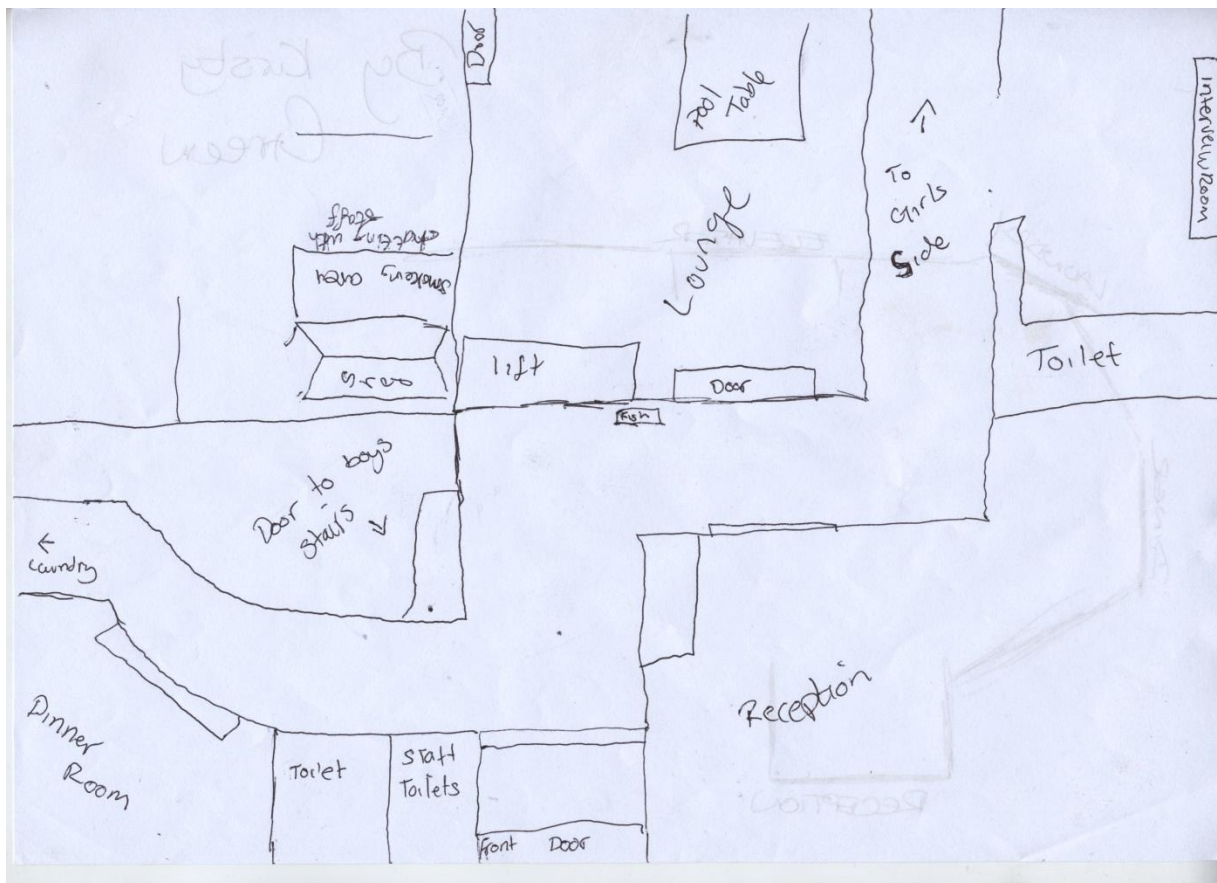


Fallen On Hard Times:

Re-examining the Homeless Hostel



Department of Geography
April 2014

Declaration

This dissertation is my own unaided work and is between 8,000 and 10,000 words in length. This includes headings, references and quotations, and excludes preface, bibliography, tables, figures and appendices.

In Part 1B I received 80 minutes of supervision. In Part II I received 60 minutes.

Acknowledgements

I would like to thank to Dr Alex Jeffrey for his academic support and advice during supervisions.

I would also like to thank the residents and staff of Shelter House, for welcoming me as a volunteer and researcher. Their time, knowledge and support were invaluable.

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Note on Names and Acronyms

SCC – Sheffield City Council

DCLG – Department for Communities and Local Government

Shelter House – a pseudonym for the hostel, used to ensure confidentiality and protect the identity of participants and the charity

Participants' names – also pseudonyms, used to protect the identity and views of individuals

Preface

I had initially planned to research how homeless people create spaces of belonging in public space, but preliminary investigations suggested this would be both ethically and logistically problematic. Consultations with an outreach-worker confirmed that rough-sleepers' mobile and unpredictable lifestyles mean they are often hard to locate, only visible at night and frequently under the influence of alcohol or drugs. I realised that researching these highly-vulnerable individuals was likely to involve intrusive methods, as I would have to interrupt their daily life-paths and potentially compromise their sense of security.

Consequently, I chose instead to focus on the homeless hostel. My preliminary discussions with homeless participants highlighted the importance of such organised service spaces for shaping their everyday geographies. Pilot interviews with the hostel's management team and two residents confirmed that, due to the institution's protective regulations, my new research design would be less intrusive. Residents were protected by a gatekeeper, the Centre Manager, and rules regarding their safety and confidentiality, such as the prohibition of photography. Unlike rough-sleepers, hostel residents also have a private room, enabling them to avoid the research process altogether if they wished. This reassured me that my new research strategy was more ethically justifiable, as well as more logistically viable.

In addition, a review of existing literature showed hostels to be an under-researched topic, highlighting the need for detailed study. I therefore altered the focus of my research to better investigate homeless people's experiences of the hostel and its significant impact on their lives.

Abstract

Original Title and Abstract (submitted in Lent Term of Part 1B):

Creating inclusion: spaces of belonging in the homeless city

This dissertation will explore the possibilities for the social inclusion of homeless people as legitimate occupants of public space, in the context of Sheffield's regeneration. It will critically analyse the relations between official policy, homeless people and the housed public in the city centre, not only as strategies of control and resistance but as creative processes through which spaces of inclusion and meaning are formed. Interviews, focus groups and surveys will examine the views and interactions of homeless and housed people. Autophotography and participant observation will provide deeper insight into homeless people's experiences of citizenship and belonging in specific places.

Modified Title and Abstract (submitted in Michaelmas Term of Part II):

Fallen On Hard Times: Re-examining the Homeless Hostel

This dissertation examines the complex interactions between official discourse, individual agency and everyday practice, in the institutional space of the homeless hostel. Grounded in feminist theory, the research uses semi-structured interviews and participant observation to explore the subjective experiences of both staff and residents as they negotiate structural constraints. In contrast to totalising accounts of urban revanchism and disciplinary institutions, the findings provide a more nuanced insight into the lived realities of homelessness and service provision. The diverse experiences discussed by participants have important implications for our understanding of the homeless hostel as a space of care.

Introduction

'Homeless shelters serve as institutional spaces for government intrusion and surveillance of low-income and homeless people.' (Williams, 1996:75)

'This place means a lot. It's like a foundation, somewhere safe and stable where they help you get to where you wanna be in life. It's heaven-sent.' (Dan, resident)

As the rate of homelessness across Britain continues to rise (Crisis, 2012), the role of hostels in helping people overcome social exclusion and return to permanent housing is increasingly being brought into question. Providing food, accommodation and social interaction, hostels alleviate the material and emotional hardship of living on the streets, and offer crucial care and support for marginalised individuals. Yet they are also a key apparatus in the government's strategy to 'deal with the wider causes of homelessness, from family breakdown and mental illness to drug addiction and alcoholism' (Department for Communities and Local Government (DCLG), 2011:4). Focusing on personal characteristics rather than structural inequalities, such statements exemplify perceptions of homelessness as the result of individual failings. This associates the hostel with a disciplinary function, required to control and reform deviant individuals. Deconstructing this discourse reveals an uneasy ambivalence at the heart of the hostel's work: simultaneously professing to help disadvantaged people whilst blaming them for their situation, hostels represent a complex, seemingly contradictory, relationship between caring intentions and a disciplinary agenda. This relationship shapes how institutional policy is performed, challenged and experienced by diverse individuals, and governs hostels' impact on personal wellbeing.

Despite hostels' importance in shaping the landscape of social marginalisation, however, 'geographers and others have been remarkably slow to look inside these service spaces so as to make an assessment as to how they might best be conceptualised' (DeVerteuil et al, 2009:653). There is little doubt that homelessness is a crucial issue in Geography, with implications for our understandings of citizenship, home and the reinscription of social marginalisation through space (Sibley, 1995). Yet there has been surprisingly little research into the hostel itself. Much of the literature focuses instead on homeless people's exclusion from public space, and their criminalisation by punitive city authorities (Mitchell, 1997). Studies which do consider the

hostel in more detail typically frame it as a purely rationalistic, disciplinary institution designed to 'detect and address' individual deviancy (Lyon-Callo, 2008). In contrast, an emerging body of research highlights subjective experiences of hostels as 'spaces of care' (Conradson, 2003; Cloke et al, 2010). These studies are beginning to offer a much-needed counterweight to accounts which dismiss the hostel as wholly disciplinary (May and Cloke, 2013). Although valuable, however, their emphasis on staff's 'urge to care' (Cloke et al, 2008) often overlooks the regulatory structures in which homeless services are situated. Consequently, previous research on the hostel is divided, framing it as *either* a space of care *or* a disciplinary institution.

Moving beyond this dichotomy, this dissertation re-examines the homeless hostel as a complex space where discourses, policies and individual subjectivities all interact in conflicting and complementary ways. I argue that it is only by considering *both* care *and* discipline and, crucially, the interactions between them, that we can develop a more comprehensive understanding of the intersubjective relations and regulatory structures which constitute the hostel space. My research is centred around the following questions:

1. How and by whom is the hostel constituted and experienced as a space of care?
2. To what extent is it constructed as a disciplinary institution?
3. How can we better conceptualise the relationships between care and discipline in the space of the homeless hostel?

I address these questions using a situated case-study of a hostel in Sheffield, where the statutory homelessness rate is nearly triple the national average (Sheffield City Council (SCC), 2014:18). Drawing on feminist methodology and ethics, I use participant observation, semi-structured interviews and participant diagramming with hostel residents and staff to explore the everyday interactions which shape individuals' experiences. Through critical discourse analysis of government policy documents, I also examine the discursive norms and political-economic framework in which the hostel is situated. Together, these techniques allow me to investigate how official policy is performed and challenged through everyday practice. I thus move beyond the rationalistic, totalising assumptions of dominant accounts, to show how the hostel may indeed be experienced as a space of care. Moreover, critical analysis of socio-spatial interactions within the hostel reveals how disciplinary techniques are incorporated as an integral part of caring relations. This challenges the dichotomous depictions of care and discipline which pervade existing literature, and demands a more nuanced understanding of how the hostel functions as *both* a disciplinary technique *and* a space of care.

Theoretical Framework

This chapter discusses previous geographical interpretations of homeless services and policies. A clear distinction exists between punitive/Foucauldian accounts, which position the hostel as a disciplinary institution, and work on the geographies of care, which frames the hostel as a therapeutic environment. In problematising this dichotomy, I outline a more nuanced approach to conceptualising the hostel space. This uses an examination of both care and discipline, to explore the interactions between them.

The Punitive Framework: Hostels as Disciplinary Institutions

Previous analyses of homeless policies and institutions have been overwhelmingly negative, framing them as part of governmental strategies to exclude and discipline the poor. Drawing on Dear and Wolch's (1987) seminal work, geographers have documented the segregation of homeless services and people into marginal areas (Takahashi, 1996). This reinscription of social exclusion through space is rationalised by ideas of homeless people having 'spoiled identities' (Goffman, 1963), which threaten the perceived purity of the city (Sibley, 1995). Discursive, legislative and physical techniques, identified as part of the 'strategic armoury of the city against the poor' (Davis, 1992:160), are used to construct homeless bodies as 'out of place' in prime public space (Snow and Anderson, 1993). Such strategies represent a growing trend towards neoliberalisation, as 'revanchist' authorities attempt to 'sanitise' the city as a centre for conspicuous consumption (Smith, 1996; Sibley, 1995). Consequently, Mitchell (1997) argues we are now witnessing the 'annihilation of homeless people' and their geographies, as urban policy moves from an earlier period of 'malign neglect' (Dear and Wolch, 1987) to a more aggressively punitive regime.

Within this punitive framework, homeless hostels and other welfare services are viewed as a disciplinary apparatus of state intervention, through which city authorities regulate homeless people's bodies and behaviours (Mitchell, 1997; Dean, 1999). Drawing on Goffman's (1961) 'total institution' theory, Stark (1994) portrays the hostel as a site of complete control, where staff impose spatio-temporal constraints to standardise and manage homeless people's lives. In his view, hostels isolate residents from social networks and employment opportunities, leading to their institutionalisation and loss of identity. Williams (1996) advances a similarly totalising

account, depicting hostels as sites of government surveillance and intrusion, designed solely for the correction of problematic individuals. This project is naturalised by discursive constructions of homeless people as morally-deviant individuals, with bio-medicalised problems to be addressed by state intervention (Lyon-Callos, 2000; Rollinson, 1998). Adopting a Foucauldian approach, these accounts examine the hostel in terms of disciplinary governmentality, in which power is imposed through individuals' adoption of dominant norms (Foucault, 1977).

Nominally 'caring' policies, including welfare provision and rehabilitation programmes, are dismissed as coercive attempts to discipline the poor. They are seen as part of a reforming project which aims to make deviant people responsible for their own self-regulation (Cruikshank, 1996). Individual agency is considered only in terms of limited acts of resistance against deterministic institutional structures. Thus, as Cloke et al (2010:1) claim, 'critical narratives of homelessness have become increasingly dystopic in recent years, inextricably tangled up in ideas about neoliberal politics and the geographies of social control.'

However, there is growing recognition that these narratives are overly simplistic, homogenising 'the homeless' and obscuring the complex lived realities of everyday experience (DeVerteuil et al, 2009). Focused primarily on US state policy, they are not always applicable to localised, less revanchist contexts in Europe (Cloke et al, 2010). Their understanding of agency as purely rational acts of resistance means that the non-rational, emotional elements of homeless people's lives are not considered (Daya and Wilkins, 2013). Moreover, by casting all services as technologies of state control, they overlook important geographies of care and welfare, and the individual subjectivity of service providers (Staeheli and Brown, 2003). These oversights are significant because, as Feldman (2006:5) argues, it is 'a mistake to dismiss compassionate and welfare efforts as nothing more than punitive, disciplinary social control measures in disguise.'

The Compassionate Framework: Hostels as 'Spaces of Care'

In contrast, an emerging body of literature highlights the supportive nature of homeless services, positioning them as 'spaces of care' (Conradson, 2003; Cloke et al, 2010). This is part of a broader trend in political, health and social geographies, which recognises care's importance for social relations. Moving beyond perceptions of care as an activity, feminist geographers in particular have highlighted its role as an inherently social, intersubjective relation (Popke, 2006). This directly contradicts punitive accounts for, as Brown (2003) argues, the *relational* notion of care defies revanchist and Foucauldian ideas about the rational subject of individual

rights and responsibilities. Exploring the everyday, emotional work of caring relationships, Pratt (2003) and McDowell et al (2005) demonstrate the situated, spatialised nature of these interactions in the context of the home. Space is not simply the background, but a key element in the unfolding formation of individual subjectivities and relations, as Bondi and Fewell's (2003) analysis of counselling services shows. Within these spaces, an ethics of care is positioned not as an activity but as an orientation, 'a way of relating to others with values of compassion' (Popke, 2006:506).

In acknowledging such 'spaces of care' and their sociopolitical importance for communities (Staeheli, 2003), geographers are, as Johnsen et al (2005:788) suggest, 'slowly beginning to identify a second side to the revanchist city.' Within this compassionate framework, caring relations have been examined in the context of hospitals, community drop-ins and mental health centres. Instead of official policy, these accounts explore the everyday practices and individual subjectivities through which such sites are constructed as spaces of 'refuge,' 'therapeutic encounter,' and 'license,' respectively (Curtis et al, 2009; Conradson, 2003; Parr, 2003). Yet significantly few studies have applied this lens to homelessness. Several authors uncritically characterise homeless hostels as spaces of care, citing their increasing number as evidence of a continued 'urge to care' (Macleod, 2002; Cloke et al, 2005). Yet they fail to assess how these spaces are understood and constituted by diverse individuals 'on the ground.' Johnsen et al (2005) provide a more intricate analysis, showing how homeless day centres are experienced as therapeutic environments by service-users. A thorough examination of these nuances and the intersubjective relations which shape them has, however, yet to be undertaken in the homeless hostel itself. It is this crucial oversight in existing literature which this dissertation addresses.

A False Dichotomy?

Moreover, geographical studies of care have failed to consider the role of discipline in mediating these caring relations. Their focus on personal subjectivity and emotional interactions means that the policies, discourses and regulatory frameworks which structure the caring relationship are often overlooked. Similarly, Foucauldian/punitive accounts focused on the rationality of institutional policy ignore the non-rational, relational motivations of individual subjects. This leads to dichotomous understandings of care and discipline as separate and opposing frames of meaning. As a result, homeless hostels have been understood *either* as disciplinary institutions *or* as spaces of care, as shown below:

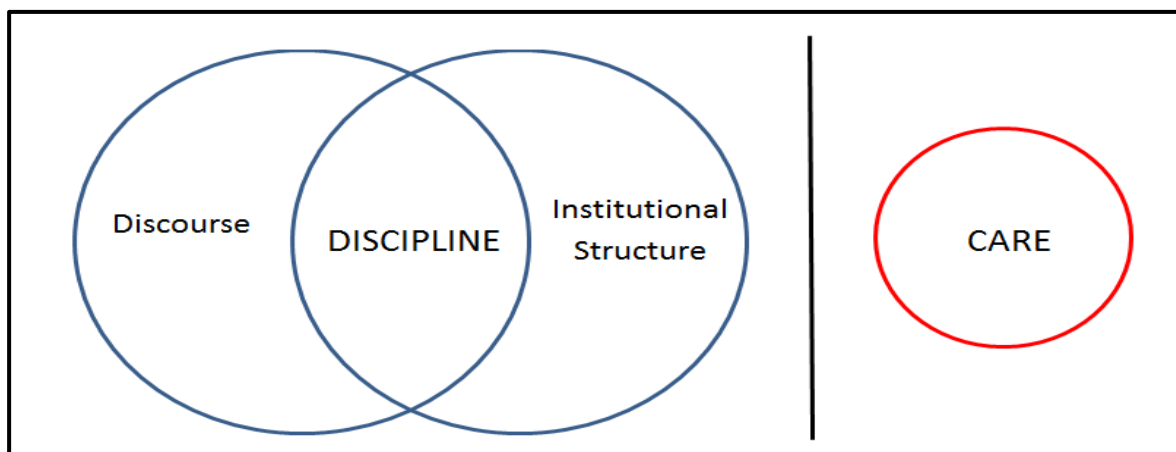


Fig. 1: Diagrammatic representation of the dichotomous frameworks used in previous studies

To overcome this dichotomy, as Wilton and DeVerteuil (2006:660) argue, we ‘need to move from asking whether a space is therapeutic or not, towards the ways in which that space is imbued with multiple relations of power and resistance, and the implications of these entanglements for individuals’ lived experiences within.’ As feminist researchers have demonstrated, a more comprehensive analysis of these entanglements requires moving beyond deterministic accounts of official policy, to include intersubjective relations and everyday experience. Only by incorporating individual subjectivity can we explore how disciplinary structures are experienced in practice, as shown below.

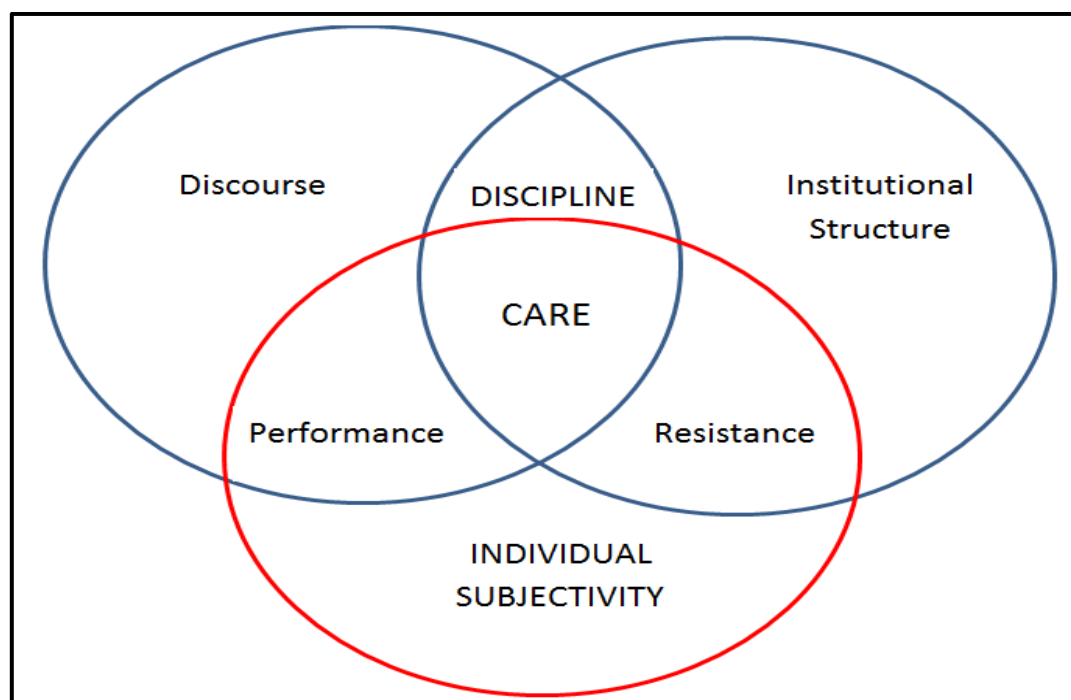


Fig. 2: Diagrammatic representation of the interconnected framework used in this dissertation

Adopting this interconnected framework, this dissertation offers a more nuanced insight into the everyday realities and intersubjective relations of the hostel space. Through a qualitative case-study, I explore the complexities which previous research overlooks. The following chapters demonstrate the importance of both care and discipline and, crucially, the interactions between them, in shaping the homeless hostel.

Methodology

Feminist scholars such as England (1994) have highlighted the situated nature of fieldwork, as a socially-constituted process of intersubjective collaboration between researcher and participants. Recognising this, I adopted a qualitative case-study approach (Hay, 2000) through which a detailed, if partial, understanding of the hostel could be developed. Ethnographic research enabled me to extend my analysis beyond the institution's disciplinary policy, to the ways in which it is mediated by individuals' caring relations. This was important because, as Johnsen et al (2005:798) argue, 'it is the interactions between staff and service-users that have the most pronounced influence on how ethos is enacted, and experienced, in practice.' My choice of methods was motivated by feminist calls for research to empower the participants (McDowell, 1992). Although my study's limited timescale prevented it from being fully participant-led, I incorporated feminist methodology where possible. I structured my fieldwork around the issues which respondents identified as important, and reflected on my own role in influencing the research process.

Ethics

Researching the marginalised 'Other' is inherently political and ethically ambiguous. It could negatively impact on those involved (Katz, 1994), and may serve as a form of voyeurism through which participants are exploited (Limb and Dwyer, 2001). This is particularly relevant when researching vulnerable groups, including homeless people. I therefore used overt methods based in sensitivity and confidentiality throughout, in order to ensure an ethical foundation for the interactions between Self and Other (Cloe et al, 2008). Table 1 shows how I addressed the primary ethical issues identified by researchers.

Ethical Issue	Approach taken during research
Informed consent	Explained the nature, purpose and potential audience of the research. Ensured participants were aware they were under no obligation to take part and could leave at any point.
Privacy	Ensured confidentiality by keeping notes and recordings secure. Used pseudonyms for participants and the hostel itself.
[Preventing] Harm	Used caution and careful wording when discussing sensitive issues. Terminated one interview when the participant became distressed.
[Preventing]Exploitation	Helped staff and residents by volunteering. Provided the management with a summary of residents' concerns, suggesting how services could be improved for their benefit.

Table 1: Handling of the ethical issues identified by Hammersley and Atkinson (2007)

Positionality

My positionality as a young, non-homeless researcher greatly influenced the power relations between myself and participants, and thus the data which emerged (Dowling, 2005). Although immediately welcomed by staff, I was initially seen by residents as an outsider, such that our interactions were restricted by a social barrier (DeVerteuil, 2004). This weakened rapidly as I built rapport, by engaging in their conversations and leisure activities, but did not fully disappear. Staff-resident relations were also important because, as Lofland and Lofland (1995:58) argue, negotiating these internal divisions requires strategic positioning by the researcher to 'avoid appearing so excessively loyal to one group that they will be denied access to the other.' Spending equal time with staff and residents was crucial to diffusing my positionality, as both an internal and external Other within each group. Objectivity is, however, unattainable (McDowell, 1992), so the findings I present are inevitably influenced by the intersubjective relations and personal ideologies through which they were produced.

The Research Site

I based my case-study in the post-industrialising city of Sheffield, where the statutory homelessness rate is almost three times the national average, at 6.0 compared to 2.3 per 1000 households (SCC, 2014:18). With a neoliberalising council keen to 'improve the customer experience' of homeless services whilst reducing their usage (SCC, 2010:5), Sheffield provides an important opportunity to examine how official policy shapes institutional space.



Fig. 3: Map showing the location of Sheffield, South Yorkshire. Source: BBC

Within this context, I focused on Shelter House (a pseudonym), a purpose-built direct-access hostel on the outskirts of Sheffield city centre. I accessed the research site and participants by contacting a gatekeeper, the Centre Manager. The organisation's key features are shown below.

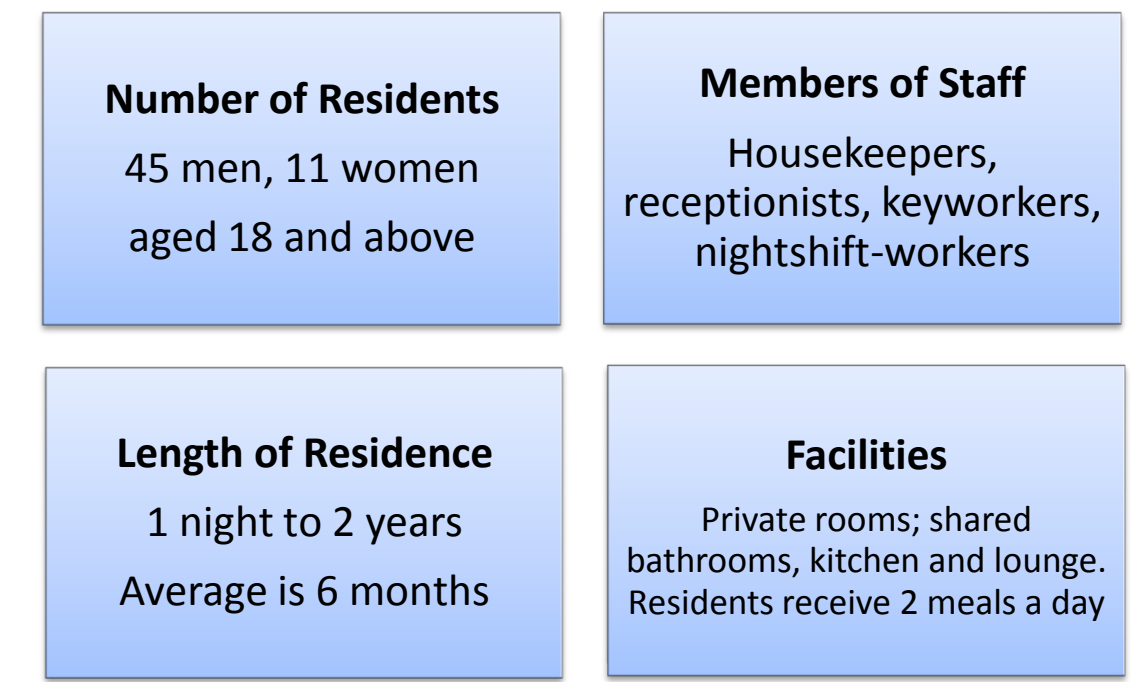


Fig. 4: Key organisational features of Shelter House

The hostel's 'keyworkers' are responsible for assessing residents' needs, designing a support plan to address these needs and putting them in contact with relevant mental health or financial services. Run by a charity that relies on SCC for funding, Shelter House describes its purpose as providing both accommodation and 'activities and training to help improve the self-esteem, mental health and employment prospects of service-users' (Shelter House Charity, 2012). It is therefore a useful example of the multidimensional approach being adopted by hostels throughout the UK (Clope et al, 2010).

Discourse Analysis

As any study of homeless institutions must consider the broader political structures which frame them (DeVerteuil, 2006), I began by analysing national and local government discourses on homelessness. Repeated attempts to gain an interview with a member of SCC proved unsuccessful, but close examination of policy documents gave an indication of the political landscape in which Shelter House is situated. Critical discourse analysis enabled me to assess how certain 'truths' are privileged above others to justify disciplinary policies (Marston, 2000).

Participant Observation

To explore how these discourses are negotiated in practice, I spent four weeks volunteering in the hostel itself. My focus on 'everyday geographies' enabled a more sensitive, contextualised

understanding of place and experience to develop (Cosgrove and Jackson, 1987). By doing both day and night shifts, I overcame the temporal restrictions which DeVerteuil (2004) encountered, thereby gaining a more holistic insight into hostel life. Immersing myself as a participant observer improved my understanding of institutional structures, and how they constrain and complement individuals' caring motivations. It also helped create relationships of trust with participants, thus opening opportunities for more in-depth research (Johnsen et al, 2005). Following Cloke et al (2000), I reflected on my experiences in a daily field diary, again demonstrating my own role in knowledge production and the influence of my positionality on the research process.

Interviews

Drawing on informal conversations during my participant observation, I designed an interview guide to develop a 'more thorough examination of [participants'] experiences, feelings or opinions' (Kitchin and Tate, 2001:219). Viewing this as a collaborative process (Holstein and Gubrium, 1995), I used pilot interviews and participant feedback to make the topics and wording more relevant to interviewees. For instance, several residents found it helpful to discuss Shelter House by comparison to other hostels, so I adapted the questions to accommodate this. My findings were nevertheless greatly influenced by the questions I selected (Kitchin and Tate, 2001), and my coding strategy (Appendices D and E). Rather than being seen as an essentialist truth, they represent a contingent, evolving attempt to explore how individuals make sense of their lives (Valentine, 1997).

I conducted 17 interviews with residents and 13 with staff (Appendices A and B), to explore individual experiences of disciplinary structures and caring relations. The hostel's formal interview room provided a relatively neutral space familiar to all participants, where they felt more comfortable to answer openly (Clifford et al, 2010). I used a voice recorder with interviewees' consent (6 residents declined) and took detailed notes.

Sampling proved problematic, as 12 residents spoke no English. I tried using a translator, but this constrained their responses; I consequently had to exclude them from the study. The unpredictability of many residents' lives also made organising interviews in advance difficult, so participation depended on who was available at the time. To gain a more representative sample, I maximised my own availability and offered multiple opportunities for participation. Rather than being fully 'comprehensive,' however, the interviews exemplify the temporally-specific, socially-contingent nature of the research process.

Focus Groups

I conducted one staff and two resident focus groups (Appendix C), to explore how the issues emerging in interviews were negotiated and contested through social relations. Group members were familiar with each other and thus confident to express their opinions, but may have altered their responses to fit perceived peer expectations (Hay, 2000). Two outspoken individuals dominated the staff discussion, so findings may not fully represent collective opinion. Nevertheless, focus groups significantly decentred my role as researcher (Secor, 2010), particularly with residents.

Participant Diagramming

Following Johnsen et al (2008) I intended to use autophotography as a participatory technique. Official policy, however, prohibited all photography involving the hostel and its residents. Instead, I engaged 6 residents in participant diagramming, asking them to draw Shelter House and discuss this in a focus group. Centring on the images they produced enabled them to 'tell narratives about themselves and their everyday geographies' (Johnsen et al, 2008:196) more openly than in interviews. This helped reduce the influence of my preconceptions (Flowerdew and Martin, 2005) and empowered participants in the process of knowledge production (Pain and Kindon, 2007).

Triangulating the five methods outlined above enabled me to confirm the major themes (Hoggart et al, 2002), and explore their nuances and contradictions. Figure 5 summarises how I used these methods to examine the influence of different stakeholders, as disciplinary policies were mediated through individuals' caring relations. The uniquely-situated findings which emerged, and my subjective interpretations of them, are discussed in subsequent chapters.

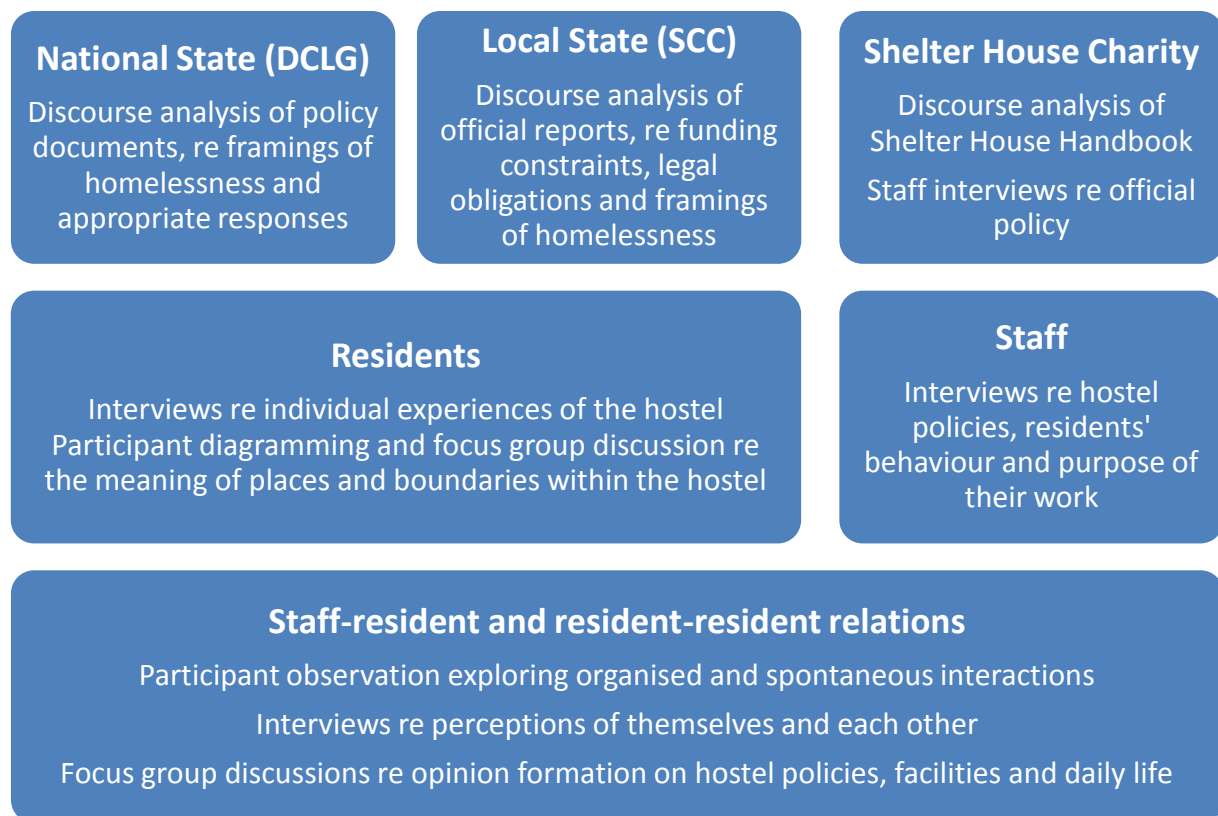


Fig. 5: Summary of key stakeholders and methods; further details in Appendices

Care

'The purpose of this place is to reintegrate people into a caring atmosphere, providing support when everybody else has turned their backs on you.' (Sarah, keyworker)

Following May and Cloke's (2013) call for a more optimistic reading of the hostel, this chapter examines how it is constituted as a space of refuge, empathy and therapeutic encounter. My analysis focuses on the everyday practices taking place between individuals, through which the 'fine line between care and oppression' is drawn (Cloke et al, 2005:399). Building on Conradson's work, I explore care as 'the proactive interest of one person in the wellbeing of another' (2003:508). My research reveals the importance of acceptance, empathy and mutual support in creating the hostel as a space of care. I show how interpersonal interactions and the hostel space itself are crucial to the development of caring relations, through which homeless people are able to experience enhanced wellbeing. This advances previous debates by offering a more detailed insight into the hostel's positive impacts on diverse subjectivities, thus contradicting totalising accounts of a wholly disciplinary institution.

1. Refuge

a) Material Resource

At their most basic level, hostels function as sites of material resource (Johnsen et al, 2005), where homeless people can access essential facilities otherwise unavailable to them. During interviews, residents identified the provision of food and shelter as the hostel's most important purpose. As Evans and Dowler (1999:180) suggest, such services are vital simply to 'keep homeless people alive.' By offering 'a place to lay yer head' (Jake, resident), hostels provide respite from the daily challenges of living on the streets. The lounge, dining and bedroom areas in particular were described by residents as rare places of comfort, where they could 'relax' (Hussein, resident) far more than in public space.

The provision of basic resources means residents no longer have to take part in 'survivalist crime' (Carlen, 1996) just to feed themselves. Having committed this in the past, many appreciated the sense of legality and relief the hostel offered, arguing 'it's better than the bleeding streets. It's better than jail. It's like a hotel here' (Joey, resident). This quote encapsulates a common view amongst residents: that the hostel is their only alternative to

rough-sleeping or prison. By providing legalised access to vital resources, Shelter House alleviates the material hardships and fear of arrest which many homeless people face.

The hostel's material resources also alter the embodied experience of homelessness. Shower and laundry facilities enable residents to maintain a cleaner, more conventional bodily appearance, improving their personal comfort and lessening the visibility of their homelessness. This means they can escape some of the stigma assigned to the more conspicuously homeless in public. Several recalled the humiliation of being branded 'homeless bums' (Danielle, resident) and 'crackheads' (Chantelle, resident) whilst rough-sleeping. The hostel's facilities enable them to avoid such labels and reassert their sense of self (Snow and Anderson, 1993), thus improving their self-esteem.

b) Acceptance

As well as material resources, Shelter House also offers a space of social refuge, where stigma is further diminished as homelessness becomes the norm. Residents contrasted the rejection they suffered in public with the lack of judgement they experienced upon arrival at the hostel, saying 'there's no prejudice about who gets in. If you're homeless you're homeless, everyone can come' (Rick, resident). These words highlight the inclusionary ethos promoted at Shelter House, regardless of appearance or past activity, to all who define themselves as 'homeless.' The hostel thus offers a vital space of acceptance to those marginalised by mainstream society.

This sense of acceptance means that residents with a range of backgrounds, personalities and physical and mental health conditions are included. In turn, this facilitates the expression of 'unusual norms' (Parr, 2000) as, rather than being avoided, difference is constantly encountered and even encouraged. Throughout my research I saw residents exhibit unconventional bodily aesthetics and practices which are often rejected in public space. In the hostel, however, talking to oneself, dirty clothes and bodily odours (common amongst new arrivals) were rendered acceptable. Staff's attitude to these unconventional characteristics is summed up by receptionist Jess's remark, 'so what if they're a bit grubby?' As a result of this ethos, Shelter House operates as a key 'space of license' where, as Parr (2003) describes, individuals can express themselves free from the threat of 'Othering' that restricts such activities in more judgmental public space. For marginalised people, therefore, the hostel acts as a crucial space of both material and social refuge.

2. Empathy

This inclusionary ethos emanates from the empathy staff feel towards residents. Crucial for creating spaces of care (Conradson, 2003), empathy was frequently identified by staff as the dominant motivation for their work. In part, this reflects their own sense of vulnerability to homelessness; a sense that ‘there but for the grace of God go I’ (Holly, outreach-worker). These words demonstrate staff’s awareness of the role of chance in shaping individual circumstances. This contradicts Williams’ (1996) argument that hostels position the homeless person as entirely to blame. Instead of castigating residents as inherently faulty (Lyon-Callo, 2000), most staff see them as the undeserving victims of misfortune, for whom the natural response is care.

Moreover, this sense of shared vulnerability leads staff to reject the ‘Othering’ discourses which frame ‘the homeless’ (DeVerteuil et al, 2009) and focus instead on the similarities between themselves and residents. As Sam (keyworker) said,

‘whatever issues you and me go through, these people go through exactly the same. A lot of lads have been through divorce, like I have, but I had me safety nets, my friends and family around me, and they don’t have that.’

Sam’s identification of his shared experience with residents meant they were no longer rejected as inherently ‘Other.’ As May and Cloke (2013) argue, this is important for reasserting homeless people’s humanity, often denied by stigmatising discourses. Residents felt that, unlike the general public, ‘staff don’t treat you differently for being homeless, they don’t judge you’ (Mark, resident). Many described this lack of judgement as key to helping them feel valued and ‘appreciated’ (Rick, resident). For those accustomed to criminalisation and exclusion, the empathy promoted in Shelter House is crucial for re-establishing their sense of personal worth.

In addition, Sam’s appreciation of his own ‘safety nets’ reflects a common view amongst staff: that Shelter House is to act as a support system for those who have none. Seeing social disadvantage, rather than individual failings, as responsible for homelessness, staff position the hostel as a necessarily caring space. Their empathy towards residents engenders the ‘positive regard and warmth’ (Conradson, 2003) through which derogatory discourses of ‘the homeless’ are rejected and individual wellbeing is promoted. This empathetic stance is encapsulated by keyworker Ruby’s description of the residents:

'They're all individuals. They're just people who've fallen on hard times. I think we all need a bit of support in life sometimes.'

Her use of the word 'we' to include both staff and residents signifies this sense of shared humanity and common need. This demonstrates feminist conceptualisations of care as an orientation, framed by empathy and compassion (Staeheli and Brown, 2003). By promoting these values, staff naturalise the hostel's role as a supportive space of care.

3. Therapeutic Encounter

a) Staff-resident interactions

This supportive ethos is promoted through embodied interactions between individuals, as Shelter House is performatively brought into being as a space of 'therapeutic encounter' (Conradson, 2003). Supportive encounters with staff help residents to feel 'looked after' (Hussein, resident). As well as them attending keyworker meetings, I frequently observed residents visiting reception simply to talk to staff. Having suffered from isolation, many homeless people found staff's 'willingness to listen' (Jake, resident) a positive influence on their self-esteem. During the participant diagramming session, respondents identified these chats as crucial for their feeling supported, as Figure 6 shows:

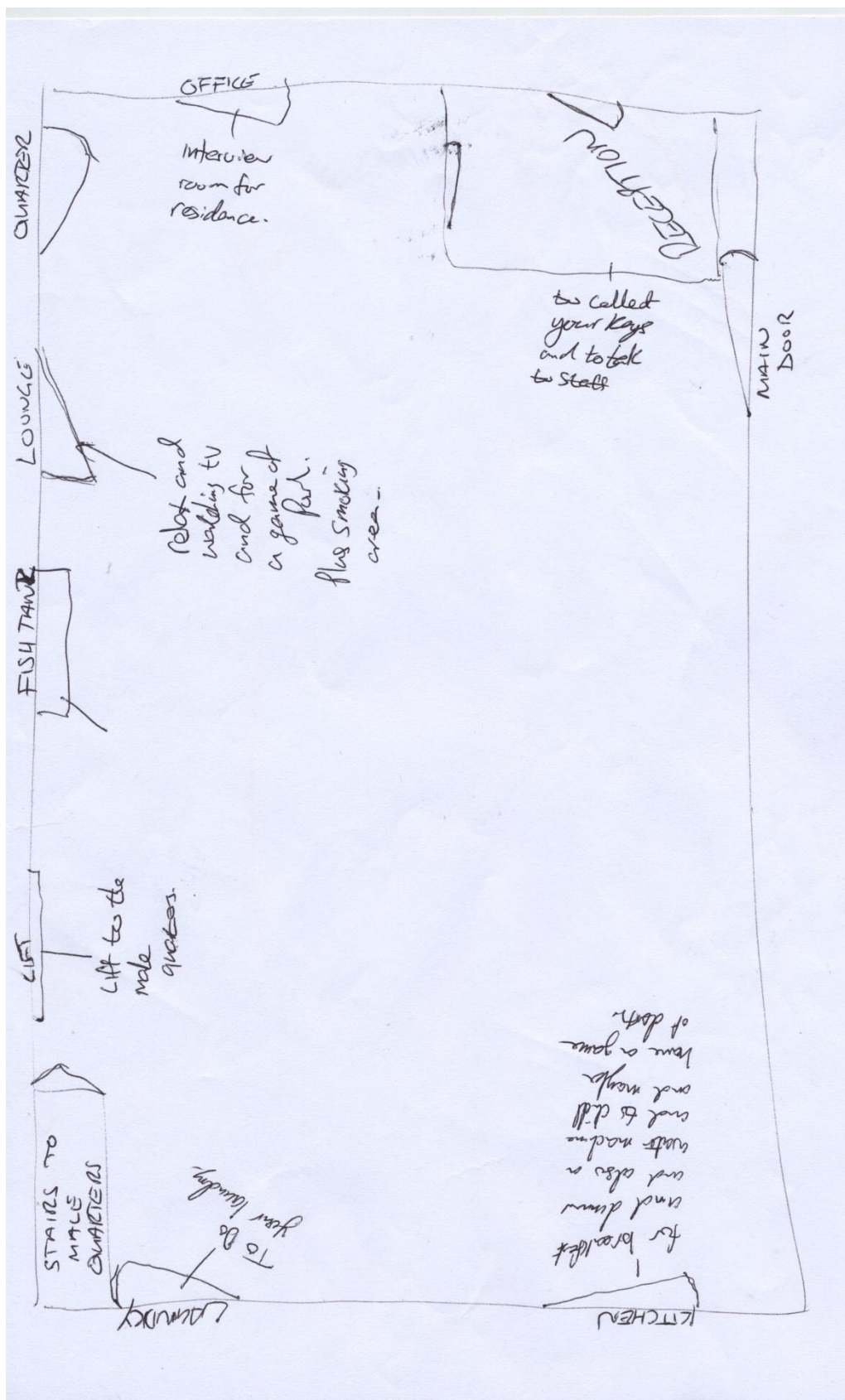


Fig. 6: Map of Shelter House, drawn by Kevin (resident), with reception labelled as a key site of interaction

Particularly for those with mental illnesses, these daily interactions provided an important sense of stability: 'if I'm on me own I'm a danger to meself, so it's good to be around people. You can just talk to them, have a chat and that' (Joey, resident). This statement indicates how staff's empathetic ethos helps residents feel validated enough to 'just' talk to them, without having to alter their behaviour or disguise their homelessness. The hostel thus facilitates positive interactions often unavailable to those stigmatised by mainstream society.

These informal discussions encapsulated staff's caring motivations. As well as listening to residents' concerns from within reception, staff frequently transgressed the hostel's physical boundaries to socialise with them in communal areas. By joining residents for a cigarette or game of pool, staff performed an embodied and emotional 'move towards the Other' (Cloke et al, 2005), as they engaged with marginalised individuals to promote their wellbeing. Residents described the importance of these interactions, highlighting the smoking area and lounge on their maps as key sites where they could 'have a laugh with staff' (Nicholas, resident):

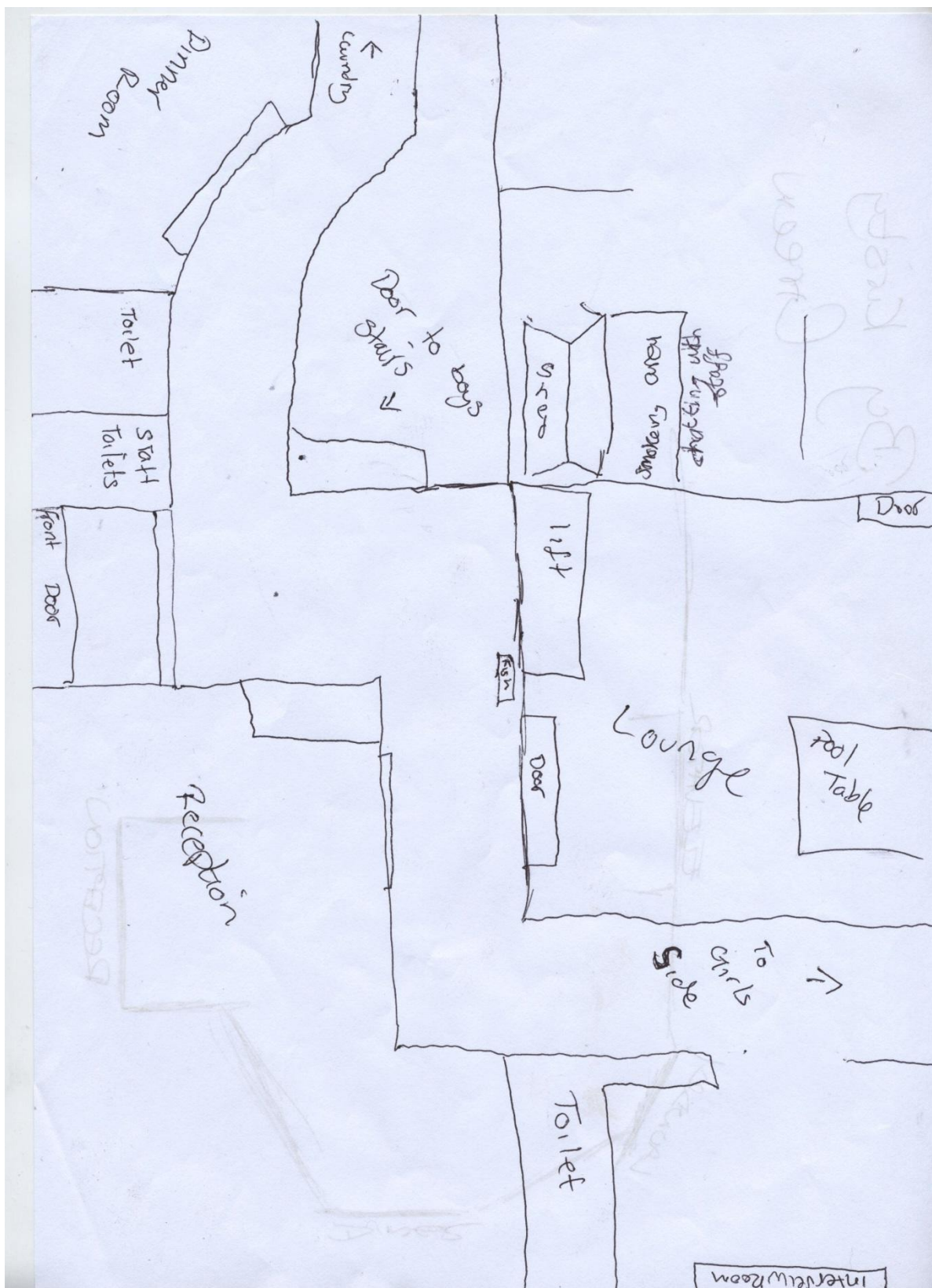


Fig. 7: Map of Shelter House, drawn by Danielle (resident), with 'chatting with staff' in smoking area labelled

These embodied practices help break down the dichotomy between service-users and providers, which Stark (1994) identifies as a defining feature of disciplinary institutions. Rather than distancing themselves from residents or seeking to control their activities, staff demonstrated instead the 'spontaneous acts of kindness and shared laughter' through which spaces of care are constructed (Cloe et al, 2008:248). For many, this was the highlight of their job: 'it's just having that relationship with people. Today I had half an hour having a cup of tea with a resident' (Sam, keyworker). Staff's identification of 'that relationship' as central to their work exemplifies their understandings of care as 'a shared accomplishment' (Conradson, 2003), which takes place between individuals. In contrast to punitive accounts of a purely rational project (Mitchell, 2003), the emotional value staff placed in these encounters demonstrates the therapeutic nature of staff-resident relations and their continued 'urge to care' (Cloe et al, 2005).

b) Resident support

Similar relations of mutual respect and kindness are forged between the residents themselves. Many identified peer support as integral to overcoming homelessness's damaging impacts on their self-esteem. As well as providing a space for residents to socialise, often playing cards or watching TV together, Shelter House enables them to support each other. There was a common sense that 'we're all in same boat at end of the day' (Joseph, resident), and those struggling with addiction appreciated the encouraging effects of being around others who had 'gone through the same thing earlier' (Dan, resident). Their use of the word 'same' shows how Shelter House enables previously 'Othered' individuals to forge empathetic relations based on shared experience. This reduces feelings of isolation, and motivates them to help one another. I frequently observed residents giving advice to new arrivals, and maintaining an interest in each other's welfare. They also made concerted attempts to ensure one another's access to resources, as this extract from my field diary demonstrates:

'Mark [resident] came to reception to tell staff that Fran [resident] was 'stuck at hospital' and wouldn't be back in time for dinner, so could they hold a meal back for her, so she wouldn't miss out? Lucy [keyworker] said 'yeah sure' and went to make arrangements with kitchen staff ... Mark came back [an hour later] to check Fran hadn't been forgotten.'

Mark's actions exemplify the concern residents feel for one another, motivating them to engage in supportive, therapeutic relations. Far from being restricted to acts of resistance as Stark (1994) contends, residents' agency involves a process of negotiation, through which they promote an ethics of care within institutional structures of fixed mealtimes and rules. In

addition, Lucy and the kitchen staff's willingness to collaborate with residents to promote Fran's wellbeing signifies the interpersonal nature of the caring relations forged within the hostel, and the sense of community shared between service-users and providers.

For many homeless people, these caring interactions are an unusual and welcome relief from the marginalisation they suffer in daily life. One resident captured the hostel's significance as a rare break from the social exclusion they often face when he said,

'you know what's really random about this place? People are nice. People look out for you. That's completely unheard of in my experience' (Finlay, resident).

This sense that others would 'look out for you' was crucial to promoting feelings of self-worth and confidence amongst residents. Shelter House thus not only allows residents to care for one another, but also encourages the increased self-esteem through which they feel better able to care for themselves.

c) Sense of Home

Together, these diverse therapeutic encounters enable residents to re-establish a sense of home. By listening, chatting and promoting one another's wellbeing, staff and residents collaboratively construct the hostel as an emotionally-supportive space. Nicholas (resident) captured this when he said, 'the staff involve us to make a homely environment. It's a family environment that naturally builds.' His appreciation of the hostel 'environment' exemplifies the situated nature of these caring relations, made possible through the socially-contingent constitution of place. The sense of 'family' promoted within this context is particularly important for enabling marginalised individuals to experience a sense of belonging, as frequent visits from ex-residents demonstrated. Despite having acquired their own accommodation, they returned to Shelter House for the supportive relations they had enjoyed there. This concurs with May's (2000) call for a shift in focus from residence, to the importance of place and networks in asserting people's sense of home. Only through these therapeutic encounters can socially-excluded individuals redevelop their sense of belonging.

Moreover, the encouragement and self-esteem fostered through these interactions gives residents a new perspective on their circumstances. While the hostel's material resources improve their physical comfort, these intersubjective relations enhance their sense of personal agency. Through the networks they develop there, many residents experience Shelter House as

'more than just a roof over your head. It stops you being homeless' (Rob, resident). These words encapsulate the hostel's significance as a community space, where marginalised individuals can re-establish their sense of place and belonging (Vandemark, 2007). As Rob suggests, this means they no longer define themselves as purely 'homeless,' as they regain their sense of humanity. The hostel's therapeutic ethos thus leads to emerging forms of subjectivity, as socially-excluded individuals experience themselves anew within a 'family environment.' Residents' descriptions of Shelter House as 'home' exemplify its importance for their physical, social and psychological wellbeing, as it is relationally constituted as a space of care.

Summary

The findings discussed in this chapter demonstrate the importance of moving beyond totalising accounts of the hostel as a purely disciplinary institution, to acknowledge its multidimensional role as a space of care. By providing essential resources, the hostel alleviates the physical hardships and social stigma associated with homelessness in public. Moreover, the empathy staff display towards residents generates an ethos of inclusivity and acceptance, relieving the 'Othering' that homeless people face. By listening, chatting and supporting each other, residents and staff create a sense of community. Through this, residents can re-establish their sense of place, belonging and personal worth, and feel 'at home.' The situated approach adopted here thus shows how the hostel is constructed as a space of refuge, empathy and therapeutic encounter, through both the organised provision of material resources and informal intersubjective relations. This contradicts rationalistic accounts depicting the hostel solely as a place of control and reform. Far from simply correcting deviancy, staff collaborate with residents to enhance their wellbeing, and thus constitute the hostel as a relational space of care.

Discipline

'Our aim is to provide adequate guidelines for all residents who seek to improve themselves, and to encourage others who find this difficult.' (Shelter House Charity, 2012)

The previous chapter explored the intersubjective relations through which the hostel is constituted as a space of care. A comprehensive examination, however, must consider the regulatory framework in which these relations are embedded. As DeVerteuil (2006) argues, hostels' reliance on government funding means they are influenced by the state's desire to shape individuals into governable subjects. Using discourse analysis and participant observation, this chapter reveals how neoliberal government discourses and their material reproduction construct hostels as spaces of 'control and containment' (DeVerteuil et al, 2009). Moreover, discourses of individual responsibility and reform influence relations within the hostel, constraining staff's ability to care and incorporating residents within a disciplinary project. However, by exploring how these discourses are mediated through individual subjectivity, I move beyond simplistic accounts of discipline as a totalising condition. I demonstrate instead how staff, motivated by empathy, use disciplinary technologies such as rules, surveillance and segregation to reinforce the hostel's role as a space of care.

1. Control and Containment

a) Official Discourse

Shelter House's financial reliance on SCC means its official role is influenced by the state's agenda. Confirming the city's purpose as a centre for conspicuous consumption (Mitchell, 2003), government discourses position homeless people as a threat to the economic welfare of the city and its righteous inhabitants. Intervention is naturalised as 'the economic case for action is as strong as the moral one... There are negative impacts on communities and industries such as tourism from visible rough sleeping' (DCLG, 2011:13). Implicitly excluding homeless people from these normative 'communities,' such statements depict them as inherently 'Other.' Moreover, by problematising homeless people's *visibility*, the state justifies their removal from public space. The hostel is then required as a space of 'control and containment' to protect communities from the 'undesirable' bodies and behaviours which tarnish the city's aesthetic landscape (Duncan, 1983). Reflecting neoliberal constructions of the 'proper' citizen, these highly-political discourses implicate the hostel within a disciplinary project.



Fig. 8: Photograph of Sheffield's prime public space and 'proper' (non-homeless) citizens.

Taken by the author

b) Institutional Structure

These disciplinary discourses are materially reproduced within the hostel itself. Formalised rules, ranging from keeping rooms tidy to the prohibition of alcohol, are used to define the parameters of acceptable behaviour (Appendix F). Admittedly, these are less restrictive than Stark (1994) suggests, as for example residents are allowed to enter and leave their rooms whenever they wish. However, the use of rules nevertheless implies that homeless people are likely to act inappropriately unless prevented from doing so.

Compliance is promoted using surveillance, a key technology of the disciplinary institution (Foucault, 1977). CCTV cameras are installed throughout Shelter House's communal areas, enabling staff to monitor residents' behaviour from within reception. The hostel is not, however, as Panoptical as Lyon-Callo (2000) suggests, as there are no cameras in private bedrooms, and several residents remained unaware of them, reducing their disciplinary influence. Yet the use of CCTV nevertheless reinforces the view that homeless people are prone to deviant behaviour (Hartnett and Harding, 2005). Some staff adopted this attitude, saying, 'when someone's being aggressive, just make sure the cameras can see' (Clive, nightshift worker). The assumption that

residents will be 'aggressive' naturalises surveillance as necessary for controlling undesirable behaviour. Positioning residents as threats, this reproduces the Othering discourses espoused by the state, and generates a dichotomy between problematic residents and righteous staff.

This dichotomy is codified in the organisation of the hostel's physical space, as staff have free access throughout the building while residents are excluded from the reception, kitchen and staffroom. As Johnsen et al (2005) suggest, the physical barriers surrounding these zones serve to reinforce a sense of inherent difference between service-providers and users. This is encapsulated by keyworker Stacey's remark, 'I don't really like leaving this office, it's dangerous.' Her reluctance to leave the 'staff' zone shows how Othering discourses are performatively reproduced through the institutional manipulation of physical space. Described by Philo and Parr (2000) as characteristic of disciplinary institutions, spatial segregation materially reinforces social hierarchies. Consequently, Shelter House does not provide a complete refuge from stigma for all residents, as some felt 'talked down to' (Chantelle, resident) by staff.

This shows how intersubjective relations within the hostel are influenced by the broader discursive formations in which they are situated, influencing staff and residents' attitudes towards each other. Discourses of homeless people as problematic are performed through the hostel's rules, physical layout and, in some cases, staff-resident interactions, exemplifying its role as a space of control.

2. Individual Reform

a) Official Policy

The hostel's controlling function is further justified by ideas of individual deviancy, which isolate homeless people as personally responsible for their situation. Foucauldian analysts such as Lyon-Callo (2000) claim this reflects the bio-medicalisation of poverty, through which mental illness is blamed for social disadvantage. However, UK government policy is dominated more by what Levitas (1996) calls the 'moral underclass discourse.' This frames homelessness as a symptom of problematic lower-class cultures, believed to cause endemic social exclusion through the reproduction of individual faults. Thus DCLG (2012:13) identifies 'family breakdown' as the primary cause, with personal characteristics such as 'lack of employment, training or skills; poor finance and debt management; confusion about appropriate benefits; drug and alcohol misuse' blamed by SCC (2010:11). By focusing on personal deficiencies, these discourses work to disguise important structural factors, such as lack of affordable housing and

support. Using this 'manipulative silence' (Huckin, 2002), they reduce the state's responsibility to address the systemic causes of social exclusion.

Instead, the solution is seen as individual reform, with hostels such as Shelter House required to train people to 'improve themselves' (Shelter House Charity, 2012). The hostel's obligations are further reinforced by the government's emphasis on the role of voluntary and community groups, rather than state redistribution, for tackling homelessness (DCLG, 2011). As Cloke et al (2008) suggest, this places increased pressure on the third sector to provide services and address deviancy, implicating the hostel within a distinctly neoliberal framework of personal responsibility.

Consequently, Shelter House is expected to not only control problematic individuals, but also reform them. I observed this during keyworker meetings, when residents were required to engage with professional services to address their perceived problems. Although targets varied, from signing-on to Jobseekers Allowance to reducing alcohol consumption, they all focused on correcting individual faults, rather than systemic inequalities, as the way to end homelessness. Staff-constructed support plans could thus be read as a disciplinary attempt to instil what Foucault (1977) termed 'techniques of the self,' through which individuals are trained to discipline themselves and correct their own personal deficiencies.

b) Service Conditionality

Moreover, failure to engage with this programme of self-reform, pay rent or behave in a manner considered appropriate by staff could all lead to eviction. According to official policy, 'if they're caught doing drugs, they're offered support. If they continue, or they don't access that support, then we put them on 28-day notice' (Brian, finance manager). The demand that residents themselves 'access that support' reflects neoliberal framings of individual accountability. Drawing on historical constructions of the deserving and undeserving poor (Marston, 2000), such statements serve to legitimise the eviction of the uncompliant, and thus demand conformity from those who wish to remain. As May et al (2006) suggest, this reflects a broader project of neoliberal welfare reform, which restricts support to those who can demonstrate rational self-governance.

However, these exclusionary discourses and conditionalities were not simply accepted by staff. Many resented their implications, but felt unable to resist the criteria imposed by SCC for fear of 'getting shut down' (Ruby, keyworker). As deputy manager Neil said,

'The funding's getting stricter. They want to see results, they get impatient. It's hard to justify longterm care for serious alcoholics when you constantly have to prove they're making progress.'

This shows how staff's agency, and their ability to care, is inhibited by the state's financial conditionalities and demands for individual 'progress.' Although resisted by staff, these constraints nevertheless shape relations within the hostel, making access to its resources and therapeutic environment conditional on compliance with institutional modes of regulation.

Moreover, these normative discourses are internalised by residents themselves. Several expressed a sense of personal accountability for their situation, saying 'it's my own choice' (Rachel, resident), and agreed it was their responsibility to correct it: 'you have to want the help, you have to go and get it' (Matt, resident). This statement implicitly suggests that those residents who actively engage with institutional 'help' are more service-worthy than the 'undeserving Other' (Snow and Anderson, 1993). In a framework of restricted access, homeless people struggle to prove their own legitimacy as service-users. This leads to 'associational distancing' (Snow and Anderson, 1987), as residents attempt to distinguish themselves from the characteristics which official discourse identifies as problematic. This is exemplified by Rob's description of his fellow residents as 'bloody idiots. Drunks. Got no sense for work or owt.' By depicting 'Them' as irrational and drunk, he uses dominant discourses of homeless people to distance himself from the stigma they embody. As Butler (1990) suggests, discourses discipline their subjects even as they produce them, prompting residents to conform to regulatory norms. By associating homeless people with problematic traits, and by making access to services conditional on the rejection of those traits, the rules and discourses promoted by official policy thus work to incorporate residents as enforcers of their own, and each other's, self-discipline.

However, hostel residents and staff do not simply perform the state's disciplinary discourses, but also challenge and mediate them through individual agency. The remainder of this chapter demonstrates how recognition of individual subjectivity enables a more nuanced exploration of the interactions between official policy and everyday practice. Disciplinary features, and the hostel itself, can then be re-examined through the caring lens of empathy, refuge and therapeutic encounter.

3. Individual Subjectivity

a) Empathy

Even within these disciplinary structures, empathy remains a key element in staff's embodied and emotional work with residents. Motivated by empathy, they use their agency to resist the Othering discourses and institutional constraints imposed by SCC, forging instead an ethos of inclusion and support. I observed multiple instances of residents being given 'a second chance' (Neil, deputy manager) and being allowed to stay despite breaking institutional rules (eg failure to pay rent). Similarly, despite official policy demanding that nobody under the influence of alcohol be admitted, staff allowed drunk residents to come in and 'put their head down' (Jess, receptionist), often giving them water and emotional reassurance as well. Rather than a strategy to control deviant individuals, their actions represent the caring motivations through which staff encourage inclusivity and comfort within the hostel.

The empathy staff feel for residents also encourages them to challenge the state's disproportionate focus on self-reform and the strict conditionalities which restrict access to services. In contrast to SCC's demand that residents who 'refuse' to address their addictions be evicted, one keyworker argued:

'It's the nature of the beast. People do have relapses and it's notoriously difficult to stop using substances. We can see the reasons for that, we can see the client working towards sorting them out, but the council see it as you've got that issue and therefore we're not going to reconsider you'
(Sarah, keyworker).

Such statements demonstrate staff's resistance to the disciplinary constraints imposed by SCC, and their desire to work instead from a place of understanding and patience. Rather than blaming the individual, staff saw many homeless people's issues as 'the nature of the beast' and beyond individual control. Their consequent inclusion of those who 'failed' to reform themselves highlights the contrast between institutional policy and how it is challenged by staff's agency. It also exemplifies empathy's importance as an underlying and enduring principle of staff actions, despite the constraints of disciplinary policy.

b) Refuge

Moreover, this empathy motivates staff to incorporate the institution's disciplinary technologies into a framework of care. Rather than simply seeking to control residents, for example, rules were used to ensure their safety. As Johnsen et al (2005) suggest, homeless service spaces can often be experienced as threatening environments, due to encounters between different, and sometimes emotionally volatile, service-users. Recognising this potential, rules prohibiting weapons and violence are clearly intended to maintain safety. Residents appreciated this, as rules protecting them from stealing, violence and bullying meant that Shelter House offered a sense of security which many had not experienced before: 'it's the first place in my whole life I've felt safe. It's like my own home' (Danielle, resident). These words indicate the importance of rules for the hostel's ability to function as a space of refuge, 'where people don't need to be tough to survive' (Cooper, 2001:118). It is only with these disciplinary structures in place that residents can experience the sense of stability and security that is crucial for their wellbeing.

From this viewpoint, the hostel's policies on exclusion can also be seen as a mode of care. The prohibition of drugs and alcohol is clearly designed not simply to control residents, but to help those suffering from addiction recover in a supportive environment. Many residents struggling with addiction appreciated the hostel's role as a substance-free zone, where they were not exposed to 'temptation' (Rick). As staff said, 'the problem we have with drug users is people who see a market. That's difficult, weeding people out who're dealing' (Brian, finance manager). The need to 'weed out' dealers represents staff's use of disciplinary conditionalities not to reform the individual, but to protect the majority of vulnerable residents. This represents what Curtis et al (2009) call 'managed permeability,' through which staff control entry to the hostel in order to ensure the safety and wellbeing of those inside.

Similarly, staff often employ the disciplinary technique of surveillance to further promote relations of care. Residents identified CCTV as important for their security, as 'the cameras, they make you feel safe' (Chantelle, resident). This exemplifies the role of disciplinary apparatuses in maintaining the hostel as a space of refuge. In addition, surveillance is crucial for enabling staff to 'keep an eye out' (Natalie, keyworker) for vulnerable residents. They regularly looked in on Ian, for example, because 'he's a serious alcoholic. I just want to check he's still breathing' (Clive, nightshift worker). This statement shows that surveillance was motivated by genuine concern for residents' wellbeing, and recognition not of their inherent dangerousness, but of their vulnerability. Moreover, residents saw surveillance as integral to their feeling supported, particularly when suffering from mental illnesses. As Adam (resident) said, 'when I'm

depressed, Sam comes up to check on me and get me out of it.' For many homeless people accustomed to isolation and exclusion, these 'checks' were crucial for their sense of self-worth and wellbeing. Far from simply being a method of government intrusion into homeless people's lives, therefore, surveillance techniques are used to further enhance the caring relationship. Together with rules and exclusions, they are employed by staff to promote residents' safety and stability, confirming the hostel's role as a space of refuge.

c) Therapeutic Encounter

Disciplinary techniques are also employed by staff to create Shelter House as a space of therapeutic encounter, where residents can move towards wellbeing. Crucial to this is the enhancement of individual agency. By demanding that residents attend keyworker meetings, staff enable them to identify their own needs and access appropriate services. In 'helping people to do things themselves' (Sarah, keyworker), staff encourage residents' confidence in their own abilities, leading to improved self-esteem. As Kevin (resident) proudly said, 'I'm doing courses in IT, staff helped me find them. They make me feel like I'm getting somewhere.' This shows the impact of staff-resident collaborations on resident wellbeing, as the creation of a personalised support plan led to increased skills and self-confidence. Rather than simply coercing homeless people into a programme of self-reform, the disciplinary structure of obligatory keyworker meetings allows staff to support residents' personal development in ways most appropriate to them. In contrast to discourses of individual blame, this represents a project of empowerment. Instead of trying to correct deviancy, staff ensure support plans are 'a lot more up to the client than that. We're working a lot more for the resident, letting them make their own decisions' (Natalie, keyworker). This sense of 'working for' residents exemplifies staff's intentions, not to control or correct homeless people, but to support them towards enhanced wellbeing.

As well as increasing residents' skills, disciplinary structures within Shelter House enable them to re-establish their sense of self-worth. The organisation of physical space, separating private rooms from communal areas, is integral to this. Stark's (1994) somewhat simplistic interpretation of spatial manipulation as a control strategy thus overlooks the multidimensional role of space in shaping individual subjectivities (Carey et al, 2009). Providing each resident with a private room promotes their self-worth for, as Datta (2005) argues, control over physical space leads to a sense of ownership. For homeless people without private property, this is a liberating experience. As Dan (resident) appreciatively said, 'you get your own room, that's your own little space. You can come and go as you please.' The knowledge that institutional regulations, enforced by staff, prevent others from entering their room restores not only their

sense of security, but also feelings of worthiness as legitimate inhabitants of desirable space. Having suffered from stigmatisation and marginalisation, residents found this empowering: 'I've got more confidence, belief in myself, a spring in my step. This place gave me the foundation; I've discovered myself' (Nicholas, resident). The hostel's role as a 'foundation' on which homeless people can re-build their confidence demonstrates its importance for helping them move towards wellbeing. Rather than a totalising strategy to control deviance, the manipulation of institutional space and staff's respect for residents' privacy thus represents the sociospatial construction of the hostel as a therapeutic environment.

Summary

This chapter has examined the role of discipline in shaping the hostel, as both a regulatory apparatus and a space of care. Neoliberalised government discourses position the homeless individual as inherently problematic and in need of reform. These discourses are performed through rules, surveillance and spatial manipulation within the hostel, reinforcing a dichotomy between service-users and providers. Some residents adopt these discourses, internalising dominant norms to position themselves as more service-worthy than the uncompliant 'Other.' Together, these processes demonstrate the hostel's disciplinary power. Yet despite these institutional constraints, staff use their agency to act from a place of empathy, promoting inclusion and acceptance even when residents deviate from required norms. Moreover, they frequently use disciplinary techniques, such as rules, surveillance and spatial segregation, to ensure residents' safety and enhance their self-esteem. By considering how individual subjectivity mediates official policies, this chapter has thus demonstrated the importance of discipline as an integral part of caring relations. Rather than simply constraining individual agency, disciplinary features enable empathetic staff and residents to collaboratively construct the hostel as a space of refuge and therapeutic encounter, where homeless people can experience enhanced agency and wellbeing.

Conclusions

Although often characterised as a disciplinary institution, the homeless hostel is in reality a much more complex and contested space, constituted by diverse subjectivities and the structures in which they are situated. Previous analyses have overlooked these complexities, uncritically characterising the hostel as *either* a disciplinary institution (Williams, 1996) *or* a space of care (Cloke et al, 2005). In problematising this dichotomy, this dissertation has re-examined the hostel through a lens of *both* care *and* discipline, to better understand how they interact. By incorporating feminist notions of individual subjectivity into analysis of institutional structure, I have explored how official policy is performed and challenged through intersubjective relations. My research demonstrates the importance of using a qualitative case-study to develop a more nuanced insight into the hostel's everyday geographies.

This situated analysis has shown how the hostel is constituted and experienced as a space of care by both residents and staff. Resident interviews revealed its role as a key space of material and social refuge, providing vital resources and respite from stigma. Staff's empathy towards residents promotes an ethos of inclusivity and support, enabling previously marginalised individuals to recover their sense of self (Snow and Anderson, 1993). Through planned and spontaneous, embodied and emotional practices, the hostel is performatively brought into being as a space of 'therapeutic encounter' (Conradson, 2003), where residents experience enhanced wellbeing. It is only by exploring how these intersubjective relations evolve in the hostel space that we can develop a more nuanced understanding of its meanings for different people. This dissertation thus offers an important corrective to totalising accounts focused solely on institutional policy, by demonstrating the hostel's role as a complex space of care.

Yet the regulatory agenda which frames the hostel cannot be ignored. Discourse analysis revealed how government depictions of homeless people as inherently problematic designate the hostel as a space of control. These discourses are materially reproduced through rules, surveillance and spatial segregation. Moreover, neoliberal notions of individual responsibility position the hostel as a place of reform, where staff are expected to train and correct 'deviant' individuals. Participant observation and interviews showed how these discourses influence everyday relations. Several residents performed 'associational distancing' to distinguish themselves from the 'undeserving Other' (Snow and Anderson, 1993), while some staff

reproduced perceptions of inherent difference between service-users and providers. This demonstrates an ongoing relevance for Foucauldian insights, as the hostel is discursively and performatively constituted through disciplinary techniques.

However, by re-examining these techniques through a framework of care, this dissertation has provided a more comprehensive analysis of the hostel's role in shaping diverse subjectivities. My research reveals a divergence between official policy and everyday practice, as staff's empathy motivates them to resist SCC's disciplinary constraints, and instead promote inclusivity and support. Moreover, staff incorporate the disciplinary techniques of surveillance, spatial segregation and support plans into their emotional caring work. This reinforces the hostel's role as a space of refuge and therapeutic encounter, where residents move towards wellbeing. Far from subsuming care as Cruickshank (1996) suggests, discipline can instead form an integral component of caring relations. It is only by examining both care and discipline that we can understand how emotional, embodied and, crucially, disciplinary processes all contribute to the hostel's formation as a space of care:

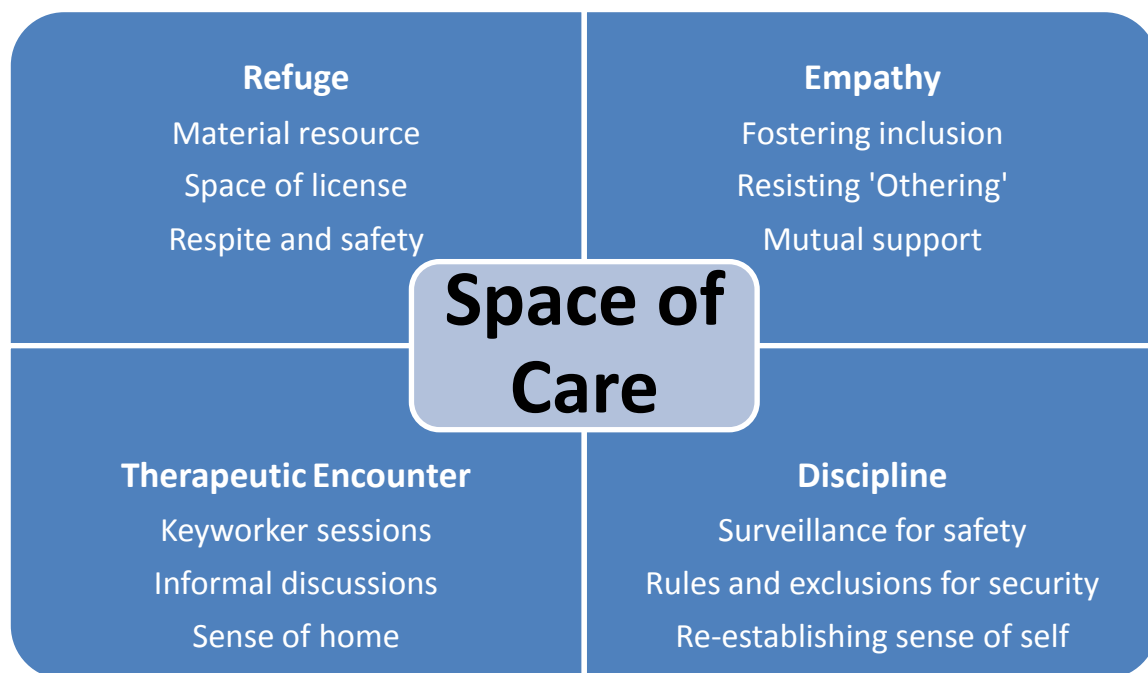


Fig.9: Diagrammatic representation of the key elements in the creation of spaces of care

While advancing debates on the hostel's disciplinary and caring functions, my research also highlights the need for further study. Non-resident homeless people's views should be examined, as their inability or unwillingness to stay in hostels may reveal alternative

experiences of institutional and everyday practice. Investigation into resident asylum-seekers' attitudes, prevented in this study by language barriers, could reveal how different cultural factors mediate experiences within the hostel. For example, most foreign residents did not use drugs or alcohol so were not affected by hostel rules in the same way. More broadly, this dissertation highlights the need for detailed exploration of the interactions between care and discipline in other service spaces, both within the homeless sector and elsewhere (e.g. Conradson's community drop-in centres). Table 2 summarises additional research opportunities.

Topic	Reasons for omission from this dissertation	Relevance for further study
Influence of gender in shaping individual experiences	When questioned, both staff and residents described gender as irrelevant to individual experiences and relations within this hostel	Residents described differences in experience between single-sex and mixed hostels, suggesting a need for a gendered analysis of how hostel ethos is performed.
Hostels for youth homeless	Focused instead on adults, as they represent a larger proportion of the total homeless population	Discourse analysis suggested the state does not hold youth homeless to be personally responsible for their situation in the same way as adults, potentially justifying different responses
Hostels in other geographical contexts – eg rural areas, other cities and countries	Time and logistical constraints of an undergraduate dissertation, particularly when adopting an in-depth case-study approach	Each hostel is uniquely-situated in its specific social, political-economic and geographical context, and must be examined individually

Table 2: Additional opportunities for further research

In summary, this dissertation has addressed some of the oversights in previous studies, by providing a more nuanced analysis. Moving beyond totalising accounts of institutional policy to focus on everyday geographies, I have demonstrated the importance of individual subjectivity in influencing the diverse interactions, structures and practices which shape the hostel. In doing so, I have problematised dichotomous understandings of care and discipline as opposites, and shown instead how they interact. As well as constraining staff's agency and positioning the homeless individual as personally responsible, disciplinary techniques are important for promoting residents' security, self-esteem and personal agency. In exploring this, I have revealed not only how the hostel is constituted as a space of care, but also how discipline plays

an integral role in creating that space of care. By re-examining the homeless hostel through the everyday experiences of staff and residents, I have demonstrated its complexity, not as a static institution but as an open and evolving process through which diverse subjectivities are brought into being. The significance of this for socially-marginalised individuals must not be underestimated for, as Matt (resident) said, 'it's not like anywhere else. In here, you're a human being.'

Appendices

A. Resident Interview Details

Name (changed for confidentiality)	Age	Length of stay in Shelter House at time of interview	Date of Interview	Length of interview (minutes)
Jake	25	2 days	04/07/13	30
Rob	52	18 months	04/07/13	40
Kevin	29	1 month	05/07/13	45
Chantelle	24	3 weeks	08/07/13	30
Joey	35	1 week	08/07/13	45
Danielle	22	5 months	09/07/13	35
Mark	25	6 weeks	09/07/13	35
Hussein	28	2 months	09/07/13	25
Adam	20	1 year	10/07/13	20*
Dan	35	4 months	10/07/13	50
Rick	35	2 ½ months	10/07/13	25
Joseph	23	1 ½ months	11/07/13	25
Finlay	37	3 weeks	12/07/13	80
Matt	25	9 months	15/07/13	30
Nicholas	34	1 month	16/07/13	50
Rachel	19	5 months	20/07/13	25
Anna	30	3 months	20/07/13	25

*interview terminated to avoid causing the participant distress

B. Staff Interview Details

Name (changed for confidentiality)	Role	Length of time working at Shelter House	Date of Interview	Length of Interview (minutes)
Neil	Deputy Manager	6 years	03/07/13	30
Sam	Senior Keyworker	10 years	04/07/13	60
Natalie	Keyworker	5-6 years	05/07/13	70
Brian	Finance Manager	21 years	05/07/13	50
Holly	Outreach worker	8 years	08/07/13	65
Jess	Receptionist	6 years	08/07/13	35
Ruby	Keyworker	7 years	08/07/13	45
Nick	Keyworker	1 year	09/07/13	30
Sarah	Keyworker	8½ years	10/07/13	70
Stacey	Keyworker	5 months	12/07/13	25
Keith	Receptionist	9 years	16/07/13	35
Clive	Nightshift worker	4 years	17/07/13	30
Andrew	Mental Health Coordinator	6 years	22/07/13	90

C. Focus Group Details

Focus Group Name and Date	Location	Participant Names (changed)	Main Themes Discussed
1 st Resident 18/07/13	Canteen	Chantelle, Rachel, Mark, Matt, Finlay, Joey	Hostel facilities, severity of rules, treatment by staff, resident friendships.
Staff 18/07/13	Staffroom	Sarah, Keith, Stacey, Sam, Natalie	Funding constraints, vulnerable residents, problematic behaviour, terms of exclusion
2 nd Resident 19/07/13 Participant Diagramming Session	Lounge	Kevin, Rob, Nicholas, Danielle, Jake, Chantelle	Hostel facilities, layout and architecture, terms of exclusion, staff-resident relations, everyday routines.

D. Interview Guide: Staff

(These are initial questions only; follow-up questions were used to gain further insight, depending on participants' responses)

1. General
 - How long have you been working here?
 - How did you start working here, what attracted you to it?
 - Have you noticed any changes while you've been here? (residents, funding, way it's run)
 - Can you describe what's involved in your current role?
 - How do you find working here?
2. Residents
 - How would you describe the residents?
 - What would you say are the main reasons they're here?
 - Do you notice any differences between different groups? (age, gender, nationality)
 - Are some residents more difficult to work with than others? How so?
3. Purpose
 - What would you say is the purpose of this place?
 - How successful is it at achieving that?
 - Do you think this place helps people? How so?
 - Do you think it hinders them/ do you see people getting worse while they're here?
4. Institution
 - What do you think about how this place is run by [Shelter House Charity]
 - What's it like as an organisation to work for?
 - What about the council? Do they support you?
 - How do you think they see homeless people? What do they think of this place?
 - Do you think there's enough support for homeless people generally?
 - How could it be improved, what more needs to be done?
5. Personal
 - What would you say are the main challenges you face working here?
 - How do you feel here? (comfortable, unsafe, worthwhile, threatened)
6. Finishing
 - What's the best thing about your job? What keeps you coming back every day?
 - Anything else you'd like to talk about?

Primary coding categories used in analysis:

Motivations; purpose of the job; purpose of the place; changes over time; positive views of homeless people; negative views of homeless people; problems with residents; systemic (institutional and governmental) constraints; criticism of the institution; bending the rules; safety; stigma; positive feelings in the hostel; negative feelings in the hostel; differences between residents; relationships with residents.

E. Interview Guide: Residents

(These are initial questions only; follow-up questions were used to gain further insight, depending on participants' responses)

1. General
 - How long have you been staying here?
 - How did you find out about it? How easy was it to get in?
 - Have you been to any other hostels? How does this one compare?
2. Institution
 - What do you think about the facilities here? (shelter, leisure, privacy)
 - What about the advice services? Do you find the support plan helpful?
 - What do you think about the rules (reasonable, strict, fair)
 - What changes would you like to make?
3. Staff
 - How would you describe staff?
 - Have they been helpful? How so?
 - What about your keyworker meetings?
 - Do they listen to your suggestions, concerns etc?
 - How do they treat you? (judgment, respect etc)
 - Are they fair? Do they treat everyone equally?
4. Other residents
 - What do you think about the other residents here?
 - Do you notice any difference between different groups? (age, gender, nationality)
 - What do you think about who's allowed to stay?
 - How's the social side? Have you made any friends here?
 - Do you find it helpful being with other residents? How so? (good/bad influence)
 - How much time do you spend with other residents? Alone? With non-residents?
 - Are there ever any problems between residents? How so?
5. Personal
 - How do you feel when you're here? (safe, threatened, at home, restricted)
 - Do you think you've changed while you've been here? How so? (health, confidence, ambitions etc)
 - What's your endgoal? Do you think this place is helping you move towards that?
 - Is there anything you'll miss once you leave?
 - Do you think there's enough help for homeless people generally?
 - What could be done better?
 - Anything else you'd like to talk about?

Primary coding categories used in analysis:

Reasons for being here; access; positive views of rules; negative views of rules; fairness of staff; helpfulness of staff; criticism of staff; positive feelings in the hostel; negative feelings in the hostel; positive effects of being with other residents; negative effects of being with other residents; safety; independence; feeling supported; treatment in public; systemic problems; importance of the place.

F. Shelter House Handbook: House Rules

Alcohol, Illegal Substances and Gambling are not permitted on the premises, this includes the grounds surrounding the centre.

Bicycles can be stored in the designated area but are not allowed to be brought into the building. There are no facilities available for the parking of residents' vehicles.

Violence or verbal abuse directed to client, staff or visitor is not tolerated at this centre in any circumstances. **If in the opinion of the staff on duty** your behaviour is likely to cause a disturbance, you will be asked to leave the building or refused admission and asked to stay outside for a minimum of two hours. On your return a second assessment will be made as to whether you may then be allowed to access the building. If there is still a risk of disturbance then you will be asked to stay out overnight.

Any items that could be classed as "offensive weapons" must be handed in to the Duty Manager.

If any of these conditions are breached a 28-day-notice will be issued with agreed conditions attached. If there is a reoccurrence we may ask you to leave.

Please keep noise to a low level to avoid disturbing other residents. After 10pm to 8am noise levels (TV) in the lounge must be kept low. Therefore the pool table must not be used after this time. Residents who fail to respect this may be barred from using the lounge.

All bedrooms and lounges must be kept tidy at all times. Members of staff will give regular support to ensure your safety and wellbeing.

Personal payments must be paid before 12.00 noon on the date due unless otherwise agreed with a Duty Manager.

All visitors must be signed in at reception by a resident who must remain with them at all times. Visitors must remain in the lounge on the ground floor only. They are not permitted into the accommodation areas or canteen.

Some areas of the centre are for male or female clients exclusively. These areas will be identified at your initial interview. Any unauthorised entry to these areas may result in immediate termination of your License to Reside.

Residents are held responsible for any inappropriate behaviour that happens within their room. Keys must be left in reception every time you leave the building, this is important for fire regulations.

**These House Rules are reviewed on a regular basis by Residents and Management
(Last review October 2012)**

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