types of research activities that I would be undertaking.

It was particularly noticeably during fieldwork how many demands are put on these types of services by researchers, evaluators, and a variety of regulatory organisations. This created barriers in some of the services in terms of long-term engagement, and specifically for participant observation, because this appeared to be a different approach to research than that which the staff in these services had previously experienced. '*Are you sure you're getting what you need?*' was a regular enquiry from those who saw me 'hanging about' with their service users in the TV Room. Determining what I needed seemed to be a concern for staff members and I actively changed my self-designated title from 'student' to 'researcher' a few weeks into fieldwork. This was because services often have nursing or social care students on placement, and, as a student, I found myself being shown the intricacies of various policies and procedures operating within the service. While this was an interesting perspective on how students are socialised into the institutions of the service, I was not convinced that it was the best use of my limited time in the field. What this does illustrate, however, is a changing identity in the field and how these changes were not solely within my gift but rather negotiated in my interactions with others and situated within wider discourses such as what it means to be a 'student' or a 'researcher'.

> In so far as fieldwork implies actual presence in the social world, the experience is related to *living our part* […] This 'part' is very much a part allotted to us by others; not all parts are available (Hastrup, 2004, p.465 original emphasis).

In the ways that Hastrup acknowledges above, I was allotted the part of student or researcher based on pre-existing understandings of what these parts entail, such as the type of activities that I would undertake. In some services I was allocated times where I could 'shadow' workers after which it was implied that this was as much as they could offer me. Naturally, I seized each opportunity as it arose and did not impose myself beyond the kind offers of time that were made. In fact, this polite and unassuming approach was very effective in that I became a well-known face across a range of services within a relatively short

period of time. This is, to some extent, due to the high level of interaction between the different services, a topic to which I will return in Chapter Five. It is also a feature of being in the field for an extended period whereby I had the time to allow this approach to work and to develop relationships gradually.

I did establish relationships with staff groups and individual staff members within a variety of services and these were important in two ways. Firstly, many interactions with staff contributed to my data and, therefore, to my understanding of the lived experience of homelessness; they were participants. Secondly, they were also gatekeepers in terms of gaining access to people who were homeless or had experienced homelessness. Indeed, most of my homeless participants were initially encountered in one of the services. Using services to enter the homeless field brings a range of benefits, but it also presents challenges including my being given the part of pseudo-worker.

My previous work experience gave me confidence in speaking and relating to those experiencing homelessness as well as staff in the various services, and it was one part of reassuring the University of Glasgow's College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee of my being able to conduct this research in a safe and ethical manner. I do not contend that my experience made me a 'full' (Anderson, 2006) or 'complete' (Brannick and Coghlan, 2007) member of the field that I was studying because I had neither experienced homelessness nor had I worked in any of the homelessness services where I first encountered most of my participants. However, my status with staff groups was tied up with their understandings of research and students. As mentioned earlier, many of these services take health and social care students on placement. The students I met during fieldwork had a pseudo-worker status in that they were inducted and treated as members of the staff group, though were restricted in the tasks they could undertake without direct supervision. I was given a similar, though slightly more ambiguous status that induced some feelings of ambivalence for me. I became aware of this status when I was given a key in a residential service on my second day of fieldwork.

> I had mixed feelings about being given a key and about perhaps being considered as part of the staff team. The key allows me free, unrestricted access and movement throughout the building. This is a privilege that is awarded to me by virtue of the fact that I'm not a

> service user. I was worried about the symbolism of this and whether it would create a barrier between me and the residents. The key more or less stayed in my pocket the whole time – I used it only once, preferring to tag along with the residents or another member of staff when I moved about the building (Field note 21/11/17).

My initial reaction to being given a key was that it made me different from the service users, marked me out as a 'non-service user', which perhaps reflects how I was thinking about participant observation at the time – that I would somehow become an 'insider' with the service users. As well as being unrealistic (I was never going to be an insider – not all parts are available), this reflection was inaccurate. Visitors from other services are not issued with a key. Keys are only given to staff members and students on placement (because, for the duration of their placement, they are learning to be staff members). The staff were being helpful and wanted me to feel welcome and get what I needed, but they also viewed me (at least to an extent) as 'one of them' and I was worried about the effect of this assigned status on my relationships with the service users. It engendered ambivalent feelings due to its implications for the sorts of fieldwork relationships that it potentially enabled *and* disabled, something which has been experienced by others during fieldwork (see examples in Coffey, 1999). This status also created some ethically difficult moments where staff members were aware that I had a relationship with one of their current or previous service users. For example, enquires about the wellbeing of someone who had not been seen in a while were regular occurrences that had to be handled diplomatically in order to preserve relationships with staff (and address their genuine concern) and the confidentiality of other participants. To be clear, these questions were answered and staff concerns were addressed in terms of acknowledging that I had seen individuals. However, I did not feel it was appropriate to answer specific questions such as whether I knew if the individuals were drinking or using drugs, for example.

Despite what I thought were my best efforts, at times, some elements of this pseudo-worker status surfaced with participants who had experience of homelessness. While this was a realisation of my anxiety about having been given a key, it did not only occur in service settings but at various points throughout fieldwork. There were times when participants would suddenly add on mitigation at the end of a critical statement about staff or services, which

may relate to their perception of me as a pseudo-worker who would take offence, or as someone who presented a risk of relaying the information back to the staff member in question. However, my own actions and behaviour at times contributed to this. For example, one of my key participants said that he wished he had had a social worker like me. This was well into our relationship where we had discussed my role many times (and we did again at that point). He was anxious about going to a service and I agreed to go with him. During the journey we discussed his anxieties about what to expect and I relied on my previous experience in a counselling role to help him explore this. His past experiences of being in care and having social workers who listened to him and advised him, and my past experiences of being in a similar role interacted in that encounter. So, while sometimes I consciously resisted or tried to counteract this pseudo-worker role during fieldwork, there were other times when I assumed a more supportive role in relation to participants.

The Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA) Ethical Guidelines (2011) highlight that the paramount consideration during fieldwork is to the welfare of participants and, where there is a conflict, that their needs and rights should come first. If anyone was in need of help or advice during fieldwork, I had no hesitation in offering this. In this way, I actively took up the role that I had previously resisted. This shows how I affect the field that I am studying, and the subjective nature of the data gathered by the 'harmonic projection' (Leach, 1984, p.22) of my own personality onto the field and into the writing of it.

Another indicator of my ambiguous status in the field comes up in other categories that participants used to try and figure out who I was, which was particularly clear during an encounter in a day service:

> While that conversation was going on, I was approached by another man: '*I've met you eh?*' I didn't recognise his face, but I said he might have. '*You're a Christian, aren't you?*' '*No, I'm a student doing research into homelessness, so maybe you've seen me about.*' He then went on to talk about his current experience in the hostel across the road, health issues and generally chit-chat before sitting down to his breakfast. Almost all of these types of services are provided by religious organisations and, therefore, it seems people assume that you're a Christian. I was asked this question again a little later. There is something, not accusatory, but something in the way

> that it is asked. Like, if you're not a worker, then you're a Christian. By knowing this information, then people have a schema to understand you and what you are doing here (Field note 7/12/17).

In trying to find the right category in which to put me, participants used those of people that were common in the field. In the interaction above, I had not been in conversation with the man who approached me, yet he had already decided that I was not a service user or a worker based on how I looked or how I acted. This brings up my physical appearance, including the way that I dress. I became acutely aware of my dress sense in an interaction with Danny, who I met in a residential service:

> As I entered the room a young guy (maybe in his late 20s) immediately asked if I was a new member of staff. I said no and, before I could explain who I was, he said '*a new resident, I knew it. C'mon I'll give you a roll-up!*'[7] Much laughter ensued. He was very funny and critiqued my jumper as the give-away that I was not, in fact, a resident (Field note 18/1/18).

Before entering the field, I did spend some time thinking about clothing, though this was more specifically related to practicalities such as comfort and warmth given that I anticipated being outside a lot. I had not considered that my choice in jumpers gave a clear indication of my social status! Feminist literature is a particularly fecund source for aiding reflection on the impact of physical appearance on the research relationship. For example, Del Busso (2016) uses Bartky's (1993) concept of physical appearance being a presented 'surface', from which others can position you, to discuss how some of her research participants 'othered' her in relation to her physical appearance. I was othered based on my physical appearance and my actions, and the use of categories by participants appeared to be a mechanism for understanding exactly what kind of other I was. These categories had implications for the types of relationships I was able to develop and, therefore, the type and amount of data that I was able to collect.

'Tolerated outsider' perhaps best describes the status that I achieved with some of the participants who had lived experience of homelessness. Even when I had developed very strong relationships and was having what I thought to be

[7] A hand-rolled cigarette.

privileged access to someone's daily life, I would be reminded of my position such as when I was asked to 'take a walk' across the street and back while two participants discussed something. The fact that I completed the walk with a bottle of MD 20/20[8] belonging to one of them in my bag highlights the varying levels of acceptance that I was afforded during fieldwork in different contexts. By this point in my relationship with this participant, I was trusted enough to be made aware of (and involved in) his alcohol use. He knew that I would not disclose this information to the staff at his supported accommodation and that I would not run off with his wine. However, just before I was asked to take a walk, the topic of drugs had been raised and I had the feeling that I was being asked to leave in order to protect me from being involved in anything illegal. Here, I was othered not on the basis of my physical appearance but, rather, according to some other categorisation, some other role that had been assigned to me.

These varying levels of acceptance and categorisation sometimes came with a diffusion of my role as researcher, though it was never completely obscured. This relates to the part that was allotted to me by others, highlighting the fact that I alone do not define my role in the field but rather I am mistaken for a Christian, a worker, a student on placement, or a researcher looking for other kinds of data. Participants often wanted to help me and imagined what it was that I wanted and needed based on categories that were familiar to them. This has been seen in other ethnographic work such as the classic example of Whyte's (1943) key informant (Doc) changing his behaviour when Whyte was around, thinking about what Whyte needed or having to explain what was happening to him.

This role diffusion presented issues in terms of informed consent, which I treated as an ongoing process where it was negotiated and renegotiated (ASA, 2011; Murphy and Dingwall, 2007). A clear example of this can be seen in an interaction with a key participant, Liam, in his own flat where I had gone to watch rugby with him after having known him for around four months:

[8] A strong, fruit-flavoured wine.

> Before the rugby starts, we discuss a range of topics, which are initially around him having got this tenancy, how he's been managing the bills and other things, and how he sees things panning out going forward. He takes a call from a friend of his. At one point during this call he says, '*I'm just here watching the rugby with a mate… well, no a mate, what are you again Drew?*' highlighting the ethical implications of long-term fieldwork. During the course of our subsequent day together, however, he says to me numerous times '*You can put that in your PhD*', which was reassuring from an ethical point of view in terms of consent (Field note 9/3/18).

Some of the literature regarding participant observation discusses the length and depth of relationships, or the need to build 'rapport' (Bryman, 2001, 2012; Gobo, 2008). In reality, I developed a friendship with Liam (and with other participants). While we discussed various aspects of homelessness and research, he had invited me up to his new flat to watch rugby with him. While being a positive experience in terms of two people enjoying each other's company, this does create ethical and personal issues relating to consent (and to exiting the field, which I will discuss later). When is someone speaking to you as a friend and when are they speaking to you as a researcher?

Whether a person sees you as a researcher, a friend, a researcher-friend, or in some other role entirely may never be completely clear or entirely in your control. The above example also highlights some of the problems with the use of consent forms, which have developed from episodic research such as clinical trials and are more akin to legalistic and contractual processes that are designed to give comfort to researchers and institutions rather than address ethical concerns (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007). Revisiting consent and explicitly asking if a participant was ok with me making some notes about what they said was one way of being able to satisfy myself that they were giving ongoing informed consent. Over and above this, I felt it was important to recognise participants as agentic and able to take decisions based on the information that they had and that to do otherwise risked patronising them.

The contexts of fieldwork and my experience of them are inseparable from the kinds of knowledge gained; I have developed a particular type of knowledge that is difficult to comprehend in isolation from the context in which it has been produced (Hastrup, 2004) some of which has been outlined above. This

particular type of knowledge is one that has predominately developed from being with participants, to whom I will now turn.

4.6 Participants

This study is what Matthew Desmond would describe as a relational ethnography because it has included both homeless individuals and staff from homelessness services as participants. In making the case for relational ethnography, Desmond argued that

> [t]o investigate social relations ethnographically one must, at minimum, study multiple actors and agencies who are *engaged with one another* (because they belong to the same field and are participants in the struggles that define its stakes) *and dissimilar from one another* (because they occupy objectively different positions within that field) (2014, pp.554-5, original emphasis).

It can, of course, be argued that all fieldwork and the knowledge that is derived from it is relational (Hastrup, 2004). Ethnographies are written on the basis of relationships. Relationships between participants, their relationships with the ethnographer, and on the relationships between the knowledge produced and wider theoretical constructs. Indeed, Burawoy (2017) critiques Desmond's position by arguing that ethnography is always relational. While I wanted to focus on the lived experience of homelessness, I was aware that the interactions between those who are homeless and those who support them were likely to an important element of that experience. I think that there is value in Desmond's position because it ensures that the ethnographer is seeking to understand phenomena in the field from the different perspectives of those that act within it. This is why I included staff from homelessness services as participants in this research. Whether homeless service staff or individuals who were homeless, participants were recruited through the development of a *relationship* between them and me based on my explaining the nature of the research and them agreeing to take part. Some of these relationships were short-lived, while others endured throughout and beyond my time in the field.

In Chapter Five, I give details of four services and their interactions with each other, with me and with their service users (see also Figure 5-4, which is a map detailing the location of services referenced in the thesis). Staff in some of

these and other services were participants in this research and have contributed greatly to my understanding of homelessness in the city. While I only conducted one formal, semi-structured interview with one staff member and had one walking interview with another, I had countless informal conversations with staff during participant observation throughout fieldwork, which were recorded in fieldnotes and shaped my understanding of their role, the services they worked in and with, and how they viewed their work with service users. Data from service staff is less prominent than that of participants who were experiencing homelessness. However, it nonetheless forms an important part of what is presented in this thesis including the field analysis in Chapter Five; service processes, procedures, and imperatives in Chapter Six; and interagency interactions in Chapter Seven.

Data from staff may seem less obvious because I have not given any of them pseudonyms, and any quotes from them throughout this thesis are labelled simply as 'staff member'. This is deliberate. The services in which I spent the most time are relatively small in size and in number, and their high levels of interaction mean that identifying workers by their role or organisation carried a risk of revealing their identity. I agreed in consent discussions with staff members that I would homogenise their identities in this way as a means of ensuring their confidentiality in any writing. Because of these ethical considerations, data from staff have more often been embedded into discussion and analysis rather than drawn out specifically such as in quotations from fieldnotes. In addition to the consent and ethical concerns regarding staff confidentiality, I have sought to prioritise the voices of those individuals with *lived experience* of homelessness. Assigning pseudonyms to those individuals is a means of giving primacy to their stories and their journeys.

Crick argued that '*knowledge is a social achievement: it consists of meanings that have "made it"*' (1982, p.28) The allocation of a pseudonym to an individual in a fieldnote meant that there was meaning in the interaction that made it through, although I would like to acknowledge that I encountered more than the 77 individuals that were assigned a pseudonym.[9] Just under three

[9] In Appendix One, I have provided an alphabetical list with basic details of the participants that are referred to throughout the thesis.

quarters of those given one were male and all but three were white. Forty five percent of all homeless applicants in Scotland are from women, though the number of female rough sleepers is much less (between 9% and 22%) (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019). The gender split in my participants may be affected by the type of services that I frequented, which were focussed on marginal homelessness including rough sleeping. My own gender and ethnicity (a white male) are likely to be contributing factors in terms of recruitment and access (Perrone, 2010). All participants were over the age of 18.

There are some individuals that the reader will encounter in this thesis more than others - key participants with whom I was able to develop a strong relationship and spend more time with (Jeremy, Liam, Matthew, and Eric). The use of this categorisation of 'key participant' implies that others were 'not key' and I want to quickly address this point here. The term 'key informant' has been used in ethnographies to denote individuals who afford the researcher special access to the field, or who have knowledge or relationships that they are willing to share with the ethnographer, which are especially useful in conducting the research and understanding the data collected (O'Reilly, 2009). This does not mean that other participants are less important but, rather, that key participants have a particular role in how the ethnographer engages with the field, including with other participants. It is important to acknowledge the contribution of all of those I met to my understanding of the lived experience of homelessness. Indeed, for the majority (55) of the 77 individuals mentioned above, I was only involved in a relatively small part of their lives but, even when I only met someone once, it could help to illuminate particular aspects of their lived experience and develop my understanding of it, as can be seen in the encounter with Dennis.

> When we leave the centre and head towards the health service, Dennis is walking very slowly and looks in pain. I ask him if he has a bad leg and he tells me that he had been in a supported accommodation project on release from prison (last Tuesday). He had opted to put some trainers on that were a little small for him in order to stretch them out however, because he had not returned that evening, his place was closed and he has been out on the street since (Friday, Saturday and Sunday). He had no access to other trainers and had now developed a large blister on the back of his foot that was very painful. We slowly made our way to the health service while he told me that he had started a Maths degree with the Open Uni

> (because I had said I was at Uni). He has had to stall it for now – I wonder how he has managed this as I had noticed injection sites on his hands, however, he then told me that he had been in prison for 5 years, whereas I had assumed he had been released after a relatively short sentence. I asked him if he noticed any differences having been in prison for so long and he noted how everyone is 'glued to their phone now'. We discussed this relatively recent cultural development in some detail (Fieldnote 18/12/17).

I spent about two hours with Dennis that day but never encountered him again. Meeting him and writing up the field note helped me make connections about the strict rules imposed by many of the different types of temporary and supported accommodations, and how they impact on the lived experiences of the individuals who use them. It also highlighted my developing sense that short custodial sentences were common among the individuals that I had been encountering during fieldwork because, while I was unsurprised that he had been recently liberated, I was surprised that Dennis had been in prison for such a length of time. In this way I recognise that the fieldwork experience as a whole, including all of the individuals I met, and my subsequent reflection and re-reflection on it, has shaped my knowledge of the field and the data that are presented in this thesis. This experience also includes 'imponderable evidence' (Csordas, 2004) whereby I developed a sense of what was going on from being there and feeling it, from picking up on subtleties in body language, tone of voice, and facial expressions, for example. It is on the basis such imponderabilia that I came to the conclusion that I was being protected when I was asked to 'take a walk' earlier.

I met Dennis on the street (literally) and, like all of the individuals I met on the street during fieldwork, the relationship did not develop or continue. There seemed to be a number of factors that contributed to this relating to the individuals, me, and the situations. Individuals encountered on the street tended to be more transient and it was more difficult to meet them on a repeated basis in order to try and build some rapport. This reveals a somewhat fugacious social world marked by unpredictable patterns of movement and indeterminacy of stay. Those on the street that were in the same location on a regular basis tended to be there because it was a particularly lucrative begging pitch; they did not appreciate me hanging around them for any length of time because it interrupted the interaction with passers-by and, therefore, their

income. This is something that I became acutely aware of early in field work and led to me being hesitant and unsure during street encounters, which potentially further impaired relationship building.

There were also interactions between different actors on the street that were difficult to assess in terms of risk because of the lack of an established relationship and can be seen in the following interaction when I was 'shadowing' an outreach worker:

> This lane is a damp, muddy environment with little other than bins in it. As we turned, there was a guy on his way towards us. He looked to be in his mid to late 30s and I noticed his trainers were bright and clean; he had black jeans on and quite a small but smart jacket that was not adequate for the cold temperature today. He said he was looking for '*wee Charlie*' and we said so were we. The worker quickly identified that we were '*not cops*' and we walked back up the lane with the man, who thought that maybe wee Charlie had been lifted in possession of heroin and they had found he had outstanding charges in Carlisle or '*wherever it is he's from*'. I suspected this guy was a dealer and this was confirmed when he headed off in front of us and was next to another guy who was begging at the corner of Gordon Street and Union Street, quickly joined by a third man. We crossed the road to ensure we don't get tangled up in any drug dealing and the worker tells me '*you can get anything on this strip*'. For those who are not so mobile, the dealers are happy to come to them! (Fieldnote 18/12/17)

This account highlights the type of situations encountered on the street – situations that involved unknowns. I was with an outreach worker that day and so was somewhat less concerned about overall risk than if I had been in that lane alone or with someone that I did not know well. These factors also created barriers to developing relationships on the street.

'Wee Charlie' was among the individuals encountered on the street who made it clear to me that I was interrupting their income and was, therefore, not welcome to linger and chat to them for more than a minute or two. However, as can be seen in the fieldnote, there are social relations on the street. Begging involves being still and being alone and, therefore, dealers adapt their practices to seek out and move between their customers where they are. Here we can see an area of street commerce being created in the movement and stillness of different actors in the field, albeit a different type of street commerce than

that discussed in Chapter Three in relation to Meneses-Reyes' (2013) work. From a recruitment perspective, I am making the point here that risks, and other factors were present in street situations that made recruitment of participants there more difficult. Those individuals that engaged with me for longer tended to be first encountered in services where they had time to talk to me without losing out on other opportunities, such as to make money, and I felt more comfortable with the overall risk assessment. This had an impact on the data collected and skewed it towards the lived experience of homelessness services more than the general lived experience of homelessness. However, many scholars have noted the importance of services in shaping the experience of homelessness (cf Desjarlais, 1997; Gowan, 2010; Ravenhill, 2008) and so this was likely to be a feature of the research.

Key relationships were marked by a good rapport and a level of humour and banter that usually emerged early in the relationship as it was with Eric.

> During the course of the shift I meet Eric […] He is a tall man (a tall elf), pleasant and easy to laughter. When he was at the counter, he was telling me that he has been in the B&B since September. When I reflect that this is a long time, he tells me he has been in other places longer and then says '*but you don't want to hear about my homeless stories*'… '*Actually…*' I replied and told him that I was doing some research into homelessness and I would LOVE to hear his stories. Eric laughed and said: '*I could write a book about it*!' He seemed keen to get involved and said he wanted to be in my book! He's in every Monday and so I agreed to have a chat to him next Monday to see if we can sort it out. We had a big handshake at this (Fieldnote 8/1/18).

When Eric and I started chatting, he told me that he had picked up some work as a Christmas Elf during the festive season and we both joked about this in relation to his height. He is a pleasant and funny man, which made establishing a rapport with him very easy for me. This was true for many participants but was especially apparent with those that I went on to develop more long-lasting relationships with. This highlights how participants are self-selecting in relation to the study. Those who would have responded to a questionnaire on homelessness, or given an interview about the subject, may be different from those who were open to letting an ethnographer spend time with them in their day-to-day lives. This may be affected by the personality, the gender and the ethnicity (among other things) of the ethnographer (Perrone, 2010).

The level of involvement with participants fluctuated in unpredictable ways. Sometimes I would be with participants for just a short period, as with Dennis, while others I would meet repeatedly, spending considerable time with them on their journeys (both literally and figuratively in terms of their life journey). Even in these latter kinds of relationship, however, there was unpredictability. I last saw Eric in April 2018, four months after I had first met him. By this time our relationship had already lessened. He had moved on to a supported accommodation and was less frequently in the day service where I had met him. He also appeared to have had enough of my hanging about with him, though continued to be pleasant and funny whenever we met. In this way, different relationships flowed in and out of the fieldwork. Sometimes I would see participants every day for a few days and then not again for a few weeks, or, indeed, ever. This is, in many ways, related to the nature of the field and the lives of those within it. It is also a feature of the specific methods used, which I discuss in the next section.

In this section I have introduced some of the numbers and demographics of participants and discussed the ways in which they were recruited. I have also discussed the nature of my relationships with participants over the course of fieldwork which, while enlightening in so many ways, were partial and unpredictable and this affects the data that will be presented in this thesis. Brief vignettes, extracts from fieldnotes and interview transcripts, maps of places and journeys, all serve to give partial snapshots into the unpredictable lived experiences of participants.

4.7 Intentionality meets reality – methods of data collection

I initially set out a research design that used several methods associated with ethnography: participant observation, interviews (including walking interviews), and visual methods (participant-led photography and cartography). While the research process has to be planned and co-ordinated, the use of methods is best approached in a flexible and often ad hoc way in ethnography (Brewer, 2000). Therefore, this section will detail how I had planned to use different methods and how they were actually used during fieldwork.

The primary method of data collection used in this study was participant observation, and this was anticipated within the design because of the prominent position of this method in anthropological fieldwork.

> Within fieldwork, participant observation has been considered by anthropologists as one of the core methods… [it] is inductive and has the potential for uncovering unexpected links between different domains of social life (ASA, 2011, p.1).

While a core method for anthropology, participant observation has also been described as 'slightly oxymoronic' (Van Maanen, 1995, p.4) and contradictory (Jackson, 1989). These descriptions have been based on the argument that participating and observing cannot be conducted simultaneously and that they produce different results, the former subjective and the latter objective (Jackson, 1989). However, Ingold (2014) argues that this distinction is predicated on the assumptions of 'normal science' whereby one must detach themselves from the world in order to understand it. This splitting of being and knowing is antithetic to anthropology which

> [m]ore than any other discipline in the human sciences [...] has the means and the determination to show how knowledge grows from the crucible of lives lived with others […] For to observe is not to objectify; it is to attend to persons and things, to learn from them, and to follow precept and practice. Indeed there can be no observation without participation – that is, without an intimate coupling, in perception and action, of observer and observed (Ingold, 2014, pp.387-388).

'Intimate coupling' is an appropriate way of expressing participant observation, which I would describe as a relational way of working. Ingold (2014) describes participant observation as an educational practice in the original sense of being led out into the world as a novice. But who will lead you out into the world of their lived experience if they do not trust you? All of the knowledge that I have developed from fieldwork has been based on relationships. Even insights from the most fleeting of encounters have been shared within the context of a relationship of some degree of trust. Because of this relational aspect, participant observation takes different shapes in different contexts.

During participant observation, casual conversations take place pertaining to the specific situations and phenomena that occur during the encounter (ASA, 2011).

This can be seen in the opening vignette where Alistair led me by the hostel in order to show me where it all started for him. Indeed, participant observation '*differs only in degree from what all people do all of the time*' (Ingold, 2014, p.387) in that people who spend time with each other engage in activities and talk about things that capture their attention. That difference of degree relates to the length of time spent participating and observing, and the purpose and focus that is brought to doing it by the researcher. Geertz (1998) made the case for spending time in the field, getting to know participants and their different social systems arguing that this focus on the small, the local, and the everyday was morally required. Because of time, purpose and other motivations and constraints, these processes of being and talking with others become condensed during fieldwork.

Initially, participant observation took place in homelessness services. I spent time in team meetings and shadowing a variety of workers and, as well as building my knowledge and understanding of the different services, I was introduced to other services and staff, and to individuals who were homeless. As the research and relationships developed, participant observation took me to different places and got me involved in different activities. Examples include walking with Angela to the Jobcentre Plus office for a review of her Universal Credit, attending an assessment in a community rehabilitation service with Jeremy, attending a Street Soccer event with Tom, and playing badminton with Raymond at a sport and leisure group for people in recovery from addiction (these participants will be introduced more fully in subsequent chapters).

Due to my particular interest in journeys and mobilities, I often found myself walking with participants and, while we walked we talked. Evans and Jones (2011) describe a spectrum of walking interviews that range from a natural 'wander through' to 'structured tours'. However, I do not consider most of my walking encounters to be walking interviews. Participants would typically allow me to join them while they were going somewhere; I was participating in and observing their journey.

Two walks were specifically set-up as walking interviews in the sense that the walks were to show me something about homelessness; they were walks designed and planned for me rather than walks that I happened to join in on.

Early on in fieldwork, a staff member took me on a walking tour of various places and services that they thought were important to know about in terms of homelessness in Glasgow. Then Alistair took me on a tour of places that he felt were important in terms of his lived experience of homelessness (details of which will be discussed in Chapter Five). Walking interviews have the benefit of allowing insight into the knowledge and experience of particular places for participants, and an understanding of how place and self can be constructed in the routes that participants take (Evans and Jones, 2011). This knowledge and experience of places came up throughout fieldwork including during 'natural' walks where I joined others in their own day-to-day journeys and had the opportunity to learn through participation in them (Lee and Ingold, 2006). Participants regularly identified parts of their lived experience with places such as 'that's where it all started' or revealing a part of their life story that related to the place that was being visited.

I used face-to-face, semi-structured interviews less than I had envisaged in the planning stage. I had intended to use these interviews as a means of eliciting the life journeys of participants, which could be used as a context for better understanding their day-to-day journeys and overall lived experience. Indeed, about three months into fieldwork I became slightly panicked by the fact that I had not conducted any 'proper' interviews and conducted three in quick succession with new participants in a residential service. Reflecting on this in supervision, in terms of what the purpose of the interview would be within fieldwork, helped me to understand that interviewing participants simply because they were available and willing was not necessarily going to help me in answering my research questions. With my 'panic interviewing' halted, I returned focus to participant observation; one of the interviewees (Jeremy), however, did go on to become a key participant. Towards the end of fieldwork, I planned to interview four of my key participants: Jeremy, Matthew, Liam, and Eric. However, I was only able to complete a final interview with Matthew because I lost touch with Jeremy and Eric, and Liam decided that he did not want to take part in a formal interview.

Towards the end of fieldwork, I also conducted a semi-structured interview with a staff member with considerable experience in homelessness services in order

to gain some insight into how those services had developed and changed in the city over recent decades. So, in total, I conducted five semi-structured interviews which lasted between 60 and 120 minutes each, were audio-recorded and subsequently transcribed.

In addition to interviews, I had also envisaged the use of visual methods:

> Participant-led photography and cartography will be used as a means of facilitating other methods of data collection, that is, as secondary methods. Participants will be able to draw maps of their journeys or take photographs of particular places to help facilitate discussion and understanding during other methods of data collection. These visual methods have the added advantage of ameliorating power dynamics and providing a bridge between '…two distinct cultural worlds – that of the researcher and that of the participant' (Johnson, 2014, p.317) (quoted from Ethics Application, 19/08/17).

This quote evokes some feelings of disappointment in me. I had hoped to use participant-led visual methods during fieldwork, something that I failed to do. Initially enthusiastic, I was ultimately dissuaded from using these methods by a combination of rejection and practicality. While I met most of my participants in services, many of these were not suitable locations to get out the arts and crafts materials with the exception of residential services. Here my suggestions regarding map-making or map-marking were repeatedly rejected in favour of talking, which may be evidence of the 'interview society' (Atkinson and Silverman, 1997) whereby the interview has become so ubiquitous as to make it familiar and comfortable. As will be discussed in Chapter Six, this population is particularly familiar with interviews through their interactions with various types of services that use this format in assessments and other interactions.

Maps, however, were something that I was able to obtain because, at a supervisor's suggestion, I used a GPS tracking system (Strava) to keep track of my own movements during fieldwork (with the consent of participants). While Strava maps do not feature prominently within this thesis, they are useful for highlighting specific points, such as the concentration of rough sleeping within the city centre that will be outlined in Chapter Five.[10] They were also helpful in

[10] See also Figure 5-2, which is a 'heatmap'. This depicts where fieldwork journeys were concentrated.

writing up field notes. As was suggested in the discussion regarding walking interviews, place and experience can be strongly linked. Therefore, being able to look at a map of where I had been during fieldwork provided a memory aid not only in terms of route and speed, but also of topics discussed and how I had felt at points in the journey. In this way the maps have influenced the way that I constructed fieldnotes, which in turn have guided further writing on my experiences in the field.

I do have some photographs from fieldwork. These were taken by me, though some were under the direction of participants such as when Matthew drew my attention to protest material displayed in the window of a long-empty shopfront (which went on to become a rather fancy Café Nero) (See Figure 4-2).

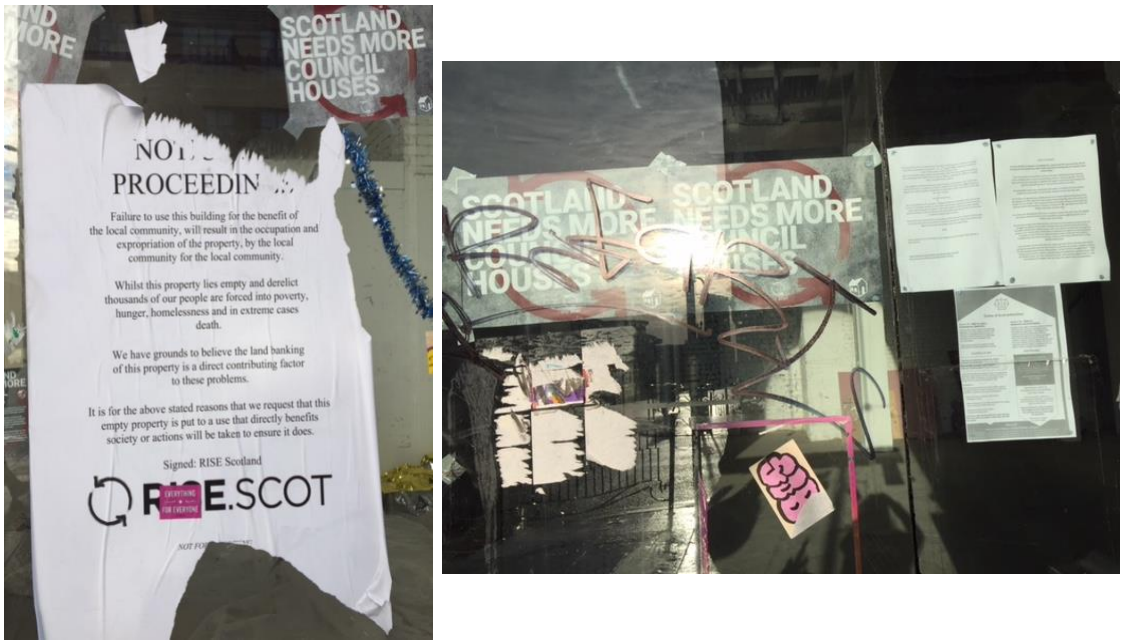

Figure 4-2 Photographs of protest posters with Matthew
Source: Andrew Burns

Some participants agreed to take photographs of places and things that were relevant to them in terms of their lived experience, but the photographs never materialised for a variety of reasons including that they had forgotten, or that I lost touch with them. While visual methods have advantages, as noted in in my eagerly written ethics application, they are not unproblematic in the context of this study. If I am interested in participants' lived experience of homelessness, to what extent does asking them to take part in 'out of the ordinary' activities

further the development of knowledge in this area? Of course, being involved in an ethnographic study was certainly an out of the ordinary activity for both participants and me, regardless of how unobtrusive I tried to be. Additionally, asking participants to engage in these activities was based on what I had read and found interesting. If I am conducting participant observation in order to be led out into the lives of participants, then there is value in letting them lead.

In this section I have detailed the specific methods used in this study. Most of the data that is presented in this thesis is based on participant observation though interviews, walking interviews, and maps have also influenced what is presented. In the next section, I discuss my approach to recording and analysing data, and writing it up.

4.8 Recording, writing and analysis

During fieldwork I kept fieldnotes, which were written up at the end of each day in the field. While in the field, I would keep jottings in a note pad or on my mobile phone, sometimes in audio format in the latter depending on the opportunities that were available. The GPS maps were also an aid for writing up fieldnotes. Fieldnotes were typed up in Word, which meant that they were available along with written transcripts of interviews for coding and analysis in NVivo.

The approach to analysis was thematic as described by Braun and Clarke (2006). However, while those authors argue that analysis is *either* an inductive (top down) *or* deductive (bottom up) approach, this study incorporated both. I was interested in journeys and had already adopted Cresswell's (2010) six elements of mobility (outlined in Chapter Three) as well as read other literature on journeys and on homelessness. Therefore, when coding the data, I already had these concepts in mind and was primed to identify data that related to them. Indeed, Braun and Clarke (2006) note that it is impossible to free oneself of theoretical and epistemological commitments. However, I did try to remain open to themes that were coming from the data that I had not considered[11]. This process allowed me to identify issues of stillness, waiting, and in-

[11] A coding frame has been included in Appendix Five.

betweenness that eventually led me to use the concept of stuckness in Chapter Seven.

It would be a misrepresentation to argue that after coding and analysis I set to work writing the chapters of this thesis. This is not the case. There continued to be a back and forth between chapters, data, and further reading about concepts and theories as I tried to find the right tools for the job. This positions the writing as a part of the analysis, which constructs (and reconstructs) the field in ways that make it inseparable from the academy (Bourdieu, 2003; Coleman and Collins, 2006).

Researching complex lives is a complex process, or what Law (2003, 2004, 2018) would call a 'messy' process. Because of this and my initially broad research questions, the data that I gathered were also broad and varied. There are some drafted chapters that have not made it to the final thesis, although it was only through developing them that I ended up with those which are presented here. This is the 'back and forth' that I mention above and it alludes to my position and my power within the research field.

Coding and analysis (including writing up) were impacted by my positionality in relation to multiple fields. Indeed, analysis started at the point of data collection when I would already be thinking about and interpreting the situations that I was involved in. Jottings, field notes, coding, analytical memos and the final write up all served to perpetuate my positionality throughout the data and analysis. I have 'the final power of interpretation' (Gilbert, 1994, p.94) in this work and it is, therefore, important to recognise that I have influenced the process and findings presented throughout this thesis, although not always in ways that I know or can know (Rose, 1997).

4.9 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval for this study was granted by The University of Glasgow's College of Social Science Ethics Committee. I have also been guided by ethical codes of practice such as that of the Association of Social Anthropologists of the UK and Commonwealth (ASA) (2011), and by critical writing on ethical topics such as consent (Murphy and Dingwall, 2007), the use of incentives (Seymour,

2012) and working with vulnerable or stigmatised groups (Pickering, 2018). Some ethical questions have already been discussed in this chapter including the topic of informed consent in relation to a diffused and changing identity in the field. In addition to the strategies already outlined, I used participant information sheets that were tailored to service staff or homeless individuals respectively (see examples in Appendices Two and Three). These were offered to participants though many asked me to explain the research to them rather than taking a written sheet.

Consent was typically obtained verbally during these conversations about the research, and I went to great lengths to ensure that participants understood that they could withdraw consent at any point. '*Many of the communities studied by anthropologists are highly suspicious of formal bureaucratic procedures*' (ASA, 2011, p.2) and, therefore, presenting a legal-looking consent form for signature was problematic and these were rarely used (although a copy is attached in Appendix Six). For participants that I was working with over a period, I would regularly return to the issue of consent explicitly such as checking if it was still ok for me to be there or if the person was comfortable with me using what they had said to me. In addition to this, I would generally make links between conversations, activities, and my research by making notes, taking pictures or mentioning how I was thinking about the topic under conversation or the activity that I was involved in. Where there appeared to be any ambiguity about my role, I would clarify this and check that the participant was still willing for me to be involved.

During fieldwork, I often came into contact with participants who were under the influence of substances. There can be a temptation to exclude such individuals, however, Aldridge and Charles (2008) identify three issues with exclusion. They argue that intoxicated participants may be impossible to avoid, intoxication represents one of many 'altered states' that participants can present in, and '*both biochemical and behavioural methods for identifying intoxication (with a view to excluding the intoxicated) are problematic'* (p.193). The authors recommend devising protocols that acknowledge intoxication and suggest three means of protecting participants without excluding them. First, 'ensuring understanding' through a process of presenting information in

appropriate format and then checking understanding of that information. This avoids trying to assess levels of intoxication and instead focusses on assessing the participants' understanding of the research. Second, 'extending the timeframe for consent and consent withdrawal'. This is a feature of this ethnographic research, in which I saw consent as a process rather than a one-off event. Because ethnography involves spending time with participants, those that used substances sometimes passed through different phases of intoxication and withdrawal. This allowed negotiation and collaboration between me and the participant in terms of identifying a 'normal' or 'stable' state in which informed consent could be sought (Pickering, 2018). By understanding consent as a process, I attempted to avoid a paternalistic/protectionist style that made decisions for participants and, instead, approached it from a position of inclusion that gave many opportunities for participants to give or withdraw consent (ibid). Aldridge and Charles (2008) further recommend training fieldworkers in intoxication awareness and excluding the obviously intoxicated at the outset. My background in addiction services has afforded me training in, and experience of, identifying a range of symptoms of intoxication and withdrawal. Where participants were extremely intoxicated, the focus was on ensuring their wellbeing and safety and not on collecting data.

There may be many incentives for individuals to take part in research such as altruism and recognition (Seymour, 2012), and being able to tell one's story (Copes, Hochstetler and Brown, 2012; Mosher et al., 2015; Sandberg and Copes, 2012). 'Incentives', 'reimbursement', 'compensation' and 'payment' are terms that are used interchangeably in research and are subject to ethical debate, particularly with disadvantaged populations such as people who use drugs (Pickering, 2018). I recognise that there should be

> [f]air return for assistance: There should be no economic exploitation of individual informants, translators, groups, animals and research participants or cultural or biological materials; fair return should be made for their help and services (ASA, 2011, p.6).

I compensated homeless participants at a rate of £10 per hour for semi-structured interviews, which was calculated by rounding up the real living wage according to The Living Wage Foundation (2017) at the time. I had wanted to give this payment in cash. While a number of researchers have raised questions

about cash incentives in relation to disadvantaged populations, there is a growing body of evidence to support these payments (Pickering, 2018). This has included research that a) highlights the range of barriers presented by voucher payments, b) shows that voucher payments are seen as patronising and stigmatising by participants and may reinforce negative stereotypes about the researched community, c) confirms that participants generally spend their cash reimbursements in responsible and safe ways, and d) argues that disadvantaged participants have as much right as non-disadvantaged participants to spend their income as they wish (ibid). Unfortunately, the University Administrator identified that there were tax implications for cash payments and would only authorise vouchers. I did not compensate staff as they took part with the agreement of their employer and were, therefore, already being paid for the time that they spent with me. I did help out in various services at times such as helping to fix a spreadsheet in the Winter Night Shelter, volunteering in a day service café one day when they were short of staff, researching materials and costs for winter emergency packs, and helping to organise various donated goods (clothes, food etc) in a service store room.

In terms of participant observation, 'fair return' can be difficult to calculate or predict and was negotiated in the field. During his ethnography of a homeless shelter, Desjarlais (1997) found that he was part of a community where the lending of cigarettes and money was commonplace among other members and, as a means of immersing himself in this community, he would lend money on some occasions in the knowledge that he would not get it back. He developed his understanding and his boundaries in relation to this 'lending' over the course of his ethnography. Similarly, Bourgois and Schonberg (2009) learned when to be generous and when to hold firm boundaries in relation to 'lending' money during their ethnography of homeless drug users. During fieldwork I regularly bought food and drinks for participants and I also issued varying amounts of the vouchers that I had not been using for semi-structured interviews. I did not offer vouchers up front as an incentive for taking part either in interviews or in participant observation. Instead, I would issue these at the end or at other points during the encounter and this approach seemed to be well received by participants. I had been worried about the potential for some participants to agree to be involved in research that they would have otherwise refused had it

not been for their economically disadvantaged position. In hindsight, this is a rather patronising position to take. If someone wants to get involved in research just for the money, who am I to decide that that is an unacceptable decision? In reality, most of my vouchers, food, drinks, and small cash 'loans' went to those participants that I was spending most time with and, so, I had an established relationship on which to base this action.

4.10 Exiting the field

Exiting the field has been a difficult and ongoing process where endings have not always been under my control but, rather, happened in unpredictable ways, as already outlined. Indeed, I still live in Glasgow and I am still in contact with some of my participants albeit sporadically now. This is perhaps another complicated element of conducting fieldwork at home, that you do not leave the physical location of the fieldwork. I do not feel as though I have left the field even though it has been, at the time of writing, 18 months since I stopped collecting data. The following fieldnote details my last contact with a key participant, Jeremy, near the end of my fieldwork:

> I received a telephone call from someone who called himself 'John Kearning' inquiring about someone that I was working with by the name of [Jeremy] – it turned out to be Jeremy who was winding me up. I called him back on his mobile as requested as he has it back now. I was so relieved to hear from him because it has been four weeks since I've seen him. He was in his sister's house. He told me he has a 'few chapters' to update me on and let me know that he had been in hospital again recently due to suffering a seizure while trying to cut himself down on alcohol. He is now placed in the Kingston Halls (a wet house) and says he has been doing ok though admitted to having a few beers today. He said that I was the first person he thought to get in touch with now that he has his phone back and that he has really appreciated the fact that I never judge him and that I call him to see how he is doing. He said it made him feel loved… and then quickly corrected himself in relation to how we had talked about abandonment previously. I updated him on what I was doing – I have my PhD annual review today and told him I'm winding up the fieldwork with interviews. He immediately said he would like to do another interview and we agreed that I would call him tomorrow and arrange to meet him so we could set that up (Fieldnote, 16/5/18).

Jeremy and I had a very close relationship, as can be seen in my relief at hearing from him and in his getting in touch with me as soon as he got his phone back.

But all of my attempts to contact and locate Jeremy since this phone call were unsuccessful. I suspect he lost his pay-as-you-go mobile phone. Facebook messages have gone unanswered, though he was never really one for using Facebook at the best of times. Hanging around the Kingston Halls was an initial strategy but yielded no results. Even now, when I am in the city centre, I find myself keeping an eye out for him, which is another element of conducting research 'at home'. I think, perhaps, the process of writing this thesis has kept Jeremy (and others) in my mind, it has kept me in the field in different ways. If the field is a set of social relations as set out earlier (Coleman and Collins, 2006) perhaps the anthropologist never leaves it.

4.11 Conclusion

This Chapter has detailed the methodological approach to research and the specific methods of data collection and analysis. While all of the participants do not feature prominently by name, they have all contributed to my understanding of the lived experience of homelessness and, therefore, to the findings that are presented in this thesis. There were some changes to methods of data collection between planning and execution, however, a flexible approach to methods is consistent with ethnography. Ethical concerns were considered throughout, though the issues of informed consent, working with vulnerable groups, and incentives/compensation were specifically covered before a brief discussion, or perhaps question, about exiting the field.

Entering and being in the field, which is a social space, has involved a changing identity for me as the researcher and these identities were not solely in my gift but negotiated in relationships with participants. This had implications for the data that were gathered, for what I was shown and not shown, for where I was taken and not taken. The relationships were partial and unpredictable, which meant that the data gathered mirrored these relationships giving fragmented, partial views into the lived experiences of participants. These experiences are represented in how data is presented throughout the thesis. Brief vignettes, quotes, and observations open up small, time-limited windows into the lives of participants and the field of research.

The field of research is taken up further in Chapter Five, where I propose that it is multidimensional, dynamic and complex. In order to demonstrate this, I juxtapose different forms of data, method, and analysis in order to give the reader a platform from which to better understand how the findings of this thesis have come into being. This will show some of the complex interactions between me and the field and the implications of these for how data has been gathered and represented. In this way, the chapter reflects the partial and unpredictable relationships I had during fieldwork. It is not, and could never be, a complete account of the field with all questions resolved.

Chapter 5 A field day: dimensions and dynamics

I stay still. It's the landscape that moves beneath me.

Roger, participant, 9/1/18

5.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I aim to give the reader a feel for the field in which I conducted my research. It is not an easy task to commit to paper so many moving parts; my field of research has been constructed from fragments of other fields. As detailed in Chapter Four, there are many nested and interacting fields which my research has overlapped. My field of research has continued to be constructed, deconstructed, and reconstructed in my mind and on paper each time I revisit my fieldnotes or start to write. It has been constructed from maps, statistics, biographies, geographies, histories, policies, and service designs. Like Roger above, I feel sometimes like the landscape of my field moves beneath me; I have struggled to find a steady viewpoint from where I can describe what I see.

My difficulties in capturing the field here are not unique, and perhaps reflect those that have been experienced in the discipline of Anthropology over many decades. Conceptualisations of the field in Anthropology have moved on from those where the ethnographer travelled to a distant location so that they could immerse themselves in a 'strange' culture for the purposes of comparing it to their own, and then present the findings to a home audience with an interest in the exotic (Strathern, 1987). Despite considerable changes in the discipline over the last century, field and fieldwork continue to be elements that define Anthropology in relation to other disciplines (Geertz, 1998; Gupta and Ferguson, 1997). Field has its origins as a spatial term and there persists with it an association with place; a similar argument can be made for other spatial terms such as the *site* in multi-sited (Coleman and Collins, 2006). Indeed, I conducted my research in Glasgow and in a great many different places within the city. But my research is not about Glasgow *per se*, rather, it is about people and their experiences.

Geertz's oft-quoted adage that '*anthropologists don't study villages… they study* in *villages*' (1973, p.22 original emphasis) is backed up by the assertion of Hannerz (2006, p.29) that '*social anthropology, conceptually, is primarily about social relations and only derivatively, and not necessarily, about places*'. It seems straightforward enough: anthropology is about people and not places. When I started to write this chapter, however, I found myself in difficulty trying to separate people from places. The people I met, I met in places; and those places (along with the other people in them) contextualised the meeting in terms of things that I and others would think, say and do. Massey (1994) argued that place was in fact the meeting and integration of social relations at a particular locus. With this in mind, we can interrogate Geertz claim by asking the question 'what is a village'? If a researcher is studying any aspect of life *in* a village, then surely, they are looking at how social relations meet and weave in that particular locus; they are studying (at least part of) what makes that place.

And so, in this chapter, I set out to explore how social relations met and weaved in particular loci during fieldwork. These relations were partial and unpredictable, creating many dynamic fields that sometimes overlapped and interacted with each other and sometimes ran alongside without ever touching each other directly, but were connected by my movement between them. Much of my fieldwork involved walking and, if not walking, other types of travelling (I am interested in journeys after all). While we walk, there is an interchange between our bodies and our environment, something that was conceptualised in three ways by Lee and Ingold (2006). While walking, the walker can look out at the environment and take in the details of that which surrounds them and notice any changes over time. Other times the walker looks inward and reflects on any number of things such as the experiences of the day past, the prospects for the future, or even some of the big philosophical questions of life. In a third walk there can be a blurring between the walker's body and the environment as both actively interact with each other such as when they enjoy time spent *in* the sun, or as the pain of a blister makes each step as struggle, as it was for Dennis in Chapter Four. This chapter can be viewed as a walk through my research field. On this walk, I will look out at the environment and the people of my fieldwork, taking in the detail of what I see; I will reflect on this walk through the field and think about why it is the way it is, what it means, and how I can bring meaning

to it. I will also explore how it has been for me and others to be a part *of* the field and how I have collected and constructed data in it with them.

To do this, I have created a somewhat unusual chapter in that it is a composite – part methods, part findings, part analysis – and it is partial like the relationships I experienced during fieldwork. Because of the complex and unpredictable ways in which lives are lived, research into those lives can be equally complex and unpredictable. John Law (2003, 2004, 2018) argues that all social science involves this complexity (although he uses the term 'messy') and, therefore, attempts to tidy it up in the writing can result in problems of representation. In describing some ethnographic texts as messy Marcus (2007, p.1128) refers to their ability to bring out the '*experiential, interpretative, dialogical, and polyphonic processes at work in any ethnography*' by experimenting with non-conventional forms of writing. Moreover, Law (2018, p.xix) argues that there is a need to '*reflexively and creatively explore different ways of representing*' reality. In order to bring out the experiential, interpretative, dialogical, and polyphonic processes at work in this ethnography, I juxtapose different types of data, analysis, and method. In so doing, I seek to give the reader a sense of the different elements that have contributed to the construction of my data in this chapter and in others. It will also have the benefit of introducing the reader to some of the participants and services that feature in the rest of the thesis.

In the first section, I use a walking interview with a participant to explore the multi-dimensional nature of my research field; a field that includes places, but also biography, history, geography, and social relations. In the second section, I briefly summarise some historical developments in the Glasgow homelessness field in order to show and recognise how this field has been shaped by them and demonstrate how it is in constant flux. In the final section, I describe four homelessness services (all of which can be located on the map in Figure 5-4) and some of the individuals that I met in them and analyse their relationships with each other (and with me).

5.2 A walk through a multi-dimensional field

I think the first thing to do, then, is to go for a walk. The following vignette is taken from a walking interview with Alistair (who was introduced at the start of

Chapter Four) in January 2018. He was 41 at the time and agreed to take me on a tour of some of the places that he felt were important in relation to his experiences of homelessness.

Alistair pointed out the doorway in St Enoch Square that he used to sleep in. This was from 10/11pm until 5am. He had to move at 5am as the city woke up and 'the buses started running and there was folk walking past you'. We exited St Enoch and turned left along Argyle Street. I was asking what it was like to try and sleep with people walking past you as I had noticed a man sleeping in a doorway in Argyle Street this morning. 'If you're mad with it [under the influence of drink or drugs] then nothing really bothers you that much'. We got to 'the four corners' where he told me that he used to hang about and beg enough money to score drugs, which you could do in the same location – the dealers are happy to come to where the customers are it seems. He used to go into to McDonald's for a heat sometimes though others would ruin it for everybody by giving the staff hassle. As we passed under Central Station Bridge, he pointed across the road at two older men who were sitting wrapped in quilts and sleeping bags drinking and said 'I used to do that. Just get your sleeping bag or blanket so you weren't cold and sit and drink all day'. I asked him what that was like and he said it was embarrassing and that he felt a lot of shame about it, though he would get drunk enough that he wouldn't feel this. He mentioned again about family or people he knew passing by and him hiding behind the blanket in order not to be recognised by them. As we exit from under the bridge, he points to the far corner at a shop front with an overhang and said this was a good place because there was some shelter from the rain. I mention how that must be a particular issue in Glasgow given how often it rains. 'It doesn't really bother you. I mean, you're out your face, wearing the same clothes for days'.

We double back down Oswald Street towards the river where he points out the Wayside [a service which will be described later in the Chapter]*, telling me that he used to go there to get something to eat, to meet people, to obtain and/or use drugs. Though they got wise to it and barred him for using in the toilets. The NCP carpark was also used for using drugs or obtaining some shelter from the elements, when it could be accessed. When it could not then under a bridge will do. 'Trying to heat a spoon up in the cold and damp, just desperate to get your hit'. We crossed the George V bridge though beforehand we looked at the north side of it so he could show me a spot where he had slept before. As we lean over the wall and look, we see four tents pitched against the wall that we are leaning on. Both of us spend a few moments in silence looking at the scene. The tent nearest to where we are is open and there does not appear to be anyone in it. In fact, it looks like it is crammed full of clothes, blankets and sleeping bags. Food packaging and other rubbish is strewn around. A small barbeque is set up in front of one of the tents that looks to have been used (it's*

charred). Over to the right there is a line of string with a sleeping bag hung over it – it looks to have been hung up to dry but it's too damp for that to be achieved today. 'It's a shame int it' says Alistair. 'I suppose a tent is better than nothing though'. We cross the bridge and towards the other side Alistair points underneath and says that he used to sleep under there too 'lots of shit lying about, rubbish, tools [injecting equipment]. All the stuff you don't want near you.' I asked him about the noise of the trains and again 'You don't hear anything when you're mad with it'.

We turn right along Clyde Place and start to discuss the hostel there and Alistair's experience of it, which we have discussed to an extent last time we met. 'You're not allowed anyone in your room. So, me and my mate used to get a few cans [of strong cider] and sit over there [points across the street]. But they [the staff in the hostel] would phone the police and then you would get done for drinking in the street'. As we pass the front of the hostel, there are three guys standing outside and I feel a slight pang of anxiety as they make a close inspection of us. Alistair seems untroubled by this and continues 'Yeah, I would say I didn't like it in there. I didn't like it at all. There are a lot of people in there that you don't want to have near you, well, I didn't want to have near me. All the nonces [paedophiles] are on the top floor'. We continue along Clyde Place and then turn left up West Street where his attention turns to the Glasgow Drug Crisis Centre (GDCC).

Alistair tells me the circumstances of how he first ended up in the GDCC. He was taking a lot of amphetamines at the time and was 'quite psychotic. In fact, very psychotic'. His sister had asked him to leave her house because of his behaviour as she had two young children. She put him in a taxi to the GDCC. He does not remember being admitted and only remembers waking up in one of the rooms and looking out the window. To the rear he could see a carpark with barbed wire and to the front he could see the controlled car park entry with the big 'STOP' sign, and he assumed he was in jail. He recalls being quite aggressive with staff initially because he did not know where he was or who they were. This is the place that Alistair first found out about rehab – 'I had a care manager [in the GHSCP] *for years, who never mentioned rehab. I would've jumped at the chance'. When did it all actually start then, the addiction, the homelessness, I asked?*

Alistair was sexually abused as a child. He said he was dealing drugs by the age of 14. The homelessness started around age 20/21 with a good number of years sofa-surfing and staying with various people until his first experiences rough sleeping and being in hostels and B&B accommodation. He received a 4-year custodial sentence for dealing drugs in 1997, during which time his mother died – his Social Worker and a Police Officer came to the prison to get him, but by the time he got to the Beatson [oncology hospital], *his mother had already died. He used drugs the entire time he was in prison – 'you can't show weakness or*

cry in prison, or guys will take advantage' so he used drugs to manage his emotions. 'The party started again' when he was released, and he detailed a long period of some years where he was sleeping rough, staying with people he knew, and was in various forms of temporary accommodation until the point when his sister got him to GDCC approximately 3½ years ago. This, he said, was probably the best thing that could have happened to him because it was there that he found out about rehab. He went directly from GDCC to a residential drug and alcohol rehabilitation centre, and this was our next destination on the Subway.

During the Subway ride, Alistair told me that he had started a relationship with a woman in the residential rehab. His younger sister was dying with cancer at this point and he used the relationship to cope with this. The relationship he described sounded co-dependent and we discussed the difficulties with this in terms of recovery. As we exited at Ibrox, Alistair called to a guy on the platform. I was introduced as his friend Andrew and I shook they guy's hand and kept myself quiet. However, by the time we were climbing the stairs of the Subway, Alistair was explaining what a walking interview was! The guy was surprised 'you're doing an interview right now'? The guy went up Copland Rd in the opposite direction to us, going to Aspire, a supported accommodation that Alistair had previously been in and did not like - though it was a lot better than the notorious Copland Rd hotel!

We turn left into Brighton Place and stand outside the rehab while Alistair details some of his experiences in here. I ask him what it felt like when he was travelling towards this place for the first time and he told me that he was 'full of anxiety', 'you don't know what it will be like, you're moving into the unknown'. He told me it took him three weeks to settle in and start to think that he could cope with it. He says that he was manipulative of staff at this time and he and the woman that he got into a relationship with had pointed to the fact that there was nothing in the rules about having a relationship and even tried (unsuccessfully) to get a double room. He talked about continuing to use drugs. He would get these during unsupervised visits to the Beatson to visit his sister who was dying with cancer. The staff at the rehab would take them on trips, for example to Bellahouston baths, something that he had never done before. However, his feelings about these trips were influenced by the fact that he would arrange for someone to meet him there in order to obtain drugs. He also managed to get the number for the dealer around the corner (there is a row of tenements in the street adjacent). He would offer to cut the grass for the project, leave money under a can or something and then drugs would be left there in return. He tells me that the staff tried to help him but that he 'just wasn't ready' at the time and that he was unable, at that point, to cope with his emotions surrounding the abuse, his mother's death, or his sister's death. He finally left Brighton Place with the woman he'd met and a lot of money due to a back payment of benefits. He booked a hotel for 3 nights

because they didn't have anywhere else to go. A lot of heroin and cocaine was purchased and, again, 'the party started'. It ended, along with the relationship, three days later when he woke up to find the woman had robbed him.

After this, it was 'back to the trenches. Living on the streets, robbing, stealing, thieving, and dealing. It was what I knew'. We re-enter Ibrox Subway and commence our journey back to the city centre. During the journey, Alistair tells me that he had a few more times in the GDCC and then eventually got a place in another rehab, where he completed four months. During a share [group therapy session where someone tells their story]*, another guy talked about his sexual abuse and all of the thoughts and feelings that he had about this. This triggered Alistair who identified with much of what the man was saying. At that point, he felt unable to disclose how he was feeling and instead left the rehab. This was when he had ended up in Clyde Place. Eventually, he got back into the rehab (15 months ago) and was prepared to talk about the abuse and 'really begin' his recovery. He has been free from drugs and alcohol since then.*

***

This journey with Alistair reveals some of the multiple dimensions of my field. During the walk, he took me to different locations as can be seen in the map shown in Figure 5-1 below (the straight lines occur between Subway stations as the GPS signal was lost while underground).[12]

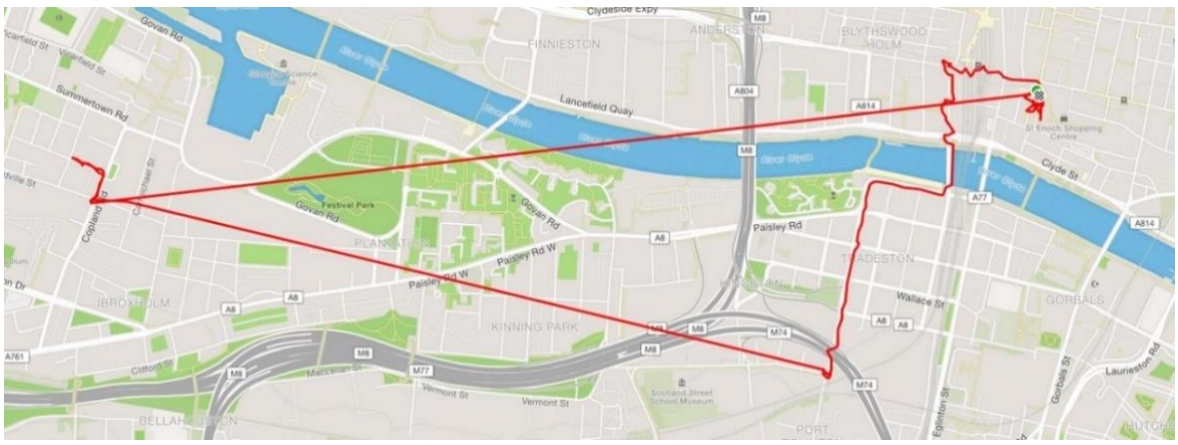

Figure 5-1 GPS Map of walking interview with Alistair 10/01/18.
Source: Strava

[12] This map is provided here for illustration purposes only. Unfortunately, Strava provides maps at different scales depending on how far was travelled on the particular journey and this makes them difficult to compare. In order to address this issue, I have overlain some of these journeys onto one 'heatmap' of the city in Figure 5-2 so that the reader can get a sense of where the majority of fieldwork journeys passed.

These locations are part of my field in that I was conducting fieldwork while I was in them, and I was in some of them (particularly city centre locations) many times with other participants also (see Figure 5-2 below). In each of them, Alistair constructed another part of my field by detailing his past experiences of homelessness in these places. These places were important to him because of the experiences he had in them. In this way, Alistair's biography is also part of my field, in terms of both his lived experiences and in developing my understanding of how homelessness can be experienced in this city generally.

His biography interacts with other elements of my field such as the writing and research that I have read. The link between trauma and addiction has been established for some time (Khantzian, 1987, 1989) while childhood trauma is often present in the narratives of individual journeys into homelessness (FEANTSA, 2017). Homelessness, addiction, and involvement in crime often overlap and there has been a growing interest by policy-makers in Adverse Childhood Experiences as a possible explanation of this (cf Scottish Government, 2018c). Alistair's story could be a case study for these findings.

Notice also how often the weather influences Alistair's explanations of his experience. He knows places to shelter from the rain such as overhangs or multi-storey carparks. It is the weather, among other things, that led him to accept sleeping in places next to '*all the stuff you don't want near you*' and it was the weather that frustrated him when he was trying to heat a spoon in the cold and damp in order to prepare a hit of heroin. This alludes to how his experiences were also shaped by the geography of Glasgow, which is the UK's rainiest city (Crowder, 2018). It is no coincidence that these references to weather were more prevalent when we were in the city centre because this was the location where he had previously been sleeping rough, a situation that inevitably foregrounds inclement conditions. Rough sleeping tends to be more noticeable in the city centre, however, as noted in Chapter Two, rough sleeping also occurs in other places including those that are hidden and, therefore, are not known to services or researchers. In Glasgow, services that are designed to tackle rough sleeping tend to focus on the city centre, something that was apparent when I shadowed workers from the street team.

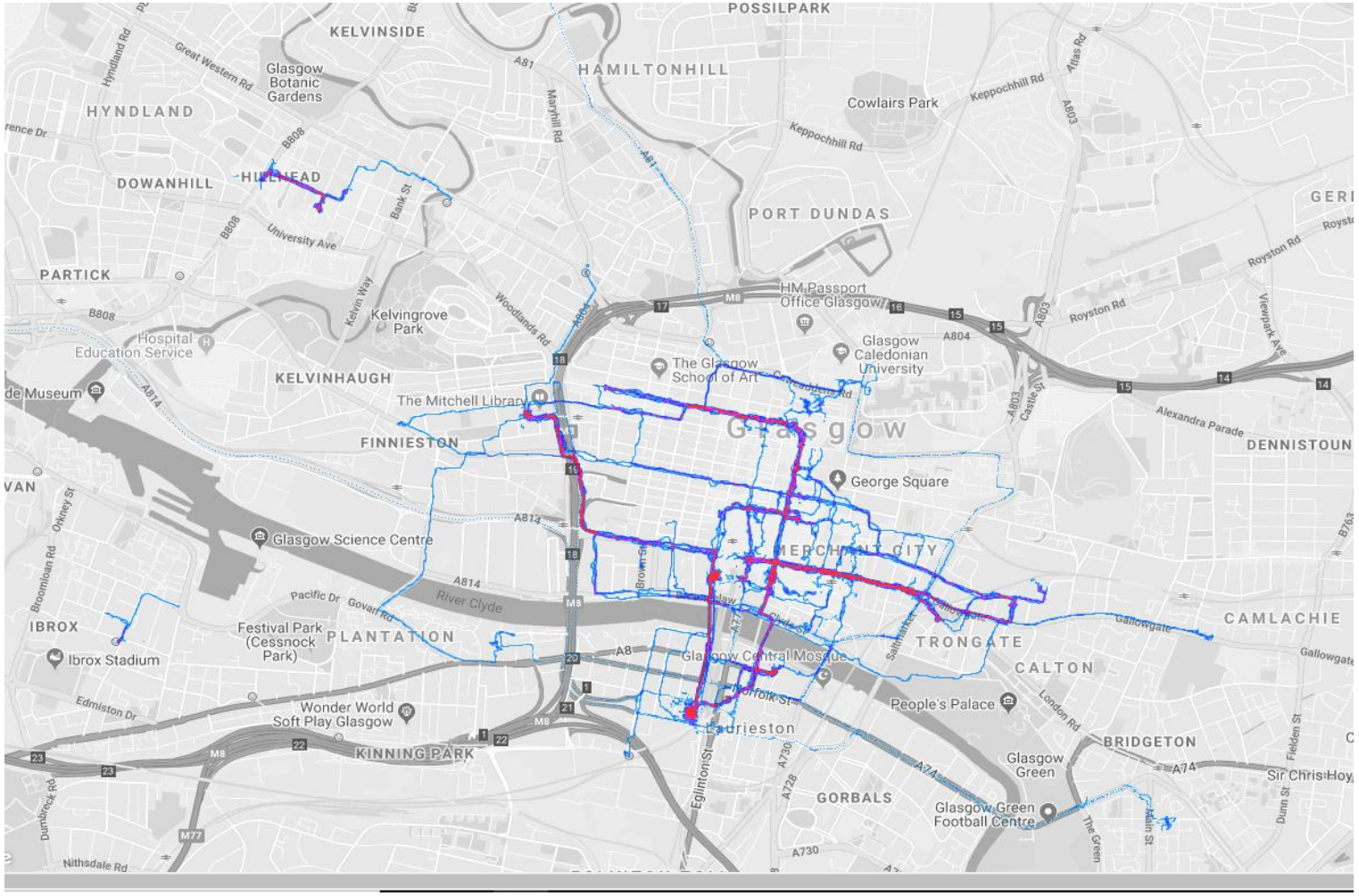

Figure 5-2 'Heatmap' of fieldwork journeys
Incorporating 27 journeys (not all participants consented). The thickest and brightest lines indicate routes that were taken repeatedly. Source: Strava

The Simon Community Scotland operate the Rough Sleepers and Vulnerable Person (RSVP) Team from a city centre Hub where individuals can access information, advice, support, and supplies that can help protect against the harms of rough sleeping such as food, additional clothing, sleeping bags, and clean injecting equipment. They operate an outreach or street team from 8am until 11pm daily whereby workers actively seek out individuals who appear to be homeless on the street or in other places such as day services, soup kitchens, and the Winter Night Shelter (which I will describe later in the Chapter), to offer them support and connect them with relevant services. The workers patrol sites where people are known to rough sleep and beg, which are predominantly within the city centre area as can be seen in Figure 5-3, which is a GPS map from a day shadowing an RSVP worker.

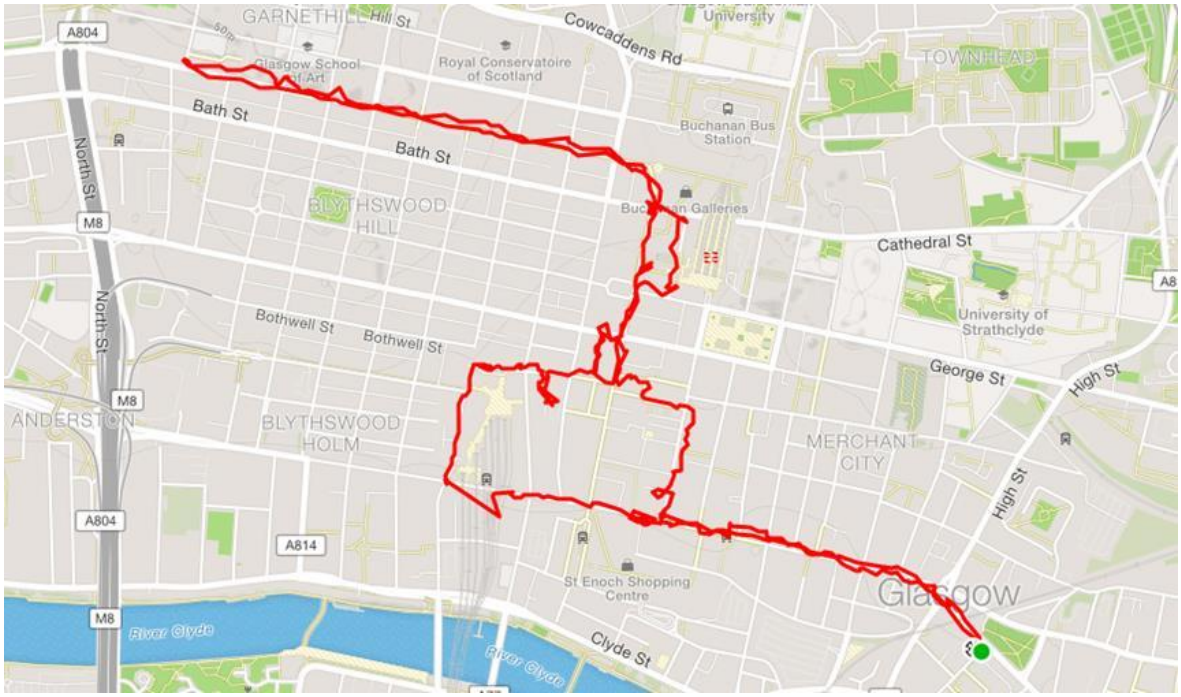

Figure 5-3 GPS Map of walk with RSVP Worker 18/12/17
Source: Strava

This represents another interaction between different parts of my field. Participants who were, or had been, rough sleeping in particular places interact with the knowledge and experience of the street team, who map and document 'skippering'[13] sites as they go about their business of trying to engage those who

[13] A 'skipper' is a term used to describe a site used for rough sleeping. In Glasgow, the term 'skippering' is more commonly used by those who sleep rough to describe their rough sleeping. It is also recognised and used by many of the staff who work in services that support them.

are rough sleeping with services that will get them accommodation. As was outlined in Chapters Two and Three, services (or systems) and those that use them (or are targeted by them) change and develop in relation to each other. Recall the free bus that was used with caution by the young people in Jackson's (2012, 2015) study, or how the street vendors and authorities in Mexico City moved in relation to each other creating informal zones of commerce (Meneses-Reyes, 2013). In similar ways, homelessness services change and adapt in relation to those that use them as well as a range of other actors and institutions that operate in the homeless field or in other fields that impact upon it.

There is also the interaction between Alistair and me, and the different interactions between each of us and the places that we visited. I cannot say for certain how long Alistair would have spent looking at those tents, or even if he would have gone past them in the first place, had I not been with him. I was keen to maintain his confidentiality when we met someone that he knew at Ibrox station, but then I realised he was at least pleased, if not excited, to be taking part in a walking interview by the way in which he described this to his acquaintance. Alistair was invested in this process too and what he (and other participants) wanted to show me, and why, has ultimately influenced the field that has been constructed here.

The journey with Alistair has served to illuminate some of the dimensions in a multi-dimensional field; however, it is not my intention to use this journey, or what follows, as a synecdoche for the entire field. What is presented in this chapter is partial and incomplete - something that I think is inevitable because of the nature of the fieldwork. My understanding of the field has changed over time and has been influenced by seizing opportunities and following relationships where they took me, something that was also evident in the lives of participants. In the next section, I will outline one of the dimensions of the Glasgow homelessness field that influenced the opportunities that existed in it, both for me and participants, its history. This too is partial. It is not my intention to provide a comprehensive analysis of the history of homelessness in Glasgow but, rather, to give the reader a sense of how this field has been, and continues to be, in a state of flux due to multiple and varied influences.

5.3 A brief history and context of homelessness in Glasgow

Although thought of in different terms, and responded to in different ways, homelessness has probably existed in Glasgow as long as Glasgow has existed (Laidlaw, 1956). As an issue of public concern, it grew along with the population such as during the waves of immigration from the 18th Century Highland Clearances and the 19th Century Irish Potato famines when the Church, Incorporations and Municipality developed different means of poor relief (ibid). Over the course of the 19th Century the small common lodging-houses that had been used to house the very poor were replaced by larger establishments that had been advocated by the Model Lodging Housing Association and this trend continued into the 20th Century when working men's hotels were also built in the city for the purposes of commercial travellers (ibid).

In the first half of the 20th Century, the state began taking a more prominent role in the provision of accommodation for the very poor, taking over from the previous Victorian philanthropic ventures. The National Assistance Act of 1948 abolished the Poor Law and required Local Authorities to provide accommodation to those who were affected by homelessness that '*could not reasonably have been foreseen*' (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000, p.3). In practice, however, local authorities mainly executed this duty in relation to mothers with children and there was little provision for single men (ibid). As was discussed in Chapter Two, public sympathy for those who were homeless increased during the 1960s and 70s and political pressure increased on Central Government to provide more support. This growing pressure finally culminated in the passing of legislation that put duties on local authorities to provide accommodation for those that were homeless. Homeless people had to prove that they were unintentionally homeless, that they had a local connection within the authority to which they were applying, and that they were in a situation of priority need to be assessed as deserving and receive statutory support.[14]

In Scotland, the divergence of the legislative framework for homelessness increased after the re-establishment of the Scottish Parliament in 1999, which

[14] All of these terms are fully explained in Chapter Two.

strengthened individual rights and eventually abolished priority need tests in Scotland by 2012, creating a new policy context for services and service users in Glasgow.

In the early 2000s, The Glasgow Homeless Partnership[15] initiated a 'hostel closure and reprovisioning programme' that closed many of the large scale hostels in the city that had developed through the first half of the previous century, and replaced them with smaller and more appropriate forms of accommodation (Fitzpatrick et al., 2010). This programme was completed in 2008 with the only large-scale hostel now operating in Glasgow being The Bellgrove Hotel, which is a private establishment. The Bellgrove started out as a working men's hotel and was described by Laidlaw (1956) as providing '*excellent accommodation for 223 working men*' (p.77). However, since at least the 1990s, the Bellgrove Hotel has been characterised by the local authority (and others) as problematic/unsuitable accommodation and the local authority are actively seeking to render it unnecessary through new provision in their Rapid Rehousing Transition Plan (Miller, 2019), which includes a Housing First programme for individuals with complex needs.

In 2003, Glasgow City Council approved the transfer of its housing stock to Housing Associations through a staged transfer programme in order to improve investment in the stock and promote community ownership (Gibb, 2003). In recent years, the Glasgow Health and Social Care Partnership (GHSCP, 2015) identified the fact that Glasgow was a 'stock transfer authority' as being one of the factors in creating a backlog of homeless applications though the Scottish Housing Regulator have questioned this explanation (SHR, 2018).

In addition to legislation, public policy, and public services to address homelessness, charitable organisations have developed to meet the different needs of those affected by homelessness. Some of these organisations have been commissioned to provide services by the local authority, while others provide services by raising funds independently and making use of volunteers.

[15] '[A] partnership between Glasgow City Council, Greater Glasgow and Clyde Health Board, and Glasgow Homelessness Network (representing the voluntary sector). The partnership was charged with, amongst other things, re-provisioning homelessness services within the city to eliminate the need for large scale hostels' (Fitzpatrick et al., 2010, p.3)

For example, Glasgow City Mission is a Christian charity that was originally started in 1826 and today provides a range of services for vulnerable and disadvantaged people including those that are homeless in the city. They provide the Winter Night Shelter (Glasgow City Mission, 2019c), which I will discuss later in the chapter.

When thinking with the Bourdiuesian concept of field outlined in Chapter Three, we can recognise that developments in homelessness, homelessness policy and homelessness provision do not occur in a vacuum but in a wider system of interacting fields within the overall field of power (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). Bourdieu referred to the national society as the field of power and to the state as the bureaucratic field. In the detail above, changing attitudes and opinions in the field of power led to changes in the bureaucratic field in the form of legislation and the allocation of duties and powers to different institutions. These changes in broader fields have had a direct effect in the Glasgow homelessness field whereby different forms of symbolic capital were created and then changed in terms of their value within the field. For example, the 'excellent accommodation' that was previously recognised in the Bellgrove Hotel is now considered wholly unacceptable by the local authority following the hostel closure programme. The symbolic capital of priority need was first introduced and then phased out in Scotland when public opinion and political motivation changed. The local authority is recognised as having various forms and amounts of capital within the homelessness field by other actors and institutions and has specific powers within it. However, it has also been affected more generally by changes in the economic field.

Here policies of austerity have been pursued in the UK following the global economic crisis of 2007-8 when governments of industrialised countries chose to inject financial aid into financial institutions that were deemed 'too big to fail' (Steger and Roy, 2010). This transferred massive amounts of debt from the banking industry to the taxpayer in the form of government debt and contributed to increased structural deficits. Policies of deficit reduction, whereby governments seek to reduce the structural deficit between what they

spend and the income from tax receipts by cutting public spending, have now become synonymous with the term austerity (Kitson, Martin and Tyler, 2011).

In the UK, the Conservative-Liberal Democrat Coalition government elected in 2010 initiated an economic policy agenda of austerity that planned sustained budget reductions in all government departments, arguing that this was an unavoidable and urgent priority in order to reduce the deficit and provide long-term stability for the UK economy (HM Treasury, 2010). The Coalition government used this economic argument to justify unprecedented cuts in welfare and public services (Kilkey, Ramia and Farnsworth, 2012) which have been consolidated by the subsequent Conservative Governments in their resolution to 'finish the job'(HM Treasury, 2015). One of the most remarkable successes of the discourse of austerity however, is the extent to which accountability and blame for the crisis has been shifted from a banking crisis to the public sector and welfare provision (Clarke and Newman, 2012). Both welfare and the public sector have been portrayed as being excessive and resultant from exuberant spending by previous governments, taken advantage of by undeserving 'shirkers' who are a drain on the public coffers (Pantazis, 2016).

Of concern here is the disproportionate impact on socioeconomically disadvantaged populations and individuals, such as those who are homeless. Reductions in public service provision, welfare payments and the introduction of welfare conditionality target the same population exacerbating existing inequalities (Clarke and Newman, 2012). For example, research by Hastings et al. (2015) highlights increasing inequalities in the application of budget cuts to local authorities, with social care expenditure used as an example of this. Their research shows a real terms decrease of 14% in social care budgets in local authorities with high levels of deprivation compared to a rise of 8% in such expenditure in the least deprived authorities. Other work such as that of Beatty and Fothergill (2013, 2015, 2016), Pearce (2013) and Stuckler and Basu (2013), has highlighted the disproportionate effects of austerity on the most vulnerable and socially disadvantaged groups in relation to health and wellbeing. Links between austerity and rising homelessness have also been made (Loopstra et al., 2015).

Austerity has had a particular impact on the public expenditure of cities in the UK, and Glasgow has been the most affected authority in Scotland with a real terms decrease of 23% in the seven years to 2016/17 (Centre for Cities, 2019). This inevitably has consequences for the services that the local authority can deliver directly and those which they commission, including homelessness services. For example, the Rapid Rehousing Transition Plan (Miller, 2019) was framed by the Health and Social Care Partnership as a redesign of homelessness services in the city; however, Shelter Scotland (2019a) has characterised the changes as cuts to services, pointing out a £2.6million reduction in the overall homelessness budget and arguing that the local authority was already struggling to meet its statutory duties prior to these changes.

In summary then, the Glasgow homelessness field has developed over time and in relation to the changing population of homeless individuals and changes in services and other fields including the field of power, the bureaucratic field, and the economic field. It continues to change and is not a static entity, rendering the field, as it was experienced by participants and by me, partial and changing – a snapshot of the meeting and interweaving of social relations in particular loci (Massey, 1994) during a specific period of time. In the next section, I will detail some of the services and participants that I interacted with, and that interacted with each other, during fieldwork. This is by no means an exhaustive list of homelessness services operating within the city but, rather, a select example that allows an analysis of the types of actors and institutions in the Glasgow homelessness field, and the relations between them. Before this, I have included a map (see Figure 5-4) of some homelessness services in Glasgow including those discussed in the next section.

Figure 5-4 Map of homeless services referenced in the thesis.
Sources: Map from Orangesmile (2020) annotated by Andrew Burns

5.4 Field dynamics – institutions and actors

The services and institutions that I introduce in this section have different types of power within the field. While they are specific to Glasgow, they likely represent the types of services that are available in other cities across the UK: the local authority, an emergency shelter, a short-term residential unit, and a day service.

5.4.1 The local authority

The thirty two local authorities in Scotland vary in size considerably though they are all allocated a range of responsibilities, powers, and funding to enable them to provide a variety of public services and fulfil specific duties (Scottish Government, 2017b). Each authority is governed by an elected council who take decisions regarding local services (ibid). As in other areas, the local authority in Glasgow, Glasgow City Council, has a dominant position in the local homelessness field because it has specific authority to define who is homeless according to legislation.

It is the local authority that determines by assessment whether someone is homeless under the definitions set out in the Housing (Scotland) Act 1987 (as amended) and, therefore, the nature and extent to which they will be able to interact with other agents and institutions within the field.[16] These assessments are carried out by homelessness caseworkers operating out of three Community Homeless Teams in the city: North West, North East, and South. During fieldwork, the local authority also operated an out-of-hours service from the Hamish Allan Centre just south of the river, though this was subsequently closed in September 2018. This building used to be accessible outside of traditional office hours, through the night and at weekends, for those who needed to make a homeless application. The out-of-hours service is now provided via a telephone service with some additional provision from Glasgow City Mission (Glasgow City Council, 2018).

[16] It should also be recognised that there may be many people who would meet the criteria to be assessed as homeless who do not approach the local authority and are therefore considered as 'hidden homeless' (Shelter Scotland, 2018b).

The local authority has the power to determine who has access to many of the homelessness services in the city. This is because it commissions services such as emergency or supported accommodation and, therefore, restricts access to these services to those individuals who have submitted a homeless application to one of their Community Homeless Teams. It also has the power to make what is termed a 'Section 5 Referral' to a Registered Social Landlord requesting settled accommodation for a person whom they have assessed as unintentionally homeless.[17]

Under the Housing (Scotland) Act 1987, any person approaching the local authority claiming to be homeless is minimally entitled to information, advice, and temporary accommodation until their application has been processed and a decision has been made regarding their homeless status. However, perhaps because of the pressures from their lack of housing stock and from austerity noted earlier, there are limited resources available to provide temporary accommodation. Alden (2014) found that staff in English homelessness services 'gatekeep' the resources by turning individuals away without taking the application, a tactic that has also been found to take place in Glasgow (Shelter Scotland, 2019a). One of my key participants discussed this in an interview. Jeremy was 28 at the time and had a history of being in local authority care as a child, followed by numerous periods of homelessness. About 5'9", he had short, dark hair and a warm, open, and expressive face. When I first met him, his eyes were bright and lively in a way that made me think he was even younger than he was. In the interview from February 2018, he detailed an experience with the local authority homelessness team:

> And, basically, I can remember going to the Hamish Allan Centre and presenting myself to the Hamish Allan Centre and telling them, basically, what I just told yourself. The circumstances and, they says to us '*there's nothing they can do for us the day, erm, go back to yer ma's*'. I says '*I canny go back to ma ma's*' and they basically says, '*well, we'll phone your ma'*, and ma ma says '*no, he's not coming back here*'. They phoned ma sister... erm, she says '*no, he's no coming back here*'. So, after that they says '*well, look, there's nothing we can do for you*'... this is about 8 o'clock at night, in the winter. I says '*so what can I do then*?' they says '*there's nothing we can do*', so I

[17] This name is derived from Section 5 of the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001, which also sets out the duties of Registered Social Landlords to comply with these requests from the local authority.

> says '*so, whit, so will I just go and walk the streets then*?' And, basically, that's what they says. And they offered me a sleeping bag.

Situations like these have been responded to by organisations such as the Govan Law Centre and Shelter Scotland, which will issue a letter to individuals who have been turned away that serves to remind the local authority of its legal duties under the 1987 Act. When the person presents this letter to the local authority it will often then accept their application and arrange temporary accommodation. In the same interview as above, Jeremy detailed how he managed to get 'a bit of paper' from a solicitor that changed things for him:

> So, I went and done that and I went in with the bit of paper and, see as soon as I went in with that bit of paper, they seen this bit of paper and straight away they turned around and done '*right we'll try and get you a bed and breakfast*'.

These situations highlight the power dynamic between those who are homeless and the local authority. While it is fair to say that the local authority has specific authority and power in relation to homelessness, it also has duties that it is obliged to fulfil by virtue of its place in the bureaucratic field. Once an individual's homeless application is accepted, or once they have been assessed as unintentionally homeless, the individual then has power in terms of their right to demand temporary or settled accommodation. Perhaps because of pressures elsewhere (such as from the economic field) the rights of the individual have sometimes been subverted by keeping them ignorant of them. Interestingly, only one of the women that I met reported any issues in accessing statutory homelessness services while many of the men appeared to have experienced it and perceived there to be a hierarchy operating in these services.

In early December 2017, I attended an event organised by the Glasgow Homelessness Network (GHN) (on behalf of the Scottish Government). Individuals with lived experiences of homelessness were invited to events across Scotland with the aim of asking them how they thought homelessness could be ended.[18] The Glasgow event was held in a large room at GHN's offices and was well attended. All six of the men sitting at the table I was at raised the issue of

[18] The final report of the project can be viewed here: https://homelessnetwork.scot/wp-content/uploads/2019/12/Aye-Report-August-2018.pdf

being low priority or at the 'bottom of the pecking order' in relation to being turned away from statutory services. Some of them felt that this was because men were supposed to be able to 'look after themselves'. They had found it difficult to challenge these barriers because to do so would be an admission of weakness - that they were not able to look after themselves. Because of this, they had often accepted decisions. This then limited their options because the local authority is key to accessing a range of services and types of accommodation.

An early attempt of mine at understanding field dynamics, was to separate those services that can only be accessed via the local authority and those services that can be accessed directly, which I tried to capture in the following diagram:

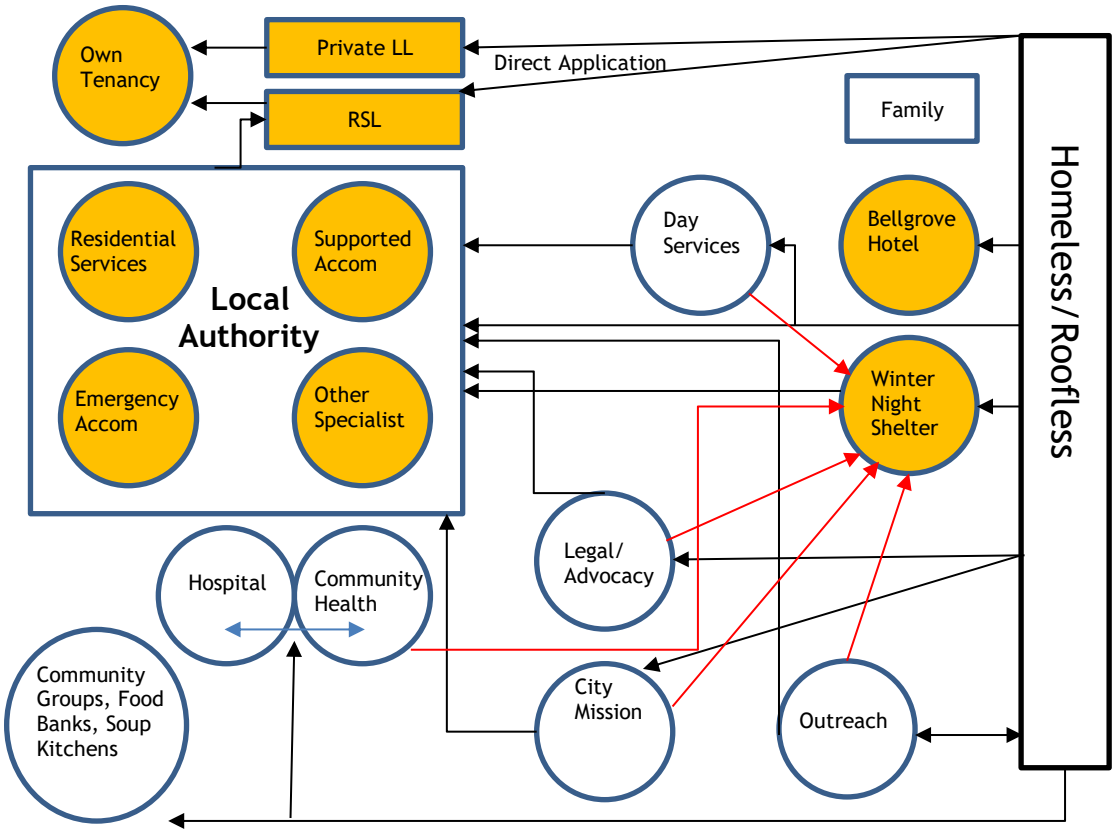

Figure 5-5 Diagram of service access routes
Yellow circles represent services that provide accommodation while white circles represent services that do not. Black arrows represent routes that homeless individuals can take into the services. Red arrows represent staff movement between services (e.g. outreach workers attending the Winter Night Shelter). Source: Andrew Burns

Figure 5-5 includes representations of a range of services operating within the Glasgow homeless field. As can be seen, most of the services that provide

accommodation are accessed via the local authority (unless an individual has enough money to access private accommodation, which was not a situation that was encountered during fieldwork). As already discussed, the Bellgrove Hotel is a private establishment. Individuals can approach this service directly and, if allocated a room, the cost is met by the individual (typically via welfare benefits).

The Bellgrove Hotel is a five-story 1930s art deco building with a category B listing. It is situated on Gallowgate approximately 1 mile east of the city centre (see Figure 5-4). During fieldwork it housed approximately 130 single men. It is a rectangular building with a courtyard in the middle and the single rooms are distributed along the corridors of the upper floors interspersed with toilet and showering facilities. Most of the rooms are very small, not much longer than a single bed and only a little wider than my outstretched arms from fingertip to fingertip (about 5'8"). The ground floor comprises staff offices, the kitchen, dining area, and a TV lounge. There is no requirement for the residents of the Bellgrove to be abstinent from alcohol or drugs as a condition of their stay there. It used to be part of the large hostel system in Glasgow and, as such, received referrals from the local authority and other homelessness services. However, this service has since come to be considered by the local authority and others to be unsuitable. The Bellgrove Hotel appears to have little capital as an institution within the homelessness field in Glasgow because of how it is viewed by other services and those who are homeless including many of its own residents. Services providers and policymakers argue that it is unsuitable accommodation that fails to adequately meet the needs of its residents (Miller, 2019). Residents and former residents cited small room sizes, unhygienic conditions, and crime and violence between residents as some of the reasons that they disliked it. It has also been subject to many unfavourable characterisations in the press (cf Ferguson, 2014; Roger, 2017).

Another form of accommodation that is independent from the local authority is the Winter Night Shelter, which I will discuss further below. Many of the other services such as day services and the street team were at least partially commissioned by the local authority and relied on the funding awarded in order to operate. The local authority also had a role to play in access to other

specialist services. For example, accessing long term residential rehabilitation for drug or alcohol problems is accessed via the GHSCP. Recall Alistair's annoyance that his care manager in the GHSCP had never mentioned rehab to him before his stay in the Glasgow Drug Crisis Centre.

In Figure 5-5 above there are a number of red arrows leading to the Winter Night Shelter (WNS) and these indicate staff movement from the other services to it. While the local authority has a dominant position in the homelessness field, the WNS also appeared to have considerable symbolic capital that was derived from its perceived authenticity in relation to the field. Newcomers to fields can use tactics to subvert the types of capital that dominant agents or institutions have, and one effective way of doing this is to return to the authentic, or true, essence of the game (Bourdieu, 1993a). By providing the WNS to address rough sleeping, Glasgow City Mission provide a service to address what is perceived by many of the public to be 'true' homelessness. By doing so, they also call into question the power of the local authority to determine who is homeless and their duty and ability to act to address this homelessness. I will now describe the WNS and analyse the types of power that it has within the Glasgow homelessness field.

5.4.2 Emergency shelter

The WNS is run by Glasgow City Mission, a Christian organisation that works in partnership with other religious and non-religious organisations. Glasgow City Mission is completely independent from the local authority in terms of funding for the WNS (Glasgow City Mission, 2019d). Therefore, it is relatively free to make decisions about what services to provide and how to provide them (unlike services commission by the local authority). From 1st December until the 31st March, it provides emergency accommodation for up to 40 rough sleepers. It operates from 10pm until 8am daily, though will not admit anyone after midnight. It is a low threshold service in that anyone who shows up and explains that they have nowhere else to stay will be admitted, if there is room, on a 'first come, first serve' basis. The staff and volunteers at the WNS have no way of directly checking whether individual users had a live homeless application with the local authority or if they had accommodation already. After 8am, the building that hosts the WNS returns to it usual purpose of day centre (run by the

Lodging House Mission) until 3pm when the building closes until 10pm when it opens again.

Each evening, thin, blue, plastic-coated, single mattresses are laid out on the floor of the large rectangular hall, which is divided into sections (there is a separate, partitioned section for any women who need to use the service). Each section has two or three rows of five mattresses laid out approximately three feet apart. A sleeping bag, a sheet, a pillow and a pillowcase are placed on each mattress. On arrival, people surrender their belongings such as bags and coats and pass through a security scan.

Since 2010, for homeless people and workers in homelessness services, the WNS has become part of the seasonal transition of winter in Glasgow. The purpose of the building changes on a daily basis between day centre and WNS in regular rhythms throughout the winter like night into day and day into night, with twilight transitions as workers and volunteers are changed over and the hall is repurposed. It is seen by staff, volunteers, partners, and some users as a place of transition – a temporary stop on the way between being 'on the street' and getting into some form of accommodation. The development of ever-new partnerships and pilot schemes, whereby a range of services are available in the WNS in order to move its users on through its threshold to more suitable accommodation, is evidence of this.

In the morning, during the transition from WNS to Day Service, staff representatives from a range of other homelessness and related services attend in order to provide information, advice, and support. These include nurses from the Homeless Health Service, legal advisers from Govan Law Centre and Shelter Scotland, and workers from third sector and charitable organisations such as The Simon Community's Rough Sleeping and Vulnerable People Team and the Marie Trust. Sometimes, Homeless Caseworkers from the local authority attend and will actively process homeless applications there, or they will be available in the morning in the Homeless Health Service, which is only a few hundred meters away (see map in Figure 5-4).

Glasgow City Mission defines the 'proper' use of the WNS as being for short-term, emergency accommodation to prevent rough sleeping. Those who use it

are expected to engage with supports available to obtain more suitable accommodation. In this way, the WNS is imagined as an entry point into the flow of processes that make up the formal homelessness system. Individuals were expected to flow in and then flow out of the WNS, within a short space of time, into more suitable accommodation via the community case work teams. The nature of this proper use, or flow, was made clear in almost every conversation that I had with any staff member, from any service, regarding the WNS. Whenever the number of WNS users were discussed there was a customary caveat about those using the service who were thought to either have accommodation or were 'refusing to engage' with services in order to obtain suitable accommodation. Either of these statuses brought into question whether those individuals were deserving of the facilities and services available at the WNS while also serving to subvert the symbolic capital of authenticity that the WNS has built up.

The local authority is expected by law to provide temporary accommodation to anyone who needs it while their homeless application is processed. Therefore, the existence of the WNS creates a political problem for the local authority, which originally contested the need for it but has been less oppositional in recent years. By engaging in the WNS multi-disciplinary meetings and identifying those individuals who are 'refusing to engage', the local authority can attempt to subvert the symbolic capital of the WNS by arguing that allowing individuals to stay in the service without engaging with support is failing to help people deal with their homelessness; it is creating a need instead of addressing one. It was a problem if individuals became 'stuck' in the WNS rather than flowing through the processes that were in place to move them through their homeless journey. In doing this, the local authority could also re-establish its position as the institution with the power to define (unintentional) homelessness. Perhaps because of this subversion of its capital, the WNS responded by proposing the introduction of policies to limit the use of their services by individuals who were refusing to engage with the local authority. These policies will be discussed in more detail in Chapter Seven where I compare three users of the WNS and show how the interruption of the imagined flow of individuals through services is problematised.

The users of the WNS can also represent a type of symbolic capital in themselves. The implication of someone using the WNS is that they would have otherwise been sleeping rough. Rough sleeping has received a lot of public and political attention in Scotland over recent years (cf. Scottish Government, 2017c; Scottish Government, 2018d) and there are, therefore, different types of capital available to those organisations that are able to address it, including economic capital for commissioned services. Because of this, many of the services that are tasked with dealing with homelessness in Glasgow send staff to the WNS in the morning in order to try and engage with those individuals that are using it. One staff member alluded to this type of capital when they said that they thought some services sending workers to the WNS was about '*having a seat at the big boys table*' rather than about delivering effective services.

In the above we can see some of the power dynamics between the WNS and other services, particularly the local authority. The existence of the WNS calls in to question the power of the local authority within the homelessness field and, unable to exert economic influence, the local authority responds by calling into question the authenticity of the WNS by disputing whether its users are unintentionally homeless. Services that are commissioned by the local authority to tackle homelessness attend the WNS to try and engage individuals to support them into accommodation or other services, thereby demonstrating their worth to the local authority and others in the field. Individuals using the WNS are also positioned differently within the field, which I will analyse from a different perspective in Chapter Seven. In the next section, I turn to a fully commissioned service: The Glasgow Homelessness Service.

5.4.3 Short-term residential services

The Glasgow Homelessness Service is run by Turningpoint Scotland, an organisation that provides a range of social care services including homelessness services. The local authority commissions its Glasgow Homelessness Service. In addition to other services, it provides a short-term residential unit (which it calls the Crisis Residential Unit or CRU) where those deemed by their assessment to be in a homeless crisis can stay for between 4 and 6 weeks and receive a number of medical and social supports before moving on to longer-term accommodation. It is more stable than the WNS in that it operates continuously throughout the

year without the same level of daily and seasonal changes, although staff and users are changing over on a regular basis. This is a place of change, where transition is emphasised.

It is housed in a modern, two-story building that is partially hidden from the front by a walled garden and mural-adorned wall. A narrow path leads to the secure entry front door where access is granted by key or by the receptionist 'buzzing' residents, staff, and visitors in. The long, high reception desk sits to the left as you enter with a small seating area in front of it next to a large, wall-mounted leaflet organiser. Frosted glass partitions and doors separate the reception area from a small foyer, off which is a locked corridor of rooms and offices, the main staff office and, to the right, the residents' area.

The residents' area comprises a rectangular foyer housing a pool table. From this foyer you can access two corridors of bedrooms (6 in each corridor), a small reading room, a TV room, a utility room (with sink, washing machine and tumble drier), and the main living area. Residents can also access the back-garden space from the foyer, and this is where they are allowed to smoke. The main living area is a large room with a TV and three sofas and a dining area with five tables. The kitchen is off the back of this room and has a serving hatch from which the meals are distributed.

While individuals can self-refer to the CRU, they have to have submitted a homelessness application to the local authority, and they have to be assessed to be in a 'homeless crisis' by the CRU. Homeless crisis usually (but not always) means that the person is roofless/rough sleeping and has addiction issues (usually alcohol). Sometimes individuals were also referred there from other services. The service is commissioned by the local authority and this is why individuals have to have a current homelessness application/assessment with them in order to access the service.

The CRU has parameters for who is admitted, what supports they will receive and when, and work is focussed towards an exit plan whereby the individual will reintegrate with wider society within a defined period of time. When individuals are admitted to the CRU requiring an alcohol detox, they first have to spend some time in what the residents referred to as 'the wee room'. This is a

separate room where they are assessed and where they have to blow 0 on an alcohol breathalyser test before their detox can commence.[19] Once the detox has commenced, new residents are admitted to the main unit although they are encouraged to rest and recuperate during the first week of their stay.

Once in, residents are expected to conform with certain routines in the service such as times for medication and meals. They are expected, after the first week, to take part in range of chores such as cleaning and setting up and clearing away the dining area before and after meals. They are encouraged to take part in groupwork programmes and are expected to meet with staff (especially their keyworker) on a regular basis to discuss plans for moving on at the end of their stay. There is also at least one formal review meeting that is attended by the care manager of the individual.[20]

Because they are not allowed to freely come and go, one or two residents will volunteer each day to go on the 'shop run' with a staff member. Any residents who want to purchase anything from the local shop give their orders and money to the volunteers. Money is separated into small bags with room numbers on them and an order sheet, also organised by room numbers, is filled out (see photograph, Figure 5-6 below). This process alludes to the experience of the service as a place of ever-changing residents where room numbers are used in some processes rather than names, because these will soon be replaced by another.

[19] This is a medical detox overseen by the service Medic and staff, and typically makes use of prescribed Chlordiazepoxide to help alleviate and control withdrawal symptoms from alcohol.

[20] A Care Manager is a local authority or health professional from the GHSCP tasked with the overall co-ordination of an individual's care package. The review meeting is called in order to discuss the progress of the individual in the service and to agree plans for where they will move to once they have completed the programme.

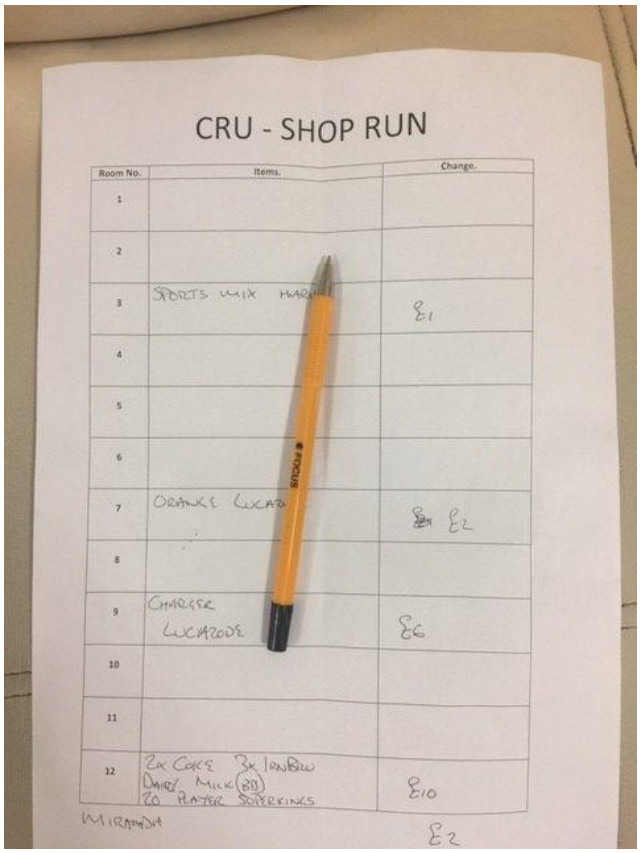

Figure 5-6 The 'shop-run' sheet at the CRU 15/3/18
Source: Andrew Burns

The relationship between the local authority and this service is more unidirectional in that the local authority provides the economic capital that allows the service to run and, therefore, has considerable say over who can be admitted and the types of services that are provided. This relationship is managed through a commissioning and contract management system between the two organisations. Indeed, another part of the service (the long stay unit or LSU) was closed during fieldwork due to the funding being withdrawn by the local authority.[21] The CRU and those who use it appear to hold symbolic capital that is derived from the controlled environment. This means that those who successfully complete their stay can move on to specific types of accommodation that may have otherwise been closed to them, such as supported accommodations that insist on a period of abstinence from alcohol and drugs prior to admission. This is because those services recognise the capital that the residents have accumulated through their stay in the CRU. The

[21] Some residents who completed the programme at the CRU moved to semi-independent living in the LSU for up to 6 months. They were able to come and go freely from the service though were expected to take part in recovery-related activities such as education and training programmes, while also pursuing options for permanent accommodation.

residents were aware of their changed status when in the service as Jeremy detailed when he discussed the different 'classes' of homelessness in an interview there in February 2018:

> You become a second class, there's different classes. It's like, like I says, a single person is in the bottom class. Like, if you're a drug taker and a single person but, see if you've got a partner you're a class up. See if you've got a partner with kids, you're a classer up. Or see if you're well dressed and you've had a job and you've just lost your house and all that and then you're in a different class. So, it's all about different classes know what I mean? And, unfortunately, I was in the bottom class […] Right, so I've been took out from the bottom class now, right, and I've been put into here, which is actually probably three steps up.

In this interview, Jeremy detailed a history of intermittent homelessness going back to when he left care at the age of 16, which included periods of rough sleeping and two separate stays in the Bellgrove Hotel. In the quote above, he recognised that his status had changed by virtue of being in the CRU, which was a few steps up from being on the street or in the Bellgrove Hotel. Jeremy's experiences as a single homeless man are in line with those who attended the GHN event and described a perceived hierarchy of service access. He was able to plan his eventual move on from the CRU, which was to a supported accommodation that required a period of abstinence from alcohol and drugs prior to admission. I visited this supported accommodation with him and another participant, Tom.

Tom was an unusual man in the sense that he could hold his own with some of the 'hard men' that were in the service at the time, but he was also incredibly kind, thoughtful, insightful, and protective of others that he perceived as vulnerable. He kept himself fit and was involved in sport and I think the proportions of his physique contributed to his confidence. The following, truncated, fieldnote details our visit to the supported accommodation.

> It's a short ride to the Supported Accommodation with the [staff member] driving, the [staff member] in the passenger seat beside her and me, Jeremy and Tom in the back […] We are given a relatively short but seemingly thorough tour […] Both Tom and Jeremy make positive comments as we continue our tour [… they] are impressed by this and it seems that this is a level of choice/freedom that is not ubiquitous [… and they] become more and more positive about the

> place as we leave the flat […] Downstairs in the reception, they ask about the process for getting in, referred, and about how much they pay over and above any housing benefit (Fieldnote 13/3/18).

The relationship between the Glasgow Homelessness Service and the local authority is more clearly defined than that which exists between the WNS and the local authority because of the economic capital exchanged in the commissioning process. However, the nature of the Glasgow Homelessness Service's symbolic capital becomes evident when an examination is made of the services from which staff visit it in order to engage its users, such as the staff from the supported accommodation in the fieldnote above. Unlike the WNS, the staff that visit this place tend to be from long term residential rehabilitation centres and supported accommodations that are abstinence based. The supported accommodation noted in the fieldnote above required a period of abstinence before admission, and the staff member could be relatively certain of this due to the controlled environment in the CRU. By doing this, the supported accommodation recognises the symbolic capital of the CRU and its residents and actively seeks them out by promoting their own services and arranging tours of it. Doing this helps to maintain its position as a service with a high degree of control also. While a different set-up, the New York City shelter system has had a similar process in that shelters with a high degree of control reserve the right to refuse any users who could potentially undermine this control (such as through drug and alcohol use) in a process described by some as 'creaming' (Campbell and McCarthy, 2000).

It is important to note, however, that other factors were impacting on the residents plans such as the availability of places at other services and the imperative to move on within the agreed timescales. For example, Helen, a woman in her late 20s, talked about having a 'strange feeling' about a supported accommodation that she had visited. While she said that was minded not to accept the place, she reported feeling the pressure of implicit messages from staff that were suggesting that it was 'this or nothing'.

Residents were also differently positioned within the service, most obviously by the length of time that they had been there. Those in the LSU had more freedom (they could come and go without staff escorts) and, by virtue of being there, had staff recognition in terms of how well they were doing in their

recovery. Larry, a man in his mid-40s who I knew for only the few weeks that he was in the service, said to me one day '*they're talking about me moving upstairs early*'. In this short statement, Larry was able to convey to me how well he had been doing in the service, something that had been recognised by the staff in discussions about him transferring to the LSU.

One LSU resident went on to become one of my key participants. Liam (who was introduced in Chapter Four) was 43 when I met him in November 2017. He had returned to Glasgow homeless after losing his job and relationship in London, though had experienced homelessness before as a younger man in Glasgow. After about four months in the LSU, he got his own flat from a housing association in January 2018. While in the LSU, residents could come and go from the unit as they wished. However, as a condition of their stay there, they had to be involved in activities that were deemed by the staff to be a productive use of their time and contribute towards their recovery such as training, education, or voluntary work. Cloud and Granfield (2008) introduced the concept of 'recovery capital' arguing that this was the sum total of an individual's resources that could be brought to bear on helping them to overcome addiction. Recovery capital includes physical, social, cultural, and human (knowledge, skills, health, etc) capital that an individual has. The staff in the LSU can be seen to be encouraging residents to build their recovery capital through these types of activities. Knowing this, I told the group of LSU residents and the staff about the consultation event being run by the Glasgow Homeless Network where it was looking to get the views of individuals with lived experience of homelessness. I agreed to attend this with Liam and another resident Lee, a tall, 30-year-old man with a good sense of humour. It was at this event that I first met another key participant, Matthew, whom I would coincidentally meet again in the Lodging House Mission some six weeks later, highlighting the opportunistic and unpredictable nature of my fieldwork.[22]

The residents in the CRU (and the LSU) were aware of their changed status while in there and many (but not all) were prepared to sacrifice certain freedoms, such as the ability to come and go freely or to choose not to be involved in

[22] The Lodging House Mission is a Christian organisation that runs a day service in the same building as the WNS, which it gifts the use of to Glasgow City Mission.

recovery activities, in order to access specific services and to open up different routes through homelessness and recovery. The CRU's symbolic capital was recognised by other services within the field, which meant that it could provide specific routes through homelessness services that were not open to homeless individuals in other circumstances. In the next section, I turn to a day service – The Marie Trust.

5.4.4 Day services

The Marie Trust is a charitable organisation that provides day services to individuals on weekdays. The building that houses the service is in the city centre (see Figure 5-4) and comprises three stories and a basement, which is used to store donations of food and clothing that come in throughout the year. The building is owned by The Legion of Mary, a Catholic organisation, which runs the Wayside (which Alistair pointed out during our walk); this service provides food and social activities in the evenings and at weekends. The Marie Trust and the Wayside are independent of each other except that the former is gifted the use of the building and facilities by the latter.

The entrance on the ground floor is staffed during opening hours which are 10.30-11.30am and 12.30-4pm with those accessing the service asked to give their names and housing status on entry. The kitchen is on the ground floor along with showering and toilet facilities, a laundry room and some small offices and interview rooms. The first floor is taken up by the café and the staff office. The upper floor is used for staff offices and training rooms where the skills development programme is delivered.

While a range of services are provided by the Marie Trust, these are mainly organised around the provision of the café. This provides breakfast and lunch services at heavily subsidised prices (or free if individuals have no money) and influences the opening hours of the service. Much, but not all, of the contact with service users is driven by their attendance at the café. The services were funded by a combination of donations and grants from individuals and organisations including Big Lottery funding, and from local authority funding. Staff and volunteers engage with individuals at the door and in the café and identify if anyone needs additional services, be it some clothing or food from the

store of donations, or advice and support to address issues with housing, benefits or health. Staff from the Marie Trust also conduct outreach work and attend the WNS in the mornings when it is open in order to link in with anyone who may need any of the services that they provide.

Other than the Street Team, other services tended not to visit the Marie Trust.[23] In mid-April 2018, I attended the morning team meeting as I often had over the course of fieldwork. I was surprised to find it was a tense meeting and that emotions appeared to be running high because the team were generally a convivial group. During the discussion it was recognised that the service had been seeing fewer numbers of people and a range of explanations were suggested for this. However, the staff group were aware of how funding for the service was linked to the outcomes it could achieve and so a reduction in the number people using the service put their economic viability at risk.

> There was some recognition that the service sees a lot less people than it used to, and I sensed that people are aware of this and that this causes anxiety in terms of the ongoing viability of the service. There were discussions about job satisfaction and getting to do the job that they had signed up for. There is to be a service review to try and capture this and to reboot the system. I am again impressed by how the team deal with each other in team meetings regarding difficult or contentious issues (fieldnote 17/04/18).

This service was valued by those that used it. I met Eric in the Marie Trust. He was a tall, gregarious man his late 50s who suffered from schizophrenia and sometimes wore thick glasses that seemed to change the appearance of his face completely. He had been living in emergency bed and breakfast accommodation for about four months when I first met him, though he moved to a supported accommodation near the end of February that year. I met up with Eric in late January at his bed and breakfast, which happened to be quite near my office at the University. That day, he took me to places he had to go, including the Marie Trust which he described as a haven for him over the years, particularly when he was short of money, or 'skint'. He could go there and get a nice meal and play

[23] Although an exception to this is the City Ambition Network (CAN), which was a developing pilot project during fieldwork. It involved a network of workers in different agencies (including the Marie Trust) working together to try to support and 'stick' with the most vulnerable and marginalised homeless individuals. I was unable to spend any sustained time with workers from this service due to it undergoing evaluation while I was conducting fieldwork.

cards with other service users. While we were in the café there, he explained that he had previously stayed in some of Glasgow's large-scale hostels including the Great Eastern Hotel, which closed in 2001. When he started to tell me about his experiences there, which sounded grim in terms of violence and disorder (despite his assurances that '*it wasn't as bad as people expect*'), I took out my notepad and started making notes. This appeared to please Eric who said I would need a 'big jotter' and continued to direct me in note taking throughout the discussion – '*you should write that down*'. He had been using services in that building (either the Marie Trust or the Wayside Club) for over 20 years. He was able to use it during times that were really difficult for him and so he valued it highly. Similar accounts were given by many of the users of this service.

The Marie Trust was valued by those that used its services but its position within the homeless field was also dependent on its value to other services, including the local authority because of the funding it provided for some of the Marie Trust's services. The closure of the LSU of the Glasgow Homelessness Service had created much anxiety for the staff there in terms of whether they would be redeployed to other jobs and services. Here, the staff at the Marie Trust were also anxious about an upcoming service review and what this would mean for them. Staff in homelessness services were also experiencing precarity in relation to their work. These situations also drove some of the changes in service provision, such as sending outreach workers to the WNS in order to engage users of that service.

5.5 Conclusion

The relationships that I developed in the field offered me partial, incomplete, and sometimes unpredictable views into the lived experiences of homelessness. Some of the data presented in this chapter has been partial and incomplete, offering snapshots of snapshots into the lives of participants, the design of services and the interactions between them. First, I set out on a walk with Alistair, which elucidated the field as multi-dimensional including place, biography, history, and geography – an unpredictable space where different parts of this research field and others interact. The homelessness field looks (and feels) the way it does because of the historical contexts in which it has

developed. Different actors and institutions find themselves differently positioned within this field because of its history, though there continue to be struggles and movements that keep it dynamic.

The positioning of different services and institutions within the field affects the routes through homelessness that are available to the users of these services. Recall Alistair's option of residential rehabilitation being opened up by virtue of his stay in the GDCC (which is similar to the CRU but focussed on assisting those with drug use problems rather than alcohol). Those who completed their stay in the CRU had similar options in terms of residential rehabilitation or a referral to specific supported accommodation.

Institutions like the local authority, the Winter Night Shelter, the Glasgow Homelessness Service, and the Marie Trust exist in relationships of cooperation and struggle within the field, each with different types and quantities of power (capital), which are determined by the extent to which this is recognised by others in the field. By examining the relationships between these services, and between them and their service users, we can see how they change and develop in relation to each other. Like the users of the 'free-bus' and immigration services in Jackson's work (2015) or the Mexican street vendors and authorities in that of Meneses-Reyes (2013), homelessness services and homeless individuals evolve and change in relation to each other.

The failure of the local authority to meet its statutory duties had implications for the lives of individuals not only in terms of a lack of shelter, but also in how they evaluated themselves and their situation. It also gave rise to the development of services such as those provided by the Govan Law Centre or Shelter Scotland to challenge those practices. The development of the WNS presents a political challenge to the local authority in terms of its power to define homelessness and its duty to respond to it. It has also seen the rise of numerous pilot projects and partnerships whereby a range of services attend the WNS to try to channel its users into their services and the formal homeless system. This may help individuals who are homeless but may also constitute an occupational survival strategy for staff in services with precarious funding streams.

The field dynamics have implications for how homelessness is experienced in Glasgow. These multiple interlocking interactions are manifest in whether individuals are accepted into services or turned away; how long they are able to use a service before it becomes characterised as a problem by the service provider; and in what routes through their homeless journey are available. The lived experience of homeless people is extraordinarily circumscribed by the logics of law, funding, institutional governance and practices, and by the occupational survival strategies of staff and services.

In Chapter Six, I examine the journeys of different participants in and through this field and analyse what these journeys can tell us about their lived experience of homelessness.

Chapter 6 Homeless journeys back and forth

6.1 Introduction

In this Chapter, I explore the ways in which the journeys of homeless people react and interact with the homelessness field including the discourses and services in Glasgow. Journey is the more useful concept in this chapter because I examine individual experiences, although I begin to introduce flow towards the end of the chapter and then use it as a more central concept in Chapter Seven.

I begin with an examination of metaphorical or conceptual journeys - life stories. By life stories, I mean the accounts that individuals gave of their life journey so far and how they had come to be in the situations that they were in. These accounts were often received unexpectedly during fieldwork, which reveals an aspect of my relationships with participants whereby they sought to explain their homelessness to me. The narrative constructs used by participants followed a pattern; a pattern that had emerged through regular interactions with services that require those experiencing homelessness to tell their story in specific ways within the context of wider discourses about homelessness.

In the second section, I explore day-to-day journeys where participants had to travel to and interact with services. The regularity of these interactions meant that some participants were able to build knowledge and skills in terms of how to negotiate them successfully. Whether participants were able to achieve their goals depended on how effectively they could engage and interact with these services. The services, however, were sometimes unpredictable and difficult to master, even if an individual had built considerable knowledge and skills over time. This is because there were many different elements at play in the decision-making processes of these services, which made them more difficult to anticipate. Participants were moved around by services, whether by being 'required to attend' in order to access public goods or services, or by being rejected and redirected from them. These interactions had implications for how individuals were evaluated by themselves and others.

In the last two sections I explore the ways in which participants moved through services and their homeless journey. The penultimate section deals with

velocity by considering where and for how long individuals waited and, then, how quickly they moved. The final section turns to the routes through homelessness that were permitted by service design and policy.

6.2 'Where it all started'

Many of the life stories given to me during fieldwork came not from any formal interviews but, instead, from informal, conversational encounters in a range of public and semi-public places, which I sometimes found surprising. I was struck by the level of detail given by some participants very early on into the encounter with me. Sometimes I felt anxious about the ethical implications of receiving these stories without feeling that I had sufficiently obtained informed consent, and this heightened my impression that the conversation was progressing quickly in directions that I had not anticipated.[24] But perhaps they were not so surprising after all.

Atkinson and Silverman (1997, p.305) argued that the preponderance of qualitative interviews in social research was contributing to what they called 'the interview society'. While the main line of argument in their paper and in Silverman (2017) is to critique the elevation of interviews as a method for gaining 'authentic' insight into personal experience, the authors also highlight the ubiquity of the interview in research, mass media, and in various forms of practice such as nursing, social work, and the 'psy' professions. Interviews are something which those experiencing homelessness undergo on a regular basis in a variety of services (as will be discussed in the next two sections). In addition to this, homelessness is a heavily researched area including the use of interviews. Therefore, the life stories are less surprising when taken in the context of where and how the interaction took place, how people saw me, what their expectations were, and what they were trying to achieve by constructing themselves in a life story in those moments. The following extract from a field note details a situation where I was introduced to a group of residents in the CRU of the Glasgow Homeless Service (described in Chapter Five). From my perspective, I was looking to introduce myself, explain the nature of my

[24] As detailed in Chapter 4, I became more comfortable with establishing consent during different parts of the encounter rather than always having to have it at the start, in the knowledge that I could remove or amend data in the recording of it in line with participants' wishes.

research, answer any questions, and hopefully pique some interest in terms of recruitment:

> […] Shortly after we went upstairs to the groupwork room. Five male residents came along, one staff member and the student who had also asked to sit in. I explained who I was, about consent, the fact that the research (and participation or not) was therefore unrelated to service provision at the service. I explained the nature of the research, why I felt it was important, and how I thought I could go about it and then opened up the discussion for questions.
>
> The conversation progressed with four out of the five residents giving an account of how they had come to be homeless/in the service, all of which were addiction related stories. I was inwardly concerned as this was not how I anticipated the conversation going, but I decided to let it run as this was these guys getting to know me and telling me about themselves […] The member of staff used follow up questions that were specifically about types of journeys and I got the impression that she wanted me to get what I was looking for, though my sole purpose today was to get to know some of the residents and for them to get to know me a bit. Again, this initially took me by surprise, but I actively processed this in the situation as an interesting and non-problematic feature – people have certain expectations of what it is you are looking for as a researcher […] (Field note, 21/11/17).

In trying to assist me to 'get what I need', the staff at the CRU had co-opted the regular afternoon group to my agenda of introducing my research. This group was usually used for discussion of issues that have come up between the residents, practical and informational discussions about onward plans (including input from other projects/agencies), or for topic-specific therapeutic discussions. We were in the group room and a member of staff who often facilitated the group was sitting directly to my left also facing the group. The surprising thing in this situation is my surprise. Despite my efforts to approach the discussion in a particular way, the entire set-up and social processes involved pointed towards a homeless 'confessional'. These were not surprise life stories; they were constructions of self that were implicitly requested by the social processes at work in the situation - processes that were familiar to the participants.

Similar social processes were involved throughout fieldwork, whether in initial contacts or the recounting of narratives once my relationship with a participant had developed further. Narrative constructions are not 'true' or 'authentic'

accounts but always take place within a social context where certain aims are (or are attempted to be) achieved (Silverman, 2017). Over the course of fieldwork, I began to understand the biographical work that was taking place in these life stories. For the most part they were explanatory. Participants were keen to explain why they had become homeless and they often did so with reference to difficult circumstances: traumatic events (e.g. bereavement, abuse), relationship breakdown, or power imbalances (e.g. benefit or landlord issues).

In Chapter Two, I discussed some of the research into the causes of homelessness and highlighted that the seeking of causal explanation reveals an underlying conceptualisation of homelessness as an aberration of a normally functioning society, that it that sits separate from the 'normal' mainstream. Such aberrations require explanation and this requirement for explanation extends also to those who are homeless, such as the men in Gowan's study whose homelessness '*constituted a rupture in the social order, an exceptional state that required explanation*' (2010, p.26). Self-explanation or self-representation carries weight for the person and their identity, but it also reveals the wider discourses in which these identities are constructed. In Chapter Two, I detailed how the discourse of 'deserving' and 'undeserving' had influenced the development of homelessness legislation and continues in the categories of unintentionally and intentionally homeless respectively. The narratives used by participants aligned with the category of deserving – they were explanations of how the individual had become homeless through no fault of their own. This does not mean that all participants accounted for their journeys in the same way. Indeed, sometimes there were differences in the story of an individual participant depending on the context of the discussion.

As discussed in Chapter Three, stories are ordered and the temporal nature of narrative conveys a sense of time in the lived experience (Desjarlais, 1997). Narratives, therefore, require a starting point, a place and/or time from which to begin. In Chapter Five I detailed a walking interview with Alistair, which took place on our second meeting. In agreeing to this he told me that we could go to a residential drug and alcohol rehabilitation centre in another area of the city

because '*that's where it all started*'.[25] This is a different starting place from the one he had identified in our first meeting (which opened Chapter Four) and it speaks to the complexity of understanding where and when a homeless journey begins and how it should be represented. Arguably, it all 'started' when Alistair first became homeless aged 20 (he was 41 during the fieldwork), or when he had started dealing drugs aged 14, or when he was sexually abused as a younger child. Each of these biographical manifestations of Alistair occurred in a different place and in a different phase of our relationship. Each is an attempt to pinpoint a cause, a starting point, or an explanation of the 'problem' of homelessness that is related to the context in which it was discussed.

It could be argued that this is identity work whereby participants try to avoid or repair a 'spoiled identity' through performing a particular self (Goffman, 1963a). These explanatory narratives and performances reveal the homeless identity as one which was perhaps perceived by participants as spoiled, in need of repair by giving a circumstantial context to their current situation. Those who are homeless learn how to position themselves in relation to a variety of other actors including those who work in the services with which they interact; in doing so, they take up, rework and perform prevailing discourses (Gowan, 2010).

Lave and Wenger (1991) argued that learning is a fundamental and inextricable part of social practice. In this way, all learning is situated in that it is '*an integral part of generative social practice in the lived-in world*' (ibid, p.35). The authors describe their concept of 'legitimate peripheral participation', which '*concerns the process by which newcomers become part of a community of practice*' (ibid, p.29). Communities of practice are any sociocultural grouping where newcomers are able to learn the skills, knowledge, and practices of the group from more experienced members, even when this is not organised as a 'formal' learning environment. Lave and Wenger based their theory on ethnographic work that explored apprentice tailors in Liberia. In their book they give examples of how learning takes place in different communities of practice

[25] This residential service offers a six month 'closed programme', which means individual stay in the service for this period of time and engage in a structured detoxification and therapeutic programme. A further 3-months stay thereafter is used to facilitate the individual's 'move on' by engaging in them in a range of community services and organising suitable accommodation (The Mungo Foundation, 2019).

including the process by which an individual becomes a nondrinking alcoholic through Alcoholics Anonymous (AA). In this example, the authors describe how 'old timers' at meetings narrate their life stories in particular ways that fit with the aims, goals and principles of AA. Through attending full meetings and associated discussion meetings, new members are initiated into the ways of the group including the specific ways that life stories should be narrated. This is

> the reconstruction of identity, through the process of constructing personal life stories, and with them, the meaning of the teller's past and future action in the world (ibid, p.80).

Many of my participants had experienced either extended or repeated periods of homelessness and so were well established in that particular community of practice. Participants had learned to tell their story in distinct ways to different audiences. In Chapter Four, I described how I was often categorised in different ways by participants, including being allotted the part of pseudo-worker. Was it this that evoked these life stories that were told in similar ways? Perhaps, rather than trying to repair a spoiled identity, participants had simply learned that their life stories should be told in particular ways to people like me.

These narratives were also present where individuals were engaging the general public, such as begging. Among the many cardboard signs that I saw during fieldwork were ones that read: 'me and my brother are homeless', 'hungry and homeless', 'Glaswegian and homeless'. There were also scripts of conversation that individuals would repeat to different passers-by including the need to get money to get a room for the night or something to eat. Each of these is a short projection of a deserving narrative – '*I am in a bad situation and need money for the basics (food, accommodation)*'. Many participants who had previous experience of begging explained to me that it was primarily to obtain money for alcohol or drugs, although there were some exceptions to this. Begging for money for alcohol or drugs, however, was not a successful strategy and those involved in begging had often learned effective narratives from those with more experience (in that community of practice).

Even when a participant was relatively new to homelessness, they understood how the narratives were typically structured. I met Jennifer in the CRU in early January 2018. She was a very well-presented woman in her late 30s, degree-

educated, with a history of employment with a high level of responsibility. It was her first experience in the 'homelessness system' following the development of an ever more severe alcohol dependency that led to her losing her job and the breakdown of her relationships. At the very beginning of an interview with her, she clarifies that she did not have a troubled background:

> This is my first experience of homelessness… erm… and, and alcohol… the kinda main issue. Good family, no alcoholism really in the family, erm, wasn't a park drinker or an underage drinker or anything like that. Never started really until I was over 18, erm and then it was just weekends and stuff like that (Interview, Jennifer, 26/01/18).

Jennifer goes on to detail her developing alcohol dependency and how this ultimately led to her becoming homeless. While her story was influenced by her involvement in AA, she understands that there are different ways to explain her situation. She made clear that her homeless journey did *not* start with childhood problems, showing that she already understood that this narrative is a prevalent one.

As discussed in Chapter Two, Gowan (2010) argued that there were three dominant categories of homelessness discourse in the USA: 'sin talk', 'sick talk' and 'system talk'. While useful for thinking about how homelessness is discussed and explained, these categories do not map neatly over to a Scottish context. As already noted, discourses of homelessness in the UK have historically been influenced by the categories of deserving and undeserving. Deserving homeless people have been affected by external or structural issues such as trauma, a lack of housing, or relationship breakdown rather than having 'chosen' their homelessness through a refusal to accept their responsibilities in relation to work or acceptable social behaviour. In this way, sick talk and system talk are somewhat merged discourses in the UK – things outwith the intention and control of the individual. Indeed, it is difficult to categorise the most commonly given reason for homelessness in Scotland, 'relationship breakdown' (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019), neatly into Gowan's categories.

Some participants' narratives fit easily with Gowan's categories. The men in the CRU and Alistair used narratives of illness, such as addiction or mental ill-health, to explain their homelessness; these types of explanations are consistent with

'sick talk'. Alistair was participating in the 12-step model of recovery from addiction via a range of peer-support forums including Narcotics Anonymous and so was well versed on how to narrate his life story according to how it was done in that community of practice. The CRU has an addiction focus (particularly alcohol) and so those who attend there are beginning a recovery journey. This provides context for their causation narratives being 'sick talk'. Other participants identified systemic problems as the underlying cause of their homelessness. For example, Jeremy cited the fact that he had been in care as a child and then, on leaving care, that there had been inadequate support.

> I came out of care and the doors got shut, and that was me in the big bad world (Jeremy, Interview 7/2/18).

Matthew also identified a care experience as being the trigger for his homelessness. Both ended up in care, however, because of a relationship problem – the relationship with their parents - and so yet another starting point can be identified. Relationship issues were the most common explanatory narratives during fieldwork.

As well as potentially serving a role in repairing a spoiled identity, participants also had to present themselves as deserving in order to access a range of services and public resources. It is, therefore, unsurprising that their narrative constructions align with this deserving genre in my encounters with them, particularly given my status as someone who was researching homelessness. In this way, the stories that people told about themselves, how they accounted for where they had been, were shaped by their interactions with a range of services and public discourses. The interaction with public discourses on poverty and homelessness was evident in the CRU when I asked two participants if I could take a picture (see Figure 5-6 in Chapter Five) of the list that was used to do the 'shop run':

> I spotted the shop run list – an A4 pre-printed sheet with three columns: 'room no', 'items', and 'change' – and I asked Colin and Jennifer if I could take a picture of it, to which they agreed. Colin remarked that people would probably judge them because they are homeless, but they can still afford to buy cigarettes (Fieldnote 15/3/18).

In this short interaction, it is evident Colin is concerned about the perception of others in relation to the choices they have made while homeless. The implicit message in this is that they, as homeless people, are making poor choices. They are misusing their agency by choosing to buy cigarettes rather than using their money for more important (though unspecified) purchases. This illustrates the earlier point that homeless individuals learn how to position themselves as deserving in relation to others – who was going to see this picture and were they in a position to make decisions about deservingness? The purchase of cigarettes in this situation is potentially a mark in the undeserving column rather than the deserving one. In this way, one can see the influences of these interactions extending into how people represent themselves and how others represent them.

In summary, participants often gave unsolicited explanations of their homelessness, providing context for their position outwith the mainstream. These explanations carried weight for the individual and served to counteract the spoiled identify of 'homeless person' by presenting narratives of a person affected by circumstances not in their control who was deserving of help. Presenting themselves as deserving was important in determining the resources that individuals were able to access and so the narratives followed a similar pattern, shaped over time by interactions with services and public discourses, and through situated learning in their communities of practice. Participants were skilled in understanding how to position themselves and were aware of how their decisions and actions could be perceived. These narratives and performances are particularly important given the precarity of their situations and the significance of the decisions taken by others on whom they depend. In the next section, I discuss the importance of having the right story and how knowledge and skill in this storytelling have been built through experiences of interacting with services.

6.3 'One bad decision'

How it feels to move can depend on what motivates us to move and what we expect during our journey or at our destination (Cresswell, 2010). I got an early opportunity to travel with a participant on my second day of fieldwork. Angela, a small woman in her late 30s, with blonde hair that she kept in a ponytail, had

to make a short journey from the CRU to the local Jobcentre Plus Office to have her Universal Credit reviewed.[26] She was accompanied by a support worker and agreed that I could tag along, so we set off on the short 10-12-minute walk.

> There seemed to be a relative quietness about the walk initially (particularly on the part of Angela) and it became apparent (a few minutes later) that she was implicated in some recent drug taking in the unit, which I had become aware of in a very limited fashion moments before leaving […] I asked Angela why she had to go to the job centre and she told me it was to do with reviewing her Universal Credit. We discussed the impact of this change of benefit on her in the context of the wider societal/political debate about this specific welfare reform. She had been sanctioned twice. The last time she was able to access half of her entitled payment through an emergency fund mechanism but this still left her in a marginal situation for about a month […] I had met Angela briefly when I was given a tour of the service last week and I remembered that she had mentioned the supported accommodation where she had requested a referral to go. I asked her if that was still the plan and how things were working out. This is when Angela's drug use became apparent and she said that she wasn't sure how things were going to work out in terms of any of her plans – '*One bad decision can fuck everything up*' […] As we approached the jobcentre we discussed its relative newness and where the previous building that housed the service had been. We climbed the steps and entered a large, bright, glass-fronted building. The entire space was a large open-plan office with some islands of waiting areas that were numbered. In the entrance stood a group of men in white shirts and red ties with clipboards. Angela approached the first one and supplied her various details and was directed to waiting area 3. The man then turned his attention to me and the worker with a questioning look – to which we indicated we were with Angela and the worker said '*support workers*'. At this the man looked at his colleague with an exasperated expression and then looked back at us and said in a curt tone and with a firm hand gesture – '*You'll have to wait over there*'. The worker commented on the man's attitude, while I was thinking about the fact that here is a gate/barrier where a participant can pass but I cannot, while I had previously thought about the situation in reverse […] We waited in the place indicated […] After a short while, Angela approached us and we left the jobcentre with Angela stating that everything had gone 'fine' and that she was to return in three weeks for further review.

[26] Universal Credit is a welfare benefit introduced by the UK Government via the Welfare Reform Act 2012 and subsequent regulations. Its gradual 'rollout' has been subject to sustained political and public opposition to key elements of it including the use of punitive sanctions.

> It had started raining and Angela commented '*I thought we'd make it back in time before it started*' (so she hadn't anticipated any problems at the jobcentre?) […] (Field note, 21/11/17).

I had expected an anxious walk to the Jobcentre with Angela because it was an appointment to review her Universal Credit and I had the impression from recent press coverage that the administration of this benefit had been particularly unforgiving. In fact, she did not appear to be anxious about her journey to this destination. Being assessed or 'reviewed' was a regular experience for Angela (and other participants), whether it was by the Jobcentre or by other services. Indeed, the actual experience of the Jobcentre was more uncomfortable for me and the support worker on this occasion, whereas Angela was skilled and confident in her interactions there. The journey back to the CRU appeared to be a more anxious one for Angela. On return, she was advised that an emergency review of her place there had been scheduled given her recent drug use. It was this that was of more pressing concern to Angela because she was less sure of what decisions would be made and how they might affect her onward journey.

Decisions made in either of these agencies had the potential to have profound effects on Angela. In the first, there was the risk that her benefits could be sanctioned leaving her in a difficult financial situation. In the second, decisions would be taken about where she would be sleeping that night – either continuing in the CRU or having to move on to another, yet unspecified, location and the referral to her preferred supported accommodation being rejected. This reveals the level of precarity in her situation. Precarity represents a relation of dependence whereby '*the suppliant lacks some necessary social, political, or economic good possessed by another*' (Lemke, 2016, p.14) . In Angela's case, she was dependent on others for economic security and accommodation.

A week after my walk with Angela, I accompanied another resident, Larry (introduced in Chapter Five), on a walk from the CRU to Cadogan Street, which is where individuals on sickness benefits have their health assessed in order to determine if they should continue to be entitled to these benefits.[27] Like

[27] At the time of writing this is known as the Health Assessment Advisory Service. This is where individuals on sickness benefits have their health assessed to see if their entitlement should be continued. The service has been renamed several times over the years, however, in my

Angela, he was relatively relaxed on this journey because he expected the meeting to go smoothly and for there to be no issues with his current status of benefit entitlement.

> I ask him how he feels about going to Cadogan Street as this is a place that causes anxiety for many people on benefits. He states that he is not worried because he has no intention of being on benefits long term as he wants to return to employment at the earliest opportunity when his recovery allows. He notes that his current ill-health (the disease of alcoholism) is bone fide and that his doctor has signed him off until January at the moment – '*he gave me the longest sick line that he's allowed to*' (meaning I'm genuinely sick) (Field note, 28/11/17).

Although there is identity work going on here for Larry (he is performing a 'deserving' self – one that wants to work but is genuinely sick – perhaps for me or for himself) he did not appear anxious on the journey even though he gave examples of previous difficulties at this service. For both Angela and Larry, past experiences meant that they had a good understanding of when an assessment or review might be problematic and when it could be considered straight-forward. In the situations detailed above, they felt that they would be able to do what was required at the assessment (to present a deserving self) in order to achieve the desired outcome and on these occasions they were right. This shows that, while socioeconomic insecurity can have sociopsychological effects on individuals (Bourdieu, 1999), precarity is experienced and reacted to in variegated ways (Butler, 2009b). Knowledge of the various systems and processes, and the skill of being able to interact with them effectively are built from past experience and from being part of communities of practice. This knowledge and skill then led to accurate expectations about what could be accomplished, and this contributed to the relative ambivalence that was apparent during their journeys.

Conversely, not knowing what to expect can make journeys tense and foreboding affairs, especially in precarious situations. Angela was not sure what to expect from her emergency review at the CRU and, therefore, where she may be going after it. The journey back from the Jobcentre was a more anxious one than the

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experience, it has always been known among claimants by its (now previous) address 'Cadogan Street'.

outward journey for this reason. Another example is when, standing outside the residential drug and alcohol rehab during our walking interview, Alistair told me about going there for the first time '*full of anxiety*' and that '*you don't know what it will be like, you're moving into the unknown*'. Past experiences affect how the 'unknown' feels as outlined to me by a worker in a residential service who detailed the '*terrifying*' experience of service-users coming in not knowing how they will physically cope, what the service will be like, what the staff will be like, or if they will meet past enemies inside.

This uncertainty and the implications of decision-making by others was a regular feature in the precarious lives of participants. Matthew, who became a key participant, is about 6' tall with short cropped dark hair and sallow skin. He described himself as a 'homeless activist', was very attracted to all forms of protest and had an interest in psychology. I was with Matthew one morning when his benefits were due to be paid into his bank account and went with him to the cash machine.

> In Argyle Street, as we approach a cash machine, Matthew highlights his concerns that the money will not be available. '*Sometimes you wonder if your name will be the one randomly selected to not get paid. I swear they do that sometimes*'. It's been a long time since there have been any issues with his benefit payments – maybe 2 years – but he still worries that the funds will not be available. I think about the precariousness of finances and the rhythms of these anxieties (every 2 weeks). The funds are not available. We head along Argyle Street further and Matthew tells me about times when there have been difficulties with his benefits being paid; about spending all day on the phone and then either not getting money at all that day, or it being very delayed '*fucking up all your plans*' […] The funds are available at the cash machine the next time he tries and the relief is visible (Field Note, 5/2/18).

Matthew is acutely aware of the precarity of his situation in the above account. He conveys his lack of understanding about the decision-making processes of those on whom he is dependent and has the impression that these are random and unpredictable. His anxiety persists, despite there having been no recent experience of problems, because of his precarity. My trip with him to the cash machine seemed a typical one for him, something that is repeated every two weeks. Whether it was benefits or assessments at other services, participants were aware of the implications of their 'success' or 'failure' in negotiating

service interactions and this could manifest in different ways as can be seen in the following extracts from fieldnotes. The first is from attending an assessment for a supported accommodation with Davie, a man in his mid-40s that I met in the CRU; and the second is from an interaction between an outreach worker and Patrick, a man in his 50s who was begging in the city centre.

> The assessment was interesting as Davie continued to chatter throughout, even when others were speaking. Initially, I felt a little awkward about this but quickly realised that Davie was really nervous (Fieldnote 9/1/18).

> The worker discusses various services with Patrick, and he conveys a sense of rejection – '*I've been there, they just put you out the door*'. He says he still meets his Community Psychiatric Nurse and he is due to see him on Thursday, which is important because he has run out of medication. Some other services are discussed, again '*they put you out the door*'. He eventually agrees to a referral to a complex-needs worker (Fieldnote 18/12/17).

I had not anticipated how nervous Davie would be during the assessment, but it was an indication of the importance of the assessment to him and the uncertainty that he had in respect of the decisions that could be taken. He had chosen this supported accommodation in conjunction with his key worker at the CRU and felt that it would be the best place for him to make a go of his recovery. If the assessment did not go well, he would have the rethink his options. Rethinking one's options sounds a rather innocuous activity, however, when you are unclear about where you may end up, and entirely clear that it could be somewhere you find completely unsuitable, it takes on an extra weight of importance. This is indicative of the high levels of precarity experienced by participants.

The second excerpt follows on from Patrick having explained that he preferred to be 'on the street' rather than in accommodation. As the worker started to list the various services that could be accessed, he acknowledges that he knows them and has experience of them. His repeated experiences of being 'put out the door' contribute to his reluctance to engage again with those services. Patrick's story reveals the impact of these decisions on his actions – he would rather sleep rough than try to re-engage with services that have previously

rejected him. Lemke (2016) argued that those living precarious lives often experienced humiliation and identified the beggar as a prototype of precarity.

> Exposed to daily humiliation, dependent on everybody and anybody, the beggar lives an existentially precarious, hazardous life (p.14).

The fact that Patrick preferred to be 'on the street' than engage with services may indicate that he finds his experiences of begging less humiliating than his experiences of engaging with services. Having been unable to perform a sufficiently deserving self has he, therefore, decided not to run the risk of being humiliated again by services categorising him as undeserving? In our interview, Jeremy compared the impact of being accepted or rejected by services:

> Now you've got the street team. The shelter accommodation, you've got that, you've got the Wayside, the [Glasgow] City Mission, know what I mean? You've got all these places and they all welcome you in now with open hands, but like I says the Hamish Allan Centre's shut, it, trying to get that accommodation, it's only the Twomax[28] you can go to. You're sitting there all day and, like I says, they tell you to go elsewhere, which is back to the [Glasgow] City Mission after 4 or 5 o'clock or something. But, when you're used to just going, when you get telt no, you're used to just going back out to the streets (Interview, Jeremy, 7/2/18).

Here Jeremy compared being welcomed into some services but being turned away by others (in this case, local authority services). He had discussed earlier in the interview his relief at being accepted into the CRU, which he said had brought him to tears. If being accepted as deserving can engender feelings of relief and gratitude, then being categorised as undeserving can bring about feelings of despair and dejection, particularly when one has to contemplate the potentially profound consequences of such a categorisation.

> Like, I would be sitting in the Hamish Allan Centre, sitting there for about three hours. Asking them, '*there's nothing, there's nothing, there's nothing*'. And then a couple would come through the door, with a wee kid. And, half an hour later they'd be leaving in a taxi. And you're sitting there like that '*am I no a human being?*' (Interview, Jeremy, 7/2/18).

[28] The Twomax is the name of building that hosts the South Community Homeless Team, see Figure 5-4 for a map of services referenced.

There are parallels here between Jeremy's experience and the experience of Desjarlais' (1997) street dwellers that were described in Chapter Two – '*while one readily takes oneself to be a fully ordained person, that assumption can be checked or cancelled by the actions or inactions of others*' (p.125). Jeremy feels his personhood is called in to question by the actions and inactions of others. Meanwhile, Patrick would rather endure the street because his experiences of trying to engage with services were humiliating.

These journeys of homeless individuals highlight the significance of their interactions with services in relation to the precarity of their situations. Each journey to the Jobcentre carries with it a risk of sanction or a removal of entitlement depending on the individual's ability to negotiate the encounter and successfully present themselves as deserving. A review in a residential service such as the CRU or supported accommodation, can result in a lost place, meaning a change of bed, or no bed at all. Beyond this, individuals can start to question their own worthiness, their own deservingness, in the face of rejection. The regularity of such assessments meant that participants had to perform these deserving selves frequently. Is it any wonder that life journey narratives start to take on similar shapes?

Individuals built up knowledge and skills through their interactions with the various services, which then allowed them to sometimes make accurate predictions of what to expect in future interactions – they became skilled members of different communities of practice. However, sometimes new services or changed circumstances introduced uncertainty and the serious implications of the decisions made in agencies weighed on the minds and actions of participants. When and how individuals moved between different forms of accommodation in their homeless journey were also heavily influenced by the decisions of actors in a range of agencies.

Many of the service designs are predicated on flow, in the sense that service users are imagined flowing through them. For example, users of the Winter Night Shelter were expected to engage with the Community Casework Team and move on into more suitable accommodation as soon as possible. The Community Casework Team should then provide temporary accommodation while a homeless assessment is completed. Once this has been done, a Section 5 referral can be

made to a Registered Social Landlord for a permanent tenancy. This process is detailed in Figure 6-1 below.

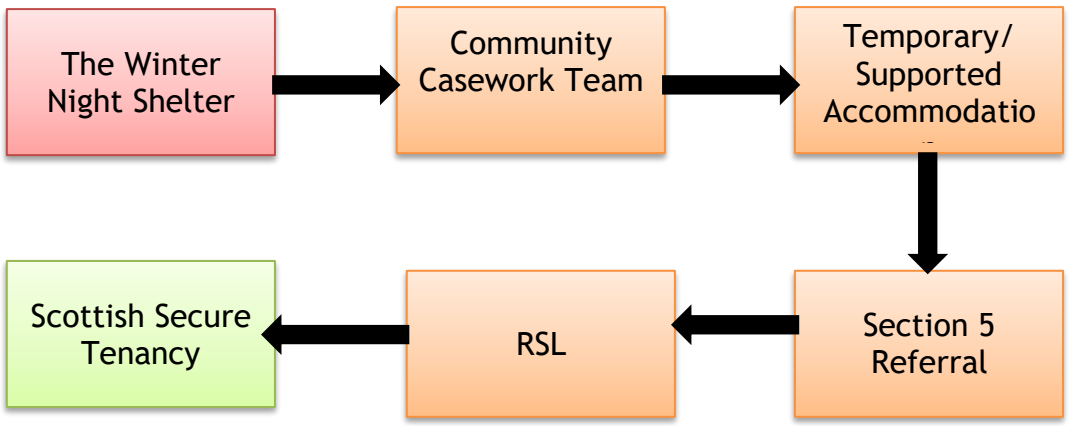

Figure 6-1 Diagram of the imagined flow through services
Source: Andrew Burns

In Chapter Seven, I introduce a young couple (Patricia and James) who were considered by staff to be 'ideal' service users because they flowed through the WNS like this. However, there are areas of friction within the system that can slow this flow to a stop and then, when the friction is removed, the flow can be suddenly accelerated. In the next section, I detail how the experiences of participants' homeless journeys were affected by waiting for decisions on the one hand and having to move suddenly on the other and make use of the concepts of flow and friction that were introduced in Chapter Three.

6.4 Wait...wait...go!

Where and when participants moved often relied on decisions by others. I met one of my key participants, Liam, in the Long Stay Unit (LSU) of The Glasgow Homeless Service. While there, he was pursuing his own tenancy through applications to various housing associations. The second time I met him he told me that he felt like his '*life was just a matter of waiting now. Waiting for this decision, waiting for that opportunity*' (28/11/17). Two months after I first met him, he was allocated a flat and I happened to be in the LSU the day that he was due to pick up his keys and I agreed to give him a lift in my car. The following fieldnote extract details part of our interaction that day.

> Liam seems excited in the car and tells me as we cross the Kingston Bridge that he is glad to be getting '*over this side*' of the city again as this is the side that he is from and it has been a hassle for him visiting family. He tells me that the 4 months that he has been in the LSU '*may not sound long, but every day feels like a week*'! He tells me that, when in a service like that, as much as they are helping and it is necessary, you are never really able to settle – '*you're in limbo. Stuck. Waiting. And you don't know what's happening or when it will happen*' (Field Note, 9/1/18).

Liam had felt stuck in the LSU, waiting for a decision from a housing association about his application. As discussed in Chapter Two, this is one of the areas of friction in the system that was identified as a problem by the Health and Social Care Partnership (GHSCP, 2015). The indeterminacy of his wait was part of the problem as can be seen in his describing it as 'limbo' because he was unsure of what would happen or when. While Liam felt stuck in the LSU and wanted to move on to his own flat, his days in that service were marked by regular movement – having '*to be here at this time or there at that time*'. Many participants felt stuck somewhere because they were waiting for a decision to come from elsewhere, and because they had no other option due to a lack of resources. Two other participants, William and Barry, discussed their boredom in the CRU in terms of feeling '*claustrophobic*' and '*hemmed-in*'. However, not all participants viewed indeterminacy in as negative terms as Liam. Eric was ambivalent about the fact that he had been in bed and breakfast accommodation for four months by the time I met him because he had been in other places longer than this – his previous experience of waiting for decisions influenced how he viewed this experience. About a month later he told me that his housing officer had turned up and had 'a surprise' for him – he was moving to a supported accommodation.

In addition to indeterminate waiting, there were also sudden moves during fieldwork. Because of the tightness of funding in various services, once another service or type of accommodation had been identified for someone, individuals were moved on quickly in order to minimise any overlap and to free up the space for use by someone else. Sometimes participants were prepared for sudden moves such as in the CRU which, by its nature, was short-term and there were expectations that individuals would move on as soon as an appropriate place was identified and agreed. However, even here, moves could still feel sudden as can

be seen in the following two extracts from fieldnotes. Joan, who is mentioned in the fieldnotes, was in her mid-40s. I only knew her for the four weeks that she was in the CRU and I did not manage to develop good rapport with her.

> […] then into the residents' area – something is going on, everyone is crowded round, some in pyjamas others fully dressed as if they are going out […] I enquire if this is a big event (the shop run) but it turns out one of the residents is leaving. There are hugs all round and agreements to pass on numbers – someone will take her washing out of the machine and she'll pick it up later – a sudden move on? Only found out last night. It all seems a bit rushed. Joan has mixed feelings – glad someone is moving on but sad to see them go. She starts mothering again making folk tea and dealing with the washing situation (Field note, 23/2/18).

> Joan has just got word that she's getting her own Temporary Furnished Flat in the East End and she's moving this afternoon – basically 3 hours between being notified and moving. I ask her how she feels about this and she tells me that she's glad that she hasn't been given time to worry about it (Field note, 7/3/18).

Sudden moves often engendered ambivalent feelings for those moving and for those who remained. This was particularly pronounced in the CRU where individuals lived in close quarters with each other for a period of weeks and, so, often developed close relationships. Another resident, Sharon (a small woman in her 40s with very yellow teeth) described the living situation in the CRU as being like a 'little family'. Not all of these relationships appeared to be the 'disposable ties' described by Desmond. He found that people who were brought together during desperate times '*established new ties quickly and accelerated their intimacy*' (2012, p.1296) but that the relationships were ultimately unstable and easily broke down. I found that the continuation of relationships after these sudden moves depended on a range of factors including the strength of the relationship and the destination of those involved. Some participants moved on to the same supported accommodation or area as their friends and were, therefore, able to continue their friendships more easily. Another resident of the LSU, Lee, was allocated a tenancy near to Liam and they continued their friendship with Liam helping him to identify and access a range of services in the local area. The sudden breaking of relationships was a factor in the ambivalence about moving on – even though it was a desired outcome, it still came at a cost. This is not to say that the relationships between participants were universally positive and supportive. There were also instances

of abusive and exploitative behaviour and sometimes it was this that precipitated an end to the relationship rather than a sudden move on.

Sometimes participants struggled to understand why they were being moved or they felt rushed into moving when they were not ready to do so. Examples include Eric being given short notice that he had to move from his bed and breakfast accommodation to a supported accommodation, and Matthew feeling pressurised into moving into his new permanent tenancy when the flat was completely devoid of furniture and appliances. Matthew successfully managed to argue for some additional time in order to furnish his tenancy to at least a basic level before having to move. During the course of fieldwork, I spent time with staff members from a range of services and this included attending some multi-disciplinary meetings. One meeting towards the end of March 2018 gave me some insight into the potentially varied and interacting elements that can contribute to sudden moves:

> Of most interest to me during this meeting was the staff member who advised that they have been having a nightmare recently trying to accommodate specific individuals. There are issues of violence with some people that mean that they are banned from various temporary/emergency accommodations such as particular B&Bs. The staff member said that they have to move individuals who are in emergency accommodation so that they can free up a space in a place where the violent person is not banned. This is short-notice stuff and they mentioned that it's not ideal even though '*people should be prepared to move at any point anyway*'. This is a kind of shuffling of the pack in order to be able to provide accommodation to everyone […] A picture is emerging here about the everyday reality of homelessness and how this relates to legislation that has been brought in, how local authorities interpret that legislation and, therefore, implement their services and procedures, which impact on where individuals are moved to […] All of these elements are combining to influence who moves where, when, and how quickly. I'm thinking about Eric's sudden move – was this a place that had become available that was fitting with his plan or did they need his room for someone who wasn't banned from the B&B accommodation that he was in?

In this discussion, the multiple interlocking interactions of decision-making come into focus. In this situation the local authority is bound by legislation passed more than 15 years earlier to provide emergency accommodation to all who present themselves as homeless. The resources were such at that time that staff were having a 'nightmare' trying to accommodate some individuals and the

subsequent decisions that were taken had clear implications for those affected. Being moved from one place to another was not always based on what that person needed or the plans that had been put in place for them. Sometimes factors operating at completely different levels and unrelated to the individual's own circumstances had a direct influence on when and where they moved. That people could be moved and 'should be prepared' to do so reveals how their precarious supplicant status is also recognised by those on whom they depend.

In this section, I have shown that while the imagined flow of service users through processes is apparent in how services are designed and implemented, the velocity of this flow is affected by areas of friction. Interestingly, while there were many factors that created friction in the system, a lack of resources contributed to both prolonged waiting and accelerated flow. Sometimes individuals had to wait on a place becoming available, or a tenancy being allocated in their preferred area. Once this resource became available, they were moved quickly so that another could get the temporary/supported accommodation that they were in.

The movement of homeless individuals between services was often a highly controlled process whereby movement was dependent on the successful completion of different stages. In the next section, I examine some of the ways that the stages of, or routes through, homelessness were determined by services and policies.

6.5 Routes to roots

When nearing the end of fieldwork, I arranged to interview a staff member with whom I had developed a strong relationship. They had decades of experience working in homelessness services in Glasgow. In the following extract, they discuss some of the then recently proposed changes to service provision across the city.

> And it's been under, under, under the skin a wee bit. It's not been formal. Because everybody has a right to housing but under that there's people saying '*they don't deserve a house until they've looked at their addiction. You're not good enough to move into that tenancy. You need to deal with your alcohol. You need to deal with*

> *your drugs. You need that sorted out first. You need to do that, then you'll be ready for a house.'* That step, step, step, step, and then, at the top of the stairs, is your house. No! Housing First is saying '*where would you like to stay? C'mon we'll help you get into that*' and using that as the stable base to look at everything else (Interview, Staff Member, 17/04/18).

The Housing First model advocated by the worker above originated in the U.S. and is described in detail by Tsemberis (1999, p.226) as a separation of support services and housing, with the latter seen as a basic right. In this model, those who are homeless are allocated a tenancy and support and treatment services are offered there, and in their communities, as required. There is no prerequisite for the individual to engage in treatment or support as a condition of getting their tenancy. Since then, the model has been adopted and adapted in many countries including in Europe (Housing First Europe, 2019) and is now a model promoted by the Scottish Government (2018a). I was involved in many discussions with and between staff members about the Housing First programme, which had been piloted in the city. However, it was not until February 2019 that the Glasgow City Integration Joint Board produced its *Glasgow Rapid Rehousing Transition Plan 2019/20-2023/24* (Miller, 2019), which set out changes to be implemented in homelessness policy and services in the city and incorporated a Housing First approach for those with complex needs.

During fieldwork, those with mental ill health, addiction, or other (actual or perceived) treatment and support needs were often required to follow the 'step, step, step' approach described by the worker, or what Tsemberis (1999, p.226) called 'linear residential treatment'. In effect, this meant that there were sanctioned and permitted routes through homelessness that were often specified by services, though sometimes requested by individuals themselves (for example, Alistair felt that he needed to go to rehabilitation to deal with addiction in order to be in a position to cope with a tenancy).

In Chapter Five, I discussed the potential routes that can become available by virtue of being in one service as opposed to another, such as being able to go on to a specific supported accommodation directly from the CRU (an option that was not open to those who were sleeping rough or staying in the Bellgrove Hotel, for example). The routes from one service to another were not simply related to time spent there, but dependent upon successful completion of that stage in

the journey. Therefore, engagement with the programme and its activities was used as evidence of readiness for the next step. For example, while residents in the LSU lived more independently than those in the CRU, they were required to identify and engage in activities that were deemed by the staff there to positively contribute to their recovery. Volunteering, training and education, and recovery-related activities were particularly promoted. Non-engagement in these activities could result in a loss of place there. Applications to housing associations had been made by some individuals who had engaged with the requirements of the LSU. A loss of place at the LSU before a tenancy had been allocated could result in a return to emergency accommodation such as a hostel or a bed and breakfast and a possible return to the status of 'unready' for independent living. In this way, individuals could be moved back in terms of their status and their stage in the homeless journey. Similarly, Angela's first choice of supported accommodation was taken off the table in her emergency review because she had been found to have used drugs in the CRU. Her desired route was no longer an option for her.

These routes were not always easy for participants to deal with. Recall Liam's feeling that his life was controlled by the needs of the service and that his whole life was revolving around what the service wanted him to do rather than his own choices. The restrictions placed on participants in some of the services and accommodations were difficult to take for some as explained to me by Matthew.

> He lambasts the various restrictions that are put on homeless people that are '*not put on any other section of society*'; '*you have to be home at a certain time, you're not allowed to drink alcohol, you're not allowed to have people visit you in your accommodation… I mean, who else has that to put up with?*' (Matthew, from Field Note, 20/1/18).

Matthew managed to continue in his supported accommodation, despite the restrictions, until he was allocated his own tenancy with a housing association. However, others found it difficult to comply and either left voluntarily or lost their place such as the situation with Dennis described in Chapter Four, whereby he lost his place because he had not returned one night. In these situations, participants' status would be 'reset' by services and so Dennis had to approach the local authority for emergency accommodation again. Angela ultimately decided to leave the CRU and ended up roofless after a brief period sleeping on

a friend's couch. Jeremy had to move from his supported accommodation *back* to a hostel after he relapsed to alcohol use.

Even when individuals were further along in their homeless journey, their position could be shifted back. Raymond, a man in his late 30s, was in a supported accommodation and was in the process of working with his homeless caseworker to identify housing associations to which Section 5 referrals could be submitted.[29]

> He then told me about some issues he was having with his caseworker after asking her for a referral to another housing association. She said she couldn't do this and that he had to select specific areas and she would then apply to the HA that covers that area. The HA he was asking for covers four areas, but he does not want to be considered for all of them, which she seemed to be trying to pursue. He feels like the caseworker is against him […] He also talked about a review at his supported accommodation where she came and focussed on a previous relapse he had had even though he was doing well (as confirmed by the supported accommodation staff) she kept focussing on this. He remains reticent about accepting just anywhere for his 'forever home' (Fieldnote 17/4/18).

Even at this late stage of a homeless journey (applying for a permanent tenancy), the routes are determined by factors that Raymond found difficult to accept. He was being asked to pick areas that he would like to live permanently in but felt like he was under pressure from the caseworker to widen his choices, something that he was reluctant to do. He felt that his status as 'ready' for a tenancy was called into question by the caseworker focussing on a previous relapse rather than on how well he was currently doing. This highlights that this status is granted by others, further demonstrating the precarity of his situation.

The step, step, step, approach described by the worker at the opening of this section was still prevalent and visible during fieldwork. It is an approach that has developed within the deserving versus undeserving dichotomy of homelessness discourse and policy; it is a means by which individuals can be made to repeatedly prove themselves as deserving at each stage. These stages

[29] As explained in Chapter Five, this name is derived from Section 5 of the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001, which sets out the duties of Registered Social Landlords to comply with these requests from the local authority.

were also governed by the organisational and occupational logic of institutions and staff within the field. There were agreed, or permitted, routes that individuals could take through homelessness and these routes were heavily influenced by the logics of service design and policy.

6.6 Conclusion

This chapter began by exploring the ways that participants explain where they have been through their life stories and it argued that these have been influenced by their interactions with services and public discourses – from having to tell their stories in such a way as to construct themselves as deserving of help, public goods and services. These narratives revealed the homeless identity as one that may have been perceived by participants as spoiled, requiring repair and explanation. These (reparative and explanatory) narratives were constructed in relation to prevailing discourses of homelessness and have been learned and developed within communities of practice, which explains the patterns that emerged across them.

Participants built knowledge and skills through their engagement with services and they developed (often accurate) expectations about how they would be received in them. The implications of decisions taken by others had potentially profound effects for participants, which meant getting their story right was important. Participants were skilled in understanding how they were positioned by others. The regularity of these service interactions meant that many participants had honed and perfected their story or performance in order to maximise their chances of success when interacting with decision-makers. For those who had been less successful, there was sometimes a reluctance to re-engage because acceptance or rejection by the services had implications for how individuals were evaluated by themselves and by others.

Decisions taken in services could determine where and for how long people wait or how quickly they moved. The experience of this waiting and moving was varied and depended on, among other things, the individual's previous experiences of having to wait and move. Some displayed ambivalent acceptance of these circumstances while others struggled with indeterminacy, lack of control, or in understanding why particular decisions had been taken. Decisions

taken in offices and meetings can have far reaching consequences for how homelessness is experienced. However, these decisions were sometimes influenced by factors unrelated to the individual's own personal circumstances such as when someone was set in motion due to the interpretation of legislation or the scarceness of resources.

Routes *through* homelessness were often prescriptive whereby individuals would have to successfully complete one stage of the journey before being allowed to move to the next, movements that were imagined as flow in service design. However, an individual's status of 'ready' to move to the next stage could always be questioned and they could be moved back as well as forward in their journey depending on the assessment of others, disrupting the imagined flow through and out of homelessness. This approach to service design and delivery operates in relation to the deserving/undeserving dichotomy whereby individuals have to prove themselves as deserving at each stage in order to continue on the permitted route.

These journeys of homeless individuals reveal highly precarious lives that are subject to ongoing scrutiny and assessment. Each decision or action could be taken into account in determining their deservingness and, so, participants had to become skilled in how to present themselves as deserving, and keep presenting themselves as such over time, in order to negotiate a route out of homelessness (or to continue to access a range of public goods and services). Those unable to do so could be held in position for indeterminate amounts of time or moved back rather than forward, a potentially humiliating experience that removed a sense of agency and that led some to abandon the permitted routes altogether. Abandoning these routes and services was sometimes contextualised in terms of freedom, a topic that will be taken up in Chapter Seven.

Chapter 7 Flow, friction and freedom

7.1 Introduction

In Chapter Six I explored the individual journeys of participants and what these can tell us about their lived experience of homelessness. Where people have been and what they have experienced, where they journey to and from, why, and how, revealed the knowledge and skills they had acquired along the way as well as having implications for whether they felt they were making progress and whether they were viewed as such by others. Recall Liam's frustration at being stuck, waiting for decisions to be made by others. Focussing on individual journeys inevitably introduced the concept of waiting, which is an integral part of journeys (Bissell, 2007).

In this chapter, I use the concepts of flow, friction, and freedom, which were introduced in Chapter Three. While flow has been critiqued for reducing individual journeys into pure movement (Lelievre and Marshall, 2015) it is useful for analysing service designs and the ways in which service providers imagine homeless people flowing through their processes. Friction is also useful in this regard for exploring the places and times that these flows quicken or slow. However, friction also risks reducing individual journeys into pure movement (or lack of it) because it does not take into account how that slowness is experienced – how it is understood, felt, and acted upon. For this reason, I also introduce 'stuckness' in this chapter, which is a concept that relates to the quality of a confined life (Jefferson, Turner and Jensen, 2018). While services and policymakers may view individuals as being stuck in homelessness, stuckness is *experienced* as not being free. Participants sometimes felt stuck in homelessness and sometimes felt free.

Individuals who are homeless are expected by the various services and authorities to move through the processes, systems, and places (the permitted routes) provided in order to exit homelessness into settled accommodation – the idealised destination of a homeless journey. Where people do appear to get stuck, this is characterised by services and policymakers as either a problem with the system or with the individual. After introducing the concept of stuckness, I examine the ways in which participants felt free or felt stuck in

homelessness and compare this to how service designers and policymakers characterise their situations. In the third section, I explore a temporary and transitional space, the Winter Night Shelter, which also acts as a point of entry into the statutory homelessness system in Glasgow. I compare three different users of this service to show how flow is privileged in this space, while prolonged waiting or apparent stuckness is problematised for some. I explore the ways in which individuals are encouraged by staff to move on from this service through designated and sanctioned routes into, and through, the formal homelessness system. For some, this is welcome, and they happily comply, while others resist, reject and avoid these attempts. How this is perceived and framed by staff had implications for service design and delivery and, ultimately, for the present experiences and future choices of those using the service.

In the fourth section I examine the ways that individuals experience time and, specifically, an abundance of time. Whether this experience of time is foregrounded by hope or boredom has implications for how individuals act in relation to time. I argue that boredom represents a friction in the flow of time, which is a particularly difficult experience for individuals with traumatic pasts if they are lacking hope of a better future. In these circumstances, existential questions arise, which are '*vexingly uncomfortable*' (Schweizer, 2008, p.18), and individuals sought ways to control or collapse time. These practices were framed in relation to their past experience and designed to influence time in the present, or outcomes in the future.

7.2 Stuckness - waiting, hope, and (im)mobility

Waiting, of some form or another, is a universal human experience that can be seen as '*almost synonymous to social being*' (Hage, 2009a, p.1). Despite this, it remains resistant to description or analysis (Schweizer, 2008). Dwyer (2009) differentiates between 'situational waiting' and 'existential waiting'. The former is situated in the world, within time, such as waiting for a bus, a lover, or to be rescued. Situational waiting may be experienced differently depending on the context such as being irritating, exciting, or terrifying in the examples just given. The choices that individuals make during situational waiting may be active or passive depending on the contexts and consequences of their waiting (ibid). They may choose to take actions that help to bring about that for which

they wait, or they may wait quietly and patiently, deferring any action until it is seen as possible or necessary. This activity/passivity waiting dichotomy has been questioned by Bissell (2007) who argues that waiting is a social and performative act that requires considerable personal resources, even when sitting relatively still. How to position one's body, or where and for how long one's gaze can be fixed, for example, are considerations during waiting situations that make them more active than they may appear and, therefore, not so easily characterised as one thing or the other.

According to Dwyer, existential waiting is also embodied but sits apart from the world and out of time. Existential waiting involves the 'whole being' of an individual being bounded by an uncertain future where their '*own sense of viable practice [is] committed to present circumstance framed in relation to past experience*' (Dwyer, 2009, p.21). Existential waiting, therefore, entails being trapped or stuck in the present by an uncertain future, acting only in the present according to what has been experienced in the past. Being encompassed by an uncertain future can feel like a loss of agency for the individual: '*that he or she lacks the capacity to act*' (ibid, p.23). While this feels real for the individual, Dwyer argues that others may view it as pathological. Uncertainty and indeterminacy cannot always be neatly equated with the kind of negative, incapacitating experience that Dwyer suggests, however. For example, uncertainty in waiting has also been linked with hope.

Ehn and Lofgren (2010) contend that hope is a specific *type of waiting* distinguished by uncertainty. Hope has similarities to precarity in that

> [e]xcept where it is used as an equivalent to desire, hope depends on some other agency – a god, fate, chance, an other – for its fulfilment (Crapanzano, 2003, p.6).

In this way, hope denotes a relationship of dependency in ways similar to how precarity was defined in Chapter Three. Reed's (2011) comparative analysis of convicted prisoners and those on remand suggests that the uncertainty of outcome for remand prisoners led to them being hopeful, while those who were convicted '*claim to be hopeless precisely because their fate is determined*' (p.530). Of course, I do not argue that hope is a universally positive experience or influence. Despite its often optimistic framing, hope exists in a mutually

reciprocal relationship with fear where, as argued by Spinoza, one cannot exist without the other; hope as well as fear, therefore, can lead to inaction and waiting-induced paralysis (Crapanzano, 2003). Hope can be uncontrollable, overwhelming and exhausting. Rather than being considered a disposition attributed to individuals, it is more useful to think of hope as situational, like precarity, in '*that it is hope itself that abandons certain subjects and consumes or directs others, rather than subjects who deploy and sustain it*' (Reed, 2011, p.533).

Waiting has also been problematically associated with stillness and immobility (Bissell, 2007). For example, existential waiting can be compared with existential immobility, which Hage (2009b) refers to as 'stuckedness'. He defines this in opposition to existential mobility, which is movement that is imagined or felt, in having the sense that one is going somewhere in life. These conceptualisations of waiting give it temporal *and* spatial qualities; however, connecting stuckedness with immobility can be problematic. For example, Jackson (2012) argued that the young people in her study of youth homelessness in London became 'fixed in mobility'. It is an interesting take on mobility that problematises the tendency to think of fixity as being stationery as opposed to getting on the move again when freed up. Jackson countered this dichotomy by using ethnographic data to show the ways in which the young people move (and are moved) are contained and restrained by a range of actual and perceived forms of surveillance. These movements could then become routinised and stable - they become fixed. Being stuck or fixed can also be mobile, as can waiting. Jefferson et al. argued that there is a '*need to go beyond ideas that equate place with confinement and mobility with freedom*'(2018, p.2). I prefer Jefferson and colleagues' concept of 'stuckness', which they define as being experiential - that it relates to a quality of a confined life in terms of how it is lived and made sense of. This makes it a more useful concept for my purposes because of its focus on experience. It is important to understand how the confinement of stuckness is felt, thought about, and acted upon. It is important to note that confinement need not necessarily equate to immobility either. Even in prisons there is movement and mobility, and this mobility can be used to discipline by controlling time as much as space (Armstrong, 2015).

To summarise, stuckness relates to a quality of a confined life and it has spatial and temporal qualities. Liam *felt* stuck *in* the LSU *waiting* for decisions to be taken, unable to decide for himself how to spend his time without risking his place near the end of his homeless journey.

How individuals who were homeless characterised stuckness was different from how service providers and policymaker did. The latter often described individuals as stuck when they disrupted the flow of processes that were in place to move them through and out of homelessness, such as those who refused to engage with services or returned to rough sleeping after a period in supported accommodation. Those who experienced homelessness tended to discuss stuckness in terms of how it felt, that they felt confined, unable to act or decide, and unclear on how long their situation would last. In the next section, I discuss varying and conflicting accounts of what it means to be stuck or free in homelessness.

7.3 Being stuck or being free in homelessness

Over the course of fieldwork, many of the people (both those who had experience of homelessness and those that worked in homelessness services) that I encountered talked about how some individuals get trapped or stuck in homelessness – in homeless spaces such as on the street or in temporary accommodation. Similar themes are also present in public discourses and represented in the media (cf Christie, 2019; Hattenstone and Lavelle, 2019; Shelter, 2018). However, while most participants experiencing homelessness expressed a desire to be permanently housed, many were also able to identify aspects of homelessness that were attractive to them, or at least more attractive than some of the options available in terms of services and accommodation at particular times in their homeless journeys. The following quote comes from an interview with Matthew, a key participant who, at 40, had experienced multiple episodes of homelessness since leaving foster care at the age of 16. While he talked about losing chunks of his life trapped in hostels, bed & breakfast (B&B) and other forms of temporary accommodation, he also discusses a sense of freedom about being 'on the street' (sleeping rough) - freedom from obligations and the normal rules of society.

> It's like you get trapped in the system and, this is one of the points I want to make, it's like, essentially the system itself, the way it's set up, it doesn't actually help you, it traps you in it! I'm not saying you can't get out of it but, like, it's how long it takes to get out of it […] Like, I don't think anyone chooses to be homeless. I think it's circumstances make them homeless and, then, maybe they get used to that life or they get trapped in life […] once you've been in that situation, now this is one of the things that I think people don't realise - when you're on the streets you actually have a lot of freedom. A hell of a lot of freedom! Because you, you're not governed by the normal rules of society, you don't have to pay rent, you don't have to like, you can, you can, I wouldn't say you can dae what ye want, I don't mean it that way. But what I mean is, like, you feel free. Alright, you don't feel good because people are looking down on ye and that, but there's a certain sense of freedom (Matthew, interview, 01/06/18).

This quote highlights the variegated experiences of homelessness that can occur in an individual's life. It is not a straightforward matter of accommodation having all benefits and being without it bearing none. Matthew went into some detail on the various aspects of the system that he felt led people to become trapped, or stuck, in homelessness. These included the interaction between poverty and homelessness with him giving the specific example of being unable to save in order to pursue a private let, which would be free of the need to comply with the different rules and restrictions that are often in place in supported accommodations (although would entail many others, which Matthew did not acknowledge). This stuckness is an extended form of waiting, one that takes a long time to escape.

Matthew felt stuck, waiting for long periods in hostels or B&B accommodation before being moved on to supported accommodation, where he would have to wait again before being referred for his own tenancy. For the duration of this waiting he had to keep himself 'right' by complying with the rules of the various services (e.g. stay sober, engage with services, be in on time) otherwise he could be discharged and end up back at square one. In Chapter Six, I discussed the linear progression through services, or the 'step, step, step' approach described in the staff interview, and how a loss of place at any step in the journey can result in being put back to the start with a status of unreadiness for independent living. This is the system Matthew found hard to escape. He was expected to wait in various places and services, often for indeterminate amounts of time and, while he waited, he had to sacrifice some of his agency, which he

found confining. This can be compared to the freedom that Matthew felt when he was on the street. For him, freedom was associated with agency - with being able to do what you want – and on the street he sometimes felt more able to perform and exchange this freedom than he did in many forms of accommodation. This sense of freedom is similar to the mushroom pickers in Tsing's (2015) work for whom the precarity of mushroom picking allowed or enhanced their ability to perform different forms of freedom.

There are structures that affect whether individuals are able to move or stay still when it suits them and individuals express their agency in the experience of those structures in terms of how they negotiate, resist, or reproduce them in their daily practices (Jefferson et al., 2018). Bobby, a man in his mid-40s that I met only twice, discussed his options for moving on from the CRU with me. In this conversation, he weighed freedom against security when discussing the possibility of long-term residential rehabilitation for his alcohol problems.

> He weighed these up in the conversation in terms of the security of rehab vs. the lack of freedom (no phone for 12 weeks – and he likes his downloads). He feels too vulnerable to be in his own place without support and worries he'll be back on the drink. He likes the idea of somewhere where he'll get breathalysed as he feels this will help him stay sober. There was an interesting conflict in his various accounts because he also talked about being treated like a child in services and the lack of freedom, but this was countered by an apparent fear of freedom, at least at this stage in his recovery (Fieldnote, 12/04/18).

In this conversation, Bobby expressed a desire for freedom in the same sense that Matthew had discussed – having personal agency. However, he is also worried about the choices he may make with this type of freedom given his past. In order to try and achieve a different type of freedom - freedom from his past and his alcohol problems - Bobby considers sacrificing some of this agency in order to feel safe and secure.

Matthew sometimes felt more able to express his agency, his freedom, during periods of rooflessness than he did when accommodated in some services. It is within *this context* that he explained his repeated episodes of homelessness over the years. Unable to tolerate the confining stuckness he felt in some places, he would either voluntarily leave or lose his place because of a breach of the rules.

His repeated return to rough sleeping over the years would be characterised differently by service providers and policymakers, however.

The term 'entrenched homelessness' is used across a range of services and policies (cf Scottish Government, 2017c) to identify (as a problem) those individuals who become stuck in homelessness for extended periods of time, while the term 'episodically homeless' has been used to describe those who appear stuck in a cycle of entering and exiting homelessness systems (Khun and Culhane, 1998). Sometimes this stuckness is attributed to the system such as when people who were homeless in Glasgow spent a long time in temporary accommodation being explained in terms of a lack of access to permanent tenancies (GHSCP, 2015) or to failings by the local authority (SHR, 2018). At other times it is attributed to individual issues such as people having complex needs or refusing to engage with services (cf Scottish Government, 2018d). These structural versus individual explanations mirror the causal explanations of the 'new orthodoxy' (Fitzpatrick, 2005; Pleace, 2000) of homelessness described in Chapter Two. Either way, getting stuck in homeless places and systems is seen as a problem by service providers and by policymakers, which is arguably justifiable given the impact of homelessness on individual health and wellbeing (cf NHS Scotland, 2019).

This highlights differences in how stuckness is perceived by services and by those that use them. As discussed in Chapter Six, homelessness service designs are predicated on flow. Even in the 'step, step, step' approach, service users are imaged to flow through the processes and systems of one service and, if successful, flow into the next service and on towards a permanent tenancy. Service providers privileged flow though appeared to accept that there were places in the system where friction was applied, and the flow was slowed or stopped - like the pools of a river where the water slows, swirls, and waits to exit the other side. As long as this was seen as part of the process, then it was not problematised by services. Sometimes this was acceptable to those that were homeless and sometimes not. For example, Alistair spent six months in residential rehabilitation at his own request and with the agreement of the services involved in his care. He felt that he needed to do this in order to become ready for his own tenancy. Those residents of the CRU who completed

the programme, willingly sacrificed some of their freedom for between 4 and 6 weeks while they accessed specific services and increased their options for moving on.

However, others felt stuck in supported accommodation even though the services where they had been residing were part of the process, part of the flow towards a tenancy. Liam compared being in the LSU to being in prison at one point, while Jennifer described her 'itchy feet' and that she just 'needed to get out of the system now'.

Sometimes individuals were not too concerned about prolonged waiting in homeless places. For example, while service providers and policymakers largely consider B&B accommodation as unsuitable (cf Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Scottish Government, 2017a), Eric was unconcerned about having spent four months in it. As will be discussed later in the chapter, this was because he had waited in other places longer and felt confident that he would eventually get to where he wanted to go.

There were also places where individuals could be viewed as stuck by service providers whether or not they felt stuck themselves. In these situations, service staff would sometimes try to 'unstick' individuals through action targeted at moving them on. For example, the City Ambition Network is a collaboration between different services in Glasgow including the Glasgow City Mission, the Marie Trust, and the Simon Community. Workers from these services seek to engage the most vulnerable homeless individuals who are viewed as stuck, circulating '*between prison, hospital, rough sleeping, and emergency or temporary* accommodation' (Glasgow City Mission, 2019b) often for years. By doing this they hope to help individuals who have '*struggled to accept the help that is on offer*'.

To summarise, individuals who are homeless may or may not feel stuck in their situation and may view this differently from service providers and policymakers. For Matthew, stuckness was related to the extent to which he felt his freedom was constrained and for how long. For him, services were places of stuckness that could be compared to the freedom of the street. Service providers and policymakers view stuckness in terms of unwanted friction in processes and seek

to explain it in terms of systemic or individual barriers. During fieldwork, these issues were apparent when individuals felt stuck or when they were categorised by staff as being stuck. Homeless places are considered by staff and policymakers as places of transition, places for the temporarily displaced, places where individuals were expected to move on, though in some places it was accepted that this flow was slower than it was in others. In the next section, I compare three users of the Winter Night Shelter to exemplify the ways in which they were or were not categorised as flowing or as stuck, and the implications of such a categorisation on the processes and actions that they were then subject to.

7.4 Flow and friction in the Winter Night Shelter

The Winter Night Shelter (WNS) was introduced in Chapter Five. The WNS is run by the Glasgow City Mission who define its use as for short-term, emergency accommodation in order to prevent rough sleeping during the winter months. Those who used it were expected by those who run it (and support it) to engage with supports available in order to obtain more suitable accommodation – service users were expected to flow through this service and on into the formal homelessness system. The nature of this flow was made clear in many conversations with staff where they felt that this was being disrupted by those using the service who were 'refusing to engage' with services in order to obtain more suitable accommodation. Individuals who had been assigned this status by staff became the topic of ongoing discussions and targeted actions in order to try and restore the flow by moving them on to more suitable accommodation. I will now provide illustrations of some users of the WNS who were categorised in different ways by the service staff and, therefore, were subject to different processes and actions. I start with a young couple who represented the ideal service users to the staff, individuals who flowed through and out of the WNS quickly.

7.4.1 Patricia and James

In early December 2017 I met a young couple, Patricia and James, in the morning while the WNS was transitioning into the day service. I was standing with a staff member from one of the services that visit the WNS in the morning

and I noticed the couple making their anxious approach. They were in their late 20s. Patricia had long, dark hair that was scraped back into a tight ponytail, and an open, enquiring look in her eyes. James had sandy coloured, short hair and some light and patchy stubble on his face. He made less eye-contact than Patricia who asked, '*could you guys help us?*' After the worker and I had explained who we were, they went on to explain their situation, with Patricia taking the lead. They explained that James had been released from prison in September; it was the latest of a number of incarcerations during his 20s. He had been staying with Patricia on liberation, but she had lost her tenancy after a short stay in rehab for drug and alcohol addiction. They had been able to stay with Patricia's family until the day before when this arrangement broke down and they were asked to leave.

Having spent all of the previous day at the Community Homeless Team office in their local area, they had been told that there was '*nothing for them*' at 5pm.[30] They had heard about the WNS and so they came out of desperation and were glad to have got a bed. They were planning to go back to the Community Homeless Team for 9am but were worried about whether they would be able to get accommodation. The worker was able to advise them that they could get legal advice here from visiting staff from the Govan Law Centre and then they could be supported by the RSVP Team to attend the specialist Homeless Casework Service, which is located just a few hundred metres from the WNS in the Homeless Health Service. They looked relieved and I sat and chatted with them over a cup of tea until they were able to be seen by the staff from different services. I heard from a worker the next day that they were allocated temporary accommodation while their homeless application was processed.

This is an example of two individuals who had found themselves homeless who used the service for one night, who were grateful for and engaged with the services available and moved into the formal system by making a homeless application and accepting alternative temporary accommodation. They were regarded as ideal clients by staff working at the WNS because they used the service in the 'proper' way by flowing through. The Glasgow City Mission's

[30] As detailed in Chapter Five, there are three Community Homeless Teams located in the North East, the North West, and the South of Glasgow.

ongoing target for the WNS is to reduce the total number of bed nights and to have no users using the service for more than 30 days (Glasgow City Mission, 2019a). This demonstrates its commitment to the service being for short-term, emergency use only. Patricia and James represent the type of individuals and situations imagined by those who design and deliver the WNS, and those who provide ancillary and auxiliary services on the premises.

In discussing asylum seekers, Schuster (2011) notes that they are expected to present themselves as passive victims, grateful for any support offered and to willing comply with whatever systems and processes are in place to provide it. A willingness to comply with systems and processes can help to improve flow in homelessness services and the grateful victim character fits well with the discourse of deserving and undeserving homeless that has already been outlined in previous chapters. Patricia and James successfully presented themselves as victims of circumstances, grateful for any help offered and willing to comply with whatever systems and processes were in place to deliver that help.[31] In 2017/18 (during fieldwork), 61% of WNS users moved on to a 'positive destination' within 3 days (Glasgow City Mission, 2018) and so James and Patricia can be regarded as relatively typical because of their short-term use.

There were, however, other individuals and groups who did not perform the role of grateful victims and, therefore, were not seen by staff as deserving. This was usually because of their extended use of the service and non-engagement with the supports available – their refusal to flow - which staff viewed as an active misuse of the service. Individuals or groups that were seen to 'misuse' the WNS were a cause for concern to staff and volunteers, and this included a small group of European migrants who used the service to wait out the winter.

7.4.2 'The Europeans'

During a walking interview when I was first introduced to the WNS (in November 2017), my guide (a worker from another homelessness service) outlined the

[31] On this occasion the systems and process in place were able to deliver that help when it was needed and requested by Patricia and James. It is worth noting that this was not always the case. There were occasions when homeless individuals were willing to engage but accommodation could not be found at that point and the individual had to continue to use the WNS at least in the short-term.

various categories of service users as they saw it. In that conversation, the worker differentiated between those who used the service as it was meant to be used and others who did not. For example, the worker told me that they had encountered individuals using the WNS when they had settled accommodation, or where they were refusing to engage with services in order to obtain more settled accommodation. This was the first time that I became aware that a group of EU migrants had been using the WNS for the last few years. Staff described this group as 'misusing' the shelter as four months of free accommodation rather than as a stopgap measure until they sorted out more stable arrangements. According to some staff descriptions, they were not grateful victims but, rather, skilled social actors who were manipulating the system to their own benefit. During the winter of fieldwork, the group did show up, they did stay for the entirety of the WNS, and they were the subject of many staff conversations and actions. This group of between six and seven individuals were not the only non-UK nationals that used the WNS, but they stood out to staff and various services because of their refusal to flow through.[32] They appeared to be 'waiting out' (Hage, 2009b) or enduring the entire winter in the WNS and they appeared reluctant to take up any of the services on offer that were aimed at moving them on. The members of this group tended to avoid or ignore advice and services that were on offer in the WNS despite repeated and concerted efforts by staff to engage them. Like the staff, I was unable to engage any members of the group meaningfully and, therefore, I was unable to gain much insight into how these attempts at moving them on were perceived by them.

This group appeared to be accepting of, and equipped for, their wait. Gasparini (1995) discussed 'equipped waiting' as waiting where actors both accept and prepare for their wait including the performance of a range of activities that fill the time of the wait. Uniquely among WNS users during my visits, some of the Europeans had laptops that would be plugged in during the morning transition to day service. The use of these was interspersed with a range of other sedentary

[32] On occasion the group would grow in size, at one point there appeared to be 12 members. Typically, there were five men and one woman regularly joined by one other man. They were all aged between their late 20s and their mid-40s. The group communicated in Polish whenever I was near enough to overhear them, though I was informed that there was at least one Lithuanian and one Latvian among them.

activities which were similar to other users of the services including reading, group conversations, and napping. Like all users, they were affected by the rhythmic transitions of the service from WNS to Day Service early in the morning, and then the building closure at 3pm and reopening at 10pm. Unlike most users, they continued to use the service over the full four months.

Staff were keen to try and explain the European's lack of flow and their apparent reluctance to engage with supports. Workers from a variety of organisations suspected and opined that some of this group were working, with some suggesting that it may be seasonal work. I was interested to know if they were also 'seasonally homeless' and did not want to take up services or accommodation because they knew they would be away working for the other eight months of the year. I was never able to follow-up on this hypothesis because the group seemed wary and defensive; and I had possibly been seen with too many staff members to be trusted.

By ignoring and avoiding the advice and services on offer, the Europeans were able to maintain their autonomy and agency in a highly controlled situation, perhaps defending their freedom as they saw it. However, they disrupted the flow, and, in the eyes of the staff, they failed to perform the role of deserving and grateful victim because they refused to comply with the helping processes on offer. The exact situation of the Europeans remained unclear to staff and to me. Were they low paid seasonal workers trapped in a cycle of poverty, fixed in their seasonal movements to and from the WNS by this poverty? Would such a situation not confer a deserving victim status upon them? It seemed that deserving status required not only circumstantial victimhood, but also an appropriate presentation of self as both willing to comply with the help available (the nature of which was determined by others) and a gratefulness for that help. While their status was unclear, I was interested to read the Glasgow City Mission (2019a, p.10) report for the following year (after fieldwork had concluded) where they acknowledged:

> The complexity surrounding the status of some EU guests often made providing support more problematic. On a few occasions we were able to support them as they linked with services to access private rented accommodation. However, there were some who had no recourse to public funds and no employment opportunities and therefore no

> options with regards social housing. It was very difficult to establish what the best course of action was for these guests.[33]

Since I concluded my fieldwork, it would seem that the services have been able to discover more about the personal circumstances of some European users of the WNS, including some who are destitute with no access to public funds. During fieldwork, the Europeans' unwillingness to comply with the help offered, coupled with their continued use of the WNS, was seen as highly problematic for the staff who began to question whether there was a failure of service design and delivery. The issue was regularly discussed at multi-disciplinary meetings, which included staff and volunteers from across the range of services outlined in Chapter Five. The following extract comes from a multi-disciplinary meeting that took place three weeks after the service had opened in 2017:

> An interpreter had been obtained in order to discuss with the Eastern Europeans the 'true' purpose of the WNS and the need for them to make some plans to move on – they had assumed that they could stay for the full 4 months. Some offers to help them plan their move on were made but they appeared readily able to make their own plans. Economics (on the face of it at least) appear to be the main driver for their use of this shelter (though that's arguably true for everyone to an extent); basically, it's free accommodation for 4 months. This is not acceptable to those providing the service.
>
> For those not engaging in appropriate services (e.g. casework) there was discussion regarding temporary, short bans from the WNS in order to 'force their hand' – a gate or barrier being constructed in order to 'move' people on to different services or 'deal' with their homelessness (Field note, 21/12/17).

Taking place just a few weeks after the WNS opened, this meeting identified that the European's use of the WNS was problematic at an early stage. Note also that the Europeans were characterised by staff as appearing readily able to make their own plans – a picture of this group was emerging in the multi-disciplinary meeting that they were capable of making alternative accommodation arrangements but were refusing to do so. Discussions continued throughout the four months that the WNS was open and plans were made to change the criteria for the service for the following year as can been seen in a

[33] 'No recourse to public funds' typically applies to individuals whose immigration status means that they cannot claim state benefits other than those that are linked to employment and national insurance contributions (UK Visas and Immigration, 2014).

fieldnote extract from the final multi-disciplinary meeting of the service for that season.

> The group saw the issue of people using the shelter as their main accommodation for the full four months and making no plans or engaging with any other services as a problem. This is not what they see the shelter as being there for. They made agreements to create a list of those known to do this and to change policy for next year. They talked about implementing a 48-hour rule (initially a week was floated) whereby individuals would have to be actively engaging with casework and other supports or else they would not be allowed to continue to use the service. They also talked about sharing of information and how this could be done more efficiently to allow them to better co-ordinate responses (Field note, 29/03/18).

As can been seen from these two field notes, from beginning to end, staff discussed the 'problem' of individuals and groups that were refusing to flow through the processes in place. By the end of the winter, serious consideration was being given to short bans from the service. This action could potentially precipitate a period of rough sleeping, something that the WNS had explicitly been set up to prevent. This development can be characterised as a hardening of service provision. Night shelters, along with soup kitchens and day centres, have been associated with non-interventionist approaches that involve little or no attempts at behaviour change (Johnsen, 2014a; Johnsen, Cloke and May, 2005a, 2005b) or with soft approaches such as persuasion and influence, which can be seen as more morally defensible than the harder options of force and coercion (Fitzpatrick and Jones, 2005).

The services made available at the WNS are intended to protect and empower rough sleepers by providing options and choices in relation to accommodation and support – by providing a route out of homelessness. Those, like the Europeans, who opted not to take up these services, represented an existential threat to the WNS because they called into question the fundamental purpose and effectiveness of the service. If anyone can decide to show up and sleep at the WNS for four months and save on rent and other costs, then the service may meet the needs of (probably) socio-economically disadvantaged individuals, but it will not necessarily achieve its goal of providing services to those it sees as being in 'genuine need' (Glasgow City Mission, 2019a, p.8). As was discussed in Chapter Five, there was also pressure from the local authority who were

suggesting that allowing individuals to continue using the service without engaging with the helping process was creating a problem rather than addressing one. Therefore, discussions centred around how to intervene to ensure that service users flowed through within the desired timescales.

Overtly interventionist approaches, such as the coercion associated with short bans, may be justifiable according to Watts, Fitzpatrick and Johnsen (2018). Augmenting and adjusting Grant's (2006) criteria for the legitimate use of power, these authors suggest four principles against which homelessness policies that are interventionist can be judged:

> 1. *Whether it serves a* legitimate *purpose*
> 2. *Whether it allows for a* voluntary response
> 3. *By its effects on the* character *of the parties involved […]*
> 4. *Whether it is an* effective*, proportionate and balanced means to pursue the (legitimate) purpose(s) for which it is deployed*
>
> (Watts, et al., 2018b, pp.237-8, original emphasis)

Clarifying whether there was a legitimate purpose to the proposed short bans is not a straightforward process. Glasgow City Mission (2019a) has argued that moving people on quickly from the WNS results in them having more appropriate forms of accommodation and starts them on the pathway to permanent, settled accommodation. Additionally, having a limit of 40 beds means that other individuals in need of emergency accommodation are prevented from receiving it if there are no beds available and, so, moving users on quickly frees up beds for other potential users. However, it may be ethically questionable to pursue this legitimate purpose via means that undermine other important competing purposes (Grant, 2006), such as the prevention or alleviation of rough sleeping and its associated harms. Whether the approach is effective (as per point 4), therefore, is an important consideration. If individuals engage with support and move into the formal homelessness system, then the coercion may be justifiable. However, if it creates a barrier and individuals return to more damaging and dangerous situations, then the ethicality of the intervention may be brought into question.

In terms of a voluntary response, a case could be made for those with addiction or mental health problems being unable to identify their best interests and exercise real autonomy and, therefore, require more paternalistic and controlling interventions until they are in a position to do so (Watts et al., 2018b). However, these issues were not prevalent for the Europeans for whom these coercive interventions were being targeted. Indeed, Roger, who will be introduced in the next section, received far less coercive interventions despite (or perhaps because of) having serious health complications. It was precisely because the Europeans were seen as being able to exercise autonomy and recognise their own interests that they were deemed as undeserving of the services at the WNS, which were for victims of circumstances who were willing to comply with, and gratefully receive, the help on offer and flow through the processes that were in place.

In Chapter Five, I analysed the power dynamics between the WNS and Glasgow City Council with both having different responsibilities and resources for tackling homelessness. This dynamic is also important for considering the effect of the coercive time bans on the *character* of the WNS. With the lobbying of the local authority and other services in the multi-disciplinary meetings, there was a risk that the WNS was becoming an agent of government that had lost sight of its original values and ethos – something discussed by Buckingham (2011). This could also be characterised as 'mission drift' (Greer, 2014) whereby the Glasgow City Mission adapted to secular agendas and moved away from what others would consider its fundamental Christian values. In these ways, the hardening of service provision described above not only raises questions of ethicality in relation to service users, it also presents challenging questions for the organisation delivering the service.

In this section, I have described a group of Europeans who used the WNS throughout the winter of 2017/18, highlighting how this use was seen as problematic by staff at the WNS and the range of other agencies that work in partnership with them. This contrasts with James and Patricia who flowed through the service accepting supports and following the processes in place. Unlike Patricia and James, the Europeans did not flow through the services and were not seen as deserving because they did not perform the grateful victim

role. This meant that they became subject to sustained staff attention and discussion and, ultimately, changes to the service design and delivery were proposed in order coerce them (and others like them) into moving on from the WNS. Whether these changes were ethically justifiable was questionable. In the next section, I introduce Roger who 'misused' the WNS in somewhat similar ways to the Europeans but was not viewed as problematic in the same way.

7.4.3 Roger

I met Roger in early January 2018 when I visited the WNS in the morning during transition to the Day Service. The following fieldnote details our very first encounter.

> Near to me there is a man who looks to be in his late forties; he is shorter than me, maybe about 5'6"/5'7". He has burgundy leather Doc Martin boots on and his trousers are rolled up away from them a bit. He paces the floor and verbalises his thoughts to no one in particular. We make eye-contact and end up chatting about how cold the weather has been and he notes how glad he is not to have been out in it last night. We discuss the real risk of death of being exposed to sub-zero temperatures. He has an Irish accent. He tells me he has been in the night shelter '3 or 4 nights' and speaks very positively about it saying that it is 'lovely' it is 'warm' and 'you get something to eat'. Just at that the nurse comes over (I recognised her from the meeting the other week) and engages him in conversation about health-related things […]
>
> The man in the burgundy boots is pacing again having finished his conversation with the nurse. He is again verbalising towards the general area of the staff [...] We again make eye-contact and I notice he has a small, thin, long bag, the strap of which is over his shoulder and round his body in the same way that a sash would be worn. I ask him what is in the bag and he seems pleased to tell me that it is drumsticks. I introduce myself and he introduces himself as Roger. He gets his drumsticks out, places a paperback book on the table in front of both of us and begins tapping the book in a drumming motion […] He shows me a picture of a woman that is positioned inside the little bag that he keeps his drumsticks in and says that his 'now ex-wife' had bought him a simulated kit – where it's pads and a synthesiser rather than an actual drum kit […] He tells me that he became homeless about a year and a half ago after his 'now ex-wife' threw him out. Just at that, the administrator comes over and as soon as she engages me in conversation, Roger is off pacing again with his drumsticks […] I notice Roger sitting adjacent to me at the next table. I go over and tell him it was nice to meet him; that I am doing some research into homelessness and am looking to speak to experts

> such as him about their experience. We continue to shake hands throughout this conversation. He seems particularly enamoured at being called an expert (Field Note, 08/01/18).

As can perhaps be gathered from this extract, Roger stood out to me as an interesting person. I suspected at this stage that he might be struggling with poor mental health, which was confirmed as I got to know him over the following few weeks. Roger would avoid engaging with the support services and with health services in particular. He expressed his distrust of medics and hospitals the second time we met, claiming that '*they test stuff on homeless people*'. In responding to my queries about why he thought medical staff would do this, he simply said '*who would miss us? Who would miss me*'? His poor engagement with health services was a point of concern to support staff because of the seriousness of his physical health conditions, including a heart problem, which required treatment. Indeed, noticing our developing relationship, one of the nurses was recruiting me to the cause of persuading Roger to attend his GP appointment. The seriousness of his health conditions appeared to be the main factor in why he was not subject to the same amount or intensity of discussions and interventions aimed at moving him on as the Europeans.

Like the Europeans, Roger resisted, avoided, and declined the advice and services that were available to move him on from the WNS. Roger's previous experience of action to address his homelessness seemed to play a role in his reluctance to engage with services in the WNS. Like Matthew, he had negative experiences in some types of temporary accommodation, like B&B and supported accommodation, which were acting as forces maintaining him 'on the street' or in the WNS. In the WNS, Roger was free from the obligations that come with having more secure accommodation and he was also free from some of the harsh and dangerous conditions associated with rough sleeping; he was free from the 'normal rules of society' but also free from the fear and hunger that he had experienced on the streets of Dublin and London. It appeared that Roger was unwilling to sacrifice that freedom by engaging with the services on offer and so he continued to use the WNS without taking them up. Unlike the Europeans, however, there was no suggestion by staff to coerce him into engaging with services through the use of short bans. His physical and mental health problems mitigated his 'misuse' of the WNS in two particular ways.

Firstly, because of his mental health problems, Roger was not seen by staff as necessarily being able to represent his own best interests or of being readily capable of making alternative accommodation arrangements. Because of this, he was not seen by staff as a skilled social actor who was manipulating the system but, rather, as an unknowing victim who needed persuading of what was in his interests rather than coerced – he was not *wilfully* disrupting the flow. Secondly, the high concern of health professionals for his physical health had been communicated to the staff at the WNS. This acted like a trump card overriding other concerns, highlighting the symbolic power of health professionals in this field. The health professionals were keen to engage Roger in treatment and could continue to pursue this goal while he was in the WNS and accessible to them, whereas he would be more difficult to engage if he was rough sleeping. The main concern was to get him to engage with health services and, therefore, if he continued to use the WNS then at least health staff would know where to find him to try and achieve this. In this way, he was deemed to be 'deserving' and was allowed to continue using the service without the same questioning, discussion, and actions that the Europeans were subject to.

The WNS and its users changed and adapted in relation to each other in similar ways to those services and authorities in the studies by Jackson (2012) and Meneses-Reyes (2013) detailed in Chapter Three. Originally set up to prevent and alleviate rough sleeping in the city, the designers of the WNS envisaged a short-term service that would support people to move on quickly and flow into the formal homelessness system. However, over previous years, and during the winter of 2017/18, some users used the service over longer periods of time and did not engage with the support services on offer, which staff and volunteers of the WNS and other services identified as a problem. Changes to policies and service design were proposed to counter these problems and improve the flow, though staff still took into account the individual circumstances of different users.

So far, this Chapter has explored freedom, flow and friction in relation to homeless spaces, though friction and stuckness in these places also had temporal qualities. I argued that stuckness is experiential and relates to the quality of a confined life in terms of how it is lived and made sense of. This was apparent in

Matthew's account of how he often felt stuck waiting in temporary accommodation while he felt free, in the sense of having agency, when he was on the street. His recurrent episodes of homelessness, where he returned to the street, were accounted for within this context. Homelessness service staff and policymakers, however, categorise stuckness differently, where not moving on or flowing via the designated routes *through* homelessness was problematised. In the next section, I change from a spatial to a temporal focus on stuckness and explore the ways in which homeless individuals became stuck in time, and the ways in which they reacted to and coped with this.

7.5 Stuck in homeless time

Bauman (1998) argued that the world had separated into two: the 'first world' and the 'second world'. Those who live in the first world are considered 'tourists' who move when they want, uninhibited by space, they live in time. Those in the second world, 'vagabonds', live in space but have no control over it and they have an abundance of time.

> People marooned in the opposite world are crashed and crushed under the burden of abundant, redundant and useless time they have nothing to fill with. In their time, 'nothing ever happens'. They do not 'control' time, but neither are they controlled by it, unlike their clocking-in, clocking-out ancestors, subject to the faceless rhythm of factory time. They can only kill time, as they are slowly killed by it (ibid, p.45).

Having an abundance of time and nothing with which to fill it is typically how boredom is described. Bauman discusses this in the context of time-space compression, or globalisation, arguing that some (tourists) are able to take advantage of this phenomena while others (vagabonds) are left out, with nothing to do but kill time. This implies a change in the class politics of boredom, which used to be regarded as the preserve of the privileged classes who, freed from the need to work, found themselves with periods of time and inactivity that had to be endured (van den Berg and O'Neill, 2017). However, precarity has emerged as a feature of globalisation (Bauman, 2002; Castelein and Leven, 2012) and boredom has been described as a fundamental feature of an economy where precarity has become the norm (Lorey, 2015). Therefore, it is now those who

are left out of globalisation, out of the time-space compression, who are most affected by boredom (van den Berg and O'Neill, 2017) and suffer because of it.

They suffer because boredom is far from a trivial issue, especially for those who lack the resources to effectively combat it (Marshall et al., 2019). '*Might the real problem not be that boredom bends towards death? That none of us can escape?*' asks Stevenson (2014, p.130) while Bergson (2002) argued that '*it is we who are passing when we say time passes*' (p.216). When one is stuck in time, it generates a sense of foreboding, fear and anxiety which can reflect '*discomfort in the face of a future which is not, and fails to be imagined as, good*' (Jefferson and Buch Segal, 2018, p.108). Boredom is threatening because it '*proves to be a place where the inflicted entertained death*' (O'Neill, 2014, p.24). Boredom is also a perennial and serious issue for those experiencing homelessness (Marshall et al., 2019) and it was reacted to in different ways by participants such as trying to keep busy, aggression, self-harm and substance use. It was an issue expressed by many of the individuals that I met during fieldwork and was put in stark terms by some:

> *When you're homeless a day feels like 10 months!* (Alistair, 15/11/17)
>
> *Every day feels like a week!* (Liam, 9/1/18)

These quotes tell us that time feels stretched rather than compressed. Unable to experience progress, as the realisation of a future that was different from their present (Koselleck, 1985), a friction was experienced in the flow of time and it stretched slowly out in front of Alistair and Liam in an undifferentiated mass. Mains (2017, p.39) found a similar stretching of time among young Ethiopian men who were unemployed and argued that '*boredom emerges specifically out of a failure to actualize expectations of progress*', which renders time and experience unmeaningful. This perspective highlights a relationship between boredom and (a lack of) hope.

Both hope and boredom have temporal qualities, as is inferred in their association with waiting (cf Crapanzano, 2003; Ehn and Lofgren, 2010; Ferrie and Wiseman, 2019; Reed, 2011; Turnbull, 2016) including how each affects the experience of the wait. As discussed earlier, hope is associated with situations

of uncertainty and indeterminacy. Boredom (in the above conceptualisations) on the other hand involves a fear of determinacy – that things will not change, will not progress. In this way, boredom sits with fear in the hope-fear relationship. While the uncertainty of hope leaves room for the (eventual) realisation of progress, boredom can confine life in the present, in endless, stretched time.

Jefferson and Buch Segal (2018) argue that the confinement of time comes not only from attempts to control it for ourselves and others (such as with clocks and calendars, the setting of routines and schedules, or the introduction of a time limit on the use of the WNS) but also from its endlessness which can be '*associated with inevitable and exhausting struggle*' (p.103). Weariness is a characteristic of boredom (O'Neill, 2014) and can be an expression of foreboding in the face of the certainty of uncertain futures (Jefferson and Buch Segal, 2018). For the people living in Sierra Leone and Palestine, who were the subject of Jefferson and Buch Segal's (2018, p.106) studies, time pulsated unpredictably between promise and threat; the '*immanence of the past in the present*', combined with an inability to see a future that that was different from the present, leaving them 'strung out' and 'stretched'. This analysis points to an oscillation between hope and fear/boredom (promise and threat, uncertainty and determinacy) that had effects on how time was experienced and reacted to.

During fieldwork, having an abundance of time was reacted to by homeless people in different ways and this appeared related to whether hope or boredom were foregrounded in the experience. Where individuals expressed hope for the future, they sought to control time through the use of activities, schedules, and routines, which seemed to help them maintain a sense of progress towards the hoped-for future goal, paradoxically maintaining a sense of linear time through cyclical rhythms. Where boredom was the predominant experience, individuals felt stuck in endless time and used different strategies to kill or collapse time such as by using substances.

7.5.1 Free time?

Eric, who was introduced in Chapter Five, had been in bed and breakfast accommodation for approximately four months when I met him in early January 2018. He did not seem particularly aggrieved by this situation telling me that he

had been in other places longer than this. He expressed hope about getting his own place back in the East End of the city and told me that this was the reason that he had not changed his GP even though he was at the time residing in the other side of the city. When he was suddenly moved to supported accommodation later in February that year, he said he was pensive because, even though he was not sure where he would end up, he was confident that he would get a permanent tenancy by the summer. Because of this hope, he just had to control time until his life improved and he did this by establishing regular activities and routines in order to segment his days and weeks, which he discussed in early February 2018.

> [Eric] detailed the routine of being in the B&B in terms of getting up, getting breakfast, listening to the radio or watching TV, going for his dinner at the Day Service – this was all Mon-Sat as a Sunday he would have a lie in and not go out at all. This could be broken up by his fortnightly visits for his Depot Injection (slow-release anti-psychotic medication) when he could see his Psychologist/Community Psychiatric Nurse at the same time, occasional trips to the Glasgow Royal Infirmary to visit people if they were in there, and trips up to his GP in Easterhouse. He also uses his bus pass to go on trips to places he doesn't know, like East Kilbride. This can kill a bit of time, he can explore a bit, and then he can go back to the accommodation and get something to eat and go to sleep (Field note 02/02/18).

By focussing on his routines and appointments, Eric was able to take control of time and push it into the background of his life and make it flow inconspicuously in the way that Schweizer (2008, p.16) describes:

> The time that is felt and consciously endured seems slow, thick, opaque, unlike the transparent and inconspicuous time in which we accomplish our tasks and meet our appointments.

Different services proved useful to Eric (and to other participants) for structuring his experience of time. The operating hours of various services and regular, scheduled appointments punctuated time and gave it rhythm and purpose. This helped to give Eric a sense of forward momentum or progress despite his extended wait in bed and breakfast accommodation, what Hage (2009b) would call existential mobility – he still felt like he was going somewhere.

In analysing the boredom of homeless people in post-communist Bucharest, O'Neill (2014) argued that his participants were not only excluded from the labour market, but also from being able to use consumption as a defence against their boredom because of their economic marginalisation. This under-consumption, he argued, is tantamount to an exclusion from urban life, which has been more and more defined by practices of consumption. In this way, exclusion from consumption meant exclusion from social life in the city. While economically marginalised, Eric had found ways to be part of social life in the city through the consumption of services. His regular attendance at day centres and health appointments, as well as his consumption of transport services using his bus pass, allowed him to defend himself against boredom. He was able to take control of the abundance of time that he had, segment it, and make use of it in ways that he felt were positive. This shows the ways in which a range of services, including those perhaps considered low-level like day centres, or (like buses) that are not immediately connected with homelessness, can provide the means through which individuals cope with their circumstances.

Similarly, in the WNS, Roger detailed how that service helped him control time. After arriving at 10pm at night, he would remain in the service after it changed over to a day service in the morning. When the building closed at 3pm, he had to 'kill time' until it opened again at 10pm. He did this by going to various places including shopping centres, supermarkets, museums and libraries. Although, in some of these places, he noted that once his homeless identity was known (if he had used the place too often) it meant that he was not able to wait there either: '*You're not even sat down five minutes and some guy is telling you you're not allowed to sit there*' (Roger, 10/1/18).

For others, service demands could feel confining, as Liam explained when he was moving to his own tenancy from the LSU.

> Everything [in the LSU] revolves round the service, the staff, they other folk in there, EVERYTHING. Everything felt so regimented. 10 minutes here, 15 minutes here. Have to be there at this time or here at that time. Tonight, I'm doing nothing. I'm going to chill out and just watch TV and go to sleep. I haven't been sleeping great with all the stress (Liam, 9/1/18).

Unlike Eric and Roger, Liam felt his freedom was compromised by service demands. Like Matthew's account from section 7.3, Liam felt confined by restrictions on his agency, on his ability to decide what to do with his own time. Liam felt his time had been controlled by others and he was relieved to finally be in charge of his own time again, even if it was to 'do nothing'. When I visited him at his flat two months later, however, he was more ambivalent about this freedom. While he still appreciated the ability to make his own choices, he also expressed feelings of boredom and stuckness. He discussed what he described as the overbearing pressure of being in the LSU where hope and fear would consume him in equal measure: if he would get a tenancy, where would it be, what would it be like, and how would he cope? He felt relieved to get the flat but had since felt that things were moving very slowly. Without the control of his time it became '*slow, thick, and opaque*' (Schweizer, 2008, p.16). Increases in boredom during the transition from homelessness to housed have been found in other studies (cf Marshall, Lysaght and Krupa, 2017; Whittaker et al., 2016). Liam remained affected by precarity in terms of his dependence on welfare benefits; he felt stuck by himself in the flat where he was lonely and limited by his fixed income, which meant he felt he was going nowhere fast. Now that he had the freedom of his own time, it seemed abundant and difficult to fill. The uncertainty of whether and when he would get his own tenancy had been replaced with questions of whether this was how his life was going to be now. This was given as an underlying reason for occasional lapses to alcohol use.

In summary, Eric used the consumption of services in order to take control of time and defend himself against boredom. Doing this helped him to feel like he was achieving something day-to-day and also contributed to a sense that he was continuing to move forward towards his hoped-for goal of getting his own tenancy. By contrast, Liam found service demands controlling and his hope for a tenancy centred around getting to decide how he spent his time. Having regained this freedom, Liam became affected by boredom and began to feel like he had too much time and nothing to fill it with. Because of this, he had started using alcohol periodically to help kill time. In the next section, I look in detail at how individuals attempted to collapse or kill time, including through the use of substances.

7.5.2 Time-free?

During a visit to the Bellgrove Hotel, which was introduced in Chapter Five, I encountered individuals who were apparently engaged in trying to collapse time. By this I mean they attempted to fold time in on itself by becoming unaware of its passage. In the following fieldnote, residents of the Bellgrove appeared to be trying to collapse time by blocking out the sun.

> We enter the lounge, which is a square room. There is a TV high on the wall behind us (on the same wall as the door we've just entered). There are black, padded seats, which are fixed to each other two at a time with a small table connecting each pair. There are eight pairs of seats and some singles lined down the far wall. In the row nearest the TV sits a man wearing glasses who looks to be in his thirties. He has a bottle of cider sitting on the small table area next to his seat. He is sitting alone. Further back, in the second row from the back, the guy we met at the front door sits next to another with a further two sitting behind them […] I notice that there is a skylight in this room even though it is ground floor. It has been covered up almost completely, but I can still see some natural light coming through. One of the guys tells me that '*they*' covered it up to give it more of a '*pub feel*', '*You know, so you can't tell what time of day it is*'. I ask why this might be desirable, but no response is offered (Field note 11/01/18).

The above excerpt hints at how the men that I met experienced time, but not in a way that is easy to apprehend. Hage (2012, p.305) suggested that the hidden realities of others exist in the world around us and can show up in our own, '*giving enough of themselves to tell us they exist but are nonetheless impervious to easy capture*'. Does not being able to tell what time of day it is act as a defence against the passage of time or does it stretch the present out further? If they have an abundance of time, then being aware of its slow, stretched passage could become unbearable, as it was for Alistair and Liam. By blocking out the light, perhaps these men were able to mitigate this threat while simultaneously acquiescing to time's inevitable passage. In addition to blocking out the day, there were other tactics for collapsing time including substance use and sleep.

Sleep was one way of collapsing time and it was apparent in the Bellgrove where Idil (a Somali man in his late 20s with whom I had only a fleeting encounter) told me how he had coped with being in there for two years – '*It's ok, I just sleep*'.

It was a problem for another participant, Larry (introduced in Chapters Five), to be '*stuck in one of those rooms [in another hostel] completely bored, unable to sleep because of the noise of the trains*'. Without sleep, his boredom stretched on in endless time and he was stuck within it. A prominent strategy was to use substances to collapse time as was detailed by Colin, a 26-year-old man with very short reddish/brown hair, in an interview in early February 2018. The interview took place in the CRU where he was being detoxed from alcohol and he was reflecting on his experiences of being in emergency hostel accommodation.

> Colin: […] I went in there, you can't, there's no kinda, social area. You can't mix with the people, you're not allowed in their rooms, things like that. So, it's basically, right, you're stuck in, you're stuck in your room. You're, there's no TV or anything like that. It's a bed and chest of drawers and that's it, do you know what I mean? So, you're sitting there bored and, erm, that, that and I suffered fae social anxiety as well and agrophob... is that agoraphobia, agra, agra...?
>
> Me: Being outdoors?
>
> Colin: Aye, going outdoors and big crowds of people. An all they would say to you is '*oh, why don't you go and take a walk about Botanic, erm, the Botanic Gardens*' and I'm like that '*are you joking'*? Weans running about, big crowds, and like that '*naw, I'd have a pure massive panic attack.'*[34] So, the first thing... obviously there was a wee Londis across the road, just the furthest I would go is back and forward, back and forward...
>
> Me: Just, literally across the street?
>
> Literally across the street. Erm, a litre of vodka, two bottles of red wine and I would just sit and get pished. And that's all I would do... erm, eventually I started going to the library and stuff like that and, just sit in a corner away from people.

Here, Colin feels limited in his options for dealing with his boredom and so uses alcohol as a means to collapse time. He prefaces his boredom as stuckness, as isolation, an isolation that is that is brought about by rules which he felt limited his freedom to socialise with other residents. Here Colin, like Matthew, views the service as a place of confinement. Confined, alone to his room, he viewed

[34] Wean is a term commonly used in the West of Scotland to mean a young child.

alcohol as a viable option for collapsing time. Earlier in the interview, Colin had detailed a traumatic childhood and adolescence. An abundance of unfilled time represented a threat to him because it inevitably involved him focussing on his past experiences or present circumstances, both of which caused him emotional pain.

Jeremy detailed a similarly traumatic past, including his experiences of sleeping rough and his stays in the Bellgrove Hotel. For Jeremy, boredom, or an abundance of time with nothing to fill it or distract him, meant his attention settled on past experiences and present circumstances. His description of being stuck in a traumatic present that is plagued by a traumatic past with the expectation of a traumatic future sounded brutal and was the reason that he just '*drank and drank and drank*'. The brutality of this type of experience was discussed by O'Neill (2014) whose homeless participants in Bucharest tried to cope with the unending boredom until their eventual death, with one participant stating '*My life is a disaster. It's humiliating […] Your life gets spent waiting unendingly for nothing. It's profoundly boring*' (p.23).

The use of substances in these circumstances is understandable, although it can also contribute to the stuckness because substance use was often assessed by service providers as an indicator of unreadiness to progress to the next stage. Therefore, the individual may have to stay where they are rather than being permitted to move on. There is also routine in the rhythms of drinking. Colin went back and forth, back and forth across the street while Jeremy got up and did it all again the next day. Unlike Eric, however, these routines were about collapsing time rather than controlling it. Some got up and did it all again the next day so that that day did not have to be experienced. It seemed for many participants that they did not feel that they could do anything different, that they had lost their agency to incomprehensible forces (Dwyer, 2009) and were stuck in the same daily cycles.

These attempts at collapsing time through substance use appeared to be defensive. A way of dealing with an abundance of time that threatened individuals with their past experiences and present circumstances. Rather than an active pursuit of self-actualisation, as was argued by McNaughton (2007) in her use of edgework to contextualise her participants' relapses, substances for

my participants offered some freedom. Freedom from abundant time, freedom from traumatic pasts, freedom from current circumstances, and freedom from boredom and the fear that the future would not bring any improvement.

This section has focused on time, hope, fear and boredom in the lives of participants. An abundance of time was problematic for individuals who were homeless because it involved fear – fear of the past, of the present, and of the future. Some, like Eric, took control of time by consuming services in order to segment and order time into rhythms. By doing so, they created a sense of forward momentum and could keep a hoped-for future as an open possibility. Others felt that services were overly controlling of their time and they desired freedom to use their time as they wished. However, this free time came with the risk of boredom and fear which called for different strategies. Boredom meant that time had to be killed whether by blocking out the sun, sleeping, or using substances. Without these strategies, participants could be left stretched and strung out in an endless present.

7.6 Conclusion

This Chapter has explored flows, frictions, and freedoms in space and in time. By comparing and contrasting how stuckness was viewed by different actors in the homeless field, I was able to show that homeless spaces can be experienced as confining and 'sticky' despite being imagined as part of the processual flow of service designs. Moreover, this confinement could prove unbearable for some who would exit the processes and flows of the formal homelessness system and return to 'the street'. Others rejected or avoided attempts to get them into these flows, preferring to exercise the varying forms of freedom and agency that their precarity afforded them. However, services and policymakers characterise these actions differently. Take, for example, the legal definitions of homelessness discussed in Chapter Two. Voluntarily leaving a project or 'refusing to engage' with services could result in someone being assessed as 'intentionally homeless' and not entitled to all of the statutory supports available to those who are 'unintentionally homeless'. Those characterised as stuck by service providers tended to be disrupting the imagined processual flows and could be subject to actions aimed at 'unsticking' them. However, individual

circumstances and characteristics could be taken into account by service staff and so approaches to this were not uniform.

Stuckness also has temporal qualities and boredom brings the threat of being stuck in an endless present. Traumatic pasts, which are more prevalent in the homeless population (FEANTSA, 2017), make an abundance of time emotionally threatening. Individuals sought different ways to either control or collapse time, though their socioeconomic marginalisation limited their options to counter this. While some found the consumption of services useful for segmenting and controlling their time, others felt controlled and confined by service demands. Substances were used as part of defensive strategies aimed at collapsing time and providing freedom; freedom from boredom and fear, from the past and from the endless, stretched present.

Chapter 8 Journeys end

8.1 Introduction

This thesis has presented evidence and argument in relation to the lived experience of homelessness in Glasgow based on eight months of ethnographic research carried out between November 2017 and June 2018. The processes of the research and the construction of this thesis have been partial and complex, though this is arguably true of all social science research (Law, 2003, 2004, 2018) and may be a beneficial feature of ethnographic texts in terms of their ability to represent this complexity (Marcus, 2007). In this Chapter I will conclude the thesis by bringing together the main threads of argument that run throughout it and by detailing the contribution that it has made.

In the first section, I detail the aims and research questions that drove this research and discuss how they have been addressed by reviewing the literature, concepts, and methods used and linking these directly to the findings. In this way, the first section represents a review of the thesis chapters by showing how the findings relate to the literature, concepts and methods used. In doing this, I also illustrate the ways in which the findings offer answers to the research questions and, where suitable, I will point to opportunities to inform policy and practice in relation to homelessness. This is followed by a discussion of the contribution of the thesis and a drawing together of the major themes and arguments, and a more explicit discussion of policy implications. In outlining the implications and possible future research, the thesis further offers a contribution to homelessness policy and practice debates in Glasgow and beyond.

8.2 Made and missed connections

The main aim of this thesis has been to understand the lived experience of homelessness in Glasgow and I sought to do this by focussing on the spatial and conceptual journeys and flows of homeless individuals and those who support them. This aim and the original research questions were:

1. How is homelessness understood and experienced in Glasgow by a) individuals who are homeless and b) by those that support them?

2. How do individuals who are homeless navigate and interact with their physical and social environment and what does this tell us about their lived experience?

These are too broad to answer fully in this or, perhaps, in any study. However, partial answers have emerged in the findings in Chapters Five, Six and Seven to the subset of Research Questions outlined in Chapter One, and these underpin this body of new and original research:

1. In what ways does the Glasgow context influence how homlessness is experienced there?

    1.1. How are services designed and implemented in Glasow and in what ways does this impact on the lived experience of homelessness?

    1.2. How do homeless individual experience homeless services?

    1.3. How do homeless individuals experience the 'routes through' homelessness that are provided by services?

2. How do homeless individuals understand their homelessness in ways that are different to service providers and policymakers?

    2.1. How do individuals account for their experiences of homelessness and are these similar or different to how homelessness is explained in other areas such as in research, policy, and society in general?

3. What specific knowledge and skills related to their homelessness do individuals develop and in what ways?

4. What does focussing on different scales of movement tell us about the lived experience of homelessness and how it is represented?

5. How do homeless individuals experience and manage time?

6. Do individuals get 'stuck' in homelessness? How is this 'stuckness' experienced by them and how is it represented by service providers and policymakers?

In beginning to think through these questions, it is helpful to return to Dilthey's argument that all human thought and meaning are derived from experience. Therefore, how homelessness is understood is directly related to how it is experienced. This can be first-hand lived experience, experience of supporting those who are homeless, or the experience of conducting homelessness research. Similarly, navigation is linked to experience because it requires knowledge and understanding or '*compressed knowledge about the world and how to live in it*' (Knowles, 2011, p.139). In addressing these questions here, I will move through the first four chapters of the thesis, knitting together questions, literature, concepts, and methods with the findings presented in Chapters Five, Six and Seven.

There is a broad and deep field of literature on homelessness internationally and within the UK and Scotland. Literature that focussed on definitions, prevalence, and causation was reviewed in Chapter Two in order to contextualise the research and to highlight the importance of gaining different perspectives on a complex issue such as homelessness.

The difficulties and variations in how homelessness is defined reveal the complexity of the issue and the dynamics involved between those who have the power to define and those who are affected by those definitions (Ravenhill, 2008). The definitions used in Scottish legislation and policy are important because they determine and guide the duties of local authorities (and others such as RSLs) towards those who meet them. These definitions reveal how policymakers, legislators, and the wider public understand homelessness, which have been affected by the social and cultural history of homelessness in Scotland and the UK. They also affect the lived experiences of homeless individuals through their impact on service designs and practices. In Chapter Five, I explored both the powers and the duties of the local authority in relation to homeless individuals (as defined in legislation) and the difficulties that the local authority in Glasgow has experienced in meeting these. The practice of 'gatekeeping' has emerged in Glasgow and other areas (Alden, 2014; Shelter

Scotland, 2019b) whereby local authorities do not take homeless applications in order to avoid having to provide temporary accommodation (resources for which may be lacking due to historical policy decisions and economic pressure from a decade of austerity). This practice shows how homelessness is sometimes understood in the local authority as a threat to limited resources and to organisational reputation. These threats have to be managed in ways that protect the institution and its finite resources. The service, and individual staff members within it, may draw on their experience of 'priority need' categories in order to husband scarce resources. The practice of gatekeeping has also given rise to other services from organisations, such as Govan Law Centre and Shelter Scotland, that challenge this practice by assisting homeless individuals to pursue their rights. This finding resonates with the work of researchers such as Jackson (2012, 2015) and Meneses-Reyes (2013) who found that services and those that use them change and develop in relation to one another. Definitions influence the contexts in which homelessness is experienced, including the services that are available or not available, the duties that are met and not met, and the development and prioritising of local practices and responses to those practices. These are ways in which the Glasgow context influences how homelessness is experienced in the city.

Prevalence studies such as the Homeless Monitor are able to grapple with the nature and the scale of homeless by using robust methods in order to make reliable estimates of the number of people affected by homelessness. While overall rates of homelessness have been relatively stable in Scotland between 2014 and 2019 (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019) there has continued to be historically high numbers of households in temporary accommodation (Watts et al., 2018a). Reports from prevalence studies like those just mentioned have an influence on homelessness policy. For example, the Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group was set up by the Scottish Government in 2017 to make recommendations on how to eradicate rough sleeping and transform temporary accommodation in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2017d). The final recommendations of this action group noted that, while temporary accommodation was necessary, its use should be significantly reduced because of the benefits associated with permanent 'mainstream' accommodation (Scottish Government, 2018d). The report recommends 'rapid rehousing' as a default position including the

provision of the Housing First model for those with complex needs (ibid). This recommendation is based on evaluations of Housing First schemes that have shown reductions in the numbers of those who are homeless including those who are in temporary accommodation (Shelter Scotland, 2019c). As discussed in Chapter Two, the Scottish Government has taken a policy position that supports rapid rehousing and Housing First, while Glasgow Health and Social Care Partnership has since published and begun to implement their 'Rapid Rehousing Plan', which includes Housing First for those with complex needs (Miller, 2019). These changes will have a direct impact on the lived experience of homelessness in Glasgow by changing the physical and social environment that homeless individuals have to navigate and interact with.

Causation research has also driven policy. Structural factors such as a lack of social housing have been targeted with policies such as the Scottish Government's (2016) 'More Homes Scotland' policy which sought to build 50,000 new homes by 2021. The 'step, step, step' or 'linear residential treatment' approaches to service provision (Tsemberis, 1999) attempted to deal with individual risk factors such as mental ill health or addiction issues first, before addressing the issue of homelessness. I have shown how service design based on linear residential treatment opens up specific routes through homelessness to those who can successfully negotiate them. While Housing First may remove some of these steps, there is still a place for specialist services (such as drug treatment and rehabilitation) that help individuals address specific needs and fears. These individual needs remain a focus in Housing First approaches in Scotland (Scottish Government, 2018a) though the emphasis is changed to addressing homelessness first and foremost, with additional support provided at home or in communities for other issues. In this way, a version of the new orthodoxy persists in policymaking and service design. Causal research reveals understandings of homelessness that separate it from the social contexts in which it occurs, and reify it to a range of variables that can be targeted for intervention (Farrugia and Gerrard, 2016).

In Chapter Six, I discussed how participants' life story narratives (including the reasons that they had become homeless) were influenced by their journeys and experiences and, therefore, were structured in ways that aligned with

'deserving discourses', in ways that aligned with the expectations of services, and in ways that aligned with how other individuals within their communities of practice structured their narratives. These individual explanations often aligned with how homelessness is explained in causation literature. Given the precarity of their situations, getting their story 'right' was vitally important for homeless individuals. The structuring of these narratives and causation research have been affected by each other and by wider discourses such as deserving and undeserving. These are the entanglements between research narratives and the requirements of welfare services that were discussed by Farrugia and Gerrard (2016). By focussing on individual life stories, I have been able to open up and make visible the ways in which social processes impact upon individual understandings and practices in relation to explaining homelessness.

The structural and individual explanations of homelessness present in the new orthodoxy were also present in the explanations given by service providers and policymakers as to why some individuals become stuck in homelessness. Indeed, Housing First can been seen as a policy aimed at 'unsticking' people. However, just because individuals do not flow through the processes and systems in the ways imagined does not necessarily mean that they felt stuck. Exiting, avoiding or rejecting the system was sometimes about getting unstuck, exercising agency and feeling free. By focussing on individual journeys in Chapters Six and Seven, I have been able to show that the imagined flow of processes and systems was sometimes experienced as confining and sticky. A desire for freedom would look odd if added to the list of 'personal characteristics' that contribute to the causes of homelessness. The desire for freedom was sometimes about exercising agency and autonomy, but for others it was about getting free from past decisions and substance use problems and this required them to give up some agency in order to feel safe and secure – a different kind of freedom. To understand why some individuals become homeless or become 'stuck' in homelessness, it is important to understand the individual and provide a range of options (or routes) so that these differing freedoms can be accommodated.

In the qualitative section of Chapter Two, I reviewed a range of research that took different perspectives on homelessness. While McNaughton (2007) characterised her participants' substance use as 'edgework' or a means of

having some sense of personal authorship in their own lives, I found substances such as alcohol being used in defensive ways. In Chapter Seven, I argued that an abundance of time represented a threat to participants and particularly to those with a history of trauma (which is more prevalent in the homeless population, FEANTSA, 2017). Substances were used to address boredom and fear through their ability to collapse and compress time. However, returning to sleeping rough when one is feeling stuck in homeless places and systems could be usefully considered using edgework. The ability to use one's skills to negotiate the multiple risks and boundaries that exist in this situation, and the sense of freedom that it engenders, may allow a sense of personal authorship over one's own life.

Like Knowles' (2000) work in Montreal, I found participants understood and internalised wider discourses on homelessness in how they narrated and explained their situations to me. Interactions with these discourses, with services, and with others in their communities of practice, shaped participants' narratives into patterns. For instance, through these interactions, Knowles (2000) argued that homeless individuals understand when they should be 'invisible' while using public spaces and that this was the price of their social status – that they have to fit in at the edges of the city. I have shown, in Chapters Six and Seven, that this can also apply to fitting in at the edges of services. By engaging selectively with low threshold services such as the WNS and day services, some were able to continue to exercise their agency, their freedom, by avoiding, rejecting, and refusing entry into the formal homelessness systems. In this way, they were able to navigate services in ways that allowed them to get what they needed without sacrificing too much agency. This again shows how individuals and services change and develop in relation to each other. It also highlights the ways in which those who are homeless use and experience those services in ways that are sometimes different to how they are intended to be used by those who design and deliver them.

Rather than a 'homeless culture' (Ravenhill, 2008), I have shown (in Chapter Six) how homeless individuals remain part of wider social and cultural structures and discourses, and how they are positioned in relation to them, which supports the work of Barker (2013). While they may act to repair a 'spoiled identity'

(Goffman, 1963a) or have learned within 'communities of practice' (Lave and Wenger, 1991), these actions and practices develop from, and are often orientated towards, 'mainstream' understandings of homelessness such as what constitutes a deserving versus an undeserving homeless narrative. These knowledges and practices are shaped by, and shape, lived experiences of homelessness.

Desjarlais' (1997) book *Shelter Blues* had a profound effect on me and influenced my views about the ways in which homelessness research can be conducted. His rich and detailed accounts of homelessness and mental ill-health were derived from two years of fieldwork in one homeless shelter. While my data are more partial and fragmented, I have shown how a mobile ethnography can reveal different aspects of the variegated ways in which homelessness is experienced. I have also shown how the experience of homelessness is affected by a range of '*multiple interlocking interactions*' (ibid, p.25). The history of the homelessness field has resulted in differently positioned actors and institutions, and how the interactions, cooperation and struggles between them continue to shape the contexts in which homelessness is experienced in Glasgow (see Chapter Five). The narratives and journeys explored in Chapter Six illustrated the social processes impacting on participants' experiences of homelessness, the precarity of their situations, and how their lives were often circumscribed by a range of different intersecting logics. Participants' accounts of freedom and stuckness (in Chapter Seven) revealed stark differences in how homelessness was understood by them and by service providers or policymakers. The mobile, relational ethnography used represents a novel and original methodological contribution to homelessness research.

In Chapter Three, I introduced Wilhelm Dilthey's (1952) concept of *erlebnis* or lived experience. The interaction of the past, the present, and the future in the cognitive, affective and conative elements of experience can be seen throughout the thesis. How homelessness was experienced by individuals was influenced by the 'force' of past experience, which also affected expectations about the future. This was manifest in what individuals expected to happen in various services and situations, and whether they felt equipped to deal with it. I have

also shown how individuals coped with present circumstances and past traumas in diverse ways.

Following Heidegger (1971) and Desjarlais (1997), I synthesised the concepts of experience and journeys in order to map out the spatial, temporal and metaphorical landscapes through which the homeless individuals involved in this research travelled. These were often (although not always) landscapes haunted by traumas of the past and fear about the future. However, the journeys also revealed sometimes skilled and knowledgeable travellers who had figured out some of the pitfalls and difficulties in the terrain that they traversed, demonstrating the development of specific knowledge and skills related to the experience of homelessness. They also revealed precarious journeys that were slowed and quickened by the decisions of others and routes that could be highly circumscribed by the different intersecting logics of legislation, policy, and service design. This meant that the 'routes through' homelessness could sometimes be experienced as confining and sticky, sapping at individual agency and freedom.

Concepts from the mobilities literature were particularly valuable for the purposes of this research, including flow (Appadurai, 1990; Castells, 2010; Urry, 2000) and journey (Knowles, 2010, 2011). Rather than sitting in opposition to each other, I have shown that flow and journey can work with each other by examining movement at different scales. Journey is more useful for exploring individual movements, while flow is useful for aggregate movement or for thinking through how movement is imagined in processes and service designs for example. Using both concepts to focus on different scales of movement has revealed how homeless individuals are imagined to move (flow) through processes and systems on their homeless journeys, and how those journeys are experienced. Sometimes these aligned while, at other times, they bore little resemblance to each other.

In using Bourdieu's (1989, 1993b, 1993a; 1992) concepts of field and capital, I was able to offer an original contribution by showing how the power dynamics of the Glasgow homelessness field both affect and are affected by different flows and journeys. The intersecting logics of different types of capital (law, funding, institutional governance, and occupational survival strategies) send homeless

individuals and homelessness service staff moving and flowing in different directions across the city and between institutions such as the local authority and the Winter Night Shelter. Chapter Five offers a structural anchor point for the thesis by detailing some of the social spaces in which homelessness is experienced and analysing the power distributions within them. However, it is not only Chapter Five that counters Bourdieu's (1977) critique of phenomenology as being overly individualistic and subjective. Throughout the thesis, lived experiences that are shared and common among participants reveal them to be 'rooted in prevailing forms and trends' (McIntosh and Wright, 2019), which are indicative of wider social structures. These include: the deserving and undeserving discourse and how this is implemented in services and understood by individuals; the precarity of homelessness; and how homeless lives are highly circumscribed by different intersecting logics.

Precarity affected both homeless individuals and service staff, although I argue that the former are impacted by a more severe type than the latter. This supports Butler's (2009) assertion that precarity is distributed unevenly through political and socioeconomic processes and institutions. It is this precarity, the dependence on the agency of another (Lemke, 2016), that adds weight to getting one's story 'right' and then *keeping* oneself 'right' when homeless because of the risk of being moved back rather than forward. Paradoxically, precarity drove both compliance with and resistance to confining processes, as well as providing opportunities for the expression of freedom. Precarity cast a long shadow over the lives of those who were homeless including how homelessness services were experienced, how the routes through homelessness were experienced, and how individuals understood their own homelessness. Precarity for the staff and services had implications for the types of occupational survival strategies that were implemented, including those that demonstrated the worth of the service to other actors and institutions in the field. These also had a direct impact on the lived experiences of homelessness of those individuals that were targeted by such actions and strategies.

As outlined in Chapter Four, the research field was nested in other multiple, overlapping and interacting fields. This creates a complex picture where different interlocking interactions influence what is shown and what can be

seen. This was further complicated by my position in relation to the field(s) including the fact that I have lived and worked in Glasgow for a long time, including having worked for the local authority. My positions affected how I approached the field, collected data, and how I analysed, interpreted and understood that data. Moreover, existing categories and discourses (such as what it means to be a 'student' or a 'researcher') influenced the types of relationships that I was able to develop during fieldwork and, therefore, the type and quantity of data that I was able to gather. The data that were gathered mirrored the relationships in many ways in that they were partial, unpredictable, conflicted, filtered, guarded, vivid, intense and emotive. The decisions that I have taken in what data to use, how to present and analyse it, further fragment it and increase the influence of my own background and the academic field on this thesis, which I reflected on in Chapter Four. This has the effect of producing a thesis based on multiple subjectivities.

In this study, I found that those who were homeless had the broadest understandings of it because, not only did they have their own unique experience of it, this experience was also shaped and influenced by service demands and wider discourses. In this way, they were aware of what a deserving narrative looked and sounded like; they understood and learned from how others interacted in the homelessness field and how life stories and explanations should be structured. Many, such as Angela and Larry, knew where services were and how they operated, including the routes through homelessness that could be opened up by engaging with them. Some, such as Matthew and Roger, understood the sacrifices required for engaging with services and sometimes made decisions not to. Like the participants in Knowles' (2000) study, participants often knew how, where, and when to insert themselves into the city and into services, when to become visible and invisible. This knowledge and skill were developed out of necessity. In order to access shelter, food, money and other resources, participants had to become skilled at negotiating a range of different services, all of which required a form of deserving performance. But other things were necessary, aspects which are central to all of us and meet our personal and social needs: a sense of freedom, personal agency, self-esteem, friendships. The need for these could drive engagement and non-engagement with services and systems.

By contrast, those that design services that support homeless individuals (and some of the staff within them) understand homelessness in more processual ways because of their experience of homelessness. They attempt to address homelessness by facilitating individuals through the various systems and processes that are in place as highlighted in Chapters Five, Six and Seven. They are influenced in their thinking and their actions by the legislative and policy framework, although there are also variations and discrepancies in how this is enacted in day-to-day practice. While many staff were genuine and empathic towards the circumstances of those that they supported, they understood homelessness in terms of how well individuals flow through the processes and systems and, where there were blockages, how those services or individuals could be changed in order to improve the flow. Given the risks of homelessness to individual health and wellbeing (cf NHS Scotland, 2019), this position is morally and ethically defensible. It is focussed on helping individuals out of homelessness. There were also other needs driving the actions of some services and staff due to the precarity of funding such as the range of services represented by outreach workers at the WNS. In addition to a genuine desire to help homeless people, occupational survival strategies also contribute to service designs and developments.

While having broad aims and questions when entering the field proved useful in ensuring that I was open to what I would find there, most of the data collected involved how individuals experienced homelessness *services* rather than wider life experiences related to their homelessness. As well as potentially being the result of the recruitment strategy that I used and the nature of my relationships with participants (see Chapter Four), this also indicates the importance of the service industry in shaping experiences of homelessness, something that has been recognised by other homelessness scholars such as Ravenhill (2008) and Gowan (2010). Indeed, this study reveals homeless lives that were heavily shaped and circumscribed by the multiple, interacting logics of legislation, policy, service design, and the occupational survival strategies of staff working in support services.

8.3 Discussion and contribution

While Scotland has been lauded for having progressive homelessness legislation (Shelter Scotland, 2011) and the Scottish Government considers policy changes to address the issue and further strengthen individual rights (Scottish Government, 2017a, 2018b, 2019), Glasgow has continued to experience a unique homelessness situation in Scotland (Shelter Scotland, 2019c) and has been unable to meet its statutory obligations on many occasions (Fitzpatrick et al., 2019; Shelter Scotland, 2019b). The city's history along with local policy and service design decisions have interacted with the national context to make Glasgow a unique place in which to undertake this research. This unique context and the use of relational ethnography (Desmond, 2014), whereby individuals who were homeless and staff in homelessness services were both active participants, means that this thesis makes an original empirical contribution in relation to the data that have been gathered.

This study has been able to get underneath the policy and legislative context and look at how the lived experiences of homeless individuals in the city are shaped by how that context is implemented in local service availability, designs, interactions, and governance. This ethnography, like some of the ethnographies discussed in Chapters Two and Three, has been able to uncover the ways in which homelessness is experienced in relationships. Relationships between the past, the present, and the future; and relationships between homeless individuals and space, time, services, policies and discourses. It has been able to do this by focussing on the spatial and conceptual journeys of homeless individuals and those that support them. This thesis makes a conceptual contribution by using both flow and journey to explore the lived experience of homelessness. It adds to the work of other scholars such as Jackson (2012, 2015) and Knowles (2000, 2010, 2011) by focussing on the mobility of participants and showing how this is influenced by a range of factors including policy, service design, and public discourses regarding the nature of homelessness.

The focus on the level of the individual, along with the methods and concepts used to both collect and analyse the data, means that this thesis also contributes to debates about the nature of homelessness, homelessness services, and precarity, all of which I discuss in the next two subsections where I draw

together different threads of argument that run through the thesis: the benefits of researching homelessness at different scales; precarity and freedom; the deserving/undeserving discourse; and the power within the field.

8.3.1 The scale of homelessness

While the prevalence and causation studies discussed in Chapter Two highlight the scale of homelessness in terms of the overall numbers of individuals affected by it and some of the possible reasons why, they are also limited by the scale at which they view it. As a concept, flow can be used usefully at this level in terms of assessing the numbers flowing into, through and out of homelessness. A change of scale, however, adds a different dimension to these understandings of homelessness.

In Chapter Five, I showed how homelessness and the homelessness field is multidimensional incorporating history, biography, geography, places, and social relations, which supports the arguments of Sommerville (2013). Focussing on a smaller scale meant that I was able to show how issues of public concern, such as gatekeeping, interact with individual factors. For example, priority need categories still appeared to factor in decision-making and these further interacted with issues of masculinity and personhood for many of the men that I met. In this way, I have shown how the discourses of deservingness, priority need, and masculinity interact in ways that compound each other and discourage homeless men from accessing services. I was also able to explore some of the ways in which the physical and social landscape that homeless individuals navigate are shaped by power dynamics and by the precarity of homelessness services and staff.

In Chapters Six and Seven, I alternated between the differing scales of flow and journey in order to reveal the differences between how individuals are imagined moving and how that movement (or lack of it) was experienced. As with so many things in life, it depended on the individual, their past experiences, and current circumstances – the habitus and capital that they brought to the game, or the Diltheyan forces that were influencing what would be experienced and how. Service demands, indeterminate waiting and a loss of control could feel like intolerable stuckness or a lack of freedom for some. However, for others,

the consumption of services was used to order and control time, giving a sense of forward momentum. Services and facilities that may be thought of as 'low level', such as day centres and buses, can sometimes help individuals to cope with difficult circumstances including an abundance of time. The impact and effectiveness of such services may be underestimated or overlooked when looking at homelessness at a different scale.

8.3.2 The nature of precarity in homelessness

Precarity denotes a relationship of dependence whereby one person relies on another in order to obtain something that they require (Lemke, 2016). While precarity may be everywhere (Bourdieu, 1998) or be the condition of our time (Tsing, 2015), it is distributed unevenly and those who are homeless live lives that are particularly precarious. This is not a new or ground-breaking observation. However, I would like to explicate the nature of that precarity in the Glasgow homelessness field, and its relationships to the discourses of deserving and undeserving for participants in this study.

While many participants depended entirely on a range of other actors (e.g. homelessness services, welfare services, voluntary organisations, and members of the public), their success in negotiating these relationships was based on the extent to which they could convince those actors that they were deserving of the resources that they sought. In this way, homeless individuals had to submit themselves to the assessment of others and, in so doing, perform a sufficiently deserving role in order to acquire what they needed or wanted. For example, begging for money for food or accommodation was sufficiently deserving to elicit cash from some, whereas begging for money for drugs or alcohol was generally not. Similarly, in services, participants had to get their story right and perform the deserving role in order to access housing, benefits, or other resources.

These assessments, and the performances that they required, were ongoing and relentless in the lives of those that I met. Every action and decision when in the homelessness system could potentially be taken into account in the assessment of an individual's deservingness. Because of this, participants had to keep themselves 'right' consistently for indeterminate periods of time, otherwise they could be moved back rather than forward in their homeless journey. It is this

all-encompassing and relentless dependency that demarcates homelessness as a situation of severe precarity. It is different from precarious work where the worth of the worker does not lie in whether they deserve the job but, rather, whether they can do the job well at a cost that brings economic benefits to the employer.

The relationship between precarity and freedom was also different for homeless individuals than those in precarious employment. The mushroom pickers in Tsing's (2015) study found forms of freedom in the precarity of their work - freedom from boring jobs, from violent pasts, or from control and surveillance. Some participants found this kind of freedom in the precarity of sleeping rough or in the WNS, where they did not have to comply with the normal rules of society. However, the precarity of engaging with services was associated with a sacrifice of agency for some. This sacrifice was often for indeterminate amounts of time and proved unbearable for some who would voluntarily disengage from services, or who would be discharged for breaking the rules after exercising that freedom. This could lead to ostensibly more precarious situations, such as rough sleeping, but the sense of freedom that resulted was sometimes regarded as worth it. For others, this type of freedom was feared, and they instead sought the perceived safety and security of services that were more paternalistic in their design and delivery. This illustrates how it is necessary to provide a range of routes through homelessness that are able to take account of the differing types of freedom sought by individuals.

Because of the relentless nature of assessment, many participants had built knowledge and skills in how to perform different deserving selves, while others resisted or rejected the 'mainstream' because of the humiliation of being judged undeserving or because of an ongoing suppliant status. The discourse of deserving and undeserving has its roots in historical developments and is manifest in the legislation that governs statutory homelessness provision in Scotland. Voluntarily leaving supported accommodation to return to rough sleeping could mean that an individual is considered intentionally homeless according to the legal definitions. This characterisation fails to take into account the multiple intersecting logics that influence such a decision and reduces it to an individual characteristic – a 'failure to engage'.

Precarity also brings power into focus. The power of those who decide versus the power of those who are decided about. Perhaps because of pressures on resources, there was evidence of 'gatekeeping' during fieldwork, whereby statutory services would turn individuals away without taking a homeless application in order to avoid their statutory duty to provide accommodation while the application is processed. Indeed, since fieldwork ended, Shelter Scotland (2019b) begun legal proceedings against Glasgow City Council to challenge this practice. While appearing arbitrary and resource-led, this practice was almost exclusively reported to me by single men, demonstrating that the 'priority need' considerations of the past were still influencing practices in the present in terms of determining who was more deserving of limited resources. This shows how changes in legislation and policy interact in sometimes unpredictable ways with local practices and resources.

Gatekeeping had implications for the lived experience of participants in different ways. As well as the obvious denial of shelter, being rejected from services sometimes had profound effects on individuals in terms of how they evaluated themselves; it had implications for their sense of personhood. These findings resonate with those of Knowles (2000) and Desjarlais (1997) whose participants experienced rejection from and by society, creating experiences of being a 'non-person' or someone without worth. Both of these ethnographies were carried out in North America and the analyses related specifically to experiences of begging. In this study, service decisions, attitudes of the general public, and other wider discourses, influenced how homeless individuals were evaluated by themselves and by others. For example, some men felt that they were expected to look after themselves and so accepted their rejection from some services because to do otherwise would be to admit that they were unable to do this.

This deserving/undeserving dichotomy was not accepted by all individuals and services. Indeed, the gatekeeping and other practices of statutory services had an influence on the development of services available to challenge these practices, such as Shelter Scotland and the Govan Law Centre, where staff would support homeless individuals in claiming their legal entitlement. The practice of gatekeeping has relied upon the relative powerlessness of homeless individuals

who, even when they were aware of their legal rights, often had to obtain support from other services in order to effectively pursue them. It should also be noted that this is not an attack on community caseworkers in the city who were often working in difficult circumstances with a shortage of resources. It does highlight how decisions on priorities are made in these situations regardless of legislation and policy, and this is an area worthy of further study from the perspective of the street level bureaucrat (Lipsky, 2010).

It was not just statutory homelessness services that had to be negotiated by homeless individuals; there were myriad other services including the Department for Work and Pensions, social work services, the Police and criminal justice services, day centres, soup kitchens, residential and supported accommodation services. Each required a (sometimes similar, sometimes different) performance of 'deserving' in order to be negotiated and some participants had built enough knowledge and skill to do this relatively successfully. This requirement was ongoing and relentless because of the precarity of their situations. A decision in one service could have profound implications relating to material subsistence and also knock-on effects in other areas. For example, a relapse to alcohol or drug use could mean a discharge from supported accommodation and a return to hostel living, potentially blocking the planned and desired route out of homelessness that had been in place. The routes through homelessness were often highly prescribed and followed the 'linear residential treatment' model described by Tsemberis (1999). These systems continued the ongoing, relentless assessment of individuals as a means of testing their deservingness at various stages on the journey. Homeless individuals could maintain or regain power, agency, and freedom by exiting (or refusing to enter) homelessness services and systems.

Sometimes the velocity of flows through these routes was about the scarcity of resources. Individuals sometimes had to wait for other resources to become available such as a space in a specific service or for housing to be allocated. As long as they kept themselves right and kept to the rules and expectations of the service they were in, then they were viewed by service providers as part of the process, still flowing albeit slowly. It was when services wanted individuals to move but they refused, avoided, or rejected this that they were viewed as stuck

and a range of actions were implemented to try and unstick them; although the deservingness of the individual was also taken into account in these situations. This difference in how stuckness is viewed is important and shows who has the power to define social phenomena. If an individual continues to sleep rough or remains in the WNS and 'refuses to engage' with services, then they are categorised by service providers as stuck in homelessness. If they leave a service and return to sleeping rough, or are discharged for breaking the rules, then they are stuck in cycles of homelessness. However, individuals often *felt* stuck *in* the places that were considered part of the system, part of the flow towards a tenancy. This stuckness was expressed as a lack of agency, a lack of freedom, coupled with an uncertainty for how long the confinement would last.

When decisions were taken, individuals could be moved suddenly and unexpectedly with implications for relationships and potentially into difficult circumstances such as a flat completely devoid of any furniture or appliances. Some were moved because of circumstances operating at completely different levels, finding themselves as cards shuffled in a pack to meet the needs of services. This revealed the extreme precarity of their situations, the dynamics between services and service users, and the power of other actors and institutions within the Glasgow homeless field and in other fields.

8.3.3 Policy Implications

In the discussion above, I have highlighted a number of policy implications including: the provision of a range of flexible routes through homelessness; the benefit of individualised understandings of engagement and non-engagement with services; the interaction of policy with local practices and resources; and the interaction of local practices with homeless individuals including, for example, the interface with gender. The findings in this thesis are broadly supportive of the Housing First policy because it has the potential to address some of the issues that arise in these areas and others.

The findings in this thesis would suggest that flexibility in the services provided as part of Housing First should be considered in order to take account of individual needs and wants. It should also be recognised that there may still be a role of specialist services that do not fit with the Housing First model, such as

drug and alcohol rehabilitation. Service providers and policymakers should consider ways to recognise and work with non or partial engagement with services, and seek to understand this from the perspective of the individual rather than using it as a category with which to label the individual. By doing this, services may be able to develop in ways that address barriers to engagement.

Any policy or service has to be adequately resourced. While limited resources can sometimes produce innovative approaches, they can also produce situations where services and staff have to consider rationing services or deploying occupational survival strategies alongside their primary objectives to service users. Careful consideration should be given to the potential unintended consequences of service targets and funding conditions.

Housing First has the potential to remove some of the indeterminate waiting that was revealed in this work and this points to policy implications that are related to a common experience among participants: an abundance of time. As was shown in Chapter Seven, homelessness can be profoundly boring and participants were sometimes faced with a crushing abundance of stretched time. This was particularly pronounced and problematic for those with a history of trauma, something which is more prevalent in the homeless population compared to the general population (FEANTSA, 2017). Boredom was associated not only with an abundance of time but also a lack of hope that things can and will be different in the future. Policymakers and service designers could consider more fully and specifically the role of time and boredom, and their potential to trap individuals within systems and cycles. Sometimes indeterminate waiting was related to a lack of resources whereby individuals had to wait for a place to become available before they could move on. Other times, this was systemic in that processes and procedures had to be completed. For participants in this study, indeterminate waiting was often hope-sapping and boredom-producing. If there are ways that it can be reduced in homelessness services and systems, then these should be actively considered. In addition to this, considering ways to help individuals find the means of using and managing their time could be usefully pursued. These could include, for example, facilitating access to transport systems so that individuals can move more freely

to access services and relationships whether on a planned or opportunistic basis. These should maximise personal agency and choice wherever possible rather than be tied to a set of onerous conditions.

8.4 Future research

Homelessness services in Glasgow have already changed since the completion of fieldwork because the GHSCP has implemented its Rapid Rehousing Plan (Miller, 2019), which incorporates Housing First as the model for supporting those with complex needs. While the GHSCP has framed this as a redesign of homelessness services to better address the issue in the city, others have characterised the £2.6millon reduction in the homelessness budget and the loss of 99 homelessness beds as cuts (Shelter Scotland, 2019c). Broadly speaking, the findings of this study support the concept of Housing First because it removes or reduces the 'step, step, step' approach that was apparent during fieldwork. While the right to permanent accommodation has been secured in Scottish legislation since 2003, the Housing First model has the potential to remove the series of 'deservingness barriers' that had to be passed through by homeless people during fieldwork. However, how this policy is resourced and implemented, and the effects it has on how services are designed and interact with each other will impact upon individual experiences and, therefore, its potential success in addressing homelessness. In this way, this thesis offers a contribution to homelessness policy and practice debates in Glasgow and beyond.

How will these changes affect homelessness in the city? There will be great interest in homelessness trends, and statistics on outcomes will be used to determine whether these policy changes are effective in reducing the overall numbers of households experiencing homelessness. But how will these changes be experienced by homeless individuals both in the short and longer-term? If there is reduced time in temporary accommodation, will individuals like Matthew feel less stuck and, therefore, be less likely to return to sleeping rough? Will there still be enough specialist residential support options available for people like Bobby who feared too much freedom? How will individuals who 'refuse to engage' (if there are any) with the new systems and processes be

characterised? How can we understand their refusal? Farrugia and Gerrard (2016) argued that structural factors are often framed as barriers to individuals including themselves in the mainstream. When these barriers have been removed, then it *must* be individual characteristics that lead individuals to refuse to engage and re-enter the mainstream. Qualitative research that focusses on individual lived experience can usefully explore issues such as these because it can grapple with the complexity of individual lives. This type of research can influence public discourse, services, and policy by prioritising the stories and narratives of homeless individuals. As can be seen from the 1966 drama *Cathy Come Home*, stories can have a profound impact on how an issue such as homelessness is responded to.

Housing First may signify a dramatic change to homelessness policy, which has long been based on ensuring that only those who are assessed as deserving and ready are offered permanent accommodation. Putting services and systems in place to move individuals into permanent housing more quickly offers the possibility that this will change. However, to what extent (and how quickly) will these policy changes translate through into actual practice? Despite having been phased out some years ago, there was still evidence that priority need categories were being used to husband scarce resources and so it may take some time for these policy changes to equate fully into changed practices. How will scarce resources (if they remain so) interact with the implementation of this policy? Research based on Lipsky's (2010) 'street level bureaucrat' concept could prove to be particularly useful in exploring this issue.

The policy change will also have an effect on the overall homeless field in Glasgow as funding is withdrawn from some services and directed towards others. How will these changes affect the lived experiences of homelessness? How services interacted with each other as well as with their service users had an effect on the individual experiences and journeys of homeless people during the fieldwork in my study. The new dynamics will impact upon individual lives including how assessments for the Housing First programme are implemented.

8.5 Conclusion

In this thesis, I have focussed on the lived experiences of some homeless people in Glasgow. In doing so, I have discussed the nature of precarity in their lives, whether they are stuck or free, and how they coped with time. While the experiences of my participants were often heavily circumscribed and controlled by the intersecting logics of legislation, policy, and service design, I do not want to leave the impression that these individuals' lives were consumed by never-ending hardship or misery. There were many occasions for laughter, fun, and play during fieldwork. Indeed, I had some data that were coded as 'play'. Those that I met and spent time with were complex, dynamic, and infinitely interesting human beings who were embedded within complex social networks. I have reified their lives here in very specific ways, although I have tried to do this with as much fidelity as possible. I would like to conclude, therefore, with two accounts of play and fun. These highlight how both I and my participants sometimes enjoyed our lives and our experiences during fieldwork. The first is an extract from a fieldnote that comes from a somewhat surreal experience with Jeremy. The second is a vignette that details an interlude in the lives of Lee and Leeanne, both residents of the LSU. It is based on a story recounted to me by both of them, which took some time because of how much they were laughing about it.

Jeremy was quite drunk by this point and we were making our way back towards his supported accommodation; my numerous offers of getting him something to eat had been refused. I thought we were going to walk past the fairground rides in St Enoch Square en route, but Jeremy got attracted by some music on one of the rides and, despite my absolute best efforts to dissuade him and excuse myself, I ended up on a surreal and rain-soaked spin around St Enoch. I realised I was laughing at one point at the absurdity of the situation. Thankfully, I was able to persuade him not to go on the other (bigger) ride and we again set off towards the river (Fieldnote, 04/04/18).

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The Post Office was shut. 'It must've shut early the day… that was a waste a time' said Lee 'will we head back'? 'No way' replied Leanne, a smile spreading across her face, 'follow me'. 'Where are you takin us man?', 'you'll see'. They walked down on to Ballater Street and headed East towards the park. Leanne skipped a little every time Lee asked where they were going. They could smell

the Strathclyde Distillery's grainy odour as they passed Waddell Street. When they turned into McNeil Street, Lee asked 'Are you taking us tae the Green?' 'Just tae the bridge. 'Whit? Whit for?'. As they stepped on to the bridge, Leanne's hands shot out to the side with the palms flat down. 'Whit are you daein?' asked Lee. 'This bridge sways weird. It makes you dead dizzy!' Liam stood still for a few seconds and then said 'Naw it disnae ya muppet, I canny feel anything'. Leanne stopped still too and realised he was right. She cracked with laughter as she tried to explain her previous visit here and how she had fell over trying to cross the bridge. Initially unimpressed, Lee started to chuckle as Leanne began laughing more and more hysterically. She eventually lay on the ground, her face streaked with tears, soon joined by Lee (adapted from how it was told to me on 18/01/18 by Lee and Leanne).

Appendix One – List of Participants Referenced

Name[35]	Age	Ethnicity	Basic details/background
Alistair	41	White Scottish	My first participant - gave me his 'life story' on first meeting and subsequently took me on a walking interview. History of abuse and addiction, currently in recovery. In his own tenancy, which was secured via Housing First (it was his worker for this that gave him my details). I am still in contact with him.
Angela	Late 30s	White Scottish	Met in the CRU though she left there shortly after I commenced fieldwork so unable to give details on her back story. My first journey was with Angela to the DWP to have her Universal Credit reviewed.
Bobby	Mid 40s	White Scottish	I initially met Bobby at football activity that was being run for those living in various homeless services, though went on to meet him again in the CRU.
Charlie (wee)	Mid 30s	White British	Met four times in the street. Superficial engagement though he got to know who I was. Mentioned in ethics/safety section of Methods Chapter.
Colin	26	White Scottish	Met in the CRU – seen regularly for about a month and conducted a semi-structured and recorded interview but never really developed good rapport. Openly gay man with a background of family relationship problems. Admitted with alcohol dependency but had a history of varied drug use also.
Danny	Early to mid-20s	White Scottish	One off encounter in the CRU (he left before I could meet him again). Critiqued my jumpers giving me awareness of my physical appearance and its influence on the situation – methods.
Davie	Early 40s	White Scottish	Knew him for the four weeks of his stay in in the CRU and went with him to an

[35] * denotes a key participant

Name[35]	Age	Ethnicity	Basic details/background
			assessment for supported accommodation.
Dennis	Late 30s/Early 40s	White Scottish	Met on the street when I was with an outreach worker. Recently released from a long-term prison sentence. Lost place at supported accommodation due to non-use. Spent about 2 hours with him that day but have never seen him since.
Eric*	56	White Scottish	Key participant – met in the Marie Trust. Has schizophrenia which is managed by depot injection. Was in B&B for most of my contact with him (January – April 2018) though had moved to supported accommodation towards the end of this. Childhood domestic violence perpetrated by his father. History of drug/alcohol use but was mainly abstinent during the time that I knew him.
Harry	Late 20s	White Scottish	Met in the CRU – his time there overlapped with Jeremy and Tom and they had a level of fleeting friendship. Didn't get the chance to find out much about his background before losing touch.
Idil	Late 20s	Somali	Met in the Bellgrove Hotel – a pleasant Somali man who showed me in his room while he was discussing benefits and other issues with the worker that I was with. I was surprised to see some beer bottles in there given that he was Muslim.
Jennifer	38	White Scottish	Met in the CRU. Degree educated, previously worked in high responsibility jobs in various places and has one young child who her parents look after. Became homeless due to the development of an alcohol problem, which was the reason she was admitted to the CRU. Met her repeatedly in the CRU (she had two stays there over the course of fieldwork) and at other activities.
Jeremy*	28	White Scottish	Key Participant - Met in the CRU in early February. He was my closest fieldwork relationship. He had a history of trauma/bereavement and was in care as a child. He had ongoing issues with

Name[35]	Age	Ethnicity	Basic details/background
			alcohol. I lost contact with him in May 2018.
Joan	Mid 40s	White Scottish	Met in the CRU and seen repeatedly over her 4-week stay there. Developed a decent relationship with her but never discussed her back story other than she had alcohol issues.
Larry	Mid 40s	White Scottish	Met in the CRU and was beginning to develop a relationship but he left early and we lost contact. He had a history of alcohol problems.
Leanne	Early 40s	White Scottish	Met in the LSU. She interacted a lot with Lee and Liam, who were also in the long-term service.
Lee	30	White Scottish	Met in the CRU before he moved into the LSU. Developed good rapport with Lee who had developed an alcohol problem while living with his mother and working (though he had been homeless when he was 22). He ended up 'going homeless again' because he felt his mother was taking all his money off him – he had left his job before this happened due to escalating alcohol use. He had two young children that he wasn't having contact with.
Liam*	43	White Scottish	Key Participant - Met in the LSU and he went on to become a key participant. He had been homeless when he was younger in Glasgow but had been working and in a relationship down in London. Had to return when the relationship broke down and was 'homeless again'. He got his own tenancy in January 2018 and I stayed in contact with him until October 2018 and he made contact with me again in March 2020.
Matthew*	40	White Scottish	Key Participant - Met at a GHN consultation event and then subsequently reconnected at the Lodging House Mission day service. He was in care when he was younger. Lived in numerous places in the UK as a child and an adult. Returned to settle in Glasgow in December 2017. He

Name[35]	Age	Ethnicity	Basic details/background
			was in a supported accommodation for most of fieldwork though got a permanent tenancy in April 2018. Quite adept at engaging/using services and only occasionally seemed to drink alcohol, though saw it as a problem when he did. Seen himself as a homeless activist and talked about protests he had been involved in. I am still in contact with Matthew.
Patrick	50s	White Scottish	A fleeting encounter on the street where he was begging. He had a history of mental health issues and noted contact with a Community Psychiatric Nurse. He was reluctant to engage with services and said he preferred to be on the street. Noted his keyworker was young and I got the sense that he felt contact with services was both pointless and humiliating.
Raymond	Late 30s	White Scottish	Met in a supported accommodation and at the football/activities organised for people in recovery from homelessness/addiction. He likes badminton and we played a few times. He has a history of cocaine use. He has neurological disorder (to define it may compromise anonymity) and a history of trauma. An articulate man who was resisting pressure to take a house 'anywhere'. I lost touch with him when he went into long term residential rehab for addiction.
Roger	Late 40s	White Scottish	Met in the WNS. An Irish man who spoke of an 18-month history of homelessness – rough sleeping in Ireland, London, Cardiff, and then Glasgow. I got a sense of mental health issues as our relationship developed though these were not immediately clear. He had no obvious or admitted addiction issues but did have serious physical health problems. He was mistrusting and non-engaging with services, particularly health.

Name[35]	Age	Ethnicity	Basic details/background
Sharon	40s	White British	A small woman who had arthritis in her knees and very yellow teeth. She had a very soft and kind personality. I knew her for about five weeks during her stay in the CRU.
Tom	Early 30s	White Scottish	Met in the CRU and was in regular contact with him over 8 weeks, during his time in the CRU and subsequent supported accommodation. Had a close relationship with Jeremy but distanced himself when Jeremy relapsed to alcohol use. He described the onset of his alcohol issues on finding his partner cheating on him and then getting stabbed in an altercation with man and then subsequent PTSD symptoms. He engaged well with the services and was doing well when last we texted (Nov 18).

Appendix Two – Homeless Participant Information Sheet

Journeys through homelessness
You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.
Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?
The purpose of this study is to better understand homelessness from the perspective of those who experience it and those who support them. I am particularly interested in the journeys that people make and what these can tell us about their experiences.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen because you are experiencing or have experienced homelessness.

Do I have to take part?
No, you do not have to take part and you are free to withdraw from the study at any point. You do not have to provide a reason why.

What is required of me if I take part?*
If you agree, I would like to spend time with you while you go about your usual day-to-day activities. Examples include going with you to meet friends, family or attend appointments or activities. This will allow me to understand the everyday reality of homelessness and the journeys involved in it. We can agree how long I am allowed to spend with you and you can ask me to leave at any point without giving a reason. I may ask some questions while I'm with you but you don't have to answer these if you do not want to. If you want to, you could take some photographs or make some maps and we can use these to guide a discussion about journeys in an interview.

Will my taking part be kept confidential?
Anything that has the potential to reveal your identity will be changed. I am required by the university to keep all information of this study in a secure location for 10 years. However, none of the information kept can be traced back to you. Other researchers may use this anonymised information for other studies in the future. It may be the case that other participants who know you would realise that you are involved in the study. This would be particularly true if we were in a group together with other people involved in the study. In these situations it is important to only discuss/disclose things that you are happy for the whole group (including me) to know about.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The results of the study will be used to produce a written account of the experiences of people affected by homelessness and those who support them. It will form part of a thesis that I am writing and may be used in other publications such as journal articles or conference presentations. I would be happy to provide a summary of the results if you wish and you can request this in person, by telephone/text or by email.

Who is funding the research?
I am funded by The Urban Studies Foundation.

Who has reviewed the study?
The study has been reviewed and approved by The University of Glasgow's College of Social Science Ethics Committee.

Contact details for further information:	
Andrew Burns PhD Candidate University of Glasgow a.burns.3@research.gla.ac.uk 0789 XXXXXXX	Professor Keith Kintrea (supervisor) University of Glasgow Glasgow G12 8RT 0141 XXXXXXX Keith.Kintrea@glasgow.ac.uk
If you have any concerns regarding the ethical conduct of this research project, please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer: Dr Muir Houston Ethics Officer 0141 XXXXXXX muir.houston@glasgow.ac.uk	

*This part of the form was amended for interview participant information sheets and read:

What is required of me if I take part?
If you agree, I would like to interview you; probably for about an hour. In the interviews I would like to discuss things that relate to your experiences of homelessness including places you go, people you meet or any other aspects that you think are important. We may use photographs and/or maps to help guide our discussions about journeys.

Appendix Three – Service Staff Participant Information Sheet

Journeys through homelessness
You are being invited to take part in a research study. Before you decide it is important for you to understand why the research is being done and what it will involve. Please take time to read the following information carefully and discuss it with others if you wish. Ask me if there is anything that is not clear or if you would like more information. Take time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.
Thank you for reading this.

What is the purpose of the study?
The purpose of this study is to better understand homelessness from the perspective of those who experience it and those who support them, with the ultimate aim of producing information that is of benefit to the homeless community. I am particularly interested in the journeys that people make and what these can tell us about their experiences.

Why have I been chosen?
You have been chosen because you are supporting someone who is experiencing or have experienced homelessness.

Do I have to take part?
No, you do not have to take part and you are free to withdraw from the study at any point. You do not have to provide a reason why.

What is required of me if I take part?*
If you agree, I would like to spend time with you while you go about your usual day-to-day activities in relation to your support role. Examples might be when you are actively supporting someone, or completing preparatory or follow-up tasks. This will allow me to gain insight into the everyday reality of homelessness and the journeys involved. We can agree how long I am allowed to spend with you and you can ask me to leave at any point without giving a reason. I may ask some questions while I'm with you but you don't have to answer these if you do not want to.

Will my taking part be kept confidential?
Anything that has the potential to reveal your identity will be changed. I am required by the university to keep all information of this study in a secure location for 10 years. However, none of the information kept can be traced back to you. Other researchers may use this anonymised information for other studies in the future. It may be the case that other participants (people who are homeless or support staff) who know you would realise that you are involved in the study. This would be particularly true if we were in a group together with other people involved in the study. In these situations it is important to only discuss/disclose things that you are happy for the whole group (including me) to know about.

What will happen to the results of the research study?
The results of the study will be used to produce a written account of the experiences of people affected by homelessness and those who support them. It will form part of a thesis that I am writing and may be used in other publications

such as journal articles or conference presentations. I would be happy to provide a summary of the results if you wish and you can request this in person, by telephone/text or by email.

Who is funding the research?
I am funded by The Urban Studies Foundation.

Who has reviewed the study?
The study has been reviewed and approved by The University of Glasgow's College of Social Science Ethics Committee.

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If you have any concerns regarding the ethical conduct of this research project, please contact the College of Social Sciences Ethics Officer:
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*This part was amended for interview participant information sheet to read as follows:

What is required of me if I take part?
If you agree, I would like to interview you; probably for about an hour. In the interviews I would like to discuss things that relate to your experiences of supporting those affected by homelessness including places or people that you think are important.

Appendix Four - Consent Form

Title of Project: Journeys through Homelessness
Name of Researcher: Andrew Burns

I confirm that I have read and understand the Plain Language Statement for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions. I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw at any time, without giving any reason. I understand that anything that has the potential to identify me personally will be changed in any publications arising from this research.
I agree / do not agree (please circle) to take part in the above study in the following ways (tick all that apply): Interview – audio recorded/not audio recorded (please circle) Participant Observation (spending time with you)
I agree / do not agree (please circle) to information, that cannot be traced back to me, being kept for 10 years after the end of this project.
I agree / do not agree (please circle) that information, that cannot be traced back to me, can be made available for use by other researchers in the future.

Name of Participant …….. Signature ……
Date ……
Name of Researcher ……Signature ……
Date ……

Appendix Five – Coding Frame

Name	Inductive/Theoretical
Abandonment	Inductive
Ad hoc accommodation	Inductive
Rough Sleeping	Inductive
Tents	Inductive
Addiction as a route into homelessness	Inductive
Begging	Inductive
deliberate jail	Inductive
Discursive Movement	Both
Ethics	Theoretical
fleeing domestic violence	Inductive
Food	Inductive
Frames	Inductive
Freedom	Inductive
Freedom for others to move to you	Inductive
Freedom from pain and trauma	Inductive
Freedom from rules	Inductive
Freedom to move	Inductive
Freedom to stay still	Inductive
Terrible freedom	Inductive
Freedom from homelessness	Inductive
Freedom in homelessness	Inductive
Gender Issues	Inductive
Masculinity	Inductive
Getting used to it	Inductive
Health Issues	Inductive
Homeless Definitions	Theoretical
Classes of homelessness	Both
Homeless knowledge	Theoretical
Homeless Relations	Inductive
Hopes and aspirations	Inductive
Hostel life	Inductive
Identity work	Theoretical
Immigration	Inductive
Roma	Inductive
Impressions of me	Inductive
Influence of authority	Inductive
Keeping your stuff	Inductive
Liminality	Both
Communitas	Both
Liminal Experiences	Both
Liminal People	Both
Liminal Places	Both
Liminal Time	Both

MCs	Both
Public Liminality	Both
Reintegration	Both
Revert to Crisis (Turner)	Both
Rules during liminality	Both
Separation	Both
Stamping	Both
Trickster	Both
Unready for the rite	Both
Low level theorising	Inductive
Mental Health	Inductive
Mobilities	Theoretical
Experience	Theoretical
Ambivalent Movement	Theoretical
Ambivalent Stillness	Theoretical
Ambivalent Time Perception	Theoretical
My reflections on experience of movement	Theoretical
Negative Movement	Theoretical
Negative Stillness	Theoretical
Negative Time Perception	Theoretical
Positive Movement	Theoretical
Positive Stillness	Theoretical
Positive Time Perception	Theoretical
Preparing for movement	Theoretical
Friction	Theoretical
Base or Rest	Theoretical
Disrupted (planned) movement	Theoretical
Gates and barriers	Theoretical
Reorientation	Theoretical
Slow or Fast for a reason	Theoretical
Motive Force	Theoretical
Functional Movement	Theoretical
Functional Stillness	Theoretical
Influenced by me to move	Theoretical
Influenced by services to move	Theoretical
Not influenced by services to move	Theoretical
Required by circumstances to move	Theoretical
Required by Services to move	Theoretical
Required by services to stay still	Theoretical
Social Movement	Theoretical
Social Stillness	Theoretical
Rhythm	Theoretical
Daily Rhythms	Theoretical
Money Rhythms	Theoretical

Rhythms of others affecting participants	Theoretical
Rhythms of own movement	Theoretical
Rhythms of substance	Theoretical
Seasonal Rhythms	Theoretical
Service Rhythms affecting participant rhythms	Theoretical
Route	Theoretical
Actual Routes Taken	Theoretical
Destinations	Theoretical
Route evaluation	Theoretical
Route Planning Decisions	Theoretical
Routes dictated by other factors	Theoretical
Velocity	Theoretical
Ease of passage	Theoretical
Mode of transport	Theoretical
Purpose and destination	Theoretical
Speed perceptions	Theoretical
Suddeness	Theoretical
Movement of Information between services	Theoretical
Movement of objects	Theoretical
Performance	Theoretical
Play	Inductive
Humour	Inductive
Power Dynamics	Theoretical
Public Perceptions	Inductive
Recovery	Inductive
Reflections on Fieldwork	Inductive
Relationships in the field	Inductive
Returns	Inductive
Addiction	Inductive
Family Home	Inductive
Forced returns	Inductive
Homelessness	Inductive
Housed status	Inductive
Jeremy Return Affective	Inductive
Missed Return	Inductive
Places	Inductive
Recovery	Inductive
Refused Return	Inductive
Relationships	Inductive
Research Returns	Inductive
Routine Returns	Inductive
Seasonal Returns	Inductive
Services	Inductive
Trauma	Inductive
Service Staff	Inductive

Staff Interactions with each other	Inductive
Staff interactions with me	Inductive
Staff interactions with participants	Inductive
Staff interactions with service users	Inductive
Service-User Relational Practices	Inductive
Sleep	Inductive
Social and Physical Position	Theoretical
Structural issues	Theoretical
Stuckness	Both
Stuck in Mobility or Movement	Both
Stuck in Place or Space	Both
Stuck in Process or System	Both
Stuck in time	Both
Suddenness	Inductive
Surprise life stories	Inductive
Trauma Stories	Inductive
Violence victim	Inductive
Walk and Talk - the place of place	Theoretical
Walk and Talk- side by side conversations	Theoretical
Walk-Talk Interaction (speed, etc)	Theoretical
Weather Reports	Inductive

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