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Contextualizing Street Homelessness in New Zealand: A Case Study Approach

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Abstract

Homelessness is commonly associated with large urban settings. For people who sleep on the streets it encompasses experiences of stigma, regulation and displacement, marginalization, violence, loneliness, and bodily decline. This thesis addresses the lack of research into the everyday practices of homeless people in New Zealand through a detailed exploration of the experiences of four homeless people. Through critically engaging with relevant scholarly literature this study documents the importance of human fortitude, agency, and meaningful social engagements in the lives of homeless people. Attention is given to how four homeless people (Brett, Daniel, Joshua and Ariā) construct place-based identities and the relational, spatial and material dimensions of homelessness, which are central to participants' everyday lives. Participants were recruited through experienced community workers at the Auckland City Mission. A case-based ethnographic approach was used to engage with participants through volunteer work, direct observations, biographical interviews, photo-production projects, and photo-elicitation interviews. Workshops with staff on each case study were conducted to bridge the divide between critical scholars and community groups through advocacy and joint action. The analysis considers each case in turn. Brett differentiates himself from other homeless people and works to find space for himself to gain respite and solitude. Daniel engages in domestic practices on the streets that are commonly associated with home-making, such as decorating a physical space with personal objects and cultivating a sense of place, routine, comfort, and familiarity. Joshua immerses himself in a street family and forms close relationships with other homeless people that provide him with a sense of belonging, purpose, connection, support and responsibility. Ariā exemplifies how Māori cultural practices can enrich and mould a person's efforts to retain a positive sense of self while homeless. Māori cultural concepts relating to caring, leadership, unity, relationships, spirituality, history and place are evoked to ground understandings of Ariā's everyday life. Strategies for making a life on the streets involves Brett, Daniel, Joshua and Ariā working to maintain a sense of self and place in the face of adversity. A core finding from this research relates to the resilience of these participants, which spans personal and relational dimensions and extends to the social and physical environment.

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Chapter One: Introduction

When moving through the city, we are witnesses to the banality of everyday life in all its mundane forms: friends gathering, people eating and drinking, others idly gazing around them, workers moving about, couples arguing, and children laughing. As well as seeing these things, we might also hear the traffic rushing by, cutlery hitting plates, and groups of people deep in conversation. These sights and sounds encapsulate the chaotic landscape of contemporary urban life. How people negotiate the city can diverge according to the associations they have for particular settings, and how the presence of some people can change the meanings of a setting for members of other social groups. For example, a family engaged in conversation as they walk back from a restaurant would likely experience the sights, sounds and smells of the city differently from a homeless woman. Further, the presence of the homeless woman approaching the family for spare change can alter the meaning of the evening for the family (and vice versa). By engaging with our environment through listening and looking at what is going on around us in such encounters, social scientists can consider connections between people and places and the broader socio-political forces at play in shaping the lives of citizens today. Such connections are particularly important when researching topics such as street homelessness that are defined, in many respects, by their location and the social status of the people concerned.

Why the city? Despite rural images and lifestyles associated with national mythology in New Zealand, the city and urban settings dominate daily life for the majority of the population. In New Zealand, much like anywhere else, the city is the powerhouse of modern society. With the majority of New Zealand's population living in large cities or towns, we have become one of the most urbanized countries in the world (McLennan, Ryan, & Spoonley, 2000). Recent work in population health has led to an international consensus that urbanization in itself is a significant determinant of health (Galea & Vlahov, 2005). Factors

such as housing quality, pollution, sanitation, residential segregation, and resource availability affect personal and social wellbeing.

Homelessness is a pressing and increasingly visible feature of urban life today (Hodgetts et al., 2008). As is common to many social issues, people from economically, ethnically, and socially marginalized backgrounds comprise a large majority of the street homeless population (Bang, 1998; McIntosh, 2005; Tois, 2005). Such homeless people experience stigma and social marginalization, and are sicker and die quicker than domiciled citizens (Lewis, Andersen, & Gelberg, 2003; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004). In response, this thesis documents the lives of four such people in central Auckland, paying particular attention to issues of place, identity, wellbeing, and how these research participants make their lives on the streets of Auckland and beyond. The focus on urban homelessness in Auckland is also warranted given findings from international research which suggest that, across many so called “developed nations”, the highest concentrations of homeless people can be found in the largest urban settings (Toro, 2007).

This chapter sets the context for my research into homelessness in central Auckland and reviews key findings from relevant scholarly literature. Additional literature, not covered in this chapter, is also referred to in later chapters in relation to specific issues emerging from each of the four case studies. This general introduction is presented in nine sections. The first three consider the New Zealand context for homelessness and related local research. I note that public concern and awareness of homelessness appears to be growing, as is the recognition of the complexity of the issue and difficulties in defining homelessness. Given the relative paucity and sporadic nature of research in New Zealand, I deploy international literature to extend our understanding of street homelessness in New Zealand in terms of who is affected, how people come to be homeless, and how people sometimes exit street life.

Sections four and five explore the substantial body of international literature on homelessness, covering key trends in research across countries, pathways into and out of homelessness, risk factors, substance misuse, service provisions, and negative social and health outcomes. Overall, the literature cited promotes a problem-oriented focus on the individual shortcomings or deficits of homeless people and the deficiencies of service provision.

In sections six through eight of this general introduction, I argue for a greater understanding of the resilience, strengths, and relationships in the lives of homeless people. This requires us to investigate the protective factors that enable homeless people to adapt, maintain a sense of self, survive and sometimes thrive when living on the streets. The strength-orientated focus that is central to this thesis is extended in relation to the concept of place-based identities, which is further expanded upon in a discussion of homeless people's strategies for making a home when dwelling on the streets. This encompasses the creation of a sense of place, connection, and belonging. While maintaining a focus on my disciplinary home in psychology, it will become apparent in my engagements with the literature that I have moved beyond the discipline. It became clear early on in my doctoral research that the broader social science perspectives offered insights that could assist me in providing a more contextualized account of street homelessness in central Auckland.

The final section presents an overview of my research into how homeless people make their lives on the streets of Auckland and beyond, and in the process do more than simply survive adversity. Homeless people manage complex needs with varying degrees of success, engage in meaningful social interactions, and reflect on their situations and life chances.

Homelessness in New Zealand and Auckland in particular

Homelessness has been a feature of urban life in New Zealand for over a century (Cooper, 2001). For the general New Zealand public, particularly for those who have not experienced housing problems, homelessness evokes images of elderly men drinking on the streets, bag ladies rummaging through bins, street kids sniffing glue, or panhandlers harassing passers-by for change: in part, these are constructs of popular culture (Cooper, 2001; Winter & Barnes, 1998). Despite the consistent presence of street homeless people, there is no nationwide official census to establish the extent of this problem. We simply do not know definitively how many homeless people there are in this country or their demographic profiles.

In response, service providers in Auckland, Wellington and Christchurch have developed local street census counts. For example, in 2008 the Auckland Rough Sleepers Initiative (ARSI) carried out its fourth street count to date (Ellis &

McLuckie, 2008). The purpose of the count was to provide a snapshot of street homeless people within a three kilometre radius of Aucklands Sky Tower. The Sky Tower is located in New Zealand's largest urban centre and is now iconic for all New Zealanders when they conjure up images of Auckland. Further, Auckland's Sky Tower is a prominent landmark for the physical setting of this thesis. The ostentatious affluence of the tower is juxtaposed with clusters of homeless shelters and service providers that offer assistance to some of the city's most marginalized people. Results from the street count made in 2008 suggest that at least 91 street homeless people were in this area. Almost half of this group were Māori (n = 43), the majority were male (n = 74), and the largest proportion were in their forties (n = 29).

The overrepresentation of single men in such street counts may, in part, be due to families with children being given priority for state housing (cf. Smith, Robinson & Atkinread, 2006). Similarly, many are Māori, in part a result of well documented barriers to Māori owning homes (Waldegrave, King, Walker & Fitzgerald, 2006). I am not arguing that homelessness is only a concern for men. As I discuss in the following section, homelessness is not limited to people sleeping on the streets, and also includes many women and children living in marginal housing situations (Statistics New Zealand, 2009).

In addition to counting street homeless people, the 2008 Auckland count attempted to include people with housing difficulties within the same three kilometre radius. A total of 28 boarding houses were contacted with six electing not to respond to the request for information. Altogether, 22 boarding houses were included. The total capacity of these boarding houses was 891 beds with occupancy of 604 on the evening of 22 June 2008. Many boarding houses reported that people with complex needs, such as those with mental health issues or alcohol and drug addictions, were typically unable to settle in boarding houses and had behaviours that could be highly volatile in such environments. This may, in part, explain the discrepancy between the 91 people sleeping on the streets and the 267 vacancies in boarding houses on the night the count occurred. Consistent with international data, women appear to be underrepresented in the street homeless count. The count showed that among women, more were in boarding house accommodation, 27%, compared to 7% of women in this count sleeping on the streets.

Despite a lack of national statistics, many social service agencies, policy makers, and social scientists recognize that homelessness is a pressing societal concern in New Zealand (Kearns, 1995; O'Brien & de Hann, 2002 ; Peace & Kell, 2001). The New Zealand Living Standards report released in July 2006 by the Ministry of Development (Auckland City Mission, 2006) highlighted the increasing numbers of Aucklanders on low incomes living in poverty. The incomes of many New Zealanders are inadequate, given increasing costs of rates, rent, transport, food and utilities (cf. Waldegrave, King & Stuart, 1999). The city represents some of the most obvious and significant economic differences between people, which in turn reflect ethnic, gender, age, employment, and education issues (McLennan, Ryan & Spoonley; 2000). The situation in Auckland has been noted as particularly severe. Applications in Auckland to Housing New Zealand are the highest in the country. House prices and rents are also higher there than anywhere else in the nation. Aucklanders spend more of their income on housing than do people elsewhere in the country, and statistics on crowding show that Auckland is the most crowded region in New Zealand (Statistics New Zealand, 2003). These housing pressures constitute an important backdrop to many homeless people's experiences of homelessness and a lack of security and safety, and they place people at increased risk of homelessness (Daly, 1997; Kearns, Smith & Abbott, 1991).

As with many social issues, people from economically, ethnically, and socially marginalized backgrounds are overrepresented among the homeless population (Bang, 1998; McIntosh, 2005; Tois, 2005). Kearns and Smith (1994) noted that many urban Māori live in impoverished and overcrowded conditions. Research also suggests that Māori and Pasifika people are overrepresented in the street homeless population in Auckland compared to their proportion in the general population (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005). Likewise, Indigenous people are overrepresented in the homeless populations in Australia, Canada and the United States (Hanselmann, 2001; Keys Young, 1998; Waldram, Herring, Kue Young, 2006). Scholars have noted that many Indigenous societies have been significantly affected by colonization and processes of cultural, social and economic domination and subordination (Enriquez, 1995). In such colonial contexts, Indigenous people die on average seven years younger than members

of settler populations, and are more likely to experience a range of ailments, poverty, and homelessness (Hanselmann, 2001; Waldram, Herring, Kue Young, 2006). These international trends are all too apparent in New Zealand.

Despite the sporadic nature of New Zealand research into homelessness, a local body of literature includes commission reports for government bodies (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005; Leggatt-Cook, 2007; No Doubt Research, 2004; Wellington City Council, 2004), published scholarly papers (Hodgetts et al., 2008, 2009, 2010c; Kearns, 1995, 2006; Kearns & Smith, 1994; Kearns, Smith & Abbot, 1991, 1992; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; O'Brien & de Haan, 2000), and student theses (Adamidès, 2002; Cooper, 2001; Laurenson, 2005; Lindsey, 1992; Lynch, 1999). This literature portrays a fairly bleak picture, pointing to a lack of accessible and adequate housing as a key contributor to homelessness (Kearns, Smith & Abbot, 1991; Smith, Robinson & Atkinread, 2006). Winter and Barnes (1998) noted that while many New Zealanders may support the abstract principle of all citizens being entitled to decent housing, their comprehension of the nature and extent of homelessness in their own country was minimal.

Briefly, New Zealand research attests to the complexity of homelessness spanning street sleepers to those sleeping on the couches of friends and experiencing other marginal housing situations (Kearns & Smith, 1994; Lindsey, 1992; McClintock, 1982; Mora, 2003; O'Brien & de Haan, 2000; Smith, Robinson & Atkinread, 2006); and the complexities of pathways into and out of homelessness (Al-Nasrallah et al., 2005). Increasing attention from media and governmental bodies over the past two decades is indicative of increased concern about homelessness as a potentially growing problem in this country (Cooper, 2001; Department of Internal Affairs, 1983; Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; No Doubt Research, 2004; Wellington City Council, 2004). Public concern regarding the presence of homeless people in settings such as the Auckland CBD has contributed to the greater regulation of public space by local governments and recent attempts by scholars to conceptualize the nature and extent of homelessness (Cooper, 2001; Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005; Laurenson, 2005; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; No Doubt Research, 2004; Wellington City Council, 2004). I

explore issues regarding the regulation of public bodies in the following sections of this chapter and throughout the thesis. Below, I turn to issues regarding definitions of homelessness.

Definitions of homelessness in New Zealand

Researchers have responded to the need for a more adequate definition and measurement of homelessness to better reflect the variation and fluctuation embodied by this particular population (Laurenson, 2005; O'Brien & de Haan, 2000; Statistics New Zealand, 2007). The Australian homelessness classification system developed by Chamberlain and MacKenzie (1992, 2002, 2003) has been adopted by a number of New Zealand researchers and service agencies because it presents a useful framework for understanding homelessness and responses to it. Chamberlain and MacKenzie identify three particular forms of homelessness: primary, secondary, and tertiary homelessness. Primary homelessness comprises people without conventional accommodation (living on the streets, in deserted buildings, in improvised dwellings, in parks, and so forth). Secondary homelessness includes people shifting between various forms of temporary shelter, including friends or relatives, emergency accommodation, youth or women's refuges, hostels and boarding houses. Tertiary homelessness comprises people living in solitary rooms in private boarding houses on a long-term basis – without their own bathroom or kitchen and without the assurance and security of tenure. This classification separates the varied forms of homelessness as it occurs in different settings amongst different groups with varied needs requiring diverse policy responses. It captures some of the complexities of homelessness and reflects attempts to encapsulate variability and movement in understandings of homelessness. Across these categories, we see a range of people and situations, and the potential for movement across categories in that many people move back and forth between primary, secondary and tertiary homelessness. As Rivlin and Moore (2001, p. 326) comment, "It makes sense to think of homelessness as a continuum from rooflessness to homefulness, with varying qualities of temporary housing and shelter in between".

Kearns, Smith and Abbott (1992) argue that although New Zealand may experience low proportions of primary or street homelessness in comparison to what is experienced internationally, there is striking evidence for a large proportion of people in insecure living situations, inadequate housing, or presenting to agencies with serious housing needs. In light of this, they argue:

Absolute [primary] homelessness represents only the tip of the iceberg ... there are many thousands more who represent the incipient homeless ... the plight of the currently homeless is desperate, but just around the corner is a potentially vast population of ill-housed people, many of whom are little more than one additional domestic crisis away from being on the streets. (Kearns, Smith & Abbot, 1992, p. 369)

A prominent feature of New Zealand research is the focus on homelessness as a “situation” in which people find themselves: being without a conventional domestic dwelling. The result is a core focus on lack of housing as the issue. Less attention has been given to the relational and social nature of homelessness and the “processes” by which homeless people live their lives.

As efforts to define homelessness develop, current frameworks extend beyond a core focus on homelessness as a housing issue. For example, in 2009 Statistics New Zealand formulated a report with the aim of producing an official definition of homelessness. It acknowledged a gap in official statistics that needed to be addressed so government and community groups could better respond to homelessness. The concepts and definitions utilized were adapted from the European typology of homelessness and housing exclusion (ETHOS), while also attempting to recognize the societal, cultural, and environmental contexts particular to New Zealand. The report conceded that a vital consideration for defining homelessness in New Zealand is the large proportion of “concealed homeless” living situations (people with very limited options, such as temporarily sharing someone else’s accommodation with no security of tenure).

The intersections of the social, physical, and legal domains within the housing sector are used as the basis for the Statistics New Zealand framework. The

social domain encompasses people being able to enact “normal social relations”, maintain privacy and a personal space, and have safe accommodation. The legal domain extends to having exclusive possession or security of occupation or tenure. The physical domain is the structural aspect of housing and encompasses people having habitable housing. It is with reference to the intersections between these domains that a more complex conceptualization of homelessness emerges. The resulting conceptual categories are: “without shelter” (living on the street, and inhabiting improvised shelters, such as living in a shack or a car); “temporary accommodation” (hostels for the homeless, transitional supported housing for the homeless, women’s refuges, and people staying long-term in motor camps and boarding houses); “sharing accommodation” (temporary accommodation for people sharing someone else’s private dwelling); and “uninhabitable housing” (people residing in dilapidated dwellings).

The Statistics New Zealand definition not only attempts to capture some of the complexity of homelessness. It also constitutes an acknowledgement of movement between the different forms of living rough, temporary shelter and depending on the generosity of others. A separate acknowledgement is made of those at imminent risk of homelessness: people in accommodation for immigrants, people receiving longer-term support (residential care for older homeless people), people due to be released from institutions, and people under threat of eviction or violence. This thesis focuses on four people who exemplify movements between the different forms of homelessness reflected in the Statistics New Zealand conceptualization.

Explanations for and responses to homelessness

Homelessness is political, and understandings generated from research and efforts to define homelessness significantly impact official responses to homelessness. Complexities surrounding homelessness and how society might respond are often based upon assertions of cause or explanations for homelessness (Fitzpatrick, Kemp, & Klinker, 2000; Pleace & Quilgars, 2003). Researchers into homelessness have demonstrated that the way homelessness

is conceptualized influence political acts that determine how society responds to homelessness (Anderson, 2003; Chamberlain & McKenzie, 2002; Neale, 1997; Pleace & Quilgars, 2003). Explanations for homelessness often differ in terms of the emphasis placed on individual (personal choice) or structural (socio-economic) factors (Neale, 1997).

US-based research tends to focus on individualist explanations which position the role of the individual as central in the occurrence of homelessness (Christian, 2003; O'Connell, 2003). Individualist explanations are conceptualized in one of two of ways (Neale, 1997). The first argument contends that homelessness occurs through personal failings or personal choice; that is, homeless people can be held directly accountable for the conditions of their lives. This argument was not uncommon in much of the historical rhetoric about homelessness. Conversely, the second type of individualist argument adopts a more humanitarian ideology. It is proposed that homelessness is the product of personal deficits that are outside of a person's control and they cannot therefore be held completely responsible (due to conditions such as mental illness) for their situation. Subsequent policy responses constitute a more humanitarian approach, mainly in the form of intensive case management and social work intervention (Neale, 1997). In the first type of individualist definition, homeless people are the "undeserving poor", while in the second individualist definition, they are perceived as more "deserving".

In contrast, UK and European research tend to focus on socio-economic factors for explaining homelessness (Christian, 2003; O'Connell, 2003; Pleace & Quilgars, 2003; Sosin, 2003). These structural explanations contend that causes of homelessness are beyond the control of the individual in macro-socioeconomic factors like that of housing and labour markets and the governmental policies that regulate them. The emphasis placed on structural explanations has meant that policy responses are orientated around recommendations for broad societal intervention together with housing subsidies and the provision of temporary or affordable permanent accommodation. Increasingly, emphasis is placed on the complex interplay between individual and structural explanations (Anderson & Christian, 2003; Anderson & Tulloch, 2000; Daly, 1997; Hodgetts et al., 2007b).

The need for considering the interwoven nature of individual and structural factors is evident in relation to discussions of the role of alcohol and substance misuse among homeless people. The individualistic explanation that posits homeless people are on the streets due to addictions needs to be supplemented with consideration of wider situational factors that often contribute to people drinking excessive amounts of alcohol. Substance misuse can also be a consequence of homelessness (Hartman, 2000; Hodgetts et al., 2007b). Alcohol, drug, and solvent misuse often manifest as coping strategies for homeless people that provide a sliver of temporary relief from their circumstances and the difficulties of everyday life, and to numb feelings associated with painful life histories (Mora, 2003; O'Brien & de Hann, 2000). Memories of an abusive past can seriously undermine emotional health, and, once on the streets, many vulnerable people learn to survive by engaging in risky activities, such as prostitution and crime (Hatty, 1996; Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Pleave, 1997; Waller, Harper, Martin & Valiani; 2008). Such complexities are often lost when local authorities respond to the presence of inebriated bodies on the streets with policies and practices designed to exclude homeless people and prohibit such behaviour in public places.

Public constructions of homeless people residing in public space as threatening to the safety of domiciled citizens (Casey & Crothers, 2005; No Doubt, 2003) led to the commissioning of reports into the extent and nature of homelessness. In 2005, the Auckland City Council commissioned Gravitass Research and Strategy Ltd to produce a report on the extent of homelessness in central Auckland, current service delivery, and the potential role of the Auckland City Council in responding to homelessness. This research led to the *Auckland City Action Plan on Homelessness* (2005) that establishes the council's role as one of providing oversight of homelessness and public space issues, collaboration with other agencies to improve coordination, advocacy to central government, and leadership and public awareness. Such plans reflect growing recognition of the persistence of homelessness in this country and the need for further research and action (Millar, Gormon, Greer, Thorpe & Mora, 2005; Mora, 2002).

Local authority responses have typically taken the form of bylaws and ordinances prohibiting particular behaviors, such as begging, car window washing, sidewalk sitting, and sleeping in public (Laurenson & Collins, 2007). One of the most commonly cited reasons for implementing regulations aimed at restricting certain behaviors in public space is increasing concern for public safety, but only for those engaged in legitimate acts of consumption or production in the city. While such regulations are often promoted as being concerned with activities and spaces, not particular people, it is clear that the behaviors targeted are typically associated with homeless people. In this sense, the adoption of bylaws banning camping, sleeping, begging and loitering can be understood “as part of the purification of public space” (Collins & Blomley, 2003, p. 40). However, decisions such as these challenge homeless people’s dignity, citizenship, and right to participate in civic life (Hodgetts et al., 2008b).

Echoing international research (Mitchell, 2003), Laurenson and Collins (2007) note that street homeless people in New Zealand by necessity must carry out most of their lives in public space. Therefore, any local government policy regulating activities in public space is likely to directly impact homeless people as they have no private space to retreat to, in order to perform activities and behaviors prohibited in public space (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). While public spaces are often imbued with notions of acceptance and diversity, it is here that homeless people frequently face exclusion as a result of punitive regulations which is all too common in New Zealand (Hodgetts et al., 2008).

Throughout this thesis, I consider the impact of the regulation of homeless people’s ability to claim a space in public. This requires a focus on the processes by which homeless people are regulated and resist displacement as they make their lives on the streets. In doing so, this offers further contextually grounded understandings of the daily cultures in which people who happen to be homeless are engaged, and their subsequent experiences of health and social connectedness. What research there is on homeless people’s lives and interactions suggests a sense of community amongst groups of homeless people. These group affiliations provide a source of friendship and support for accessing services, learning skills necessary for surviving the street, and ensuring personal safety (Cooper, 2001; Hodgetts et al., 2008; Lindsey, 1992; Mora, 2003; Smith,

Robinson & Atkinread, 2006). Lindsey (1992) notes the existence of extended family structures among Auckland street kids. Particular people in these groups emulate parental roles, especially in relation to the newly homeless people who do not know how to access services or how to find “safe” places to sleep, and how to conduct themselves or how to obtain basic resources for survival. Such relationships also extend to homeless and domiciled groups such as when local librarians create supportive spaces for homeless people to spend the day (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Hodgetts and colleagues (2008) also note that the place of homeless people in public libraries is subject to regulatory threats (mentioned above) from politicians and other lobbyists who focus on potential dangers homeless people may pose and wish therefore to remove homeless people from places of contact with the general population (Laurenson & Collins, 2007). What is clear is that the tensions between inclusion and exclusion are played out in public spaces in reference to the presence of homeless people in New Zealand cities, and that the various public and official responses require further investigation.

Despite the persistence of more humane efforts to provide emotional support, clothing, and shelter, a key focus in local responses to homelessness is the regulation of behavior associated with homeless people (Laurenson & Collins, 2007). Limiting responses to homelessness is the lack of a coherent set of national policies and provisions specifically targeting the needs of homeless people (see Chapter Two, below, for comment regarding my work with the Māori Caucus for the New Zealand Coalition to End Homelessness). The national welfare benefit system and state housing provisions provide many homeless people with base incomes and the promise of subsidized housing (Peace & Kell, 2001; Peace et al., 2002). However, much of the service support for homeless people comes from charitable aid, such as food parcels, meals, clothing, and advocacy work conducted by organizations such as the Auckland City Mission (Auckland City Mission, 2006). Such organizations have long histories of rendering assistance to the urban poor and increasingly are cooperating with local and national government organizations. With the retreat of the welfare state (Gerometta, Haussermann & Longo, 2005; Larner & Craig, 2005) over the last 20 years or more, private charities have increased their efforts to respond to the needs of homeless people in New Zealand.

New Zealand research indicates that homelessness is an ongoing phenomenon that requires further research and action. International literature on homelessness informs my analysis of the local context. We need to recognize not only the uniqueness of the local scene but also the importance of drawing on insights from abroad in order to fill the gaps in research in this country. There are clear differences in modes of social support between, for example, the USA and New Zealand (cf. Daly, 1997). However, there are also similarities that make it possible to transfer insights, with a view to extending our present understandings and efforts to help people in need. The four case studies offered in this thesis reflect how broad socio-political and economic arrangements can be identified in the personal lifeworlds of four homeless people.

Pathways into and out of homelessness and associated risks

Researchers have called for more research into relational, structural, and cultural aspects of homelessness (Hodgetts et al., 2008; Lemos & Durkacz, 2002). This focus extends our engagements with homelessness beyond the issue of housing to how individuals enter and exit possibly more than one episode of homelessness, and their experiences across such transitions (Anderson, & Christian, 2003; Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005). Whilst material deprivation is a fundamental aspect of homelessness, it is important to note that this is not simply a “bricks and mortar” issue (Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000; Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2006). The interwoven nature of personal, relational, and structural dimensions of homelessness has been explored through a focus on pathways to homelessness (Clapham, 2003). Such research documents how homelessness often stems from vulnerability to poverty, exacerbated by a combination of traumatic life events which may include family deaths, emotional, physical, and sexual abuse, relationship breakdowns, mental illness, substance misuse, and job loss (Al Nasrallah et al., 2005; Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000; Toohey, Shinn, & Weitzman, 2004). Pathways into homelessness can be gradual whereby a person “uses up” their social networks by relying overly on friends and family for support and a sofa for the night, and eventually “wear out their welcome”, ending up on the street (Paradise, & Cauce, 2002; Toohey,

Shinn, & Weitzman, 2004). Once a person is homeless, personal vulnerability issues intensify the situation, so that they can become stranded.

Just as there does not appear to be any single pathway into homelessness, the way back into mainstream society varies between people (Anderson, & Tulloch, 2000; Clapham, 2003; Russell, 1991). Rehousing requires different supports for people with different needs and different transactions with community workers, officials, and members of the housed public (Anderson, & Christian, 2003; Fitzpatrick, Kemp, & Klinker, 2000). There are often difficulties in maintaining re-settlement for homeless people, frequently resulting in their return to street life (Daly, 1997; Sahlin, 2005). Along with housing affordability, decreases in tenancies are attributable to social isolation, loneliness, a lack of community integration, and a lack of public support for local rehousing initiatives, often reflected in “zero tolerance” policies” (Atkinson, 2003; Crane, & Warnes, 2005; Dorvil, Morin, Beaulieu, & Robert, 2005; Peace & Kell, 2001; Sibley, 1995). It has been proposed that interventions are needed to rebuild ties with family and friends, to establish new contacts, and to address the anxieties of domiciled citizens regarding the situating of services for homeless people (Atkinson, 2003; Brinegar, 2003; Sibley, 1995). Such “reintegration”, rather than simply “rehousing”, necessitates support systems, jobs, and the cultivation of social networks around homeless people (O’Brien & de Hann, 2002; Paradise, & Cauce, 2002).

Along with the focus on pathways and reintegration needs, researchers have also documented the accompanying health consequences of homelessness and associated problems of substance misuse (Hartman, 2000; Hodgetts et al., 2007b; Mora, 2003). For example, the *Journal of Health Psychology’s* special issue on homelessness (Flick, 2007) documented the health risks associated with homelessness (Shinn, Gottlieb, Wett, Bahl, Cohen & Ells, 2007); health problems for older homeless people (Fitzpatrick, Irwin, LaGory & Ritchey, 2007), and for transient homeless people in Ghana (de-Graft Akins & Ofori-Atta, 2007); the embodied, relational, spatial, and material aspects of homelessness and its consequences for health (Hodgetts et al., 2007b); health and service use and barriers to utilization (Christian, Armitage, & Abrams, 2007; Flick & Röhnsch, 2007; Kelly & Caputo, 2007; Stein, Anderson, & Gelberg, 2007); the effectiveness

of interventions (Rew, Fouladi, Land, & Wong, 2007; Schumann, Nyamathi, & Stein, 2007); and social representations of homelessness among professionals (Renedo & Jovchelovitch, 2007).

The severe poverty associated with street homelessness is a serious and lethal risk factor for population health (Sanders, Lim & Sohn, 2008). We have known for some time that adverse socio-economic situations (e.g. poverty) can have harmful effects on individuals and groups, resulting in negative health and social outcomes (Chadwick, 1842; Mayhew, 1861). Sanders, Lim, and Sohn (2008) make the striking argument that poverty is undoubtedly the most pervasive, unyielding, and lethal risk factor for population health, since “Its effects straddle acute and chronic conditions, accumulate over the life course, and are transmitted across generations” (Sanders et al., 2008, p. 1101). These authors propose that poverty limits education and employment opportunities, leaving individuals vulnerable to unstable life situations, parasitic relationships, depression, a lack of control, and an inherently fatalistic outlook.

From such volumes like that of Flick’s special issue on homelessness in the *Journal of Health Psychology* (2007) and previous health research across the social sciences, we know that homeless people are sicker and die quicker than members of the domiciled population (Lewis, Andersen, & Gelberg, 2003; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004); that they experience a sense of dispossession, insecurity, and cultural dislocation (Cattell, 2001; Dordick, 1997; McIntosh, 2005; Rollins, Saris, & Johnston-Robledo, 2001); that they are more likely to experience physical or sexual violence (Wenzel, Koegel & Gelberg; 2000); and that they are 34 times more likely to commit suicide, and 150 times more likely to be assaulted fatally (Shaw, Dorling, & Smith, 1999). Extensive traumatic life experiences such as childhood abuse, family breakdown, and exposure to institutional care are converging themes in the life histories of many homeless people (Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000; Robinson, 2005; Toohey, Shinn, & Weitzman, 2004). Research (Ellis & Carroll, 2005; Frankish, Hwang & Quantz, 2003; Hodgetts et al., 2007b) suggests that homeless people experience a profound sense of attrition through constant exposure to wet and cold conditions, the unrelenting threat of violence and

associated lack of sleep aggravated by the stress of vigilance, and bodily decline, including the loss of teeth.

Further trends in psychological research into homelessness

Internationally, psychological research into homelessness has shed some light on the extent of homelessness, the similarity of trends in homelessness for various countries, pathways into and out of homelessness, risk factors, substance misuse, service provisions, policy development, and negative social and health outcomes. These topics are evident across recent special issues of the *Journal of Community and Applied Social Psychology* (Christian, 2003), the *Journal of Health Psychology* (Flick, 2007), and the *Journal of Social Issues* (Toro, 2007). Generally, this work effectively employs service use data and one-off qualitative and quantitative surveys to provide a broad understanding of trends among homeless populations and key issues of concern. Studies using more in-depth ethnographic methods to explore daily processes of survival, relationships, and the evolution of links between people and places, are less evident (cf. Hill, 2003; Kidd & Davidson, 2007). Psychologists are beginning to consider issues of place and material culture in the daily lives of homeless people by drawing on insights from across the social sciences (Hodgetts et al., 2007a/b, 2008). If we are to extend present understandings of issues such as barriers to rehousing and why some homeless people are reluctant to leave a life of transience, or why some return to the streets even after re-settlement, it is necessary to re-orientate aspects of our shared research agenda.

A core assertion for this thesis is that, in many respects, homelessness is at once a relational, spatial, personal and societal issue. As psychologists, we need to focus more on the daily practices and relationships among homeless people, and between homeless and domiciled peoples, as is explored in the broader social science literature (Paradise, & Cauce, 2002; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004). Through the application of ideas about links between places, objects, and the self to specific case studies of homeless people, I seek to inform and extend psychological research on homelessness. This requires some consideration of what we know about linkages between identity and self, resilience, place-based

identity, and processes of home-making amongst homeless people. In taking up this challenge, my research emphasizes developing an understanding of the ways in which people make sense of their social worlds, and navigate within them, in order to inform efforts to better meet the needs of marginalized people (Anderson, 2009; Hodgetts et al., 2008; Small, 2009). This moves beyond the positivist orientation in much psychological research of separating the individual from the socio-cultural context in which they live (cf. Toro, 2007), and taking seriously the need for combining individual and society-level explanations for homelessness.

A positive turn towards understanding resilience in the lives of homeless people

As a significant societal concern, homelessness involves processes of social exclusion interwoven with material hardship that can have devastating consequences for people's health and wellbeing (Hodgetts et al., 2007b). Consequently, research into homelessness is primarily oriented towards understanding the problems homeless people face and informing efforts to alleviate homelessness. While it is important not to diminish the significance of research on problems associated with homelessness and adaptation, the central focus on illness, deficits, and problematic life trajectories can dehumanize homeless people. A primary focus on problems associated with homelessness can contribute to the homogenization of the homeless population as comprising a collection of dysfunctional individuals (individualistic explanation) or a mass of passive victims of circumstance (structural explanation). It also supports the assumption that experiences of homelessness are uniformly negative (DeVerteuil, May & von Mahs, 2009; Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Snow, Anderson & Koegel, 1994). This perspective neglects how many homeless people laugh, care for others, and have rewarding experiences (Hodgetts et al., 2006). Being inattentive to people's resilience and strength, their complex and unique life stories, relationships, experiences and identities ultimately disregards the human dimensions of homelessness (cf. Montgomery, 1994).

It is important that we do not lose sight of agency and adaptation in homeless peoples' lives. For example, when considering people's transitions into street homelessness, Rokach (2004) has suggested that one needs to adapt to homelessness, much as others engage in a "career". In terms of a "career", the daily survival of homeless people requires a focus on food, clothing, and personal hygiene. As the duration of homelessness increases, daily routines develop, and adaptation to street life progresses (Hill, 2003). Homeless people are not only occupied with daily survival, violence, and social ostracism, but loneliness, depression, and fear are also common (Hodgetts et al., 2007b; Rokach, 2005). Despite these physical and psychological issues, people learn to cope and make do. When focusing on the problems homeless people face, we also need to consider their strengths and resilience (Merritt, 2003). This includes personal and relational responses to adversity in the context of everyday life (Hodgetts, Chamberlain, & Groot, 2010a).

In moving to adjust the focus from problems associated with homelessness to an emphasis on strengths, I do not wish to be read as advocating a variant of current versions of "positive psychology". The individualistic tendencies in positive-orientated psychologies have been criticized for leading to the promotion of self-absorption and narcissism (Becker & Marecek, 2008) by claiming that through personal effort the individual can transcend their material, economic, and social circumstances. This approach can obscure the impact of inequitable social structures on causing homelessness and further entrenching people within conditions of poverty (Hodgetts et al., 2010b).

That said, a focus on human resilience, ingenuity, flair, happiness, civic engagement, and agency is crucial for a more inclusive discipline of psychology that can account for human fortitude (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Not all people or groups experiencing adversity suffer equally from social disruption and illness (Wilkinson, 2000; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). We need to explore why. My focus on strengths provides a perspective on how people do more than cope with and respond to adversity; they can also grow and develop as human beings. They can engage in creative responses to adversity and be resilient for a time (cf. Sanders et al., 2008).

Researchers have highlighted various protective factors (for example, ego strength and an internal locus of control) that buffer people from corrosive environments such as poverty (Bonanno, 2005; Merritt, 2003). Resilience involves a range of these protective factors that may allow homeless people to survive and in some cases develop and thrive on the streets, and to make important shifts within their lives. Resilience is not just a personality factor. At a psychological level, resilience is associated with self-belief, acceptance, and belonging (Prince, 2008). At a material and activity level, it involves strategies for accessing resources, including food and shelter, and extending to social networks and assistance from others. Critics have argued that research has tended to focus more on the personal characteristics of individuals, thus detracting attention from the multi-layered factors which lead to situations, including homelessness (Christian, 2003). Sanders and colleagues (2008) posit that resilience is not a generalized individual trait. After all, people can demonstrate resilience in one situation and not in another. In time, once overwhelmed by adversity, they may become bereft of resilience where previously they had coped exceedingly well. Resilience can fluctuate over one's life course and across contexts, such as when a person is homeless or housed (Williams et al., 2001). Thus, resilience is not a fixed attribute solely located within, and determined by, the individual. It comprises social and relational processes that enable or undermine the ability of people to respond and adapt to risks as they are confronted by these through the course of their lives.

It is well established that social support and positive relationships with others can buffer people from the venomous effects of corrosive life circumstances (Jahoda et al., 1933/1972; Sanders, Lim & Sohn, 2008; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). The ability of people to draw on support from friends, relatives, and neighbors is fundamental to the wellness of people living with urban poverty (Wacquant, 2008). Social capital is often theorised as a communal resource that can buffer groups facing aversive events which threaten their health (cf. Wilkinson, 2000). It is the bond that holds people together, and is associated with a sense of belonging and support, trust, shared goals, social networks, and group affiliation. Cohen and Prusak (2001, p.4) write, "Social capital consists of the stock of active connections among people: the trust, mutual understanding, and shared values

and behaviours that bind the members of human networks and communities and make cooperative action possible”. Social capital has long been recognized as central to coping with adversity (Adger, 2003). Social capital can facilitate security and resilience. Resilience can be cultivated through social interactions involving other homeless people, passers-by or members of the public, and social workers.

Sanders and colleagues (2008) approach resilience as the product of dialectical relationships between built environment (e.g., parks, buildings, streets, services) and social environments (relationships, supports, civic engagements), that results in the cultivation of social capital and a raft of protective factors that influence personal lifeworlds, choices and actions. Such relational resources as a sense of belonging and affiliation, mutual obligations and support can be cultivated in particular places and can facilitate wellbeing among economically marginalized groups such as homeless people (Lee, 2010). As a result, some urban environments featuring resourced social services and housing allow people to respond more constructively to urban poverty and to build social ties, obligations, shared identities and histories that help protect them from adversity (Hodgetts et al., 2010b). Central to such conceptualizations of resilience is the receiving from and giving of assistance to others. It includes various combinations of tenacity, self-sufficiency, resourcefulness, problem-solving, humour, persistence, mentoring, accepting assistance, pride, and cooperation (Bonanno, 2005; Prince, 2008; Sanders et al., 2009; Sonn & Fisher, 2008).

In short, “Resilience is the dynamic process of adaption despite adversity” (Reed-Victor & Stronge, 2002, p. 160). It involves personal strength and contextual elements such as supportive others and life-chances – phenomena often labeled as “protective factors”, which are generally associated with the environment outside the individual. Protective factors shape the self over time, and can build up personal and relational resilience, or undermine it. If mentored and supported by other homeless persons an individual is socialized into street life and incorporates lessons and strategies into their very being. They can, for instance, learn effective strategies for begging or for washing car windows during heavy traffic times.

There is mounting evidence for resilience among homeless people. For example, Kidd and Davidson (2007) draw on the accounts of 208 homeless youths in New York and Toronto to document their accounts of survival and resilience linked to the self, others, daily practices, and material and social circumstances. In the process, these authors point to the huge range of lives and survival strategies among homeless youth. This diversity is important for my research. “The homeless” are not a homogenous group in terms of origins, self identification, affiliations with street culture, daily practice or aspirations. Resilience requires each person to learn to survive and, for some, it involves cooperation and living with other homeless people (Rokach, 2004). It includes adapting to societal norms, and attempts to regulate homeless bodies in public places in order to construct one’s own place on the street. I will show how it also involves adapting one’s strategies in response to events such as being moved along from a favoured begging spot by police, or the loss of a friend.

Central to this thesis is the proposition that merely being motivated by the need to survive does not accurately reflect the breadth and depth of the lives of homeless people or their resilience. Many homeless people develop strengths, skills, and resources through their integration into networks of homeless people (Hodgetts, Radley & Chamberlain, 2007b). It is necessary to research resilience at a relational level as it occurs somewhere between, and often in concert with the aspirations and efforts of others. Groups that can offer support to their members are much like resilient individuals: they have the aptitude and resourcefulness to cope with adversity. Groups like those often formed by homeless people are often represented as lacking in competence and not having resilience (cf. Sonn & Fisher, 1998). They are given little credibility and are described as disorganized, damaged, and unable to offer sufficient social and psychological resources for members to cope with adversity.

Although some responses to homelessness, such as substance misuse, may certainly take on the appearance of being negative or self destructive, the resilient and resourceful ways in which these groups respond and adapt should not be overlooked. Sonn and Fisher (1998) note that the cultural yardstick used to measure efficacy and functionality of adaptations to social contexts by minority communities are usually based on the worldviews, experiences, values and

norms of middle-class domiciled citizens. We need to move beyond the framing of homeless people as deviant and needing to be coerced and “restrained” (Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005). Rather than approaching socially and economically marginalized groups as simply victims of oppression and social inequalities (Christian, 2003), we can explore the strategies through which groups such as homeless people work to construct alternative ways of being (Merritt, 2003; Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005).

It is crucial to reiterate the point that, whilst homeless people may not be the passive victims of their circumstances, their survival comes at a cost. Homelessness often leads to illness over time and, ultimately, early death (Lewis, Andersen, & Gelberg, 2003; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004). When conceptualizing resilience, it is necessary to define what constitutes adversity, to differentiate the processes through which resilience may function, and to demonstrate the realization of positive adaptation. I address these criticisms via the use of four case studies to demonstrate varying aspects of what we might term situational, relational, and personal-based resilience. In doing so, I explore the different ways in which homeless people mobilise themselves to ensure their own survival, to maintain their identities, and in many instances, to support others in need. The following section explores the positive benefits of place-based identities and home-making practices among homeless people.

Place-based identities and home-making on the streets of Auckland

Research suggests that processes of maintaining and protecting identity are central to experiences of homelessness and, in particular, that people rendered homeless often face the loss or fragmentation of their identities (Boydell, Goering & Morrell-Bellai, 2000; Hatty, 1996). This loss has been associated with a sense of low self-worth and reduced self-efficacy (Boydell et al., 2000; Buckner, Bassuk, & Zima, 1993; Hallebone, 1997; Snow & Anderson, 1987, 1993). This section considers how maintaining a sense of self and coherence is fundamental to one’s resilience on the streets. In the process, I propose a broader conceptualization of the self than is typically evident in contemporary homelessness research. This conceptualization builds upon previous work on relational and place-based

identities (Cuba & Hummon, 1993; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996), and allows for the exploration of material and social aspects of the self and the ways in which daily routines embed people in particular spaces.

Tacit within much of the existing research is the premise that the experience of homelessness constitutes a profound threat to identity. Homeless people are said to become disconnected from family, employment and home, those social spheres that are generally regarded as critical anchors for the construction of identity (Boydell et al., 2000; Buckner, Bassuk, & Zima, 1993; Hallebone, 1997; Hatty, 1996; Snow & Anderson, 1987, 1993). These authors propose that, once a person becomes homeless, their sense of self-worth is further corrupted by the stigma of being homeless and the discrimination received from domiciled citizens. Those affected “struggle to maintain a viable and authentic sense of self” (Hatty, 1996, p. 415). Several studies of homeless people’s identity work show that it is a response to chaos and loss (Boydell, Goering, & Morrell-Bellai, 2000; Hatty, 1976; Snow & Anderson, 1987, 1993). Identity is plural and ongoing, and people work to construct and reconstruct themselves. People can respond by adopting the identity of a homeless person engaged in a new lifestyle (Osborne, 2002). Alternatively, individuals who do not want to affiliate with the social identity of “street people” can preserve their sense of self-worth by distinguishing themselves from other homeless people or refusing to adopt the label “homeless” in reference to themselves (Boydell et al., 2000; Snow & Anderson, 1987). Such differentiation strategies are said to be used “to gain psychic distance from the self implied [by circumstances] and to secure a modicum of personal autonomy” (Snow & Anderson, 1987, p 1352).

While I do not wish to downplay convergences in the experiences of homeless people or the threat to self often posed by homelessness, it should not be assumed that responses to homelessness and challenges to one’s sense of self are universally constant. Theoretical work on place-based identities points to some of the complexities surrounding links between identity and public and private spaces. Research suggests that despite regular references to feeling trapped on the street and being at risk of losing themselves (cf. Snow & Anderson, 1993), homeless people are resilient, and engagements in fantasy,

diversion, and escapism, through substance misuse or a good book, enable them to preserve a sense of self (Hodgetts, Radley & Cullen, 2006).

Investigating the complexities of identity work among homeless people requires an understanding of identity that is personal, open to change, and which encompasses relational and spatial dimensions. The latter is important because in many respects homeless people are characterized by where they are physically located.

The significance of attending to processes through which people mould, craft, and texture the physical world to make a place for themselves is exemplified by the concept of place-based identities (Hernandez, Hidalgo, Salazar-Laplace & Hess, 2007; Manzo, 2003; Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). An exploration of place often involves seeking an understanding of the way in which people invest aesthetic, moral, and personal meanings in a variety of locales, and in the process, merge themselves into wherever they might live. Place-based identities are a core concept here, as Cuba and Hummon, (1993, p. 112) argue:

From a social psychological perspective, place identities are thought to arise because places, as bounded locales imbued with personal, social, and cultural meanings, provide a significant framework in which identity is constructed, maintained, and transformed. Like people, things, and activities, places are an integral part of the social world of everyday life, as such, they become important mechanisms through which identity is defined and situated.

Place-based identities are expressed when people say who they are by telling others where they are from. Such identities emerge over time through intimate understandings of settings that are refined through bodily placement and social exchanges (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). A “sense of place” is often created through memories cultivated in particular locations that are endowed with a sense of connection, belonging, and history (Hernandez et al., 2007). This is of particular importance for homeless people who reside in public places shared with other people whilst being subject to the scrutiny of authorities.

The concept of place-based identities is attuned with the argument that there is more to human selves than stationary personality-based entities situated inside individuals. Since the work of early psychologists such as James (1890), Cooley (1902), and Mead (1934), people have been conceptualized as selves inherently interfolded into their physical and social environments (Manzo, 2003). These theorists proposed that the self is numerous and an ongoing project located in the world, physically, psychologically, and socially. Self and world are reticulated within everyday life. The self theorised by early psychologists encapsulates material and social aspects from one's internal voice, body, clothing and possessions, through to habits, friends and family, and physical environment (Musolf, 2003). James (1890) notes that "Mental facts cannot be properly studied apart from the physical environment of which they take cognizance. Mind and world in short have been evolved together, and in consequence are something of a mutual fit" (p. 11). Similarly, de Certeau (1984) discusses "spatial practices" to draw upon the notion that psychological (mental) and physical (material) dimensions are interlaced and conflated in the practicality of one's daily life in urban settings. It is in their daily lives that people come to occupy the world as embodied beings whose social practices bestow meaning upon the places they traverse and the situations they encounter (Lefebvre, 2000). Gleeson and Frith (2006) propose that our sense of self as embodied beings is socially and interpersonally inflected in contextually-specific ways through expressions, gesture, clothing, interaction, and location. The places people traverse through, occupy, and feel a sense of belonging in, reveal aspects of who they are, who they desire to be, and show others (Hurdley, 2006).

In recapitulation, research into homelessness is moving beyond risk factors associated with street life to explore protective factors that enable people to survive on the streets (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2002; Hodgetts et al., 2008; Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Prince 2008; Reed-Victor, & Stronge, 2002; Williams et al., 2001) and to discuss issues of identity (Boydell et al., 2000; Snow & Anderson, 1987). With such developments, we need to consider how homelessness may not always involve the loss of a "normal" domiciled life and associated sense of self. Many homeless people have never experienced a normal domiciled life, and their transitions to the street have not been disruptive or drastic. For instance, beyond the stereotype of the good middle-class youth falling prey to drug addiction and ending up on the street, many young people on the streets have

come from youth detention facilities and foster homes (Reed-Victor & Strange, 2002). These less than conventional or ideal environments in many respects make adaptation to the streets less of an abrupt shift. Many homeless people have often built up resilience in the face of adversity through their domiciled backgrounds, and are often equipped for the transition to street life. Resilience for such people is more about learning specific strategies for street life and integrating into a homeless family (cf. Lindsey, 1992). It can extend to efforts at making a home on the streets.

Challenging conventional notions of home and making a home in public spaces

Another key assertion of this thesis is that central to resilience and the preservation of self among homeless people are efforts to make the street habitable and home-like. I will demonstrate that the practices through which people engage in efforts to make a place for themselves on the streets of Auckland in many respects transform the streets as a site for resilience. Home-making is important in helping us to understand the relationship between homeless people and their physical surroundings in which they conduct their lives and it is to these processes that I now turn.

For those who are domiciled, having a home or a place to dwell is fundamental to physical and social wellbeing and a sense of self (Hodgetts, et al., 2010b). Moreover, the acquisition of a home is a widely sanctioned marker of independence and success in adult life for many groups (Jones, 2000). Rivlin and Moore (2001) outline some key qualities of home. These include relationships with family members; refuge from the outside world; security and control; acting upon and modifying one's dwelling; permanence and continuity; an indicator of personal status; and a reflection of one's ideas and values. Scholars have proposed that these elements of a home are not necessarily bound to the nuclear family or domestic idyll (Jones, 2000). Exclusively house-centric definitions of home are questionable when we consider the actions and experiences of houseless people (Mallet 2004; Manzo 2003). In the process, this requires a renewed consideration of people's emotional connections with a vast array of physical settings that create a sense of belonging, identity, care, and familiarity.

Veness (1993) contends that home can encapsulate a wide range of inhabited spaces and involve the maintenance of a “home-habitus”. What remains unclear is how achieving a sense of home can be realized by homeless people. Some insights can be garnered from writing on Indigeneity and homelessness.

Memmott and colleagues (2003) refer to “spiritual homelessness” in an effort to explain situations in which Indigenous people are displaced from ancestral lands, knowledge, rituals, and kinship relationships. These authors problematise conventional notions of home and homelessness, which pervade the academic literature. They propose that in pre-colonial Aboriginal Australia, “home” was not primarily associated with a domestic dwelling, but denoted affiliation with cultural landscape, a repertoire of places, and one’s belonging within a tribal group. A person may develop a sense of “home”, and a sense of belonging to a place (or set of places), and recognition and acceptance in such places, but nevertheless not have any “conventional” accommodation (Memmott et al, 2003). Further, the experience of being housed for many homeless people contrasts with the meaning of home as a place of safety, solitude, and security. For those experiencing homelessness, the achievement of a safe and secure residence has always been, and continues to be, a long way from reality (Tomas & Dittmar, 1995). In other words, the lack of a house or apartment does not necessarily entail loss of a home. In the context of the lived realities of homeless people, the problematic nature of notions of home takes on new significance. The street can in fact be equated with a greater sense of “home” and identity for some homeless people than many domestic dwellings in which they have been housed.

Home is associated with being-in-the-world. It is a fundamental basis for one’s sense of self and belonging. When lacking, home can be associated with confusion, a sense of isolation, fear, loneliness, and disruption (Robinson, 2005). Homeless people have at some point lived in a house. However, for many people whose distressing childhoods have been characterized by domestic violence, abuse, and poverty, their ability to form a conventional attachment to a home has been disconnected (Paradise & Cauce, 2002; Rivlin & Moore, 2001; Smith, 2008). Both international and New Zealand literature indicates strong links between homelessness and domestic violence, abuse, child poverty, and family dysfunction (Paradise & Cauce, 2002; Smith, 2008). While it is difficult to

ascertain a direct causal relationship between dysfunctional home environments and homelessness, it can be surmised, that for many homeless people, being housed does not necessarily equate to home. Resolving the immediate problem of rooflessness does not in itself bring the experience of home (Rivlin & Moore, 2001).

In both the material and relational sense, a conventional home has been denied to many homeless people (Jones, 2000). However, homeless people's lives have not been quelled by their apparent displacement and loss (cf. Hodgetts et al., 2008, 2009; Radley et al., 2005). Scholars have considered homeless people's own understandings of homelessness and, by extension, their understandings of home (Hill, 2003; Rivlin & Moore, 2001). Homeless people still live somewhere and, though they experience restrictions on their inhabitation in the city, they still endeavour to perform private activities that would typically take place in a domiciled setting (Heidegger, 1971; Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Mitchell, 2003; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009; Veness, 1993). For many homeless people, a sense of home is complex, often inspired by the desire for an idealized domesticated existence, aspects of which they work to imitate when dwelling in public spaces (Mitchell, 2003). Homeless people's strategies for making a home are problematized when the space they are occupying does not provide safety, stability and other intangible aspects of a home.

Mallett (2004) illustrates how a home provides a space within which everyday practices relating to the self and self-care are enacted, and where a sense of routine, privacy, safety, and familiarity is gained. People excluded from domestic dwellings engage in such practices of self-care, but cultivate a sense of routine, comfort, familiarity and belonging somewhere else. Alternative urban spaces, such as unused buildings and cavities under bridges, provide sites for "houseless" people to make themselves at home (cf. Mitchell, 2003; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009; Robinson, 2002, 2005). While such a rudimentary refuge would not be considered an appropriate dwelling according to the dwellings in most developed countries (Toro, 2007), these spaces offer a range of functions that can provide a sense of home for street homeless people. However, an inability to lock the door and being able to "switch off" invoke the reality of street life where one must remain vigilant to ensure one's safety (Hodgetts et al., 2007b). A home

is a restful and private space, relatively free from external surveillance, which engenders autonomy, and provides a secure base from which to nurture a sense of self and place (Mallett, 2004; Manzo, 2003; Noble, 2004).

Domestic practices such as going to the bathroom, sleeping, and drinking alcohol are all “acceptable” behaviours when performed in private, but these practices become “unacceptable” when performed in public (Mitchell, 2003). This inevitably leads to conflict between homeless people and authorities, and consequently the regulation of public spaces (Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Innovations in trespass laws seek to more readily close off many of the small spaces of the city that make survival for homeless people possible (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Homeless people are perilously poised in the continuing skirmishes over who belongs within and has access to public space, because of their undesirable social and economic status and their inability to withdraw into private space (Laurenson & Collins, 2007). Such strategies for controlling public space articulate a vision of exclusivity, and constrict the capacity of homeless people to inhabit and make a life in the city (cf. Laurenson & Collins, 2007; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). This contributes to a situation in which homeless people “simply cannot be, entirely because they have no right to be” (Mitchell, 1997, p. 311).

Homeless people do not stop maintaining their sense of self and place or home while they are on the streets (cf. Robinson, 2002). Despite lacking a conventional dwelling, homeless people’s lives are just as richly emplaced as the lives of housed people. Attempts to carve out and maintain a sense of place, home and self-worth are critical for survival, as these enable people situated on the margins of society to retain a sense of self and, thus, their humanity (Snow & Anderson, 1987). Regardless of physical locale, home-making encompasses the “construction” of a physical, emotional, and social setting that exhibits a personal sense of self and in which a person can obtain feelings of shelter and belonging. Much like domiciled people developing a sense of ownership from the purchase or leasing of a home (Rivlin & Moore, 2001), homeless people can develop similar feelings about makeshift shelters and outdoor accommodations (Hill, 2003).

There is little recognition in the literature that homeless people have valid and varied experiences of home, rather researchers and scholars reify middle-class assumptions of home (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). Rivlin and Moore (2001) illustrate how homeless people are often able to express their identity within their environment through decorating their own space. By contrast, homeless people living in hostels have limited control over their personal space. Such participative acts as decorating involve not merely simple aesthetic acts but also express notions of pride, caring, belonging, value, and identity (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). Homeless people attempt to create a less fragile existence by altering their perception of “home” in the physical sense, adapting the notion of “home” as more conceptual instead (Hill, 2003). On the streets, many homeless people can find qualities of respect, independence, and freedom. Finding a home is not about acquiring home-making skills, but about whether people feel they have a place to stand (Rivlin & Moore, 2001).

In the process of advocating a focus on home spaces within which the everyday lives of homeless people are conducted, it is important not to adopt a view that fixes people rigidly within particular places (Dixon et al., 2006). Mobility is integral to understanding the function of place, particularly in the lives of homeless people, who are often evicted and displaced by the authorities (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009), and who move within and between primary, secondary, and tertiary homelessness situations (Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 2002). Alleys, sidewalks, obscure corners of parks, doorways, bridges, vacant buildings, boarding houses, and sofas in the sitting rooms and garages of friend’s are given meaning through a homeless person’s use. Homeless people live their lives and construct their identities across such spaces.

The present study

The complexity of homelessness cannot be fully captured in an introductory chapter such as this one. However, the issues and research explored to this point set the stage for my research. This thesis combines insights from various social science disciplines regarding homelessness, health, resilience, place, and everyday life. Maintaining a sense of self is fundamental to the resilience of

homeless people who make their lives, and perhaps elements of a home, while residing on the streets of Auckland. Merely being motivated by the need to survive does not accurately reflect the breadth and depth of a homeless person's life. In exploring such issues, it is important that I do not separate the person from their place in the world, because in many respects homeless people are the focus of this research as a result of their very situations. This thesis is designed to provide new insights into the importance of social processes, especially meaningful social engagements, in order to rethink present scholarly understandings of homelessness.

In outlining the focus of this research, it is useful to emphasize that extending scholarly understanding of how homeless people live their lives on the streets and beyond will not prevent individuals from drifting into this situation. However, it can help scholars, policy makers, and service providers conceptualise action frames in interpreting how these people do more than simply make do, how they make decisions regarding their lives, how they engage creatively with their situations and other people, and how they develop as human beings. In this thesis, I assert that homelessness is not just a passage through which people travel, but a culture in which they engage to a greater or lesser degree. This requires us to address the fundamentally social nature of homelessness as much more than a housing issue. Consequently, I offer more than yet another "static picture" of the homeless situation. I will show how options about living are grounded in the material, symbolic and relational contexts in which homeless people live their lives.

The primary intent of this PhD research is to develop an understanding of the social and material nature of homelessness as is evident in the lived realities of four homeless people. Core aims of the research are to:

- Explore how four homeless people make their lives on the streets of Auckland and beyond;
- Consider the nature of resilience among four homeless people in relation to their unique situations and approaches to street life;

- Document the relationship between homelessness, place, and identity in central Auckland.

I outline the flow of subsequent chapters below. Chapter Two explores the methodological approach adopted for this research, the specific research methods used, and my engagement in service provider workshops as an element of action research. The chapter conveys my research strategy, one that is designed to capture the material, spatial, socio-political, and relational dimensions of homelessness. Data collection took place in central Auckland, and recruitment was made possible through the involvement of social workers at the Auckland City Mission. In adopting an ethnographic case-study approach, I observed each participant in central Auckland, engaged them in casual conversations and formal interviews, and asked them to conduct photo-production exercises. The materials we produced through these research engagements comprise the raw materials that essentially inform each case.

In Chapter Three, the four participants are briefly introduced, using pseudonyms, to signpost the general orientation of an analysis that is grounded in, but also extends across, the four cases.

Chapter Four is the first analysis chapter, and introduces the first of four case studies. This case study considers Brett, a 44 year old New Zealand European male. Brett prefers to be identified as New Zealand European, as opposed to Pākehā, and, out of consideration, will be referred to as such throughout this thesis. A primary consideration for Brett is his efforts to psychologically escape the realities of homelessness, and how this shapes his efforts to survive and forge a life for himself on the streets. He escapes through listening to music, reading, exercise, and drug use. These practices provide a means for Brett to disconnect from the street by isolating himself in order to protect himself. Escapism also allows Brett to render particular places in Auckland more habitable and homely. Brett maintains a sense of personal resilience and belonging by differentiating himself from other homeless people, and affiliating with domiciled lifeworlds.

Chapter Five provides the second case study, introducing Daniel, a 48 year old Pākehā male who has lived on the streets since he was 16 years old. Daniel prefers to be alone; however, he blends in to the group by subjugating his will to follow the directions of others. There is a tension in Daniel's account between his desire for a home and meaningful connections with others, and the realities of his loneliness and need for social isolation to ensure his psychological and physical safety.

Chapter Six explores the case study of Joshua, a 45 year old Pākehā male. Joshua actively contributes to his street family by taking on the role of the provider through his innovative skill as a beggar and window washer. Joshua has spent most of his life incarcerated, having grown up in boys' homes, borstals, with a significant amount of his adult life spent confined to a prison cell. A sense of belonging and acceptance on the street is central to Joshua's resilience. This comes at a cost in terms of his health, his association to a street family exacerbates his alcoholism when he engages in drinking schools.

Chapter Seven introduces the case of Ariā, a 53 year old Māori woman. Ariā also strongly presents as an active community member, and, much like Daniel, Ariā has a long history on the streets. This chapter illustrates how a sense of self and identity for an older Māori homeless woman is not only preserved, but enhanced and grown through participation in cultural practices. Māori cultural concepts relating to caring, leadership, unity, relationships, spirituality, history and place, provide a conceptual framework upon which a relevant picture of Ariā's life is built upon. However, such a conceptual framework is not exclusive to the case of Ariā and informs the broader research picture.

The thesis is completed in chapter eight through an exploration of key findings in relation to the existing literature on homelessness, and explores the implications for how we as a society might extend our understandings of, and responses to, street homelessness. I explore how concepts of resilience, relationships, identities, place, objects and transitions on and off the street have been deployed

throughout the case studies to foreground the complexities of daily life for people experiencing street homelessness and periods of rehousing.

Chapter Two: Research setting and methodology

To investigate complex societal concerns like that of homelessness, social scientists need to formulate creative ways of conducting research with homeless people (Hodgetts et al., 2007a/b). In an effort to provide an in-depth account of lifeworlds associated with homelessness, I used a case-based ethnographic approach encompassing volunteer work, direct observations, casual conversations, biographical interviews, photo-production projects, photo-elicitation interviews, and case workshops with agency staff. Detailed field notes were kept throughout the research process. The qualitative methods used are particularly well suited for working with a spatially mobile, reticent, and wary population. This chapter outlines how my research strategy is designed to capture the material, spatial, socio-political, and relational dimensions of homelessness. I discuss some of the benefits of such a process by responding to recent calls for more ethnographic research in social psychology that includes a focus on the material objects, places, and situations of importance to research participants (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008; Valsiner, 2009). For example, seemingly simple acts such as offering participants a camera to picture their lifeworlds focuses participants on the specific contexts of their environment, and fosters a spatially and materially orientated engagement with places, objects, and relationships. It offers participants the opportunity to critically engage with their situations. Further, it also provided a useful basis for working with agency staff to enhance their efforts to render assistance to homeless people.

In outlining the research strategy, this chapter is divided into six sections. Section one considers central Auckland as a site for the research. My engagements with

homeless participants took place at the Anglican Auckland City Mission (ACM), one of the most prominent providers of charitable aid in Auckland since its beginnings in 1920 (Ball, 1997). It is important to note that the area in which the Auckland City Mission is situated has the highest population density, in general, and most residents with high poverty index scores in New Zealand.

Section two presents a rationale for an ethnographic case study design to allow for an intensive examination of the process under study (Flick, 2009). All four cases reflect a tension between the embodiment of general experiences of homelessness, personal history, and uniqueness, and the existing literature on homelessness (cf. Radley & Chamberlain, 2001). The case-based approach adopted in this research involved my participation in homeless people's daily lives for an extended period of time within the setting of the Auckland City Mission. I watched what was going on around me, listened to what was being said, and conducted interviews and photographic projects with participants. Section three explores the data collection procedure used to construct ethnographic case studies within a longitudinal design. My engagements with participants began with ethnographic fieldwork at the Auckland City Mission. Recruitment of participants was made through experienced community workers I worked alongside, and who guided me in conducting the research in a manner sensitive to the situations and needs of participants. The advantage of being based at the Auckland City Mission was that when interviews occurred in the field, the Inner City Drop-In Centre could be used as a space for interviewing.

Section four presents the rationale for employing photograph production in interviews. Photography was used by participants to illustrate the situational, societal, material, and relational circumstances of their lifeworlds. Homeless people took photographs of their daily activities and participated in follow-up photograph-elicitation interviews to discuss their photographs. Imagery and talk were elicited from each homeless person as a way of identifying their concerns, illuminating underlying influences and identifying potential courses of action to address these concerns.

Section five outlines the analysis process for unpacking and comparing each case according to a number of themes in order to present an overall argument for the thesis. Themes guiding the analysis across the case studies included resilience, relationships, identities, place, material objects, and transitions on and off the street. Through the accumulation and comparison of cases, we see how the myriad of relationships and their interconnected parts are embedded in time and place for homeless participants (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009). Throughout, the analysis was informed with relevant concepts from social science research and insights gained from doing ethnographic work in the very places homeless people moved through.

The analysis of the cases was not the end point for my engagements with the empirical material collected for the thesis or with staff at the ACM. Section six explores how conversations between staff and myself developed into friendships that led to an interest in each case study being put forward as a workshop for staff development and the revision of service practices. When put into action, social science research can be employed to create spaces in which theory and research meet practice. In this sense the workshops reflect Freire's (1970/1993) notion of praxis. Not only should our theory and research inform practice, but practice should shape the refinement of theory and research. The workshops provided an interactive space within which findings and their implications could be discussed and revised. Workshops provided a means of leveraging off the efforts of academic researchers and service providers to meet the needs of homeless people (van Laere & Withers, 2008). This reflects Freire's approach, following Marx, to praxis - as it is one thing to understand the world, but the point is to create and inspire change.

A site for the research

Central Auckland is more than a physical setting for this research. It is an "appropriate" location because it features regularly in media reports on homelessness and the cultivation of public expectations regarding this socio-

political concern. When New Zealanders envisage homelessness, we often think of such central business districts: images of begging on Queen Street have populated media reports for almost a century, and, as a result, constitute part of our shared cultural memory (Cooper; 2001; Winter & Barnes, 1998). The New Zealand Living Standards report released in July 2006 by the Ministry of Development highlights how increasing numbers of Aucklanders on low incomes living in poverty (Auckland City Mission, 2006). It has been estimated that around ten percent of Aucklanders are struggling to provide for themselves and their families (Auckland City Mission, 2006), and this situation can culminate in various forms of homelessness, where people congregate in overcrowded housing and in garages, as well as rough sleeping (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd., 2005). The Auckland City Mission (ACM) (see Figure 1) has a history of catering to the needs and hopes of such dispossessed people (Ball, 1997).



Figure 1. Photograph of the Anglican Auckland City Mission taken by Ariā [pseudonym], a homeless participant in this research

The site in which the Auckland City Mission (Figure 1) is located has the highest population density and the most residents with high poverty index scores in New Zealand (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2009; Salmond, Crampton & Atkinson, 2006)¹.

¹ The New Zealand Deprivation Index was developed by Crampton and colleagues (1997) to address three primary functions: resource allocation, research, and advocacy. Indices of deprivation are applied in needs-based population-based funding formulae and in research for advocacy at a community level (Crampton & Laugesen, 1995).

Meshblocks are the most detailed enumeration area units used by Statistics New Zealand to spatially represent census data. Hodgetts and Stolte (2009) constructed Figure 2 using the New Zealand Deprivation Index, which is a statistical indicator of socio-economic status to illustrate how most of the Auckland central city meshblocks have residents with the highest levels of deprivation. The red areas indicate the highest deprivation level. The 1 to 10 scale for the New Zealand Deprivation Index should not be confused with the New Zealand school deciles rating (which has an opposite ranking scale where 1 indicates high deprivation and 10 low deprivation). The green areas indicate the lowest levels of deprivation of 1 or 2, not parks or green spaces in the city. The black dot used to represent the ACM in

Figure 2 clearly places its location in a high deprivation area within the Auckland central city area.

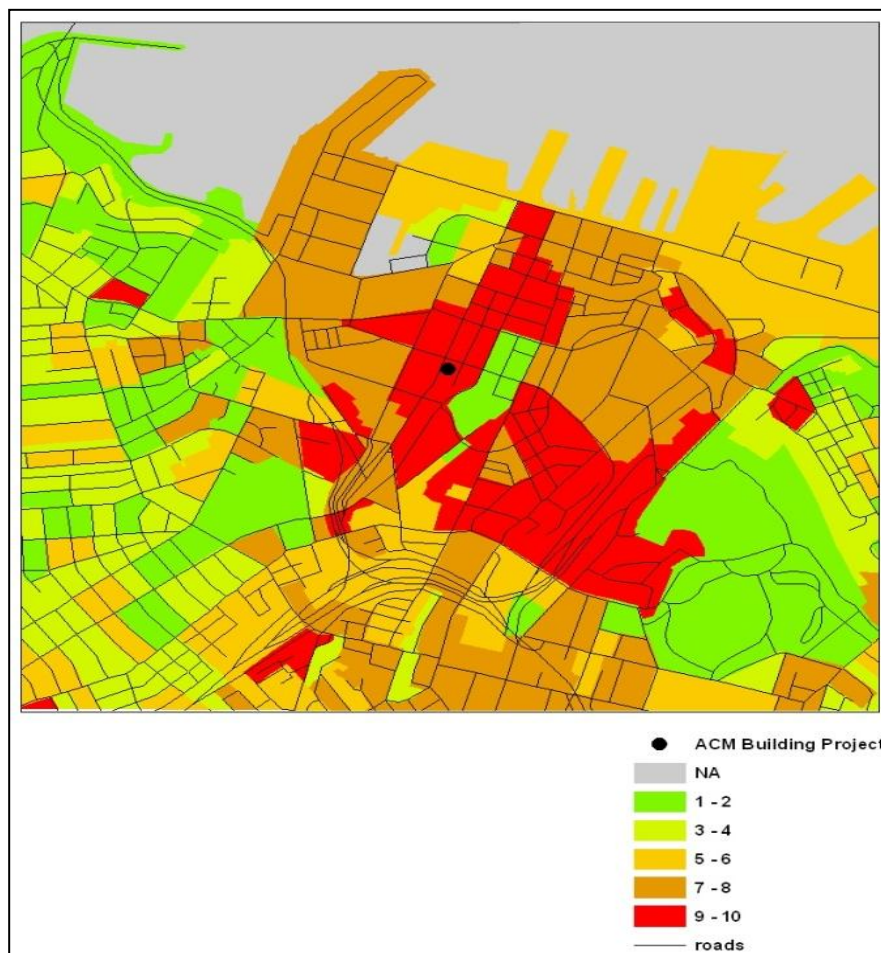


Figure 2. Deprivation Map of the Auckland CBD

(Source: Hodgetts & Stolte, 2009)

Homeless people are known to gather in the open areas surrounding the Auckland City Mission on Hobson Street. Participants in this research would often image the Auckland City Mission as a “space for care” where they could wash, be warm, socialize, use a telephone, eat, and access medical care, and thus gain temporary refuge from the street. The concept of “spaces for care” was developed to explain spaces in which people experience connection, belonging, support, identity, and can benefit from social capital (Conradson, 2003), with a significant feature being that neither people nor the places they inhabit exist independently; caring activities and spaces are mutually constitutive (Dyck, et al., 2005). Spaces for care are not reductive to the physical environment or the bodies and relationships of people residing there. Such elements are combined and recombined over time in the making of the space (Bornat, 2000; Dyck, Kontos, Angus & McKeever, 2005; Gleeson & Kearns, 2001; Hayden, 1995). Acts of caring and sharing constitute an arena for gift exchange, where specific practices bind people and establish a “we-ness” or shared identity (Hodgetts et al., 2010b).

The Auckland City Mission (ACM) was established by the Anglican Church in 1920, under the leadership of Reverend Jasper Calder (Ball, 1997). Calder set a challenge for the Anglican Church to become more receptive to the neglected poor and working class. Under Calder’s influence, the ACM developed a number of services: the night shelter for men which provided a constructive focus for assessing the relationship between the public, the ACM and its “clients”. After the Depression of the 1930s and the enactment of the first Labour Government’s extensive welfare legislation, the ACM adapted to fill gaps left by state provisions (Ball, 1997). The contemporary role of the ACM is to provide advocacy and social and health services for marginalized people in the Auckland region (Auckland City Mission, 2006). Given the relatively high levels of deprivation in central Auckland, there is a considerable demand for services such as those offered by the ACM that target lower socio-economic status people (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2009). Core services include providing food for families and individuals, supporting the elderly and those living in poverty with community social work assistance, an extensive range of programmes for homeless people, supporting people in their efforts to overcome addictions, and providing community support for those living with HIV/AIDS (Auckland City Mission, 2006).

Figure 3 depicts the ACM's Inner City Drop-In Centre. This is a place of vital importance to homeless people in Auckland, because it provides a place of social contact where homeless people can be warm, can eat and drink, acquire basic toiletry items, see a doctor for free every Tuesday morning, make telephone calls, and talk to others (Auckland City Mission, 2006). It is in locales such as these that positive relationships are created between homeless people and domiciled people, as represented by staff. My research took place in the space depicted in Figure 3, and in collaboration with the ACM to ensure that the findings are relevant to the needs of homeless people. Recruitment through collaborations with agency staff has proven successful in previous research into homelessness, and in my case enabled me to work with experienced researchers and community workers in a manner sensitive to the situations and needs of participants (Hodgetts, Radley & Cullen, 2005). Staff and clients also formed an advisory group central to the larger project and informed the design of this thesis. It is to the general design of the research in this location and the surrounding area that I turn in the next section.



Figure 3. Photograph taken by Joshua [pseudonym], a homeless participant, of the Auckland City Mission's Inner City Drop-In Centre

An ethnographic case study approach

This thesis sets out to document how four homeless participants make a place for themselves on the streets and construct an associated sense of self as, I will describe, a mobile hermit – departing from popular depictions of the sedentary loner (Brett), a follower (Daniel), a provider (Joshua) and a healer (Ariā). Examining this topic required a research strategy and methodology that can capture material, spatial and social dimensions of homelessness. This approach is informed by Miller's observation that:

Ethnography tends to lead to a much deeper involvement in people's lives than just what they say about themselves. Ethnography used in material culture also tends to emphasize careful observations of what people actually do and in particular do with things (Miller, 1997, p.12).

My research strategy reflects recent calls for more ethnographic research in social psychology (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008) and further research on place, identity and objects in sociology (Hurdley, 2006). Contemporary ethnography emphasizes the importance of understanding the meanings and cultural practices of people from within everyday contexts (Anderson, 2009; Griffin, 2000). In adopting an ethnographic case study approach, the selection of things, places, and activities was left to homeless participants. Their selections comprise the raw materials of each case which is constructed to exemplify links between homelessness, identity, relationships, and use of places and objects.

Concentrating on just four cases may be perceived by quantitatively-orientated social psychologists as a limitation of the research, because it does not allow for the generalization of findings in a statistical sense. This research does not attempt to generalize from a sample of people to the population they come from. An important recent response to questions regarding the issue of generalization in case studies has been the extended case method, by which researchers investigate a particular situation in reference to the wider social forces shaping it (Small, 2009). Rather than statistical significance, the extended case method searches for societal significance. Each case presented in this thesis is understood through investigating the broader forces impacting on the circumstances (homelessness) of the case. Accumulating and then comparing cases allowed me to trace linkages from one event to another, and to

demonstrate how such events are linked to one another through time (Mitchell, 1983). The accumulation and comparison of cases allow us to see how a nexus of relationships and their interconnected parts are embedded in time and place (Tavory & Timmermans, 2009).

Extended case studies contribute towards an explanation of local conditions as shaped by external forces, and the key to the method is its capacity to uncover the process (Mitchell, 1983). Repeat interactions with participants also allowed for the development of a deeper level of engagement, where the interviews move from a public account to a more private account. Private accounts are drawn out of meanings emanating from the observed world, a reality which may potentially be less acceptable to others and ultimately different. Accounts relating to a more private reality which contains less acceptable, darker and deviant elements are more likely to occur under conditions where there is a close relationship between researcher and participant (West, 1990). For example, in interviews with Brett, a former Skinhead, discussing his affiliation to a racist group potentially could have been perceived as threatening for a young Māori woman. However, Brett constructs impressions of the subgroup he was affiliated with (cf. Goffman, 1956) by describing the Skinheads as disillusioned intellectuals who never harmed anyone. In light of the previous point, West (1990) adds, this stance can produce an exaggerated set of accounts. During the first interaction, Brett did not mention his former group affiliation. By the end of the second interaction, once the MP3/digital recorder had been switched off, he referred to his former membership to the Skinheads. During the third interaction, Brett spoke in some depth about his former involvement with a group that is commonly associated with holding white supremacist views. This is also further evidence of the movement from a public account, such as that he gave in his initial interviews in response to general questioning, to a more private account between confidants (West, 1990). Goffman (1956) discusses the occurrence of embarrassment in an interview where an individual introduces a disturbing issue that may potentially discredit them. It becomes the joint responsibility between the discredited (Brett) and the discreditor (myself) to maintain a positive social interaction. When the topic of Brett's membership arose, I did not condemn Brett's construction of the group; rather, I tactfully explored the topic with him through the interview process.

A prominent advantage of conducting this ethnographic case-based work is the possibility of inductive understandings. Such understandings allowed for the emergence of innovative and dynamic discoveries, for example, how identity can not only be preserved despite severe adverse circumstances like street homelessness but enhanced and grown in some instances. Through the research process, I observed not just the case as a complex whole but, rather a multiplicity of cases with regard to particular themes. While the lives of homeless participants converged in many respects (pathways in and out, histories of abuse, experiences of homelessness, use of the ACM) under similar conditions (homelessness), the cases allowed me to exemplify differences of the comparative dimension of cultures of homelessness (cf. Flick, 2009). Each case study purposefully contemplated dimensions relevant for comparison (Flick, 2009).

As a case-based ethnography, this thesis speaks to the empirical reality of four homeless people, whilst also providing insights into broader socio-cultural patterns that both contribute to their homelessness and allow them to thrive and be resilient (cf. Small, 2009). The thesis draws on recent entreaties in cultural and social psychology for context sensitive research that includes a focus on material objects, places, and situations that are important to research participants (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008; Valsiner, 2009). The research is informed by Simmel's (1903/1997) approach of looking locally in order to understand systemic elements of the socio-cultural world. In other words, the cases can both tell us something about "street life" for four particular homeless people in Auckland, and about the wider social phenomenon of homelessness. Homeless participants are not passive in the face of adversity. The processes of poverty for many have put pressure on family structures, and contributed to patterns of familial stress and abuse, and eventually led them to the streets. We can see how their lives are shaped by socio-political forces and, in turn, how they respond with personal agency.

The four participants were selected as cases because in many respects they do not fit the archetypal characterizations offered in previous research with homeless people (Radley, Hodgetts & Cullen, 2006; Snow & Anderson, 1987; Wenzel et.al, 2000). This research illustrates both how human action is contained

or shaped by certain situations and how people can also shape their circumstances in ways that are positive for self and others. By building cultural constructs around practices of homelessness, I will develop an interpretation that is of relevance to homeless participants and through which they can recognize their selves and those with whom they interact (Anderson, 2009). In doing so, I take seriously ethnographically orientated questions regarding how homeless participants make sense of their lives, relationships, actions and interactions with others (Small, 2009). The thesis thus reflects the ethnographic pursuit of creating an understanding of the ways in which people make sense of their social worlds and navigate within them (Anderson, 2009). My research strategy has allowed me to document and explore what it is like to be a homeless person in Auckland.

The thesis considers the potential impact of specific socio-cultural influences on homeless people (Griffin, 2000). Utilizing ethnographic techniques has meant that key everyday practices have been identified, practices which would otherwise have been rendered invisible had I relied on interview methods alone. This required me to participate in homeless people's daily lives, watching what was going on around me; listening to what was being said and collecting data to inform understandings of the research topic (cf. Griffin, 2000). Such an approach enabled me to appreciate the significance and consequence of the socio-cultural sphere, not simply as background context, but as an integral player in human social life. By extending research engagements over three years, I was able to recognize transitions in experiences, relationships, locations and meanings. I attempted to understand homelessness in Auckland city through the collage of four homeless people's lives as they moved across various locales and relationships. This is important, because affiliation to place is crafted over time through interactions. As Knowles (2000) writes, "lives are not static, fixed in place, but ceaselessly in the process of many journeys from one place to another. Biographies – which are not the living of a life but its telling – are also, like the lives they seek to represent, journeys" (p. 217).

An ethnographic case-study design is an ecologically appropriate research strategy for this thesis because it allowed me to investigate, engage with, and illustrate how people make a life on the streets and beyond over time. Each case drew on qualitative data collection techniques to redress the scarcity of research that considers the experience and difficulties faced by homeless people (cf.

Poulton, McKenna, Keeney, Hasson & Sinclair, 2006). It involved recording the daily routines of individuals as well as events, situations, programmes, activities, and other phenomena of significance in developing an understanding of street life (cf. Flick, 2009; Hancock & Algozzine, 2006). The outcome is a more integrated description of the lifeworlds of homeless people that incorporates both the views of participants and my perceptions and interpretations of their lives (Hancock & Algozzine; 2006).

Each case encapsulates the broader social category of “homeless people”, and represents a tension between the embodiment of general experiences of homelessness, and personal history and uniqueness (cf. Radley & Chamberlain, 2001). It is in both the shared and unique qualities of a person that they may be construed as an interesting or important case in distinguishing the general social dimensions of homelessness today. Each case creates the occasion for grounding understandings of homelessness and comparing variations across lives connecting these to the context of Auckland. “A case is, in an important sense, an exemplar, which ‘goes to show’ something about the class to which it and other members belong” (Radley & Chamberlain, 2001, p. 326).

Below, I will outline the recruitment for this research project of one Māori woman and three Pākehā/New Zealand European men, people ranging in age from 44 to 53 years, and the methods used to engage them in this research in the following section. A more detailed account of each participant is provided in chapter three and in the respective analysis chapters.

Participant recruitment, procedure, and ethics

To reciprocate the ACM's generosity in providing guidance and resources, I engaged in extensive volunteer work at the Inner City Drop-In Centre. Volunteer work involved distributing meals and beverages to homeless clients during meal times offered at the ACM while being situated in the field during data collection. This also meant being involved in the activities of the ACM, such as shadowing staff when they were interacting with clients. At times, this entailed going with staff to meet with recently domiciled clients to ensure that their needs were being met. It involved activities such as assisting an elderly Māori homeless man in learning how to use a computer to enrol in an educational course. Often staff would invite me to sit in on their meetings when discussing clients and the running of the ACM. Engaging in such activities allowed me to get to know staff, clients and various stakeholders in the scene, and also allowed staff and clients to become familiar with me. In short, data collection began with ethnographic fieldwork at the ACM. Ongoing contact with staff and clients was maintained for three years through repeat visits and workshops, which will be discussed later. Detailed field notes were kept throughout these interactions, and informed my initial data analyses and ongoing dialogue with service providers and participants.

Recruitment of the four homeless participants was made possible through agency staff who introduced potential participants to me while I was engaged in general fieldwork on site. All subsequent interviews with homeless people took place on the premises of the ACM. Interviews were conducted in a private room to ensure confidentiality. ACM staff have a mass of experience in working with homeless people in a caring and sensitive manner. Homeless people constitute a vulnerable population and so access to participants was negotiated through consultation with experienced case workers. They were also available to provide support in the unlikely event of a stressful situation arising during the research process.

In terms of process, agency partners initially discussed the project with some of their clients and invited them to consider participating in the research. A time was organized for when I could meet with those people interested in participating in the study. I then met with these participants and explained the study and

confirmed with participants whether or not they were comfortable proceeding with the research. As I grew more familiar in the setting of the ACM, it became increasingly suitable to approach clients for an interview, and homeless people who had participated in interviews could also recommend other homeless people to be interviewed.

Ethical approval for this study was obtained from the Psychology Department Research Office. Participants were informed of their right to withdraw at the time of initial contact with service agency workers and myself. They were reminded of their rights at the start of the interview when they signed the consent form (see Appendix 2) and during interviews if they demonstrated any discomfort with the research. All participants were reassured that what they said would be kept confidential. This meant ensuring that actual names were not recorded on transcripts, photographs, or any other data records. Faces are obscured to make identification difficult, to ensure that ethics are maintained, and anonymity of participants ensured. Records were kept in a secure place, and were accessible only by those involved in the research project. No actual names of participants were mentioned in research presentations or publications, participants are referred to by using pseudonyms. Information from the research was not used for any other purpose and personal information was not disclosed to any other party. I ensured the security of the data by making certain that data records were not left in public view, and data was returned whenever possible to safe storage (a secure computer database). Participants received a modest monetary gift of \$25.00 per interview as compensation for their time. It would have been unethical to sit and listen to their day-to-day experiences of adversity and not offer some form of assistance. For one particular participant, it became necessary to cover their travel expenses in order to attend the interviews. Information sheets, consent forms, and payment forms can be found in Appendix 1, 2 and 8.

As previously noted, participants are comprised of one Māori woman and three Pākehā/New Zealand European men. International (Toro, 2007) and national (Gravitas Research and Strategy Ltd, 2005) literature documents the disproportionate representation of men in street homeless populations and, with notable exceptions, a lack of research attending to Indigenous people (Hanselmann, 2001; Memmott, Long, Chambers & Spring; 2003). These four

particular participants were selected because they resided at various points of transition between the street and domiciled life; are creative and resilient, having survived considerable periods of housing insecurity and homelessness; provide different perspectives on homelessness in Auckland; and have a range of relationships across homeless and housed networks.

Each homeless participant took part in an initial biographical interview, followed by photo-production exercises and corresponding photo-elicitation interviews for each photographic set they produced. Following the biographical interviews each participant was given a disposable camera on and asked to produce images of homelessness and their everyday lives. They were then interviewed regarding these photographs approximately three months after the initial data collection process, and on an ongoing basis up to one year later. Participants conducted further photo-production exercises and elicitation interviews enabling me to track changes in their lives and networks. A longitudinal perspective within a temporally restricted framework, as bound within the thesis timeline, was made possible through the utilization of these techniques (Flick, 2009).

The strength of a longitudinal-orientated study is that it enabled me to follow and record changes of view or action through recurring collection phases. A one year follow up period is also appropriate in the context of a PhD study, and much can occur in one year of the transient lives of street homeless people. Such a design typically requires a suitable amount of time between the moments of data collection in order for development and change to be visible (Flick, 2009). Three months between each point of contact over a year may seem brief, yet changes within each participant's lifeworlds were readily apparent at each point of contact, as was visualized through the images participants produced and their subsequent discussions. Further, staff members were consulted to examine their interactions and relationships with each homeless participant. Staff accounts helped to broaden understandings of each homeless participant.

The advantage of being based at the Auckland City Mission is that when a potential interview cropped up in the field, the Inner City Drop-In centre could be

used as a space for interviews to take place. The ACM made a room available on its premises or alternatively, for those participants who were temporarily stood down from entering the premises (due to violent behaviour either towards staff or other clients), the neighboring church could be used for interviews. Given the potential for impromptu interviewing when on site, I would also carry consent forms, spare disposable cameras, compensation, and an MP3 recorder on me at all times.

Open questions were utilized in the interviews in the form of an interview guide (see Appendix 3-7). Interview questions were designed to complement how participants organized their knowledge about their experience of homelessness, and contrast questions were employed to offer information about the meaning parameters used by participants to make objects and events in their world distinct. During interviews, I was also conscious of the potential for problems to arise when negotiating between both the input of the interview guide and the aims of my thesis research and each participant's style of presentation, biography and personal situation (cf. Flick, 2009). At times, this meant that I had to be flexible when deciding on the sequence of questions I would ask. I had to be sensitive to whether it was appropriate to probe further if a participant was roving far afield, and whether to refer to the interview guide when a participant was digressing from the subject at hand. At times I also needed to be open to each participant's particular style of talking about their situation. These decisions were made within the interview situation itself, and required a high degree of sensitivity to each of my participants, and to the actual course of each interview. My research employed a longitudinal design, and, as a result, required a keen awareness of what had already been said in previous interviews and interactions. I was careful not to take too rigid an approach when referring to the interview guide, as I did not want to restrict the benefits which could arise from openness and contextual information. Sticking rigidly to the guide would only unsettle participants, damage rapport, and lack sensitivity when listening to participants' accounts of hardship and struggle.

In between each point of contact, I would review what topics might need to be expanded upon at another time. I then adjusted the interview guide for the next interaction to anticipate changes in participants' lives, and in light of themes

emerging from previous interviews. If I found I had a problem in introducing and changing topics with a specific participant, I would strategize with my supervisors how I might counteract this at the next point of contact. In the interview situation, I carefully explained to participants' what was expected while being flexible in relation to the course participants felt comfortable taking.

Employing photograph production in interviews

The focus in the interviews over a one year period was comprehensive, encompassing pathways into homelessness, survival strategies, self-care practices, relationships, health experiences, and actual/intended pathways out of homelessness. Interviews also explored homeless participants' interactions with housed people and spaces where they met members of the public. In addition to exploring issues of importance, each participant produced several photographic records of the significant issues, places and people in their lives. Each participant's experiences of homelessness guided subsequent follow-up interviews, where they explicated the meanings of their images and the people and events depicted.

Photo-elicitation techniques such as these have proven useful in helping socially marginalized groups engage in deep reflection and articulate their own experiences (Banks, 2001; Collier, 2001; Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Groot, 2010a; Pink, 2000; Wang, Cash, Powers, 2000). In other words, central to my research was auto-photography, in which homeless people took photographs of their daily activities and participated in follow-up photo-elicitation interviews to discuss their photographs. Photographs and the subsequent accounts were elicited from each homeless person as a way of raising their concerns, identifying underlying influences, and working through potential courses of action to address these concerns. In many respects, this reflects aspects of Freire's (1970/1993) notion of *conscientização*. Freire advanced an approach to education that conceptualized teachers and learners as co-constructors of knowledge (Carlson et al., 2006; Lykes et al., 2003). In this thesis, photo-elicitation enhanced participant reflexivity and contributed to participant knowledge of, and efforts to enhance, their own lives (cf. Klitzing, 2004). Photo-elicitation interviews based upon photographs

allowed participants to image as well as to articulate their experiences of homelessness (cf. Radley & Taylor, 2003a). This approach provided the opportunity for my participants to have more substantially engaged interactions with myself, the researcher, which added a deeper and richer element to information about daily existence than would have come from a traditional one-off semi-structured interview (Hodgetts et al., 2007a).

Photographic images taken by the four participants provide a key component to the data analysis and were essential for facilitating the building of trust and cooperation between homeless people and myself (Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005, 2006). One particular advantage offered by utilizing ethnographic and visual methods in the setting of the Auckland City Mission is that it allowed me to contact a group that is typically resistant to involvement in the research process (Griffin, 2000). This combination of methods is particularly suited where respondents are spatially dispersed and mobile, and where the research requires a narrative that retains a strong sense of personal and social context (MacKnee & Mervyn, 2002). Homeless participants once given disposable cameras would image homelessness, social relationships, and the use of public spaces. It is useful to note that the still photographs created by homeless participants are anything but still in the insights they provide into the practices through which they construct their selves as socio-geographically located and mobile human beings across time and space (cf. Hodgetts, Radley, Cullen, 2006). The use of photovoice in applied community research enables an exploration of everyday lives in a way that is often overlooked in research into topics like homelessness.

By presenting participants with a camera to image their world, the occasion to “turn upon” their surroundings and to convey an account of how and why they did so arises (Radley & Taylor, 2003a). Such an activity resembles the breaching experiments used by ethnomethodologists (Garfinkel, 1967). Participants are asked to engage in an activity which ruptures the taken for granted in a manner that enables them to recognize mundane activities and practices, and to see these actions as social practices and comment on them accordingly (Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Radley 2007a). By creating a photograph, participants are involved in a dynamic engagement with the themes of the research as manifest in their lifeworlds. Casting the eye of a camera over one’s world with the intention of

creating photographs grounds participants in the material aspects of their everyday lives, to the objects cherished by them, and to the relationships that renders these places and artefacts meaningful (Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Radley, 2007a). The outcome of such pictures and subsequent accounts offer insight into the practices through which people compose themselves as social beings within particular locales, and permit us to link personal lifeworlds to wider societal contexts. If people are the creators of their photographs (Barthes, 1981), then the constructive processes of picturing provides the basis for understanding photovoice.

The process of photo-production orientates participants to make associations between people and places, objects and relationships, and groups and society (Hodgetts et al., 2007a, 2008). Locales gain importance as sites where relationships are negotiated between homeless people, and with housed people who live and work there, as well as passers-by (Kearns, & Smith, 1994; Thrift, 2004a). Images produced by homeless participants provide traces of their everyday lives and associated practices and interactions in particular places. The notion of sites for resilience (e.g. the ACM) enables us to place geographically and relationally, what is often seen as an individual process of getting by (Sanders et al., 2008). Resilience occurs somewhere and often in collaboration with the aspirations and efforts of others. I explored the relational and spatial dimensions through which homeless people construct communal sites for experiencing and enacting social links within the Auckland CBD. This foregrounds the importance of seeing people as embodied beings existing in a material world who collectively create communities and strengthen relationships through participation in shared activities. By exploring these dimensions, it becomes possible to document how fostering a sense of belonging and place combined with community membership is resolved in particular locales, objects, and styles of interaction (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). After all, people and places are mutually defined in that they mould and give meaning to each other.

While allowing participants to show us the physical and social environment central to their lives as homeless people today, the making and discussing of photographs during this research did not restrict us to the here and now. Photo-production projects can open up accounts that move beyond the photographs,

transcending the depiction of images, and highlighting issues about the history of imaged events, relationships and places (cf. Harrison, 2004). These accounts take us well beyond the location or relationships portrayed in the photograph, and into discussions about past events and future expectations.

The use of photographs involved a range of interpretative tasks. It encompassed participants and myself both looking at and beyond the photographs from our different positions. Wright (1999) describes this orientation of tuning into the conversations that transcend the photograph as an interpretative process involving “looking at” and “looking behind” the picture (Barthes, 1981). Researchers and participants are required to both view and move beyond from their different locations to reveal the significance of the image for the research (Radley and Taylor, 2003a, 2003b). Visual methods provided the basis for understanding the hardship faced by homeless participants in reference to situational, societal, material, and relational circumstances. Photography proved to be useful in helping participants to show us what these hardships and associated circumstances looked like and felt like. It also provided a useful basis for working with agency staff who were trying to render assistance, which I will discuss in the following section of this chapter. For example, one participant, see Chapter Five, photographed a dog. In discussion with myself, he talked about who owned the dog and the social relations shaping his access to it. These insights were then used to open up a discussion with the participant and staff assisting him regarding the possibility of volunteer work for homeless people at animal shelters as a way of developing a sense of purpose and connection.

As a methodology, photovoice provides one means of documenting ways that participants make sense of how and where they live, and the opportunities in and constraints upon their existence. Photography projects are designed to engage participants in active dialogue and listening, give opportunities for critical reflection to occur, and provide a basis for developing action strategies (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). They offer a means for engaging with, and building interventions out of, everyday experiences, a process that can enhance the usefulness of the resultant interventions. The use of photographs is important in this context, because it renders the situation real, and can be used to raise questions at different levels of the socio-political system that perpetuates homelessness

(Hodgetts et al., 2010a). Photographs have also been useful as devices for engaging in further dialogue and action in the workshops with ACM staff discussed later in this chapter.

Analysis

Analysis for this research was guided by a focus on how homeless people conduct their relationships and lives on the streets and beyond. Particular attention was given to participants' resilience, and how they do more than simply survive. They grow, interact, build relationships, make mistakes and develop lives. The orientating focus was to unravel their experiences and needs as manifest across the interviews and photographs taken by participants. In this section I first consider the analysis of the photographic material in light of conceptual discussions regarding processes of picturing outlined in the previous section. I then consider the combined analysis of the images and talk. In the next section the workshops are considered as an extension of the analysis that creates further dialogue with service providers with a view to revising my analysis and supporting efforts to render assistance to homeless people.

Data collected from each participant was comprised of observations, interviews, photographs and fieldwork. To make sense of the data, field notes were taken, interviews were transcribed, and photograph grids were compiled from each photograph set (see Appendix 9-12). Photograph grids allowed me to analyse the themes coming through from each photograph set, and eventually to make comparisons across photograph sets. This exercise ensured that I treated pictures as more than simple illustrations for talk with participants (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). When constructing a grid for each photograph set produced by participants, I would lay the photographs out and conduct a simple count of people, places, and objects. As interviews progressed over time, the photograph grids allowed me to visually track changes in the lifeworlds of participants across their photographic sets. Conducting a simple count of the people, places, and objects of importance as imaged by participants meant I could see the consistencies and shifts in what was photographed across sets and time. Differences across each participant's photograph sets were particularly important,

given the amount of time that had passed between each photo-production exercise. This allowed for a visualisation of the changes in their lives across time, to better understand what each participant found important and what the main features of their worlds were. The photograph grids also oriented me to look across associated interviews for pointers as to why these changes occurred.

Interviews with homeless participants, of their photographs, interviews with agency staff members, and ethnographic notes were analysed thematically and interpretatively with respect to issues of homelessness in general, personal histories (pathways), and strategies for adaptation and change in particular (cf. Flick, 2002). Next, I reviewed each participant's photographs and related these to the interview transcripts, whilst comparing text and pictures for each participant, and then between participants. The aims of this exercise were a) to determine links between specific parts of the transcript and particular photographs, so that pictures and accounts can exemplify experiences of homelessness, and b) to find in the particularity of their accounts the ways that exchanges between homeless individuals and domiciled people are rendered meaningful, symbolically, spatially, and visually.

More generally, my analytic task was to encourage Brett, Daniel, Joshua, and Ariā to communicate how they conduct their lives by imaging and speaking about the relationships and daily practices of importance to them. I shifted away from the images and accounts provided by homeless participants in order to develop my own account of their use of places and things, and how this related to identity construction. The analytic process then extended to detailed engagements with the material produced by each participant through the composition of four case studies (see Chapters 4-7). This was done with a view to both focusing on issues unique to each person and making comparisons across cases based on several key issues or themes. The themes that arose from each case study were resilience, relationships, identities, place, objects, and transitions on and off the street. All quotes taken from interviews with the four participants in the analyses chapters (see Chapters 4-7), whether it is a full quote or less than a sentence, will be italicized. The intention behind italicizing all interview extracts is to distinguish the words of the four participants from the literature and my own.

Throughout this process, the analysis was informed by relevant concepts from social science research, and insights gained from carrying out ethnographic work in the very places homeless people move through and conduct their daily lives. A particular challenge for the analysis was to project an interpretation that communicated what homeless people themselves considered trivial. Rendering those events that are essentially taken-for-granted perceptible required being attentive to the mundane occurrence of events, such as walking, home-making, socializing, personal stereo use, and reading (Hodgetts et al., 2008). This involved interrogating minor events or identifying accumulated moments that make up everyday life in order to understand the broader patterning of these events and participants' situations. According to this approach, the specific resembles the general but is not reducible to it. Local events reflect ongoing social psychological processes that have significance beyond specific moments (de Certeau, 1984). In other words, my analysis was adjusted to understanding how specific places, objects and actions constitute homeless people's sense of self when living on the streets of Auckland.

The analysis identifies points at which negotiations between homeless people and domiciled people are seen as either helpful or limiting (MacKnee & Mervyn, 2002). Attention is also given to the joint vocabularies produced between homeless and housed people and how these vocabularies give meaning to the spaces in which direct interactions between homeless and housed people occur as they mediate the city. Such an approach takes us beyond the explanations of specific representations to more intricate understandings of how social relationships are rendered meaningful through interactions across different locations in the city. This strategy draws attention to the ways in which homeless people connect themselves to banal and major events and relations in their lives (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). In using this approach, we are able to see how the process of picturing provides participants with the opportunity to engage in critical reflection and dialogue with researchers, beyond that occurring through conversation alone. Participant input broadened the investigation in new and unanticipated directions through outcomes like that of the workshops, as will be discussed in the following section. They are the creators of their photographs and, in the process, interpreters of their lives. This process allows participants to

consider the broader societal processes and their role in the research, and to generate material that can ultimately facilitate social justice (Hodgetts et al., 2010a).

In sum, the approach to analysing these materials is framed within discussions of researchers as bricoleurs (Kincheloe, 2005) – researchers who can operate inter-disciplinarily, innovatively, and combine methodological and analytical strategies as crucial to the needs of a specific project. Research is perceived by social scientists to be a process involving problem solving and flexibility that is attuned to emerging insights (Kincheloe, 2005). A key feature of the analysis is to unravel meanings invested in taken-for-granted everyday life practices. This necessitates being attentive to mundane actions and events (Sheringham, 2006) and the rendering of the familiar as unfamiliar (Garfinkel, 1967). Specifically, materials were analysed thematically and interpretatively with respect to social and symbolic aspects of homelessness in general and personal situations in particular. We accomplish this by a focus on the routine, on the incidental events and accumulated moments that make up everyday life and link to broader patterns of social relations (de Certeau, 1984; Sheringham, 2006). This orientation foregrounds the dialogical nature of the analyses, moving from detailed engagements with street life, daily situations, material objects, personal experiences and practices, to broader socio-structural contexts and patterns that frame and constitute them (Lefebvre, 1991). This required an exploration of participant understandings of homelessness and their engagements with street culture in their daily practices. Through analysing these understandings, we can conceptualise the social significance of these local instances for the meanings and practices of homelessness in society today. In the next section I explore the workshops for each case study as a means of fulfilling the basic tenets of action research by making a contribution to agency partners and homeless participants.

Workshops

Qualitative researchers in psychology have a tendency to produce overly descriptive accounts of localized experience, and, in doing so, can neglect the broader potential of research for assisting people in creating change in situations

of hardship and adversity (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). This thesis draws on broader social science traditions in order to explore interdependent social psychological notions of homelessness, including identity, interpersonal relationships, the use of public space, and resilience. Developing a richer conceptualization of picturing allows for a demonstration of how, when using photovoice methodology, psychologists are more than just a medium for conveying the experiences of others. In doing so, we are contributing to the development of theoretical interpretations of social processes that are central to the lives of homeless people, and which will inform efforts to tackle the needs of marginalized people (cf. Small, 2009).

Four workshops based on each case study were conducted by myself and my supervisor in collaboration with ACM staff. We presented an overview of the case study and key findings as a basis for reviewing client needs, their histories of intervention, and care plans for the future. An important point of the workshops was that in action-oriented social science we need to create spaces in which theory and research meets practice. In this way the workshops reflect Freire's (1970/1993) notion of praxis, where not only does theory and research inform practice, but practice also shapes the refinement of theory and research. The workshops provided an interactive space within which such dialogue could occur.

In community-orientated research, the convention is to work with marginalized groups, such as homeless people themselves, towards collective action or the resolution of barriers to their overcoming difficulties (Nelson & Prilleltensky, 2005). My use of qualitative methods to raise and explore issues with participants reflects this orientation. Because of the cyclical nature of data collection, ongoing dialogue and reflection occurred with each participant. A focus on the construction of accounts, meaning making, and action was inseparable. When participants made photographs and discussed them with me, they critically reflected on their situations (Radley & Taylor, 2003a), and we discussed the potential for personal change. Thus, photo-based interviews created a dialogue between myself and participants in relation to how we might address the concerns raised. Participants critically considered their lifeworlds and this was articulated over the course of the interviews and captured through the images

they created. The research process facilitated the perception that reality is a process, undergoing constant transformation (Freire, 1970/1993).

I was not comfortable with simply locating action in the context of my interactions with each participant because they are not fully in control of their homelessness. Many decisions shaping their circumstances are made beyond their lifeworlds, and it is up to us, as critical scholars working with community groups, to help bridge this divide through advocacy and joint action. The use of photographs is important in this context because it renders the situation real, and can be used to raise questions at different levels of the socio-political system that perpetuates homelessness. A key insight for avoiding simplistic notions of giving voice asserts that researchers and change agents consider more than superficial understandings of photographs. It demands an understanding with the participants based on their efforts to picture their lifeworlds (Radley & Taylor, 2003a). The idea of understanding homelessness with participants can also form the basis for working with service providers. As different views are shared, new meanings and options for action are constructed (Gaudine, Gien, Thuan & Dung, 2009).

Recognizing the transitions occurring in homeless people's lives is crucial, and a focus on picturing can be used to centre the agency of homeless people as they attempt to establish a place for themselves in the world, and also to inform the practices of service agencies. Case studies were used in the workshops to encourage a broader understanding of why some interventions to assist each of these homeless people to move off the streets have not been sustainable. A common example is what happens to homeless people once they are rehoused is that support is withdrawn. In this study, the cases take a longitudinal approach, allowing for an exploration of the complexities of each person's experiences of homelessness across both a range of settings and shifting circumstances.

Working in collaboration with staff in the workshops involved identification of the subtasks that would need to be completed to engage in new change strategies with each homeless participant and the resources available for doing so (cf.

Woolley, 2009). In this way, we made the distinction between thinking about what we wanted to accomplish and how we could proceed to accomplish our joint goals of assisting homeless people, in a variety of settings. Woolley (2009) advises that teams may benefit from complex, open-ended tasks and, as a result, can profit from the creation of a combination of new ideas and knowledge. The intention of the workshops was to create an environment where we could consider the processes necessary to achieving our joint goals (Woolley, 2009).

I am not claiming, of course, that homelessness can be resolved by using photo-production exercises, observing people, or work-shopping ways to help particular individuals. However, we can develop more grounded understandings of homelessness and dialogue for change at a personal level through engagements in critical reflection and dialogue, and at an institutional level through the use of the images to engage people with the power to help (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). In particular, the use of photography in this thesis is informed by Freire's (1970/1993) account of how action, reflection, and learning relate repetitively, interactively and through an ongoing process (Gaudine, Gien, Thuan & Dung, 2009). Reflection and action not only inform one another, but depend on each other to develop active participation. Reflection without action will become stagnant (Gaudine, Gien, Thuan & Dung, 2009). Equally, without reflection, action can be rendered impotent and tokenistic. Engaging with relevant stakeholders is useful for obtaining varied perspectives for defining and understanding the situation under investigation and in reaching an agreement for change. In action, researchers act as facilitators who assist the research process, the analysis of the issue, and cooperation when seeking resolution, while the participants inform and engage in the research process.

Within a PhD it is difficult to turn research into action. This does not mean that a project on a social issue such as homelessness should not contribute to broader agendas of change. In a limited way, each case study has been work-shopped with staff given the task with supporting those specific individuals. This is particularly important, because I was working with four people who have experienced a lifetime of troubles and varying experiences regarding professional interventions in their lives. What I wanted to do is engage change agents, in the form of ACM staff, in a process of reflection regarding what has been done to

help these people, what has not worked, and what might be done differently in the future. In each case this has resulted in different efforts to support them in a manner that reflects both their shared and unique needs. “Social action is both an individual phenomenon in that it involves the actions of individuals, reflecting their own values, motives, and personalities”, says Snyder, “and a social phenomenon in that it often is engaged in by groups of people who band together to perform activities intended to service a collective good” (Snyder, 2009, p. 227). A central component of my thesis was to promote participation through building collaborative partnerships.

Briefly, the workshops solidified the working coalition that my chief supervisor and I had created between ourselves and agency staff to respond to the plight of homeless people (cf. van Laere & Withers, 2008). Shared knowledge and information collaboration can help agencies better identify and decipher joint problems; manage programs, policies, and services; and initiate improvements in both organizational structure and information content (Dawes, Cresswell & Pardo; 2009). The workshops also became a mechanism for ensuring the applicability of academic research to professional practice, in that research can inform practice and that without the latter, the former is somewhat pointless. In a limited way, my thesis encapsulates an action orientation to psychological research (Lewin, 1946/1948; Lui, 2008). The key point of these workshops is that in action research we need to create spaces in which theory and research meets practice. The workshops then provide an interactive space within which this can occur, and thus reflect the basic tenets of action research. Further, as result of my involvement with the ACM my research moved out into a more systemic engagement with the issue and has not ended with the workshops. I have been nominated as a member of the New Zealand Coalition to End Homelessness (NZCEH) Māori Caucus, where I have been asked to advise on the expansion of research strategies that will inform the development of national policy and service provision.

Chapter Three: The four case studies

This brief chapter outlines the four case studies presented in the subsequent four analysis chapters and explains how they are related to one another. This will enable me to achieve some integration, and to signpost the general orientation of an analysis that is anchored in each particular case study but also connects the four cases. Such an approach complies with the ethnographic case comparative method that involves building an argument over and drawn from the comparison of key features from several case studies (Small, 2009). In Chapter Eight, the thesis discussion, I will refer to the cases through an exploration of the general theoretical concepts that were detailed in the introduction. For example, the ways in which resilience takes on a unique form for each participant through the construction of place-based identities. The following four chapters which follow are primarily about how four homeless people make their lives on the street, and the ways in which they come to, are affected by and, sometimes, exit street life. Many homeless people do more than simply survive the ravages of poverty. They can also develop as people, care for each other, laugh, argue and grow. In making their lives on the street, homeless people survive adversity; maintain their humanity, and experience conflict, support, and estrangement. As noted in the introduction to this thesis, psychologists have explored such issues as processes of resilience. Resilience, identity, material culture, place, and connectedness are orientating concepts for all four analysis chapters.

The first case study considers Brett, who in many respects resembles aspects of the classic homeless hermit. He is self reliant, whilst also desiring connections with other people. Brett's account of his homelessness is filled with descriptions of isolation and the sense that he lacks the skills to step outside of his loner

persona, which has developed through a deep mistrust of people stemming from an abusive childhood. This is exacerbated by the constant conflict that marks his relationships with other people, which further cements his cynicism of the potential for caring and compassionate connections. In lay terms, Brett is not a people person, and his photographs reflect this: he only once intentionally photographed another person – his social worker whom he affectionately regards as a mother-figure. Brett is contemptuous of the homeless street culture, and when living on the streets he goes to great lengths to hide this from the domiciled public. His disdain for street culture means that Brett would not engage in overt expressions of homelessness such as panhandling or begging. Brett prefers to steal, as he feels that this action carries greater connotations of relying on intellect and cunning, rather than relying on charity to survive. Much emphasis is placed in Brett's accounts on finding an escape into a world outside of his physical reality through books, music, and drugs. Brett employs self-isolating strategies of resilience because he perceives others as dangerous and his reliance on them as a sign of personal weakness. By the third and final interview, Brett had transitioned off the street, but was still living a transient lifestyle in surfing friend's couches.

Chapter Five presents an analysis of the second case study. Daniel has the longest history of consistently living on the streets out of the four participants. He draws on the group for protection and shelter, and in many respects typifies portrayals of single homeless men. Daniel is middle aged, childless, single, and an alcoholic with chronic illnesses, lives in poverty, has experienced child abuse, lacks intimate connections with other people, and is engaged with a semi functional social network. At an individual level, Daniel prefers to be by himself, and steers clear of the criminal aspect of street homelessness. At a communal level, Daniel seeks to be unobtrusive to the group by blending in. There is a tension in Daniel's account between his desire for a home and meaningful connections with others, and the realities of his loneliness and need for social isolation to ensure his psychological and physical safety. By engaging in routines and practices commonly associated with home-making, Daniel works to domesticate public spaces in Auckland so as to simulate a sense of belonging and purpose. Daniel's accounts are of the everyday, mundane detail involved in turning sleep-outs on the street in to something resembling a domestic home. When Daniel is rehoused he does not know how to survive in domiciled life, much

like Joshua. This contrasts with both Brett (Case Three) and Ariā (Case Four) who differentiate themselves from other homeless people and are proud of their ability to stay off the streets. Daniel's efforts to create a sense of home are fragile and often disrupted by the actions of others who also have access to or occupy the same space. Experiences of physical brutality have made it imperative for Daniel to draw on others for protection, rupturing his need for solitude. Out of necessity, Daniel is more successful in integrating with other streeties (slang term for homeless people used by homeless people in this study) than Brett. However, like Brett, Daniel finds homelessness humiliating, hurtful, depressing, and lonely. Further, Daniel seeks escape from his life circumstances through both alcohol and drugs much like Joshua (case three).

Chapter Six considers Joshua, who actively participates in a homeless community and makes a life through contributions to the group whom he considers to be his street family. Joshua has spent most of his life incarcerated, having grown up in boys' homes and borstals and spent the majority of his adult life confined to a prison cell. His inclusion in a homeless family has provided him with an identity separate from his gang upbringing. By the age of 15, Joshua was declared a juvenile alcoholic, and has since struggled with alcoholism. He has been admitted to various detoxification (detox) and rehabilitation facilities in attempts to address his misuse of alcohol. His images and accounts depict homeless people stepping out from the hidden underworld of street life and claiming the streets alongside the domiciled. Unlike Brett, Joshua completely embraces street culture. He is a leader, and lives his homelessness in the limelight, in contrast to Daniel's unobtrusive strategy of blending in. Joshua is an innovative, talented panhandler and window washer, and these talents have earned him some status within the homeless community. A sense of belonging and acceptance on the street is central to Joshua's resilience. His attempts to meet his obligations to his street family reflect a sense of purpose and belonging that reaffirm his self identity as a man who can handle psychological and material hardship and still support and provide for others. However, Joshua's debilitating alcoholism is maintained by his association with a street family with whom he engages in drinking schools². This comes at a cost in terms of his health. In this

² Where participants seek membership to homeless communities, typified with reference to participation in groups of beggars or drinking schools that separate homeless people from the domiciled community (Hodgetts et al., 2006).

way, his resilience carries with it a sense of vulnerability in that, through surviving Joshua is engaging in a self-destructive misuse of alcohol. Joshua's account also illuminates the difficulties of making transitions between detox, boarding house rooms where residents are still engaging in substance abuse, and returning to the streets.

Ariā is another active street family member and provides the focus for Chapter Seven. Her case illustrates how a sense of self and identity for an older Māori homeless woman is not only preserved but enhanced through her participation in Māori cultural practices. Ariā reflects on a childhood immersed in the teachings of her grandmother in tikanga Māori (knowledge of customs), particularly rongoa (traditional medicine including the application of medicinal plants). Despite her grandmother's efforts to provide a safe environment, Ariā turned to street life as a means of escaping abuse at the hands of other family members. Ariā took to the streets of Wellington at age 12. By the age of 17, she had made the streets of Auckland her home. Ariā still struggles with the pain of childhood abuse. Throughout her life Ariā, has been socialized by wāhine toa (strong women) who acted as cultural mentors. This support led to Ariā training as a nurse aide and working in the rural Far North with geographically isolated elderly Māori. A considerable portion of her subsequent life was spent domiciled before she returned to the streets of Auckland in late 2007. Ariā's actions exemplify how Indigenous cultural practices can shape a person's efforts to retain a positive sense of self while homeless. Māori cultural concepts relating to caring, leadership, unity, relationships, spirituality, history and place provide a conceptual framework upon which a culturally relevant picture of Ariā's life is built upon. Ariā enacts a Māori mentorship role, a major theme right through the various sections of the analysis. This is illuminated through a focus on key relationships between Ariā and other homeless people, and the engagement of whānaungatanga (relatedness). Ariā, as an aging Māori woman, enacts leadership roles through practices such as blessings that are associated with wairuatanga (spiritual connectedness). This chapter ends with a discussion of Ariā's efforts to cross the conventional distinction between the clients and staff of social agencies through her efforts to care for others. Ariā's account shares similarities with Brett in that Ariā distinguishes herself from other street people. Ariā's case lends itself to rounding off the analysis.

Considered together, these cases reflect both the diversity of street life and common needs in terms of shelter, positive social supports, and resilience. The four case studies demonstrate how people not only cope with dilemmas when homeless on the street, but also make lives there. What we see is how homeless people grapple with many of the same relational, identity, place, and meanings of life issues that we all do. It is important to note that aspects of community support are evident in the lives of homeless people, but this is not to say that street families are competent communities. Such communities can be highly parasitic groups formed out of necessity (as we see with Daniel) and can undermine a person's ability to survive on the streets and move on (as we see with Joshua).

Each case study includes an account of the corresponding workshops in which my supervisor, myself, and social workers at the ACM explore the practical implications of incorporating the unique circumstances of these four participants and their experiences into the wider planning of services and efforts to render assistance to homeless people. The workshops have a practical focus on informing efforts to rehouse and integrate homeless participants. They provide a space for exploring and developing understandings of the human condition of homelessness and what this does to people. This is important, because we do not want to lose sight of the human beings that comprise this population, for if we do, we might dehumanize their circumstances. At the same time, understanding complexity and diversity in experience is useful in working out how to help.

Chapter Four: The case of Brett

Modern societies, such as our own, value independence and self-control as markers of success (Sennett, 1998). Homeless people are often presented in opposition, they are perceived to be lacking in independence and self control (Hodgetts et al., 2006). Research indicates that many homeless people who do not want to be labelled in such a way respond by distancing themselves from other homeless people and refusing to immerse themselves in street culture. Their accounts emphasize personal restraint and independence (Hodgetts et al., 2006; Snow & Anderson, 1993). This chapter introduces the first of four case studies. In the case of Brett, we see how he is more aligned with domiciled people and, as a result, his account highlights the porous nature of distinctions between domiciled and houseless domains. He actively avoids other homeless people and practices such as begging which threaten to taint him as a failure. Such processes of differentiation are crucial for understanding Brett's efforts to preserve a positive sense of self and to make a life for himself on the streets of Auckland and beyond. Brett maintains a sense of personal resilience and belonging by distinguishing himself from other homeless people and by foregrounding links with domiciled institutions and practices. In Brett's account, we see how he attempts to preserve aspects of domiciled life by travelling outside of spaces occupied by homeless people, maintaining personal hygiene, and passing as domiciled, escaping into fantasy through music and books, and affiliating with housed people.

This case study exemplifies dilemmas that can arise for homeless people in relation to the preservation of their identities. I will illustrate how Brett manages contradictions inherent to his being homeless while still affiliating with domiciled

life by associating different facets of his self with different locations and points in his life. These locations include a concrete bunker where he goes to sleep and to be alone, to public washrooms where he used drugs and upheld personal hygiene, and bookstores and libraries in which he indulges his love of literature. He demonstrates flexibility in his presentation of place-based identities (see Chapter One). This focus on identity work is important because, as discussed in Chapter One, many homeless people report the threat posed by homelessness in losing their sense of self and coherence when living on the streets (Boydell et al., 2000; Hatty, 1996; Snow & Anderson, 1987, 1993).

In exploring Brett's identity work, or the multiple and ongoing nature of his identity, we can also observe the strategy of isolation for preserving his sense of self and resilience. Brett's agentic use of objects and places allows him to cope with and respond to aversive aspects of street life. It also relates to issues raised in Chapter One regarding resilience and home-making. We can see how Brett does more than simply engage in activities that ensure he has enough food to eat and a place to sleep. He enjoys many aspects of his life and engages in interests that he holds dear. In referring to the different facets of his self and life that are played out in various locations, Brett presents a more personal and sophisticated characterization of himself (Hodgetts et al., 2006; Snow & Anderson, 1993). Brett's account of his use of books and an MP3 player (a portable digital stereo) also raises issues regarding his creation of private spaces for himself that extend beyond physical settings and which facilitate his transitions across locales used for enjoyment, escape, self reflection, and safety (cf. Bull, 2000). In the process, Brett works to overcome popular depictions of homeless people as passive and "dirty" (Hodgetts et al., 2006; Sibley, 1996). He distances himself from such stereotypes by blending in with domiciled people in bookstores, reading, walking the streets, and listening to his MP3 player. I will document how Brett's use of books and his MP3 player help him to escape the physical hardships of street life for a while and to retexture (Lefebvre, 2000) the streets of Auckland, rendering particular places more habitable and homely.

Home provides spaces within which everyday practices relating to the self and self-care are enacted, and where a sense of routine, privacy, safety and familiarity is gained (Mallett, 2004). People such as Brett who are excluded from

domestic dwellings often engage in self-care and cultivate a sense of routine, familiarity, and belonging somewhere else. Rather than give in to popular images of homeless people as “vagrants” and “bums” engaging in stereotypical activities such as begging or window washing, Brett cultivates a more personal representation of himself (Hodgetts et al., 2006; Snow and Anderson, 1993). Brett structures his days so that he can take part in domiciled lifeworlds through participation in such places like that of libraries and bookstores. Through such everyday practices, Brett claims a sense of normality and routine often associated with domiciled life.

This chapter explores how Brett forges a life on the streets as a homeless man through his use of places and things. The emphasis Brett puts on places and objects, and mundane practices such as walking and listening, provides insight into his resilience. The chapter is divided into four sections. In the first section, I explore Brett’s biography, including events that led him to the streets, his account of his life on the streets, and his efforts to integrate back into domiciled life. Section two is focused on the places Brett frequents and how this relates to his construction of self. I document the importance of issues of safety and refuge, and how Brett describes himself as a hermit living in a disused gun emplacement (cave), as a drug user frequenting a public toilet, and a citizen accessing the public library. As the analysis develops in the third section, more emphasis is placed on Brett’s use of an MP3 player and books not only to escape the streets into fantasy worlds but also as a means of rendering the streets more homely. The fourth section looks at Brett’s attempts to reconnect with people and, by doing so, re-socialize himself into domiciled life. The analysis foregrounds how homeless people can seek privacy and solitude at the same time as desiring support and interaction. The chapter is completed with a brief summary and discussion.

Who is Brett and how did he come to street life?

When I first met Brett in 2007, he was attempting to leave street life by participating in a detoxification programme run by the Auckland City Mission and from there hoped to move into supported accommodation. Brett took part in

several casual chats and an initial biographical interview. At the time of initial contact, Brett was 44-years-old. Brett is a New Zealand European male, who held affiliations to the Skinheads, typically regarded as a white supremacist gang. Brett continued to shave his head to signal his affiliation with that group. Brett had experienced repeated periods of homelessness in both the North and South Island of New Zealand and was residing in Auckland at the time of our first meeting.

Brett came from a middle-class background in Wellington. His father was a school principal and his mother a teacher. Due to experiences as a child of violent abuse at the hands of this father and neglect by his mother, Brett learned to retreat from other people. Such abuse is a recognized risk factor for homelessness later in life (Kidd & Davidson, 2007). This risk is not my primary focus in the present analysis. However, the experience of abuse speaks to Brett's efforts to find refuge in fantasy spaces and his difficulties in trusting other people. It helps us to understand Brett today. Brett speaks of the importance of "*spending time alone*" and being "*close to the forests and un-crowded beaches*" during his childhood:

I came from a very abusive childhood, from both parents; you know kids are marvelous actors. I just used to pretend everything was alright and I would snap into that when I didn't like myself. I would walk around with my head held high even though I was scared shitless. I learnt that from a very young age how to live with myself and entertain myself. So I suppose as a kid it was a pretty lonely childhood but it did teach me how to live by myself and not have it bother me. You know, some people just can't do it and, just can't be without company, but for me it's not an issue.

To this day Brett has no contact with his father and limited contact with his mother. The abuse he endured as a child makes it difficult for him to want a relationship with either of his parents. He is close to his brother, although the relationship is strained and they live in different cities.

Brett is the father of two sons and one daughter, and expresses sorrow over his distant relationship with his own children. He struggles with alcohol and drug

addiction and low self esteem. A difficult relationship breakup in 2001 led to Brett's first period of homelessness. His former partner and their daughter moved to a small town 130 kilometers north of Auckland. Brett moved to Auckland to stay in contact with his daughter. Contact subsequently became impossible due to the difficult nature of Brett's relationship with his ex-partner and the lack of financial stability after he had lost his job. From then on, Brett lived through periods when he was on or off the streets, struggling with addictions, and serving time in prison for theft.

Brett's relationship to other homeless people is antagonistic. He avoids interactions with other street people and does not affiliate to any homeless groups. He is disdainful towards those who trade on their homeless status in order to access resources through begging and other similar activities. In Brett's view, begging or receiving charity are humiliating activities:

Just because you live on the streets doesn't mean you have to be a bum, I don't beg or hold out signs. I find that too demoralizing. Stealing to survive isn't particularly honorable, but it holds more respect for myself than sitting with a sign or asking people for money. There are inherent risks to it of course, but to keep my self-respect I'd rather take the risk than lose my self-respect living on the streets.

A sense of humiliation is often evident in the accounts of homeless men who avoid panhandling, or begging for money, because asking for charity advertises one's status as a vagrant or stigmatized other (Lankenau, 1999a). This will become an important point of contrast between this case study and the third case study, Joshua, who has integrated into a homeless street family and has taken on the role of the provider through his talents as a panhandler. For now it is useful to note that Brett disassociates himself (Boydell et al., 2000; Snow & Anderson, 1987) from characters such as Joshua who literally begs for a living. Brett prefers to gain resources by relying on his wits through criminal activities such as theft to survive. This strategy for survival is evident in the accounts of some homeless men in similar contexts (Higate, 2000). Brett reflects a fierce sense of pride and independence beyond his circumstances of limited housing and labour market opportunities.

Brett refers to experiences of disgust and embarrassment with his homeless lifestyle, and prefers to hide this aspect of his life by looking and acting the part of the domiciled citizen. If readers of this study were to pass Brett on the street, they might have difficulty in recognizing Brett's homeless status. Brett disguises his homelessness by dressing tidily, carefully maintaining personal hygiene, not carrying too much on his person, not keeping company with other homeless people, and by frequenting places that are targeted towards a more educated middle-class clientele (i.e., bookstores, library). He is an articulate and intelligent, self-described loner who does not easily form relationships with other people.

Throughout the interviews, Brett portrays homelessness as a lonely existence. This is despite his regular, though sporadic, efforts to integrate into domiciled social settings, including pubs, pool halls, and on occasion nightclubs. Despite efforts to simply be around other people, he struggles to fit in and does not enjoy the alienation associated with homelessness. As a result, he frequents public places and takes care with his appearance so he may blend in with domiciled citizens.

There is a tension here in that Brett likes being with others, while he also values solitude. He is a stranger in the crowd and an avid reader and walker who immerses himself in the written world and dance music. Brett desires interpersonal contact, but lacks the skills necessary to build and maintain relationships with others. This in part stems from a deep sense of mistrust of people that originates from childhood experiences of abuse. A key insight revealed in this case study is Brett's escapist adaptation strategies to ameliorate the physical and psychological hardships associated with street life through his use of music, reading, walking, and drugs and alcohol. Brett disconnects himself from street life and utilises strategies of self isolation to build personal resilience. We see the visualisation of such strategies through the images he chose to photograph and discuss with myself.

At this point it is useful to explore the photographs Brett produced as a way of conveying his life on and off the street (refer to Table 1 in Appendix 9, for a

general count and summary of all Brett's photograph sets). The most notable feature to document in Brett's first photograph set is the deliberate omission of images of people from all 25 photographs. In those photographs taken around the city, we can see domiciled citizens wander past the frame but they are not "in focus", it is the buildings Brett deliberately captured. In his subsequent interviews, there was no discussion of the people he felt were important to him, apart from his daughter. The photographs Brett produced of bookstores, coastal bays, and churches are "clean" spaces where Brett goes to find safety and sanctuary. In contrast, photographs of street scenes, prison, and toilets are spaces where the "dirt" of street life contaminates his perceived sense of self. In different places, different aspects of Brett's life are mediated through tangible acts of escapism mediated through objects such as needles and books.

When considering such images taken by Brett in his second photograph set including books, an MP3 player, and his sunglasses, we see how Brett works to create a more safe and private environment by reconstructing his relationship with physical spaces. Photograph set two illustrates Brett's use of fantasy as a means of moving on from the street and his desire for connections with other people. In this set of photographs, the first picture of someone significant to Brett (his social worker) is featured. The images and talk explored here convey Brett's desire for change by re-connecting with domiciled life.

My third encounter with Brett occurred ten months later. During this time Brett had been imprisoned for theft and, following his release, spent a small amount of time living with his mother and with friends in Wellington before making his way back to Auckland to be closer to his daughter. Given the amount of time that had passed, Brett could not photograph the people and places that had been important to him over the past ten months. Brett was asked to use his imagination as a medium to describe the photographs he would have taken if he could have done so. What sets this interaction apart so markedly from the first two encounters is Brett's portrayal of social connectedness. It is also interesting to note that, in the absence of photographs, Brett brought with him to the interview a Christmas card from his daughter and a letter of reference from a friend. These objects were used to orientate the discussion and crystallize positive aspects of his identity as reflected through his interactions with other people.

Finding solitude and safety

Brett's depiction of his street life circumnavigates around two scenic coastal bays and the central business district (CBD) of Auckland (see Figure 3). In exploring spaces of particular importance to Brett across these areas, contrasts can be made between specific places and the sense of self he maintains in each. It is in these locations that Brett lives a kind of "bare life" associated with the classical hermit or solitary male recluse. This is a materially sparse existence marked by an obvious separation from other homeless people (cf. Thrift, 2004b). Brett is a self-proclaimed "loner" who finds sanctuary in music as much as in a disused gun emplacement. He retreats from the world to contemplate and find solace from his life. However, he does not desire total solitude and uses local resources, such as public showering facilities, as part of his efforts to pass as a domiciled citizen. His account reflects an effort to create a public space in two coastal bays where he can engage in necessary private domestic activities such as washing, eating, and gaining respite and a sense of security. He then steps out from this "home environment" to engage in public life.



Legend

- | | |
|---|---|
| ● Auckland City Mission | ● Judges Bay |
| ● St Mathews Church | ● Army Bunker/Mission Bay |
| ● Auckland City Library | ● Toilets – for shooting |
| ● Borders Book Store | ● Police Stations |

Figure 4. Map of Brett's regular commute

Over three years, Brett lived at Judges Bay and Mission Bay; both coastal suburbs near central Auckland (see Figure 4). When asked about his daily routine about the city as a homeless man, Brett designated on a map all the locations listed in Figure 4. As Brett stated:

The best part of being homeless is Judges Bay.

He prepared several photographs of Judges Bay, including his sleeping spot under a large Pohutakawa tree (see Figure 5), and the adjoining park that provides free gas barbecues and an ablution block with a cold shower for public use:



Figure 5. Photograph of a sleeping spot at Judges Bay

Brett commented:

There's a photo of Judges Bay which was during periods on the street my summer spot. The reason I like Judges Bay is because it's safe ... In summer it's a lovely spot. I find it relaxing, it's isolated and I just enjoy being outside. I never really enjoyed the enclosed concrete of the city. The noise of the city and the smell ... The barbeque I use quite regularly ... well I steal things like steaks and things to cook up, with a few vegetables. I have been quite a prolific shoplifter a lot of my life to get myself by, for food and alcohol. I always spend money keeping myself clean and tidy. A person who is clean shaven and wearing clean clothes is very rarely looked upon by security staff. I found that an effective way to purloin my goods shall we say! Even though I'm homeless I still have my pride. I wouldn't ask people for stuff. I look after myself, keep to myself ... I wash my stuff every week in a Laundromat I don't dress like a bum because I don't want the world to know.

Brett contrasts the open air and beauty of his coastal retreat with the repugnant smells and disorder of the CBD. He plays the role of the holiday-maker who is enjoying a barbeque at the beach and looking after himself by eating well, keeping clean, and taking time out to enjoy the summer lifestyle. This is a lonely

retreat in that Brett does not socialize with others. He indicates his tactic of hiding while in sight of others through his discussion of efforts at appearing “normal”, clean and tidy. This aspect of his account is discussed in social psychology as the processes of passing and differentiation. Many homeless people will often attempt to pass as domiciled citizens or go unnoticed (Hodgetts et al., 2006; Lankenau, 1999a). Homeless people like Brett keep themselves clean and act “normal” in order to hide their shame at being homeless. Passing allows Brett to avoid arousing the suspicions of others and maintain a reclusive existence. Brett attempts to appear normal because he does not want to be deemed out of place or as not belonging to a place as beautiful as Judges Bay.

Brett’s reflections on bodily presentation and the perception of others (who possess bodies that conform to “normal” functioning and form) resonate throughout his sense of self, in terms of felt and expressed “physical deviance” (cf. Higate, 2000). To be deemed out of place is to be deemed a non citizen (Hodgetts et al., 2008), and often involves the removal of homeless people from the more affluent and “respectable” parts of town (Cresswell, 1996). Orientations towards maintaining a respectable appearance are common statements of autonomy and respect among homeless men (Lankenau, 1999a). In Brett’s first set of photographs, bathrooms (Figure 6) are pictured as he describes the importance of keeping clean so that he may pass for “*one of the crowd*”:



Figure 6. Photograph of University showers

I have a photo of the university showers [Figure 6] which is something I constantly use because I like to keep clean and tidy. Because of the style of being a street person - I'm not grubby, my clothes don't smell, I always spend money to keep my clothes clean and it's a bit like being a chameleon I can easily adapt into looking like a normal person and therefore it brings very little attention to yourself ...

The picture and his commentary reflect Brett's efforts to differentiate from stereotypical depictions of homeless people as dirty, nameless, and negligent individuals (Hodgetts et al., 2006; Sibley, 1995). Brett relates self-respect to personal cleanliness and the appropriate use of space so as to not violate the sensibilities of the domiciled public (Atkinson, 2003). By aligning himself with the domiciled public he distances himself from the dirt that is emblematic of the excluded, homeless (Sibley, 1995). Evident here is how the subtle investment of social spaces with rules as to who can legitimately use them can be manifested in feelings of discomfort among people who are deemed to be "out of place" (Atkinson, 2003). When picturing and discussing his use of bookstores and the library, Brett describes how it is necessary for him to maintain a tidy appearance so that he can access such places and avoid discrimination and stigma. The image that is commonly associated with people who frequent book stores is something Brett aspires to and embodies: clean, intellectual, socially reclusive.

Participation in libraries and bookstores constitutes an attempt by Brett to maintain his dignity as a person who belongs (Miller & Keys, 2001).

Brett's discomfort with urban street life and associated cultures of homelessness is reflected in his discussions of why he prefers the coastal life and being alone. In such discussions he raises issues regarding safety, self-preservation, personal reflection, and his isolationist lifestyle. He talks about moving out from the CBD to avoid risks associated with homelessness and in the process engages in an adaptive practice of self-isolation that he learned in childhood:

Even after a short period of time you find it hard being around other people because you're not used to the social things and I spend a lot of time reading and separate from [homeless] people ... It's [homelessness] psychologically unhinging. Sometimes I see the streets as a jail and a psychiatric ward without any walls ... Even being able to lose yourself in a book you can only read for so long before that becomes, you know, before even that becomes tiring ... And boredom which for me I just want to escape so I walk ... At night I don't like walking around. I'll avoid the main streets and use the side streets, because if they're [other homeless people] off their heads on glue ... quite often some of them will be really aggressive. Of course there are other issues of people being drunk. So I just stay out of the way. It's not a lifestyle, its survival ... and I'm out of there ... I moved out to Judges Bay and that was mainly for safety ... I do a lot of walking. I walk out to there and Mission Bay and back ... walking up to 10 to 15 kilometers a day ... Because I'm a loner I'm an easy target.

For many people living on the streets, walking becomes a way of life (Radley et al, 2010). Brett is obliged to walk for many hours in a day; this is not always a goal of his choosing. In such instances, walking is not necessarily something that is decided upon for the sake of constructive contemplation – it is the reflection of mechanisms of enforced mobility and exclusion (Radley et al, 2010; Sibley, 1995). Brett's discussion of walking reflects the “tactical rationalities of homeless people” whereby they use public spaces creatively in their efforts to survive and make a life for themselves (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2008).

As can be seen in the extract above, Brett spoke at length about the dangers of the street and the need to keep to himself so as not to be taken over by the street culture. He was fearful of violence and carries scars from being beaten and stabbed on two occasions. He cannot control the violence integral to the street, but he can exhibit control over his body in a complex interplay between body, its internal functioning, and environment (Higate, 2000). Brett's photographs and interviews reflect a physicality of the streets; survival requires physical fortitude and psychological escapism.

Brett discusses sleeping on the streets in this context as a way of displaying his outdoor survival techniques, and the high levels of fitness engendered through the demands of homelessness and not having a place of permanence to rest and feel safe (cf. Higate, 2000). His method of adapting to and surviving homelessness were framed in terms of "testing the body". Brett's comments illustrate the struggle many homeless people recount to preserve the self and avoid becoming "*psychologically unhinged*" or losing oneself to the street (Snow & Anderson, 1993). Safety thus takes on two forms for Brett, the need to avoid the violence of others, and the risk of losing himself to the street (cf. Kidd & Davidson, 2007).

During the warmer weather, Brett moves further out from the CBD to Mission Bay. When describing this location he again refers to the issue of personal safety and being a recluse (Figure 7):

The bunker, I chose that site not only because it's out of town and you don't get street people out there - cos there's nothing there for them. It's a safe spot, as you can see it's hard to get into and it's warm, it's dry ... and the view. It's really peaceful and it's a beautiful view at dawn ... especially when the sea is calm.

Brett referred to a gun emplacement as "*the cave*" in which he can be alone and safe. He can see and hear people approaching. It is dry and warm because it faces the sun and the view is "*spectacular*" (Figure 8).



Figure 7. Photograph of Brett's "cave" (a gun emplacement)



Figure 8. Photograph of the view from Brett's "cave"

For Brett, places of importance extend beyond his retreat from the city to the Bays. One needs to see his coastal sanctuaries in the context of other places in the city to understand the complexities of Brett's life and links between self and place. For instance, during the first photo-elicitation interview, Brett said he had:

Different sides to his life.

He then located these aspects of himself in specific places. One side is reflected in the photographs of the Bays and his solitary life as a hermit. Another side is reflected in his photographs of the Pitt Street public toilets (see Figure 9) and the needle exchange where he sees himself as a “druggie”. Returning to these places to produce the photographs was an ordeal for him as Brett felt a physical compulsion to use drugs again. The incident reflects the depth of emotional connection between the location and a sense of self as a druggie (cf. Manzo, 2003). This identification threatened to engulf Brett through simply being in a place that was normalized for him as a site for drug use. He stated:

Just being there triggers my addictive side. The place has a strong pull on me and I'm better off away from there.

In this location, Brett's resilience is threatened as he feels the physical pull of street life through identifying as a druggie.



Figure 9. Photograph of the public toilet

A different self was reflected in his photographs of quiet places within the CBD, including a public library, a bookstore, and the church beside the ACM. In these places, Brett experiences life as a “normal person” who is engaging in an interest

in books, or simply escaping the city to sit and reflect. When discussing the photograph of the church (Figure 10) Brett commented:



Figure 10. Photograph of the church

The architecture in both places I find extremely beautiful. I love it; it's just a really nice, quiet place to contemplate the horrors of the world and to get away from the horrors of the world. It's very quiet in there you wouldn't know you're in the middle of the city right next to a four lane by-pass. It's just peaceful. Quite often it's pretty empty and it's very quiet, a few people praying or contemplating life like I do – it's just a beautiful escape. There's a lot of serenity in churches I find, a lot of stillness, a lot of quiet. I've always used the churches as a place to get away.

What is pictured in images like that of Figure 9 and Figure 10 is Brett's daily life "going to and from places", a linking of places and activities. Traversing to and from such places is not just a means to an end for Brett but the active pursuit of daily life. This series of still pictures can be viewed as a virtual video diary in his movement about the neighbourhood (Pink, 2007; Radley et al, 2010).

Brett's account reveals processes through which the identity of a place can be shaped by the practices that occur there (cf. Dixon et al., 2006). For example, drug use textures a public toilet as a place for drug addicts, whilst being normal and escaping into a good book is associated with the quiet space of a library. In visiting different places, Brett literally places himself there. Different places exemplify different facets of his life and render tangible different practices of escapism that are enacted through things such as needles and books. There are also further contrasts to be made here between dirty and clean spaces, and their associated identities. A public toilet is a dirty space often associated with socially unsanctioned activities and persons. A public toilet is a tainted space and the tarnish of this association with dirt and deviancy can rub off on a homeless man, forcing Brett to take on an identity he does not want to assume (cf. Lankenau, 1999a). Conversely, a church is a more sterile environment associated with citizenship, inclusion, absolution, and solace. In this context, Brett's repeated references to "normal" actions can also be read as reflecting his efforts to transgress the borders between homeless and domiciled life worlds.

Whilst being homeless Brett still engages in domiciled practices and spaces by presenting himself in a passable manner so that he can go to the library and read. Considering resilience in this context is useful when focusing on personal strengths as Brett works to construct alternative meanings and ways of being. In the next section I explore Brett's use of fantasy as a means of moving away from the street and considering connections to other people.

Transience and journeys beyond the local setting

I now turn to Brett's efforts to escape the streets and re-connect with domiciled life, which was particularly evident at the time of the second photographic exercise when he was living in a boarding house. Brett reminisces about his earlier domiciled life and efforts to escape the streets through books, music, and walks. I will illustrate how reading, listening, and walking comprise strategies that allow Brett to detach himself from his present situation, preserve his sense of

self, and experience some sense of privacy, security, and home. Residing in the boarding house also provided Brett with an uneasy respite from the streets, and the space to look out beyond his homelessness and to consider ways of connecting to people. It gave him as well an opportunity to reflect on his use of the MP3 player to regulate the intensity of street life and to manage the threat of losing himself to the streets. In considering these issues I illustrate links between home-making and escapism.

Brett took two kinds of photographs, those representing places in Auckland he used as a homeless man, and those showing many of the larger building developments that represented a world for people with resources and opportunity (Radley et al., 2010). Through the accompanying dialogue Brett asserts his right to belong and be part of this domiciled world, rather than continue with street life. Figure 11 was produced by Brett and used to articulate his sense of estrangement from other homeless people and his desire to rejoin domiciled life. The picture portrays his former workplace and home:



Figure 11. Brett's former apartment

I used to live in a nice place before I lost the plot. I don't really want to hang out with the people in the boarding house; I spend a lot of time alone ... So one of the things I did with the camera was I went back to the places I was before I blew it all on drugs and alcohol and that's my old place on Cross Street. It's an apartment up there ... I walk around with my head held high and that's how I keep people away from me ... I ended up getting really antisocial cos I hated myself and the lifestyle I was leading [when homeless] and anyone else walking around me ... Seeing people with the cars, houses and shit ... just get really jealous in a way.

This extract reflects an account of loss and displacement through which Brett separates himself from the stigma of a boarding house existence and expresses a desire to return to a domiciled life. Brett is actively considering his present situation in light of his past and considering a return to domiciled life. In the process he invokes more than places such as the old apartment and workplace. He also considers relationships.

The images produced by Brett are revealing in relation to his reconsideration of relationships. For the duration of my involvement with Brett, he took a total of 39 photographs. Only one picture purposefully features another person (see Figure 12). This photograph portrays his social worker, who he describes as the mother he wished he had:



Figure 12. Brett's social worker

That's the woman who's like my mum, I had a mum, but she was never the right one that's for sure. I met her [social worker] when I was on the street years ago; an amazing woman who works her ass off. Doesn't get much back from people, but she just does it because she's a beautiful lady.

Interviewer: You don't really take photographs of people.

Brett: I'm not a people person and a lot of that is ever since I was a kid my trust thing with people is a major issue. I know a lot of people but, I don't have what you'd call a lot of friends ... I don't want to be disappointed or hurt. If you're alone and things go to custard then the responsibility all falls on your shoulders and it's easier to cope with rather than have someone else screw you over. So I just don't bother.

This extract invokes a range of issues bearing on Brett's life, including his experiences of hurt, disappointment, and estrangement from other people. For Brett, human connections with other people have brought him sorrow and created

a sense of futility. His isolation is not necessarily a matter of simply being physically alone. Rather, in the above account, we can see an awareness of his being isolated from caring people (Gilbey, McNicholas & Collis, 2007; Rew, 2000). He also reveals an awareness of relations between homeless people and those seeking to help him. This includes an acknowledgement of the efforts social workers can go to in trying to help. This is not necessarily always reciprocated by clients. Brett presents himself as more than a “client”. Instead, he is someone who can appreciate and understand what it is like to be disappointed by a lack of compassion and reciprocity from others. In the process he affiliates with his domiciled social worker as having more in common with her than he has with her other clients.

Tensions between Brett’s desire for solitude and meaningful connections that anchor his sense of self outside of street life are particularly apparent in discussions of reading books and frequenting bookstores and libraries (see Figure 13). Brett’s sense of belonging and citizenship is maintained through his use of prime public spaces such as a bookstore and public library, and of books beyond these specific locations (de Certeau, 1984; Hodgetts et al., 2008; Newman, 2007). As Brett contends:

There is an undercurrent of shame to living on the streets that you do feel – I don’t like it because it’s not the way I have ever lived. I didn’t start living on the streets till 2001; I was 39, so it was a totally different world for me ... That’s why with Borders [bookstore] and the library and things like that, reading keeps my brain busy it’s an escape and being educated and having manners and things like that means it’s a lot easier to adapt and socialize with normal people ... I guess it’s a way of feeling normal and fitting in with people. But reading is important to me, it’s a way to escape, it keeps my mind active so I don’t vege out [become lazy].



Figure 13. Brett's favorite escape taken from the room he held at the boarding house

Brett's account illustrates how spaces like a bookstore can provide a space where one can find reprieve from the strain and hardship of homelessness. The extract also reflects his desire to differentiate himself from street life and to align himself with "normal" domiciled people. Brett's retelling of the significance of places and objects invokes a myriad of meanings and practices which exceeds the materiality of the locale or thing. Brett deliberately displayed and photographed objects of importance to him. During the second photo-elicitation interview he spoke about the photograph in Figure 14:

We'll go with the things important to me. Books are important to me and we've got one here along with the shades [sunglasses] and the sounds [MP3 player] and that's my escapism. Because of my childhood, I get really insecure and don't have much confidence ... And I can hide in a different world. Nobody sees my eyes, and I can escape into the music. And the same with books; I can escape and not be me... cos sometimes I don't like me, especially since I've hurt my kids and stuff. That really rips me apart and I haven't seen them, and you don't feel very proud as a parent when that happens. Try and hide as much as I can and that's how I do it. I'd die without music. I'd go mental [insane].



Figure 14. Photograph of Brett's things

The MP3 player, the sunglasses and the book displayed in Figure 14 are particularly important when seen in the context of the scarcity of personal possessions among homeless men. For men living transient lives, material objects have particular significance, providing personal anchorage points that foster a sense of self (Hodgetts et al., 2008) and a way to vent one's frustrations so as not to lose one's self to the streets. There is a real sense of the tangible or a physicality that comes in to Brett's accounts of his things and how he uses them as a way to transcend street life. Connor (2002) proposes that the propensity to collect and carry things around is a unique feature of human existence. People feel anxious without their possessions because objects provide memories and remind people of who they are and wish to be; the accumulation of objects involves the accumulation of being (Noble, 2004). Extending this emphasis on links between things, places, actions and the self, I will explore the role of habitual activities such as walking and listening to an MP3 player that enable Brett to forge a semblance of home on the street.

By listening to the radio while walking Brett possesses the means to escape the cacophony of noises that fill the city, and creates a more hospitable environment.

He can fill the void often experienced when alone, and he can drown out the noises of domiciled life by listening to George FM (a popular Auckland based dance music radio station) or by retreating into a book. The MP3 player helps him construct a reflexive standpoint from which to weave together different locales and constitute a geographically located life in the city. Brett creates a portable home out of sound, and he uses the sound to traverse and re-construct the city.

Thibaud (2003) proposes that a sonic bridge created by listening to personal stereos enables domiciled listeners to move seamlessly from the domestic realm to the street and the workplace. Domiciled listeners often talk about never leaving home because they take their home with them through their personal stereos (Bull, 2000). For Brett, the MP3 player allows him to construct a home in the music that stretches boundlessly across the various locales through which he travels on a daily basis:

It [listening to radio] allows me to not attend to the world and takes me away from the city. I've got a sound bubble around me and I can wander through the streets without paying attention to what's going on around me and that doesn't worry me cos I'm off somewhere else away from the city while I'm in the city if that makes sense. It's like my own place where I can relax, get away from my worries and the shit around me and be joyful. It's escapism really and getting away from reality to my own place. I've got my own place to go to when I've got my radio or a book. I have to be careful sometimes cos I'm still in the city and have almost been run over a few times ... I get away too by walking down to the beach and then reading when I'm there ... The reading's good cos you can go into someone else's world and see characters who you could be for a while. It's all about withdrawing for me and having my own place ... I'm like one of those old guys [hermits] who hide in a place away from everyone else. Just doesn't want to be with other people. Mine's not a cave, it's radio and sometimes books. With radio other people are part of it too. They're listening, but it's like you can listen with them in a private way without having to be with them if that makes sense.

As he walks, Brett is enveloped in a cave constructed from sound allowing him to transcend the immediate physical environment and to promote a sense of distance, security, and privacy. It is access to this familiar space and the routine

of listening that provides Brett with a sense of home on the move. Comments about “*getting away*” in his “*own place*” reflect an effort to gain time for himself and to access a place for self-care that resembles in function a home (Mallett, 2004). In this way, the MP3 player is used to create a more habitable home. The familiarity of the journey and predictability of experience provide a sense of certainty and place that has significance beyond the various locations threaded into Brett’s journeys. As Binnie and colleagues (2007, p. 167) state, the realm of the mundane “offers conditional possibilities for certainty and security, allowing us to order our everyday life-worlds with a necessary degree of predictability and comfort”. Through the use of his MP3 player, Brett is able to dwell somewhere private and experience home.

The simple act of listening to music described in such extracts can also be read as a form of social participation, even when used to exclude others in one’s physical location. In the previous extract, Brett speaks of listening to George FM with other listeners at a distance. “*Other people are part of it*”. By listening, Brett becomes more than a vagrant. He is a fan of dance music, music he plays on his MP3 player that, like other media devices (Livingstone, 2007), opens up his lifeworld to other places and imaginary spaces. Brett is part of the imaginary radio audience as he walks through crowded streets alone. This may seem to contradict what I have already said in relation to Brett’s isolationist approach to life and sense of self as a “loner”. Yet, the very act of listening to George FM functions as a substitute for face-to-face interactions that he is less comfortable with, providing a fleeting sense of companionship among other fans (Adorno, 1974). Brett can be together with other fans whilst alone at a safe distance from those in physical proximity. By participating as a member of an audience, Brett finds temporary reprieve from the loneliness he has lived with since childhood.

Brett’s use of the MP3 player is more than a simple tool to block out the world he inhabits. He uses the sensory possibilities of music in order to feel more, not less. This can be considered a reversal of the “shock defence” that Benjamin (1992) saw as a consequence of living in a technological world, one which announces itself in the city through noise. The MP3 player is one example of technology that, while it can help maintain social distance, it also extends our senses in ways that encourage further reflection and awareness, and a sense of journey, belonging,

and participation. While Brett may struggle to feel at home at the boarding house, through the act of donning headphones and tuning in to his MP3 player he finds a space where he belongs.

Continuing his discussion of the photograph of his possessions (Figure 14) Brett describes walking along, listening to music, observing, and thinking:

I really get lost in the music, you know, I look at people. I have the music up really loud and I can't hear anything. People have yelled out to me and I've just kept walking ... I observe things like people might have animosity towards me and I notice them ... but it doesn't bother me because I can't hear it. It's just life, you know. Auckland's quite a strange place cos you can just walk and walk the streets and you see very few people smiling ... No, I just like going into my own world and walking around places, it's just good escapism for me. Cos I listen to one station; pretty much the only station I listen to, George FM. They run gigs and stuff in the clubs I used to go to. And yeah, dance music I love it, never depressing stuff. It always keeps you up eh.

The MP3 player allows Brett to create a more orderly private environment by shutting out some of the chaos and violence of the outside world. He can drown out the city and reconstruct his relationship with the physical environment, rendering the view merely as a background to be gazed upon through a window. Brett states:

I'm not really part of what's going on around me. I'm like an observer who only watches from time-to-time and can't get involved cos the music helps keep things away.

The flow of music provides a stream of sound in which to immerse himself. As a walker, Brett produces his urban environments through processes of escapism, selective attention, and reframing (cf., de Certeau, 1984). He is not totally detached from the street where he walks, but there is a balance between the external spaces traversed, and his use of music to internally transform his experiences of these spaces.

In some respects, aspects of the previous two extracts from Brett echo Simmel's (1903/1997) notion of the blasé posture as a common response to the hectic and over-stimulating atmosphere of the city. According to Simmel, modern life requires the construction of "inner barriers" to gain psychological distance from others and a sense of reserve. Getting "*lost in the music*" reflects how Brett's sense of the external world is narrowed through the use of his MP3 player. He becomes indifferent to other city dwellers, who he experiences as characters in a play, characters to be passed by and given little attention. A key difference between Brett and domiciled peoples is that they are often simply transiting through the street from one private location to another. The blasé posture is particularly crucial for Brett, in that a homeless person is at considerable risk of what Simmel described as the threat that city life will engulf us both physically and psychologically if a blasé posture is not assumed (Radley et al., 2006). When considering this very point Snow and Anderson (1993), propose that homeless people often attempt to "salvage the self", or hold on to core aspects of their being that are placed at risk due to the adversity of street life. As Brett observes:

You can't be there [psychologically present in the street] all the time because homelessness gets to you after a while. Having space for your self is really important and the music is about that. If I didn't have somewhere else to tune out to I'd lose it.

Brett is blasé, because being homeless torments his sense of self. Homelessness has left scars on his mind and body, and can become too much to bear. Transiting the street and hearing the sounds of domesticity confronts Brett with what is lacking in his experience of home. Going off into another world of his creation enables Brett to avoid the auditory domination of the city and the noises of domiciled life.

By tuning out of the physical environment Brett gains psychological respite from his lack of "homefulness" (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). However, this is a brittle escape, and he can be wrenched back. Brett foregrounds attempts to preserve personal dignity and self-respect and the fragility of such an undertaking, as his sense of belonging is open to question (Hodgetts et al., 2006). Jarvinen (2003) found that the accounts of homeless people reflected a sense of defensiveness because they were constantly on trial and their membership in communities is often at risk. The accounts reflect feelings of desolation or, as Sibley (1995, p.

78) remarks, “a heightened consciousness of difference”, in this case associated with the re-imposition of boundaries between homeless and domiciled people which result in the exclusion of homeless people (Hodgetts et al., 2006). Brett discusses what brings him out of his private space and back to the city:

The smell of piss and the world comes gushing back in. It's like a hard landing, fuck that smells bad. And then I remember all my shit and the joyfulness is gone. I hate the sound of people with houses going about their lives. I'm not part of that and it's hard to see it, and if I turn up the volume I can do my own thing and ignore it. Doesn't go away but I don't have to have it.

Brett is still anchored in the street and can be pulled back from his listening into the physical space being navigated. This is also a pulling back from imagined alternatives into being a homeless man. His imaginary world can be punctured by the smells and the sounds of the city. Some homeless people develop strengths through their integration into communities; Brett exerts resilience by turning up the volume and moving on in response to such olfactory intrusions. However, traces of his domiciled life remain.

This section has illustrated some of the ways in which Brett imputes social meanings and functions into material objects and places. It is only when we consider the functions of his MP3 player within the context of Brett's life that we discover the richness and social significance of such things. Reading and listening to his player provides Brett with a sense of routine and place, and resembles aspects of the attempts of other homeless people to escape the streets into imaginary worlds (Radley et al., 2006). Raban (1974, p. 159) has noted that when faced with the relentless stimulation, fragmentation and incoherence of the city, anyone might slip “into magical habits of mind”. Brett slips away from the street and adopts a blasé posture. As a result, he achieves more than escape from the street; he finds a more habitable place to be and enhance his own resilience. Below I explore how Brett moves out of fantasy to make meaningful connections with domiciled people.

Moving off the street, relationships and conflict

It is apparent from the previous analysis sections and material from which will be presented below that in some ways Brett never fully left domiciled life to join street life. He is resilient while on the streets, but does not affiliate with this life. He has avoided participating in the activities of other homeless people on the streets and looks to domiciled life as the realm to which he belongs. This is a point of contrast between Brett and the other participants in the present study who are more immersed in street life and who find rehousing a far more difficult prospect. Brett's return to domiciled life is less drastic than for Joshua, for example, because Brett has not built up social ties and relationships with other homeless people as Joshua has done.

In this section I will explore how Brett reengages with domiciled people with whom he has had relationships, and in the process presents less of an image of himself as a loner when rehoused. However, some qualification is needed here in that Brett retains a sense of himself as someone requiring time alone. Further, time on the streets and in prison (see below) has given him time to rethink his life and, as a result, he works to renegotiate his identity. For example, Brett does not simply want to return to his former lifestyle as a Skinhead. He wants more from domiciled life this time.

When transiting off the streets, human interaction was not always voluntary for him. Brett exited the street and the boarding house when imprisoned for three months after breaching a restraining order his ex-partner had filed against him. He was forced to interact with others while incarcerated, and during his subsequent release moved towards rehousing. The consequence appears to be an increased willingness to interact face-to-face with other people more regularly. These transitions have not been easy for Brett in that, upon release from prison, he found himself struggling to find a place to settle, struggling to navigate interpersonal relationships, and used drugs intermittently. Brett's resilience was tested in that he was released back into an unstable lifeworld. Brett discussed his difficulty in adjusting to the change in context:

Interviewer: You said one time that sometimes you miss the structure of jail, do you still miss that?

Brett: Sometimes, it's the powerlessness of jail, you're in there and there is nothing you can do. You can't change anything. You're in jail. It's not the people or anything it's just that there's nothing that you can do about it. It's a relief because you don't have to deal with it, you don't have to deal with the lawyers and all the affidavits and all the bullshit stays on the other side of the wall. It certainly wasn't the food or the company I liked! It was just ... the world sort of stops and leaves you alone.

Life on the streets is hard and takes constant effort and planning to survive. Prison can provide some security in that one can give in to regulation and simply go with the flow. Responsibility and the efforts to survive are removed. This extract also reflects Brett's desire to be taken care of, even though it was under less than desirable circumstances.

Brett's transition to being rehoused involved moving to Wellington and an attempt to rebuild his relationship with his mother. As a result, it was not for another ten months after our previous encounter that I was able to organize a third follow up interview with Brett. In this final interview Brett focused primarily on his efforts to reconnect with people and, by doing so, re-socialize himself into domiciled life. He discusses his moving from place to place, though not rough sleeping in the manner that reflects the Statistics New Zealand classifications (2009): he found himself "without shelter" when he was living on the streets, he moved into "temporary accommodation" when he was staying in the boarding house, and during this current period is "sharing accommodation" when staying with friends. He also talked about his caring for others, and his relationships with family and friends both in the past and present. Whereas during our previous interactions Brett emphasized his efforts to remain isolated from other people, he shifts during this interview towards exploring relationships as a central component of his moving beyond the life of a solitary homeless man.

When attempting to leave homelessness, Brett discussed how he had re-connected with people from his former domiciled life – friends and family.

Following his release from prison, Brett spent some time staying at his mother's house as a parole requirement. He was no longer rough sleeping, but was not exactly settled either. He was still homeless according to the definitions presented in Chapter One of this study (Chamberlain & MacKenzie, 1992, 2002, 2003; Statistics NZ, 2009), and spending time sleeping on friends' couches. Though this interview tended to revolve around the friendships and relationships he held with people, the following account indicates continuity with Brett's previously expressed desire for solitude:

Yeah I just want peace and quiet and just to get back into art. I'm turning more into a loner which doesn't bother me, I'm just sick of people at the moment.

Interviewer: They can be pretty irritating at times.

Brett: Well yeah I find them quite annoying; the guy I'm staying with at the moment drives me nuts. He talks all the time ... I'm sitting there just watching a movie and ignoring him and he's blah blah. Even when I go to bed, because I'm crashing [sleeping] in the lounge, and he's still yelling at me! I'll say, 'Goodnight, I'll see you in the morning mate,' 'Yeah alright.' He's quiet for a minute or two and then, 'Did you see that?' and he starts talking about it and I'm like 'Fuck man! Of course I didn't see it I've got my eyes shut! That's what you do when you sleep!' I'm not turning into an anti-social person. I've just had enough of being surrounded by people.

Interviewer: Well you have been living with people quite a bit lately.

Brett: Yeah I haven't spent a lot of time living with people even on the streets I always did it by myself, yeah being surrounded by people or living with them is hard! I do get lonely, everybody does, it's just part of the parcel of living alone. I see that as a small minus compared to being surrounded by people.

This extract reflects how Brett's newfound willingness to engage remains fragile, and he still needs his space. His comments suggest an attempt to reconnect and echo the dilemmas many domiciled people have when residing with others and not having time for themselves. Against a backdrop of constantly securing and losing housing, Brett's account highlights difficulties many houseless people face when they are unable to feel-at-home in terms of a sense of experiencing

connectedness to physical place and community (Robinson, 2005). The account also reflects how connection is not a universally positive experience, and requires tolerance and adaptation. This latter point is explored further in relation to Brett's recollections of his Skinhead affiliations and how those affiliations have been renegotiated over time.

During the final interview I asked Brett to picture in his mind the photographs he would have taken during this ten month period since I had previously interviewed him and to talk about the places, issues, people, and situations he would have photographed. This activity was necessary because many of the places and people Brett wished to photograph were no longer accessible. When asked to describe such places and people, Brett was readily able to do so, and through this process he took us back with him as he reflects on his experiences and situation (Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Radley, 2006). Our discussions of what he would have shown if he had had a camera with him at the time enhanced Brett's ability to raise and reflect upon broader issues and experiences, and to engage us in a deeper examination of his life. Our interaction at this time was a distinctively private account, in part because we had been building towards more personal orientated engagements with his experiences that moved well beyond a more public account of street life (cf. West, 1990).

When first asked to conceptualise pictures he would have made and to discuss these, Brett raised issues around the diversity of experiences not commonly associated with people living transient lives. These involve characterizations of work, including activities conducted in rural settings:

Brett: First experience milking ... Yeah never done that before, but that was quite good fun. I actually enjoyed it.

Interviewer: All those early mornings and being out in nature?

Brett: Well I got to ride a quad bike around the paddock rounding up sheep, beep-beep. Milking twice a day 5-9 and then 2-6, it was good fun. Except we were in a herring-bone yard which is tough and the cows are up there [indicates up with hands] and it gets really hot and you've gotta be really careful you don't get crapped on. Their bums are right up there and you're

down here [indicates lower with hands]. I was pretty lucky that I never got too badly covered - when their tail starts flicking I move back.

The details of Brett's experience of working in a friend's milking shed when making his way back up to Auckland provide an example that forms a narrative picture for what might have been seen if he had of been able to take the photograph (cf. Hodgetts et al., 2007a). The detail provided in this example of a picture not taken does similar descriptive work to that of when he previously did have photographs to bring to an interview. He discusses his work by naming it, by locating it spatially, and by contextualizing it in relation to the role he had while there. Here Brett presents himself as a worker engaged in a "normal" domiciled practice of milking. This scene and his participation in it take us a long way from the public toilet and drug use. It shows the potential for change and diversity of experience among homeless people. It also adds a more humanized and rounded image of a homeless man than is typically evident in the research literature. The sharp division between homeless and domiciled persons is ruptured by such accounts.

Brett articulated a desire to picture the places he had been moving through and the image of the milking shed connects this need to his narrative. Only when I asked him if he would have taken any photographs of people did he reply that he would photograph his mother and his friend that he had been caregiving for in Wellington. This signals an important transition in his life, in that he is willing to show and discuss his relationships with other people. Initially, it struck me as strange that Brett did not mention taking a photograph of his daughter, even though she is the person he talks about the most. However, later in the interview Brett produced a Christmas card that his daughter had made for him. He then talked about this material object and symbol of their relationship:

She's great and here's what she wrote me.

Interviewer: [Reading from the card] *'Can't wait to see you, love you so much dad'. That's really sweet.*

Brett: *It's really hard, she asked, 'Why haven't you seen me', and I said, 'I've been trying', but you know you've got people sitting there listening to*

everything you say [court supervised visits] and it's really humiliating and they make you pay for it.

In such extracts Brett recounts a value for intimacy. The card orientates the discussion and crystallizes positive aspects of Brett's identity. These are reflected through his interactions with his daughter, someone who loves him and gives him purpose (cf. De Vidas, 2008; Hurdley, 2006). Brett is talking to his daughter by talking to the card in the final part of the extract, recounting a conversation with her that was highly emotional and difficult for him. Brett presents himself as a caring father who is angered and defeated by the regulation of his role in his daughter's life. The artefact of the card is a prized possession and a metonym of their relationship. It is proof of his daughter's existence and his caring (cf. Hurdley, 2006). This personalizing detail allows Brett to demonstrate that he has other identities, relationships, and values beyond the streets.

Brett's past affiliation to the Skinheads constitutes another prominent feature of his account. It reflects a further aspect of his life located beyond places like his coastal sanctuaries, but in a specific social group or subculture. This was the first time Brett spoke in depth about his past membership to this group. It was never mentioned in the first interview interaction and Brett only brought it up at the end of the second interview interaction once the recorder had been switched off. This is particularly interesting in that a former Skinhead is retelling experiences of his membership to a racist group with a Māori female interviewer. To me, this is an obvious example of growing trust. In light of this, as a former member of the Skinheads, Brett may be attempting to reduce incompatible definitions (Goffman, 1956) of himself to maintain rapport between himself and me:

We used to like freaking people out even though we wouldn't hurt them or anything ... All wearing Docs [colloquial term for the popular brand Doc Marten boots] and leather jackets and all dressed in black and no eyebrows or hair walk into your place, 'oh my god what's this?' I enjoyed my time back in the day but I wouldn't do it these days, I've still got my Docs, still wear them but ... Well it was more of a family because a lot of the people I hung around with we came from middle and upper classes, some quite rich people. Basically it was a lot of disillusioned, European kids who were intelligent enough to see what a crock of shit the world was all about ... That's what a lot of the music, the poetry and all that are about ...

individualism. Things started getting out of hand and now most Skinhead groups in the country are all white power... most of my mates have pulled out. The police classified me as being in a gang, an ex-gang member, associates with gang members ... I'm like I've never been in a gang, who would be in a gang? Sit there and take orders from some idiot you have to pay money to, just to be you, and too frightened to go anywhere by yourself!

In Brett's account it becomes crucial to convey the impression that he did not embody the negative aspects of being a member of a white supremacist group. Rather, it was an intellectual pursuit with like-minded middle-class youths. People are undoubtedly capable of talking about a subject in different and apparently contradictory ways (Billig, 1996; Goffman, 1956). This is not a mere consequence of the inconsistencies of memory, but of the type and level of dialogue engaged in at varying times, in varied settings, and for a variety purposes Through such extracts we can detect the centrality of Brett trying to make sense of and renegotiating his identity to re-situate himself within domiciled life.

Even when working in the business world before experiencing street homelessness or wanting to blend in with a more conservative public when homeless, Brett refused to completely hide his identity as a Skinhead. As Brett commented:

I still wear my Docs ... I grew my hair just a little bit to cover the scars, took me earrings out. He [former business partner] said we're gonna get you some shoes and I said no fucking way.

Brett took his identity as a Skinhead from the domestic realm to the streets. In such instances, we can see how private experiences of the self are manifested through material objects and displays of style (Hurdley, 2006). When on the streets, Brett's boots provided a tangible link to who he used to be, and he held fast to those objects that were so closely linked to his being (Noble, 2004). As Hurdley (2006, p. 721) remarks about such objects: "Their materiality is not bound by temporal and spatial limits, since they are the material with which people build stories of absent presences, a horizon beyond which the past and future, the otherworld and ideal self dwell." In some ways this affiliation with the Skinheads through objects like those of his Docs serve a similar function to that

of the MP3 player in that it connects Brett to others over distance and time. For a man like Brett who is still living a life of transience, material objects have particular significance in that they allow him to anchor his sense of self (Hodgetts et al., 2008), providing him with an outlet from the adversity of being without a home.

Chapter discussion

In many ways, Brett has led a rather solitary life, a life that at times can resemble traditional depictions of a hermit. On close inspection, almost all of Brett's activities and trajectories when homeless are carefully constructed to reduce his interactions with other homeless people and to allow him to operate as an aloof observer. This is a continuation of a self-preserving strategy initiated in childhood. Practices such as listening to an MP3 player and reading books serve to shield Brett from other homeless people while also allowing him to maintain some sense of human contact. Brett links the city spaces he inhabits to the persona of a mobile hermit who gains seclusion through sound, even when amongst the crowd.

Brett's sense of self is deeply intertwined with the places he lives his life across. He is indeed profoundly emplaced (Manzo, 2003). Herein resides the usefulness of the concept of place-based identities (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996) in explaining aspects of the fundamental locatedness of homeless people. Brett's lifeworld is not separated into his private mind and the outside world. Both penetrate and grow out of each other. These findings support the assertion that people are materially and socially located beings who take form through "interobjective relations" (Jovchelovitch, 2007). Brett's case also illustrates how human action can bind people to objects and physical environments (Cuba & Hummon, 1993). It illustrates how people come to know themselves through engagements in the world and with objects (Cooley, 1902). When we consider Brett's use of books to escape the harsh realities of street life, we see how, characters in a book can reach beyond the borders of their black and white world and inspire us as we go about our everyday lives and reconsider our situations in

life. Escapism afforded Bret respite from the street in order to consider a life outside of his circumstances.

By focusing on the places Brett goes, and what he does with his possessions in these different settings, we see how a homeless person can occupy, live and transform the city from their own perspectives (cf. de Certeau, 1984). This reflects the resilience of human agency during times of mental and physical hardship (Higate, 2000). Brett's resilient use of objects in various locations; opens up a range of psychological processes, including meaning making, self constructions, passing, and the significance of material and geographically-located practices in daily life. I have shown that the meaning of places and objects are never definitive. Objects such as an MP3 player do not simply enter everyday life, they are *created* there; their meaning arises from the social practices through which they are engaged (Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2008). Brett's MP3 player becomes a habitual aspect of his everyday life, used to construct a sense of place and home on the move.

This chapter explores mobility and the ways in which Brett can construct a place to dwell that approximates a home out of communication and movement that intersects a range of settings (Massey, 1992). Brett's strategies for creating a home in a variety of settings raise issues about whether or not such people are actually "houseless" rather than "homeless", a matter which requires further interrogation in relation to subsequent cases. As Brett's account of violence and safety attests, sleeping rough can be aversive and dangerous. However, Brett uses an isolationist strategy that separates him from other homeless people and which allows him to transcend some of the physical hardships of homelessness. Although his internal experiences could be considered irrelevant day-dreaming, it is clear that these imagined spaces have created possibilities for Brett to be somewhere else than simply on the street. Manzo (2003) has noted that people's relationships with places are dynamic and often evolve through journey, habit, and experiences of rootedness and alienation. I have illustrated how Brett's sense of self as a mobile hermit when living on the streets - at once hidden away and dwelling in his sound cave whilst moving through the city - transgresses the dialectic of journey and dwelling often evident in place-based research (Manzo, 2003).

Brett never completely “lost himself” to the streets of Auckland and, in many respects, never stopped seeing himself as a domiciled citizen. His memories, imagination, and daily practices, including the use of space, have provided anchorage for an alternative sense of self, familiarity, and safety. In this case, we see how the effects of an abusive childhood greatly interrupted Brett’s efforts to form positive connections. However, Brett’s middle-class background meant he had some cultural capital when it came to seeking a domiciled life. This background situation and his lack of relationships on the street meant that he desired a domiciled home and connections with people outside of the street. In the third interaction we see how Brett has moved to seek connections with domiciled people in order to move beyond the street. In his account of his time as a Skinhead, we are able to discern how Brett is resocializing himself with domiciled groups. There is also a continuation of aspects of street life in Brett’s domiciled living, as he may not be sleeping rough but is still experiencing transience and desires solitude. What distinguishes this account so markedly from the previous interactions is that Brett’s account has become inherently social. Also evident here is how strict distinctions between domiciled and street life can break down under close scrutiny. This also reflects the need for increased flexibility in definitions of homelessness that are designed to steer official responses (cf. Statistics New Zealand, 2009). Homeless people are often still connected to aspects of domiciled life when residing on the streets (Hodgetts et al., 2008). For many when housed, they can spend periods of time back on the streets. Such movement and complexity is reflected in the definitions of homelessness discussed in Chapter One.

In this case, we see some indication of shifts in levels and forms of resilience. On the street, Brett primarily manifests personal resilience and makes a life for himself in many respects in social isolation, with features of human interaction conducted at a distance through books and a portable radio. When rehoused he seeks a more relational basis of resilience in trying to draw upon relationships with other people and to emphasize the importance of being cared for and caring for others. This supports Sanders and colleagues (2008) observations regarding the shifting and multifaceted nature of resilience that I will explore further in relation to the following three case studies. Brett invokes personal protective

factors such as ego strength and an internal locus of control, and self belief that buffer him from the corrosive effects of street life (cf. Merritt, 2003) and assist him in surviving prison and various transitions in his life. Yet, his resilience does not simply manifest in terms of personal factors alone. His resilience also fluctuates over the various life transitions evident in his account and associated material and social contexts (Williams et al., 2001). He is seeking more of a sense of belonging and acceptance in domiciled life (Prince, 2008) and wishes to rebuild relationships so he can draw more readily on social support and positive relationships with others (Sanders et al., 2008). This can be seen as an effort to cultivate relational resilience through social interactions in order to more readily adapt to domiciled life (cf. Reed-Victor & Stronge, 2002). As noted in Chapter One, the cultivation of protective factors, whether personal or relational in orientation, is also implicated in the development and shifts in one's sense of self as someone who can cope alone or as someone who cares for and is worthy of being cared about by others.

I presented this case study to ACM staff. For staff, Brett is an interesting case, in that he is a sporadic visitor who has been through the detoxification facility run by the ACM. Brett rarely accesses support from the ACM because of his contempt for other homeless people. The workshop with ACM staff about Brett had benefits in allowing staff to think further about diversity within the homeless population and options for action. Staff recognised that Brett's needs were not easily met by their organisation. Unlike the other three cases, direct casework was less important because Brett has developed his own plan for reintegration into domiciled life, and has drawn on his own resources in terms of friends and family. The case thus highlighted gaps in support systems provided for homeless people. The introduction of a psychologist as a means of helping people like Brett to address the effects of an abusive past was recognized as being potentially useful but problematic. For example, Brett's intense feelings of mistrust might make it difficult for a psychologist to build rapport with him in order to be effective. The only photograph deliberately featuring another person that Brett produced was of a social worker he identified as someone he saw as the kind of mother he had always wanted. Someone like his social worker could act as a potential advocate for assisting him through therapy. As well as providing useful dialogue, the workshop resulted in action in terms of how to support the "quiet streeties" or those on the fringes of groups of homeless people who are not high profile. The

workshop created a space for staff to conceptualize how they may integrate mental health services into the ACM portfolio of services to assist such homeless people.

Chapter Five: The case of Daniel

This chapter explores the case of Daniel, whose loneliness is central to his sense of self and place in the world. In the last chapter I highlighted how Brett rejected street life and avoided interactions with other homeless people. In this chapter I will explore how Daniel blends into street life by subjugating his will to other homeless people to preserve his sense of self and to gain protection. In Daniel's account there is a tension between his desire for a home and meaningful connections with others, on the one hand, and, on the other, the realities of his loneliness and need for social isolation to ensure his psychological and physical safety. With notable exceptions (Rivlin & Moore, 2001; Robinson, 2002, 2005), little attention has been given to such issues around home-making and its association with experiences of loneliness among street homeless people. I will document how Daniel is like other homeless people who:

“activate their own geographies of survival, to construct pathways of survival through the urban landscape that link together places to sleep or rest (ranging from relatives' couches to their own apartments to a relatively dry place under a bridge), locations to eat a meal or forage food, hidden corners of security and safety” (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009, p. 613).

By engaging in routines and practices commonly associated with home-making across these spaces, Daniel works to domesticate public spaces in Auckland, and to cope with his loneliness. I will also show how his efforts to create a sense of home are fragile and often disrupted by the actions of others who also have access to or occupy the same spaces.

Loneliness underwrites the fragility of many homeless peoples' efforts at home-making (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). Loneliness can pervade a person's sense of self, place, and ability to form intimate relationships with others. It permeates dynamics of disconnection while at the same time fuelling a desire for connection and home (Robinson, 2005). Clearly, loneliness is not the preserve of homeless people alone, or a new concern for social scientists. Loneliness has been recognized by leading social theorists, such as Georg Simmel (1903/1997), Walter Benjamin (1968) and Raymond Williams (1973), for some time. Those scholars observed that solitude, a lack of intimacy, loneliness, and anonymity are common features of modern urban environments. People can be alone and lonely whilst in the midst of others. People can feel like strangers in a crowd.

Loneliness can be described as the absence of identification, understanding, and compassion (Gierveld et al., 2009). It can be detrimental to a person's physical and mental health, and is associated with a higher prevalence of sleep disruption, anxiety, heart attacks, emotional distress, and suicide (Gilbey, McNicholas & Collis, 2007; Gueguen & Ciccotti, 2008; Rew, 2000; Rokach, 2005; Singer, Hart & Zasloff, 1995). As a profound state of being, feelings of loneliness resonate throughout Daniel's account of his life as a homeless man. Daniel himself says that he is troubled by:

Those feelings of hopelessness, depression, and sadness, being alone and aware of how much I hurt.

However, there is more to his life than displacement and loss (cf. Hodgetts et al., 2008, 20010b/c; Radley et al., 2005). Daniel searches for and actively works to create home spaces for himself where he can experience safety, intimacy, and support.

Ideally, a home provides a stable social, spatial, and material environment in which the routines of life can be performed relatively free from external surveillance and intimate relationships can be forged (Mallett, 2004; Manzo, 2003; Noble, 2004). For many people who are domiciled, having a home or a place to dwell is fundamental to physical, psychological, and social wellbeing. As I signalled in Chapter One, for some the term "home" is also associated with

abuse and challenges their wellbeing (Paradise & Cauce, 2002; Rivlin & Moore, 2001; Smith, 2008). What remains unclear is how establishing a sense of home can be achieved by homeless people, such as Daniel, who associate domiciled life with abuse. Some insight is available from work in which scholars question what constitutes a home and the normative assumptions that limit “home” to a domiciled dwelling and nuclear family (Heidegger, 1971; Jones 2000; Robinson, 2002). In such work the home is instead constructed as a social process cultivated over time and experienced through affinity with particular physical spaces and relations with others. It is not necessarily dependent on conventional family structures. For Daniel, a sense of home is complicated, often involving a desire for an idealized domesticated existence, aspects of which he works to appropriate when dwelling in public spaces (Mitchell, 2003).

Despite the constraints on their existence, homeless people seek ways to carry out in public spaces those domestic activities that “normally” occur within a domiciled setting (Heidegger, 1971; Mitchell, 2003; Veness, 1993). This proposition is reflected in efforts to expand static notions of home to encompass people’s affective relationships with a broader range of physical settings (Manzo 2003). Regardless of physical locale, home-making encompasses the “construction” of a physical, emotional, and social setting that exhibits a unique sense of self in which a person can obtain feelings of shelter and belonging. Daniel’s resilience is evident in the way that he has not given into the hardships associated with his 32 year homeless career. He demonstrates tenacity, and is resourceful and proactive in making multiple homes for himself on the street. I will illustrate how this involves problem-solving to avoid regulation from authorities and requires perseverance (Sanders et al., 2009; Sonn & Fisher, 2008).

This case study, then, focuses on how Daniel makes a life for himself on the streets in an effort to create a sense of home and security for himself. Home-making allows Daniel to both cope with and look out beyond his present situation, his loneliness, and sense of vulnerability. The remainder of this case study is presented in five sections. Below, I introduce Daniel, discuss how he came to the streets, and describe the photographs and issues he chose to portray. Section two attends to tensions between Daniel’s desire for intimacy and a home and, his profound sense of loneliness and restraints on his ability to assert himself in the

world. In the third section I explore Daniel's imagining, experiences of, and efforts at home-making, with a particular focus on the fragility and transitory nature of his experiences of home life. Our consideration of the frailty of Daniel's home-making occurs in relation to Daniel's affiliation with street life and his desire for change and positive domiciled existences. This leads to a discussion in section four of disruptions to Daniel's efforts to make places for himself and to fashion homes by domesticating public spaces. Complications occur because a domestic space in public cannot be locked, and lacks security and safety. Further, the use of public spaces is regulated by domiciled institutions. The chapter is concluded in the fifth section with an overall discussion and summary of key points in the analysis, culminating in a review of the workshop based on this case study that was conducted with ACM staff.

Who is Daniel and how did he come to street life?

When I first met Daniel, he had voluntarily admitted himself into a detoxification facility (detox). One cannot enter detox intoxicated, so Daniel had had to make a concerted effort not to drink beforehand. The onset of withdrawal was particularly close in time to when the first meeting took place and, he was both agitated and uneasy as a result. Confronting an addiction is an experience that forces one into deep rumination, and Daniel was prepared to look into himself from a position fresh with anger, pain, and sadness. His first interview was a heavily emotional reflection of all the sorrow he felt as a man who had never experienced the safety of home, and of his attempts to drown his self loathing:

I sometimes regret that I made the decision when I was 16 to come onto the streets. The only relationships I have on the streets are with the men I drink with, no woman on the streets, no female contact at all. I'm almost a complete loner on the streets. I'm surprised I get on with most of the [homeless] men seeing as I went to the streets originally because I kept on getting raped and abused. Drinking alcohol used to take the pain away ... Drowns it out, no pain left. My life is my life and I have to live it. I'm drinking ... It has become its own lifestyle.

Daniel reflects on the level of social isolation he feels and the loneliness that comes with his situation. In the comments above, we see loneliness expressed in

the context of unwanted solitude. Loneliness does not require being alone physically. It can be experienced even when a person is located within crowded places. Daniel describes his loneliness in terms of his isolation from other people, regardless of whether he is physically isolated from others or not (Drennan et al., 2008). Further, he goes on to refer to a yearning for intimacy or companionship, which is currently unfulfilled.

At the time of this research Daniel was 48-years-old. He is a Pakeha male. In his initial biographical interview, he reflected on the hopelessness he felt as a man who had come to the streets as a 16-year-old boy. As a man who has spent his entire adult life on the streets, Daniel has never been married, he has no children, and with the exception of a brief period of interaction with his mother, he has had no contact with his family since he was 16 years old:

My sister I have had absolutely no contact with since she was 16 years old. She's 38 now. I was 16 years old when I knew her... since I even heard her voice. I wouldn't even know what she looked like now. I wouldn't even know what my younger brother looked like.

Daniel entered the streets with a poorly developed social network and has never had the requisite skills to develop a supportive network (Rew, 2000). In many respects, Daniel typifies men at risk of homelessness and loneliness. He is a middle aged man, childless and single, with chronic illnesses, who lives in poverty, has experienced child abuse, and lacks intimate connections and a functional social network (Crane, & Warnes, 2005; Hawkey et al., 2008; Haywood, & Mac an Ghail, 2003; Quine, Kendig, Russel, & Touchard, 2004).

Daniel comes from a large family and was raised by his father, an abusive alcoholic. By the age of 11, Daniel experienced his first alcoholic blackout, and since then he has struggled with alcoholism and drug abuse. He has been in and out of various rehabilitation and detoxification programs throughout New Zealand. Daniel has travelled around various parts of the country sleeping rough. He has been diagnosed with borderline schizophrenia, for which he takes medication, though at times he avoids doing so as it compromises his ability to remain vigilant when on the streets. Despite a life lived on the margins, Daniel has had very few

brushes with the law, and has never spent time in prison. Daniel is reserved, quiet and gentle. For him, being imprisoned behind four walls surrounded by violent others holds little appeal.

Daniel discussed the freedom of travelling that came with his initial entrance on to the street, and the ability to exert control over his life and his body. Sleeping rough was a far more attractive option than returning to his father's house. The nature of street life inevitably led Daniel into contact with gangs, and by the time he was eighteen he was associated with the Mongrel Mob. At this point physical and psychological abuse re-enters his life:

I was taken as an 18-year-old by the Mongrel Mob in Hawkes Bay because I showed a weakness. For nine months I was their dog. I was a slave, chained to trees, locked in sheds, kicked and beaten every day ... I was their dog. I showed a weakness. So, that taught me to be staunch, do not back down no matter whether or not I got a hiding.

Daniel associates bringing attention to himself and showing any weakness with his being targeted for abuse. Because of his experiences of physical brutality as a young teenager, Daniel has learned to avoid bringing attention to himself and to invoke strategies of invisibility in an effort to blend into his surroundings. Daniel's experiences of abuse do not drive my analysis, but they help explain the importance of safety to Daniel and the ways in which he survives by blending his identity with the people with whom he associates. These experiences of abuse also help us to understand Daniel as a person and how he makes his life on the streets. Attempts to carve out and maintain a sense of meaning and self worth are critical for survival and maintaining a sense of humanity for people situated on the margins of society (Snow & Anderson, 1987). I will also show how Daniel associates physical and psychological security with a sense of place and home (cf. Rivlin & Moore, 2001).

As a young man in his twenties, Daniel briefly rebuilt his relationship with his mother before she died. He talks about the importance of this relationship in that through his interactions with her he found a home that gave him a sense of security and safety:

I found my mother when I was in my twenties ... I didn't grow up with her ... When my mother was alive that was a stable situation, because I had somewhere to live and somewhere to operate from. The street is not a place to operate from; you can't do much for yourself when you're on the streets. I was going through a mental breakdown when my mother died, I just didn't know how to handle things ... that's since 1983, that's a long time.

This extract refers to a fleeting period in which Daniel found himself in a situation approximating home life in a conventional domiciled setting. That period of his life encapsulated many qualities of home that had previously been lacking, such as positive relationships with family, refuge from the outside world, and security and control (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). Positive accounts of a domiciled existence that interrupt Daniel's homeless career from time-to-time were also counterbalanced by talk about his initial pride in street life that turned to shame with time:

I made my life homelessness, in the beginning I wasn't ashamed of it because I used to shower and look after myself, and go for swims in the summer time. Sometimes when they [domiciled people] abuse you it makes you feel stink, I feel self-defensive. I'm a streetie and I'm not ashamed of it, but in a way I am. I'm ashamed to be a streetie. I don't have a wife, I've never been married, don't have any kids, got no work history... I've stuffed up my chances possibly of retirement even, health... Basically I've stuffed everything else up. I'm unemployable because I've never had any work experience, apart from when I was 16. It was only sporadic. I did little bits of work because I was still capable of getting work at that time ... I have nothing.

Boydell, Goering, and Morrell-Bellai (2000) spoke of how many homeless people come to experience a devalued self arising from their homeless situation. Daniel is dealing with marginality on several levels, including associated problems of mental illness, alcohol and drug addictions, and a history of abuse (both on and off the streets). Because of impoverished social support networks, Daniel has limited practical and emotional support available to him. Consequently, he has intense experiences of social isolation, alienation, and low self value. His profound social isolation and lack of intimacy is important to understanding the photographs and interviews through which Daniel presents himself.

At this point it is useful to explore the photographs Daniel provided as a way of reflecting on and conveying information about his life (refer to Table 2 in Appendix 10, for a general count and summary of all Daniel's photograph sets). As the interviews progressed, by the time of the third interaction, Daniel transitions from sobriety back into his former street life. Coherency in his story and sense of self increasingly dissipates. As Daniel blends back into street life, the threat to his sense of self, proposed by the literature I explored on identity in Chapter One, becomes evident for Daniel, who finds himself increasingly alone (Snow & Anderson, 1987).

An important contextual feature of note for the production of Daniel's first photograph set is that Daniel was accompanied by Joshua [Case Study 3] and myself while constructing the photographs. The production of photographs in this set was a social endeavour as both men knew each other and shared mutual acquaintances. Joshua would ask Daniel to take photographs for him and they would share in ideas of what to picture.

Daniel wanted to show what homelessness looks like for someone who had lived most of their adult life on the streets. Daniel attempted to capture this history by photographing a tree outside of the ACM that he had carved his name into as a teenager (Figure 15). As Auckland city has grown around him, the tree remains, despite frequent pruning, as a physical reminder of his history on the street:



Figure 15. Photograph of a tree with Daniel's name carved into it

Take a photograph of that name carved onto the tree outside the main door on Hobson Street [Figure 15]. On the one branch coming out there it has "Daniel" carved into it, it's been there since I was 16 years old. There are a lot of other names further down that have been there for 28+ years the names of people who have been on the streets ... some of them are doing really well now. Some got married, some of them have got themselves jobs and then there are people like me who are still learning the hard way.

Photographs like Figure 15 depict the ways in which homeless people such as Daniel personalize public spaces and make monuments to their presence. Objects are used in a manner that reflects the actions of domiciled people in their private dwellings to who superimpose their identity on a space (Hurdley, 2006).

With the exception of the first photograph set, an absence of people is keenly evident in the second photograph set. This absence of people in his chosen images is similar to Brett. Daniel's second photograph set is a depiction of house hunting or finding an appropriate dwelling in the city. In the associated interview,

Daniel recollects living on the street as a young man, which he contrasts with how street life is now as a man in his late forties.

Continuing this reflective process, Daniel's third photograph set is a keen illustration of the loneliness inherent to Daniel's life as a homeless man. There is only one photograph of a person, which is taken at a distance, and it is to show the companionship that exists between one particular streetie and his pet dog. The absence of people is a poignant illustration of the lack of intimacy with other people and as such the social isolation intrinsic to Daniel's life as a homeless man. Daniel appeared visibly down and gaunt at this point.

Tensions around fitting in and being alone

This section documents Daniel's feelings of being alone and lost even when in the company of others. Daniel's experiences of abuse make it difficult for him to trust people and form intimate relationships. A life trajectory of chaotic, marginal, and unsafe housing (Robinson, 2005), manifests for Daniel in feelings of displacement, failure, and worthlessness. Snow and Anderson (1987) draw on the ideas of Ernest Becker (1962) to argue that our most basic drive is for a sense of self worth or personal significance, and that the accessibility of such feelings depends in part on the roles available to individuals. Not all individuals have equal access to self worth. The social stigma of homelessness and the degrading and dehumanizing conditions homeless people encounter often compromises their personal dignity (Miller & Keys, 2001). People experience self worth if they view and carry themselves with dignity, and if they are responded to as if they are persons of worth (Miller & Keys, 2001). In other words, the experience of dignity is dependent on the interactions of individuals and their environment. Invoking the dynamic nature of identity, Boydell and colleagues (2000, p.30) discuss how individuals strive to have valued lives and selves, and posit that "homelessness poses identity problems; positive former identities are preserved, current identity is devalued, and future identities are glimpsed."

Daniel invokes a strongly relational notion of himself. His very sense of personhood is anchored in the actions and opinions of others. At the same time, he desires something more personal, and he expresses this in talk about the need for change, escape from the streets, and being alone. When reflecting upon who he is, Daniel considers the loneliness he feels in the context of his relationships with others:

If I live with individual people on the streets or anywhere even in boarding houses I tend to take on their characteristics, I sort of duplicate them. If they're racist then after awhile I become the same sort that they are. I'm of that nature of person, I tag along, I don't have my own individuality, and my own individuality comes from other people ... I have to get away from that to get my own thoughts back, to be a conscious mind, and focus on that. I don't read books and that sort of thing so I don't have any individual character; my character depends on the people around me. That's why I can't live in boarding houses and I can't sleep on the streets with too many people around because I take on what they want. I take on their characteristics. I take on their personality. It becomes a part of me ... It's just adapting to life as I see it. But then again it goes against my beliefs. I'm not racist. But when I'm around certain people and we hang out, then, at that particular time, so am I. It's a part of me being homeless ... how I make my way on the streets... I don't feel like a person sometimes, I don't know what I feel most of the time ... ashamed of being where I am now; it's a feeling of disgust I suppose. You can have a lot of fun on the streets, a lot of trying times, a lot of lonely times. It's a lonely life being on the street not a happy life ... I guess basically I buy my friends ... I used to have a lot of people that I'd go and drink with but I ended up mostly drinking alone now ... I've had my times when I've been suicidal, but not now. When you're sitting on a piece of cardboard in a sleeping bag, bourbon in your hand, and the tears are pouring out it's time to stop, the emotional strain and stress of doing what I'm doing everyday is getting to me.

Tensions in this extract include being alone and seeking the company of others, hiding from reality, and wanting more from life than being locked in a drunken stupor, blending in and losing oneself while desiring an identity and sense of independence, self loathing/shame, and self acceptance/resignation. Brett uses his MP3 player to go somewhere else and talks about joining an invisible audience as a way to connect with others. Daniel drinks to go nowhere, he drinks

to disconnect from the world and his self. Tensions emerge around Daniel losing himself to the group by having to subjugate his will, while not wanting to be alone reflects aspects of existing literature on homeless men. Daniel's profound sense of loneliness reflects threats noted by Snow and Anderson (1987, 1993) and others regarding the risk for homeless people of losing themselves to street life (Hodgetts et al., 2006; Radley et.al, 2005).

For Daniel, human connections with other people are far from ideal. His loneliness is not necessarily a matter of being physically alone, although this does occur increasingly. Rather, it stems from his awareness of being isolated from caring people (Rew, 2000). His loneliness is complex and involves a sense of lack of intimate relations that can meet his emotional and social needs (Drennan et al., 2008). To adapt to street life and the violence he fears, Daniel subjugates his own will to gain safety and to be perceived as belonging. The experience of loneliness is frightening, painful, and creates a sense of futility and self disgust for Daniel (cf. Gilbey, McNicholas & Collis, 2007). Daniel invokes the strategy of trying to appear invisible to protect his self from harm and abuse (Radley et.al, 2005).

Daniel's situation is not hopeless, and he has not given in to despair. He is still alive. In the next section I will illustrate his efforts to find a place for himself by imagining a home, and his efforts to domesticate public spaces and create a place for resilience where he can rest and feel safe. At this point it is useful to consider Daniel's desire for intimacy as indicated in his references to dogs. Daniel recognizes that having a pet will help him overcome aspects of social isolation by providing companionship and enabling him to take responsibility for someone else (Rew, 2000). Companion animals can also help alleviate loneliness (Gilbey, McNicholas & Collis, 2007) and promote a sense of self worth by providing opportunities for a person to care (Jacobson, 2007). Photographs of dogs (Figure 16 and 17) present objects that signal a desire for connection and intimacy, and which offer the possibility of some sense of meaningful companionship, support, and emotional connections (cf. Rew, 2000):

This here is a streetie dog, that's Ruaumoko's dog [Figure 16] the significance of this one [Figure 17] is that he can't get a house to live in

because he's got a dog. You're not allowed a dog inside ... he won't part with that dog ... he loves the dog too much. It's got its own bed and everything. He spoils that dog. Well looked after dog, very placid personality, but it's a big dog and it's very muscular ... I would like a dog of my own ... I would suit having a puppy; it would make me look after myself a little bit better because I would have to look after a puppy as well ... Something to care for and that likes me.



Figure 16. Athena the dog in bed



Figure 17. Ruaumoko and Athena his companion dog

Animals offer homeless people some sense of meaningful companionship, support and emotional connection (Rew, 2000), qualities often associated with home-making and resilience. Being able to care for another being would likely have various positive ramifications for Daniel, allowing him to foster a sense of dignity, and to distance himself from an identity that implies failure and worthlessness. After all, supportive relationships can encourage people to take care of themselves and to engage in healthy behaviors, such as having fun, eating well, and exercising. Dogs have also been shown to increase opportunities for social interactions for homeless people - for example, with passers-by, other homeless people, and agency staff (Gueguen & Ciccotti, 2008; Singer, Hart & Zasloff, 1995).

Given Daniel's intense feelings of loneliness, having a dog may not only provide companionship, but facilitate opportunities for social interactions. Dogs also importantly provide a mutually protective role of companionship. Daniel will not only be cared about but can care for another (cf. Singer, Hart & Zasloff, 1995). Although pet ownership may reduce feelings of loneliness, this is not to say that non-human relationships can completely substitute for the depth of connection another person could give Daniel. Animal ownership may create hope, and if feelings of loneliness fail to diminish, this could deter Daniel from seeking alternative and possibly more effective means of reducing loneliness (Gueguen & Ciccotti, 2008).

This section has illustrated the socially isolated nature of Daniel's life and loneliness. Daniel desires but does not have meaningful relationships with other people, and considers the benefits of obtaining a dog. Despite the negative aspects of his life, Daniel does not give in to solitude and isolation. He attempts to make a place and in some respects a home for himself. It is Daniel's home-making and associated dilemmas that I consider more fully in the following two sections.

Experiences of home in the making

A home is a key site where people work at creating a sense of continuity in self and life (Rivlin & Moore, 2001; Robinson, 2005). Efforts to create such a home are a constant theme across Daniel's talk and images. Although the streets allow Daniel to live life more or less on his own terms, which is something he has never experienced when housed, his desires are complex and he can still imagine himself at home in a domestic dwelling. Daniel's imagination is important, and he works to escape some of the harsher aspects of the streets by imagining a better life within a stable domiciled home (cf. Radley et al., 2005). When faced with the relentless stimulation, fragmentation and incoherence of the city people can resort to day dreaming and fantasy as a way of coping (Hodgetts et al., 2010b; Raban, 1974). Daniel slips away from the harsh reality of the streets to imagine a place somewhere new, in the same way as he imagines himself as a dog owner and companion in the previous section.

When in detox, the desire for a domiciled home and a sense of belonging, privacy, and safety comes to the fore in Daniel's account. Home potentially offers hope for a different future for Daniel. An ideal home located in a private domestic dwelling is constructed dialogically in relation to the realities and insecurities of his street life, and efforts to fashion his hideouts into home spaces:

I hope to be stable in my own home, comfortable, and be able to go out and have a walk around, not doing anything in particular. Just enjoy the sights and talking to people, saying hello to people, and then going back to my home and feeling comfortable ... I could shut and lock the door and switch off. In a boarding house you have to get dressed up to go to the toilet, on the street you're already dressed you've just got to put your shoes on to go to the toilet, in your own home you've got privacy. It's your own space you can relax and make yourself at home ... I would desperately like my own home, somewhere where I can close the doors and it's mine ... I'd work my time around the TV programs ... oh half an hour before that program comes on or half an hour to go down the road ... I'm 48 years old ... I can't take it anymore. I've been to the doctor this morning – got one lot of prescription. I don't want to die on the streets. If I'm going to pass away, I'd like to think that it will be in my own home, that I had some chance of living

in a home. I can't live in boarding houses because they're untrustworthy, unclean. They're terrible and impersonal. It's not my place.

Daniel imagines himself as homed to the extent of being able to interact casually with passers-by as a fellow citizen who belongs. He links independence and safety not only with a better life, but with a new form of emplacement – a space where he can choose to be alone or with others, and to reflect and live (cf. Mitchell, 2003; Robinson, 2005). The house and the individual can interact in an ongoing construction of meaning, home offers more than material comfort (Hurdley, 2006). In Daniel's account, we see how home offers a space in both the physical and emotional sense. References to locking the door and being able to "switch off" invoke a backdrop of street life where one must remain vigilant to ensure one's safety (Hodgetts et al., 2007b).

Daniel's desire for domestic homing is also associated with his aging, his concerns about illness, and about dying on the streets. Something as simple as watching television in private and being able to choose what to watch takes on new meaning for a homeless man used to dwelling in public and subjugating his own will to that of others. A kind of mundane fragility is presented here in the way that Daniel established a sense of home by describing how he would structure his days (cf. Robinson, 2002) by engaging in domiciled activities such as watching specific television shows (Hodgetts et al., 2006). Constraints on Daniel's ability to eat, interact, and bathe affects his quality of life.

When sleeping on the streets, Daniel can find qualities of home such as feelings of independence, control, and security, more so than a boarding house. The streets may not represent the ideal of home, but after 32 years of habitation, the streets do embody for Daniel familiarity, connection, and purpose. This can be seen in Daniel's desire to return to the streets and make a place for himself. While a room in a boarding house may offer a roof over Daniel's head it lacks the expression of self and identity that is central to making a home (Hodgetts, et al., 2010c). In a boarding house environment, people are often unable to express themselves through claiming and decorating personal space (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). A room in a boarding house allowed Daniel little control over the space he

inhabited, contradicting the ability to develop feelings of belonging and recognition:



Figure 18. Daniel's room in the boarding house

That TV that's in my room [Figure 18] it's only on loan so it has to go back to its original owner so I have to get myself one, it's only gonna be a little teeny black and white one but it's better than sitting in my room twiddling my thumbs doing nothing. They have a house TV but it's all set up to the sky channels and a lot of people like watching sports so the weekends and all that can get quite boring. I'm not a sports person. The weekends can get quite hard. I've been trying to cut the streets out of my life when I've been doing a rehab but it doesn't work because you've still gotta come into town to do AA and you come across the people you're trying to hide from. I've been on the streets for so long ... 32 years! I can't cut the street out of me; I have to include them in what I'm doing.

Dwellings ideally are meant to provide both continuity and integratedness through routine and community. Rehousing actually constitutes a rupturing of Daniel's daily life, and resulted in his being located in a foreign environment that he was not equipped for or supported in. In the boarding house setting, homeless people themselves are seen as needing to change in order to achieve "re-integration",

ignoring structural factors and inequalities which generate social exclusion and homelessness in the first place, and overlooking the discrimination and rejection faced by homeless people on a daily basis (Kennedy & Fitzpatrick, 2001). Daniel has spent his entire adult life on the streets and already has an established routine.

The inability to control what occurred at home (his family home and his independent living arrangements) is described as deeply frustrating and the source of much sadness. For many homeless people, a constant cycle of securing and losing housing is an unnerving process: each time around, people feel even less able to “put down roots”, to feel-at-home in terms of a sense of experiencing connectedness to physical place and community (Robinson, 2005). The possibilities of establishing a safe and supportive home seem out of reach to Daniel:

I was told it would be a failure to house me because I'm an active alcoholic... if I go back out on the streets again this is where I'm gonna be. If I'm sent back out onto the streets I've got no money for housing. I can't live in boarding houses because they're untrustworthy, unclean... They're terrible... I've given up on them [Housing NZ], I'll get myself a proper sleep out in Auckland City. I'll go back to some of the old school sleep outs and see if I can set them up for myself so long as they're dry in the winter time if they're dry they'll be warm.

The impossibility of moving from homelessness to obtaining secure housing is expressed by Daniel in this extract. Miller and Keys (2001) discuss how homeless people may come to believe that they are not capable or worthy of self-determination. The limitations placed on Daniel's choice-making and control over his self constricts the sense that he possesses the judgement and the right to control his own life. Further, poor housing, like that described by Daniel in the previous extract, contributes to social withdrawal which can lead to a reduction in social supports crucial for psychological wellbeing (Hodgetts, et al., 2010b).

Ideally, Daniel wants a domiciled home, but he also associates the streets with home life. Most of Daniel's home-making experiences have not been set within

domestic dwellings. Daniel remains houseless and must do the best he can to domesticate public spaces (Mitchell, 2003). In an effort at home-making and fostering a sense of routine and belonging, Daniel imputes home orientated meanings and functions into specific places. The collection of things is central to Daniel's home-making efforts. This is similar to the way in which domiciled people achieve recognition of their individuality through the accumulation process embodied in material objects arranged around their home (Noble, 2004). References to decorative objects allow Daniel to display home in an otherwise limited environment (cf. Hurdley, 2006). Daniel shows several photographs of street-based domestic settings in which he displays domestic items associated with home life (Figures 19 and 20). Daniel's talk about and photographs of dwelling on the streets resemble the domiciled practices of displaying one's possessions and having guests in one's space:



Figure 19. Creating home on the street through decoration



Figure 20. Cardboard with kiwi ornament hidden under deck

I knew the person that was sleeping there [Figure 19] before and he gave me the right to sleep there. If it's another person's sleep out then we go to the person and ask if we can sleep there ... The street is our home ... Because we have nothing we try and pick things up like that pumpkin there [Figure 19, outlined in white]... You can just see the little kiwi [Figure 20, outlined in white but still difficult to see]. Things of my own, little trinkets and that, because it makes it feel like home even though you're sleeping out. People in a home have decorations and plants around. Well it's the same thing, the street is our home so we try and make where we have to sleep feel like home. Things like that [points to ornamental pumpkin in Figure 20] makes it feel like a home. Even though it might be the most awful of places to sleep we try to make it our home, we don't have anything else, there's nothing else.

Daniel invokes a process of learning how to occupy a space and make it homely. References to decorative objects allow Daniel to display home in an otherwise limited environment (cf. Hurdley, 2006). The majority of his photographs were structured around the domestic nature of his sleep-outs: which gave the best protection in the rain, which enables sleep with minimal disturbance, which offers safety and a space where he can store his gear. Noble (2004) conveys the idea that as we accumulate objects in the home, we accumulate being. Objects like

the ornamental pumpkin and the kiwi offer proof of being, memory, and participation. The mementoes discussed in Daniel's comment above authenticate his experiences and provide a narrative of connection to the streets. The objects emphasized in such photographs and associated accounts are domestic in nature. They reflect issues of cleanliness in one's domestic space, decoration through ornaments, clothing, sleeping, and companionship. All this reminds us of how profoundly social our private acts of consumption can be (Hill, 2003), as material culture fosters symbols and acts of unity. Spaces like that in Figure 19 comprise a domestic domain, and located objects offer comfort and familiarity. Personal objects like Daniel's kiwi [Figure 20] enable him to reaffirm a sense of self and allow Daniel to communicate aspects of selfhood. Here we can see how the perseverance of his sense of self is, in many ways, enacted through material enterprise (Noble, 2004).

Home-making in public creates dilemmas for Daniel regarding privacy. Daniel declares, "*we might be homeless, but we deserve our privacy*". As a homeless man, Daniel's life is inescapably enacted in public. Going to the bathroom, sleeping, and drinking alcohol are all "acceptable" behaviours when carried out in private, but are domestic practices deemed "unacceptable" when performed in public (Mitchell, 2003). This situation inevitably leads Daniel into conflict with authorities and the regulation of public spaces that haunts the lives of homeless people (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009; Robinson, 2002):

*That's a photo [Figure 21] taken of a sleep out. See the fence they've put up to keep people out. I was hoping that someone had broken in there; every now and then they break the cage, make a hole and get in. The council just keeps repairing it ... Some of the places that I know of should be pretty safe ... There's no law that says you can't sleep out, but where you sleep is another thing, so they can trespass you from that area ... The police haven't been that bad lately. They say you can only drink alcohol at home or a pub, **well the street is our home**. If we're sitting on the street drinking that's because we're at home.*



Figure 21. Sleep out fenced over by the council

This statement reflects how homeless people struggle to maintain a sense of home and privacy in public. Trespass laws authorize who can be in what spaces within the city and are used to close off many of the small spaces of the city that make survival for homeless people possible (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). This constricts Daniel's ability to inhabit and make a life in the city (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Moreover, the most basic materials for human survival, a dry dwelling, becomes inaccessible. Homeless people like Daniel are locked out.

Home acts as the key site where people work at creating a secure sense of trust in the continuity of their identity and the world around them (Noble, 2004). As Noble (2004, p. 253) states, "Central to this is the trust we have in ourselves, in others and in things – a trust that is physical and affective more than it is conscious, grounded in the routines of personal interaction". While not intending to downplay the material poverty, hopelessness and hardships Daniel has experienced, the more subtle forms of connection evident in Daniel's use of objects to texture public spaces as home spaces are crucial to understanding how Daniel inhabits spaces like the dwelling under the bridge (Robinson, 2002). The streets may not represent the ideal of home as haven. However, after 32 years of habitation, the streets do embody familiarity, connection, and purpose for

Daniel. The following section continues the theme of disruptions to Daniel's efforts to domesticate public spaces and make a place or home for himself on the streets. I will demonstrate how Daniel's ability to trust in others and feel safe is compromised. In doing so, it is possible to understand how a sense of security is fundamental to the perseverance of a sense of self and place and capacity for resilience.

Disruptions to home-making and a sense of safety

As noted in the previous section, the lack of private spaces means basic domestic tasks such as toileting, cooking, and drinking are enacted by homeless people in public and thus often witnessed (Mitchell, 2003). The enactment of such domestic actions in public is policed by local authorities who displace homeless people and in the process disrupt their home-making efforts. This section explores issues of security, personal safety, preservation of belongings, and disruption. These issues arise because Daniel cannot close the door or lock others out of his home spaces. Not being able to lock one's door leads to feelings of vulnerability and a notable lack of safety.

The risk of violence and concerns about safety require Daniel to develop a sense of indifference towards others and to develop strategies for managing interactions with others. Daniel emphasizes the need for mental fortitude and the maintenance of distance from others. He also provides details of the kind of struggle many homeless people recount to preserve the self and avoid becoming "psychologically unhinged" or losing themselves to the street (Snow & Anderson, 1993). Safety concerns are twofold for Daniel: the need to avoid the violence of others, and the need for self protective acts in the form of home-making activities to mitigate the risk of losing his sense of self to the street (cf. Kidd & Davidson, 2007):

Anyone of these people up here found out I had a weakness then I'm a goner, I'm a complete goner, and I'll never get off the streets. I'll be used and abused they'd even take my clothes ... It has gotten really dangerous. I get really scared. That's why this time around I have people that I know and

people that know me, sleeping beside me. But the only trouble is you get disturbed a lot. I get disturbed in my sleep; people wake me up to ask for a cigarette! I choose to sleep where I am for safety reasons, having people around me even if they were having a party at least they knew me and I was safe. Two nights before I came in here I had one person sitting beside my head waking me up in the morning by smacking me in the head. I just got up and said, 'Mate, look who is sleeping beside me. You can't touch me, go away'. It's dangerous for me now because I'm 48 in two weeks, I'm too old now. I am – I'm too old. Most of the ones my age have a place. I'd prefer to be alone, I need my own space.

Daniel discusses the idea of showing a weakness, which is having others perceive you as weak in some way that would allow them to take advantage of you and hurt you. The notion of having a weakness could be further explained as having a sort of “chip in one’s amour”. The ramifications of “showing a weakness” are well remembered by Daniel, such as when he was taken by the Mongrel Mob, as recounted earlier, and serve to suppress any further actions that might be portrayed as a weakness. Daniel also wishes to hide away and minimize the risk of violence. He does this by finding private spaces in public in which he can make a place for himself.

In considering issues of safety and security in relation to home-making, we should not forget the importance of location. Often homeless dwelling occurs in spaces “in-between” or alleys, sidewalks, hidden corners of parks, doorways, and bridges, which are transited by domiciled people, but lived in by homeless people (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Such spaces comprise Daniel’s urban habitat. However, despite being essential to survival they are also perceived as dangerous spaces. Street life can be dangerous and places people at risk of violence (Hodgetts et al., 2007b), which is a constant backdrop to Daniel’s life. This inevitably undermines Daniel’s sense of safety and home:

There are people that get beaten up at night depending on what park you sleep in. A [elderly homeless] man got beaten up really badly in Myers Park [in Auckland CBD]. He got stabbed up ... It has gotten really dangerous. I get really scared ... I used to have people rip me off when I slept sometimes because of the alcohol I'd be unconscious ... I see people getting beat up and all that, I just turn a blind eye – if you try to help you're gonna get hurt

right beside them... I'm only in the park to sleep. I get up in the morning and everything's gone, there's no trace that I've ever been there. That's how I leave it, but some of them don't. Get themselves in trouble and then they go back and destroy the sleep outs. That's their mentality, 'well you don't want me to sleep there well I'll go back and destroy it', that's a shame because there used to be a lot of really good places to sleep in my days we used to sleep there, like that place under Grafton Bridge [Figure 22]. We had a fridge, a TV and there was even an electric element to cook with. But that got hit too many times by other people. People got beaten up. Now it's all closed down and that power box was destroyed.



Figure 22. Sleep out under Grafton Bridge

Home is a setting where the presence of “others” and visitors is managed (Hurdley, 2006). Threats to Daniel’s personal safety stem from his domestic dwelling in public, and his not being able to control who comes into the domestic or formed private areas in public places. As a result, a home can be disrupted and destroyed by intruders. Daniel talks about his transient use of sleeping spaces, and the need to move out in the morning as a means of avoiding disruption by others. This is then related to more permanent dwellings, and to

how attempting to effect stability when constructing a home in public space can attract unwanted attention and disruption as others invade that space. Insecurity is associated with detection of home spaces. Places like that depicted in Figure 22 can be compromised and are unable to carry the resonance of home as a meaningful space, as home then lacks the fundamental elements of security and privacy.

Despite such disruptions, Daniel continues with his home-making efforts. He links self-respect to personal cleanliness and the proper use of space so as not to infringe on the sensibilities of the domiciled public (Atkinson, 2003; Hodgetts et al., 2006). He keeps his home tidy. Daniel differentiates his respectful use of sleep outs from those who leave theirs' dirty or disrupt others. In some ways, for Daniel to inhabit the city he must maintain respect for public spaces. Tidying up and hiding or disguising one's home spaces in public provides a sense of privacy and some security. It also necessitates storage strategies:

You keep your stuff safe; we try and hide it as well as we can. A lot of our gear gets stolen, then we have nothing to sleep on ... This [Figure 23] is where I hide my gear that's an old school hideout it's been there for way over thirty years ... It's out of sight. It's tidy. That's why I slept in that place for nearly three years before I got asked not too sleep there anymore because I took my mate there and he didn't respect the rules. As long as you're gone by morning you're left alone. It's just dry on a heavy rainy day ... The area that's bone dry under there; I slept there through three winters.



Figure 23. Clothes stashed in one of Daniel's hide outs

Home-making and survival strategies extend to the use and placement of material objects often associated with daily living, such as bedding, clothing, and cooking equipment. Safe home spaces included “secret” places around the city. Homeless people adopt strategies whereby they can accumulate and maintain possessions. The restrictions Daniel faces means that he is limited to a few utilitarian possessions that he must find safe storage for or keep on him at all times (Hill, 2003). Daniel's photographs show places used to store domestic belongings and protect resources necessary for survival on the streets. These (Figure 23) are safe places. However, the visibility of being in public presents a contradiction. Hidden spaces of survival (Figure 23) are by necessity, or through the lack of a private dwelling, in public view. In this way Daniel alters the geography of the city and his ability to inhabit the city is transformed (cf. Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Habitat is reworked. For Daniel, who must live his life in public, his survival is a function of not only moving between prime spaces most domiciled people only pass through, but also inhabiting them.

Much like Brett, Daniel felt it was important to communicate the sense of degradation that rough sleeping involves. Daniel talked in detail of the difficulties in maintaining hygiene standards, conditions of sleep outs, filth, disease, and

rubbish. Figure 24 in this way expresses the conditions of hopelessness that emerge:



Figure 24. Daniel's sleeping blanket

Yeah I was glad that came out [Figure 24] because that represents the states some of us sleep in because you can't wash your gear and all that, no way unless you've got a lot of money to go and get your laundry done ... I could probably take some photos of here where there are some homeless people, and photographs of under the bridge [Figure 22], something you need to take into account the smell there's not the best. There are no toilets; the only toilet is across the motorway at the garage. They closed all the toilets, people would have been abusing them, so they've closed everything down there, and there are no toilets or safety down there. They may not sleep there but half the city uses that park. That smell is a sewage block that's what we sleep in.

The sleeping bag serves as a symbol of the abject situation in which Daniel finds himself (Radley et al., 2005). The street is a tainted space and the tarnish from this association with dirt and deviancy can rub off on a homeless man, forcing Daniel to take on an identity he does not want to assume (cf. Lankenau, 1999a). The health inequalities experienced by homeless people inevitably affect their ability to control the material and social conditions associated with homelessness

(Ellis & Carroll, 2005; Frankish et al., 2003; Hodgetts et al., 2007b). Constant exposure to wet and cold conditions, the unrelenting threat of violence and associated lack of sleep aggravated by the stress of vigilance, and bodily decline including the loss of teeth – all these circumstances greatly disrupt Daniel's home-making efforts.

Daniel invokes the complexity of place-based interactions that can occur within the modern city. The spaces of a modern city are not homogeneous or impartial, but rather reflect a complex relationship between various parties. The complexity of these relationships alerts us to how people negotiate the regulation of those spaces where everyday life and social participation take place (Hodgetts, et al., 2010b/c). Daniel differentiates his respectful use of sleep outs from those who leave theirs' dirty and are, from his perspective, irresponsible. He also establishes his sense of place and history on the street by framing this within a generational gap. From Daniel's perspective, young homeless people are out of place in the city as they do not know how to correctly conceal their presence and place all homeless people at risk through their blatant disregard for the regulated nature of public space. These dichotomies allow Daniel to cross what Sibley (1995; in Radley et al., 2005) has referred to as bounded categorizations between dirty rough sleepers and members of the domiciled public.

This sort of stuff the police are hot against because that's in public view right across from the library [Figure 25] ... it gives streeties a bad name. We come across all this stuff in town; this is just one area I took a photo off. There are several different areas all across town that streeties have left in a mess. The police get angry, the council get angry, and those of us that are genuine streeties bear the brunt of it. Woefully chucked away, it's a waste ... I think the police are directing them out there to get them out of town ... It's a waste of the effort that this place [ACM] gave, that person will be back tonight saying, 'Oh you got a blanket?' he'll be here tonight.



Figure 25. Discarded blanket in Auckland City

Daniel distances himself from the dirt that is symbolic of the excluded homeless. In order for Daniel to inhabit the city, he must maintain the disneyfication of urban space (Amster, 2003). Disneyfication is the process whereby the public face of cities has become increasingly transformed to resemble a Disney theme park, which appears clean and pristine on the outside, but hides dirt and exploitation on the inside (Amster, 2003). One must hide the dirt, exclusion, and exploitation inherent to city life, although completely sanitized public areas clearly suggest that homeless people are not suitable to occupy city space (cf. Hodgetts, et al., 2010c). Tidying up and hiding or disguising home spaces in public provides Daniel a sense of privacy and some security. It necessitates adaptive storage strategies.

Daniel's account highlights the difficulties for someone aging on the streets as his ability to live independently is hindered by his perceived vulnerability. Physical isolation might offer an escape from this dilemma, but Daniel does not possess the requisite survival resources to live by himself. Daniel's sense of unfulfilled intimate and social aspirations, intensify his experience of loneliness. Subsequently, manifesting in a complex set of negative emotions that threaten to overwhelm him (Gilbey, McNicholas & Collis; 2007).

Chapter discussion

For most housed people, their homes represent a significant space for the emplacement of being (Hurdley, 2006; Robinson, 2002). Homelessness is often presented as the opposite of having a home. This case study exemplifies how the situation is more complex. While it is important not to overlook what homeless people lack in terms of resources and amenities, a more constructive approach is needed which does not bind itself to binary definitions that associate domestic dwelling with home-making and street life with a lack of a home. Homeless people, such as Daniel, do not stop trying to make a home while they are on the streets (cf. Robinson, 2002). Despite lacking a conventional dwelling, Daniel's life is just as richly emplaced and embodied as the lives of housed people. I have illustrated the tenuous nature of Daniel's efforts to make a home in public spaces "in-between" that are often transited or skirted by domiciled citizens, but which are dwelt in by homeless people (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). We see how making a home on the street can be an unsafe and lonely thing to do. Yet, home-making is a necessary activity for Daniel, because without a home he is out of place and lost. Attempts to carve out and maintain a sense of place, home, and self-worth are critical for Daniel's survival and personal growth as they enable him to retain a sense of self and, thus, his humanity (Snow & Anderson, 1987). Physical security and a capacity for control is central to Daniel experiencing his hideouts as sites for home-making (cf. Rivlin & Moore, 2001).

Even when he is with others, Daniel is alone in the group, and experiences a lonely existence. Loneliness is complex, and involves a sense of lack of intimate relations that can meet person's emotional and social needs (Drennan et al., 2008). It is associated with a desire for intimacy, friendship and social connection, all of which are absent (Gierveld et al., 2009). The problem is exacerbated for Daniel who has limited social skills, and a negative affect can further distance him from others. This is not a hopeless situation. For instance, a dog might partially compensate Daniel for a lack of intimacy and emotional connection and companionship with other human beings (Rew, 2000). Daniel has had human companions on the street, but is wary of them because he has been abused and exploited in the past. A dog seems like a safer option to him. Pet ownership holds potential for Daniel in that it is associated with reduced loneliness, it was identified as a positive development by him, could be a basis for developing a

sense of future and responsibility for another living thing, and might provide a focal point for connecting with other people. It is important that efforts are made to help Daniel come out of his shell and make connections, because his needs have been overlooked by ACM staff who are kept busy addressing the needs of more assertive clients.

Considering Daniel's transitions into street homelessness, we can again draw on Rokach's (2004) notion of people adapting to homelessness much as a person engages in a "career". Daniel finds resilience through his daily practices of acquiring food, clothing, alcohol, and a dry dwelling. As the duration of his homelessness has increased through adulthood, his daily routines have developed, and he has adapted to street life (Hill, 2003). As noted in Chapter One, homeless people such as Daniel must contend with violence, social ostracism, loneliness, depression, and fear (Hodgetts et al., 2007b; Rokach, 2005). Despite such physical and psychological issues, Daniel has learnt to cope and make do. He does this through a combination of personal and relational responses to adversity in the context of everyday life (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). Much like Brett, Daniel seeks solitude but recognizes the need for support and intimacy to quell his loneliness. Unlike Brett, Daniel does not have the resources to secure positive support, and there is a clear lack of compassionate relationships in his life. However, it is crucial not to get lost in the aspects of despair apparent to Daniel's account. A focus is needed on the human resilience, ingenuity, and agency that account for his fortitude (Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Otherwise, we lose sight of hope in Daniel's story, and risk further labeling him as dysfunctional.

This case study illustrates the need for strategies to address a person's homelessness which consider and respond to personal experiences and desires in terms of a home and human connections. What has been presented here indicates clearly Daniel's resourcefulness in not giving into adversity, and his desire for a better life. It is with this potential that we worked with social workers to address Daniel's homelessness. A key issue for staff was how to address the profound sadness, loneliness, and, in many respects, the hopelessness that Daniel experiences. In the workshop, social workers recognized Daniel as exemplifying a type of homeless client who slips under the radar because they do

not push for help or resources. Daniel is often overlooked. The case led to a discussion of how in research and social work practice we often assume that housed and homeless lifeworlds are distinct. There are many housed people who are also living socially isolated lives. By contrast, Daniel was sleeping on the church steps, and the church verger talked to Daniel every morning for ten minutes when she opened the church, showing how Daniel's lifeworld interconnects, if ever so briefly, with the domiciled world. The verger also attended the workshop meeting. From this scenario we identified the importance of non-professional support when housing homeless people, as well as issues relating to the need for graduated settlement into domiciled life.

When presenting the case of Daniel at the ACM, staff were struck by his poignant lack of intimacy and the manifestation of sorrow and loneliness in Daniel's story. In reflecting on changes put in place following this workshop to support Daniel, the team leader reported that "we [social workers] took a hard look at ourselves and decided to act. We got him in and formulated a plan". Staff recognized potential in Daniel's desire to make a home, and the resourcefulness he demonstrated surviving on the streets for so long. Daniel survives on the street through having a routine and things to do each day. These include going to various agencies for food and developing his hideouts. It was important to not disrupt this life structure too much initially if Daniel was to be housed. Staff implemented a care plan through which they were successful in obtaining housing for Daniel. Daniel maintains his routine of visiting the ACM and other services, but at night now goes home. In order to address Daniel's loneliness, staff integrated Daniel into volunteer activities at the ACM, including a gardening project, as a basis for extending his social networks in the domiciled world. Daniel's feelings of an unbearable separateness are experienced at a profound level. Staff at the ACM recognize that assisting Daniel in his efforts to leave the streets will take time. Daniel's loneliness has manifested in a complex interplay of abandonment, rejection, depression, insecurity, anxiety, hopelessness, and meaninglessness. Feelings of loneliness have sat for some time within Daniel, and at times this can become debilitating for him, making it difficult to develop healthy relationships and lifestyles. Pathways out will not be easy, or immediately successful, and staff are aware of this. Therefore, staff continue to assist Daniel's efforts and readjust their plans to meet his needs.

Chapter Six: The case of Joshua

There is often a fundamental humiliation at being a homeless person, particularly for a man in a society where men are often judged by their social standing and economic success (Lankenau, 1999a, 1999b). Street homelessness often carries a sense of “role-failure” – failure to successfully integrate into socially sanctioned places and in the social hierarchy (Hill, 2003). We have seen in Chapter Four, Brett perceived begging as a reflection of the failed male worker (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003). This chapter considers Joshua, an entrepreneurial beggar who contrasts with Brett and Daniel in that he embraces street life and is highly communally orientated as he makes his life through contributions to a homeless family. In this case, we see the manifestation of a relational resilience based upon his role as a breadwinner with obligations towards supporting others. This role gives Joshua’s life meaning and purpose. We also see how the existence of such social ties binds a person to street life and makes it difficult for them to exit the streets. Joshua’s case also raises issues regarding the use of public spaces and relationships between homeless and housed people.

In Chapter One, I noted that supportive relationships with others can buffer people from the corrosive effects of street life. Bonds of obligation can knit people together and function as shared resources for survival and resilience (Cohen & Prusak, 2001). In many respects, Joshua has adapted positively to street life, and his actions reflect personal talent and relational resilience (see Chapter One). He mobilises himself to not only survive but also enjoy life on the streets, and to support others in need by providing financial resources, mentoring, and training them in strategies for begging. He transforms the streets into a site for resilience, at least for a time. We can see the cultivation of resilience through social

interactions with other homeless people and passers-by, manifested in a strong sense of belonging and affiliation. However, as pointed out by Sanders and colleagues (2008), such resilience may not last forever, and a street lifestyle involving heavy drinking is undermining Joshua's ability to generate financial resources and provide for his street family. He has thrived on the streets for a considerable period of time, but is now increasingly ill and less able to cope with adversity. His resilience is fluctuating (Williams, et al., 2001).

Among both policy makers and the population in general, able-bodied homeless men are typically regarded as the "non-deserving poor" (McIntosh & Erskine, 2000) since they violate social norms surrounding work (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003). Begging can cloud moral judgments with monetary calculations and a brief emotional involvement with a person one does not know. Moral considerations regarding how "genuine" beggars are, become crucial, when deciding to give or not, during such encounters. Most forms of donation or charitable giving involve a certain voluntary input that is often not overtly apparent when giving to beggars. Beggars are often perceived as "wanting something for nothing" (McIntosh & Erskine, 2000). Panhandlers or beggars, such as Joshua, embody the role of the stranger in wider society. For Simmel (1908), the stranger is a type of individual or group that is distanced socially from others and is only partially a member of society. The stranger often transgresses social conventions, such as asking a passer-by for money, or sleeping on the streets. The stranger embodies social distance, their presence invoking a lack of involvement as well as a measure of indifference, even when such people are in close proximity to "us". This description can be applied to situations in which domiciled and homeless people, such as Joshua, meet together in the city (Hodgetts et al., in press). While Joshua may stand in close proximity to pedestrians when asking for money along sidewalks, he remains distant from his fellow citizens. To explain the phenomenon of members of the housed public passing by a panhandler as though that person did not exist, Lankenau (1999b) invokes Simmel's explanation of the "blasé attitude". This attitude occurs because the constant stimulation of the city causes inhabitants to react to new situations with minimal effort or to ignore differences between things. In particular, the passer-by with a blasé attitude casts panhandlers into the role of the stranger. Equally, for Joshua, the passer-by is a stranger.

Joshua has devised a repertoire of begging routines to challenge the role of stranger and to awaken passers-by from their blasé fugue. In the process, he highlights the dynamism, agency, and versatility that are integral to the act of begging. Lankenau (1999b) describes panhandling as a phenomenon that necessitates conscious action and planning, and offers five primary panhandling repertoires for engaging with passers-by by appealing to a range of emotional qualities, such as humor and fear. They are: the entertainer, the greeter, the servicer, the storyteller, and the aggressor. “The entertainer offers music or humor, the greeter provides cordiality and deference, the servicer supplies a kind of service, the storyteller presents a sad or sympathetic tale, and the aggressor deals in fear and intimidation” (Lankenau, 1999b, p.190). Each routine is typically associated with different individuals. I will show how Joshua draws on aspects of all these repertoires and utilizes more than one in any single encounter to craft his life as a street beggar and provider. Throughout this analysis, I will link these routines to Joshua’s resilient practices. He adjusts his repertoire according to circumstances. Being skilled in multiple ploys adds to his adaptability and offers some certainty to his ability to generate resources. It also makes him an invaluable member of his street family.

This chapter is presented in five sections. The next section introduces Joshua and explores the images and associated talk drawn from my interactions with Joshua. Section two considers Joshua’s role within his street family, and how the relationships he has developed on the street continue across settings as he endeavors to make the transition from street life to domiciled living. I will also consider the disneyfication of the city through Joshua’s eyes, as he attempts to make the transition into domiciled life. Disneyfication is the process whereby the public face of cities has become increasingly transformed to resemble a Disney theme park, which appears clean and pristine on the outside, but hides dirt and exploitation on the inside (Amster, 2003). This is the sanitized world of domiciled living beyond the underworld of his street homeless family, a world in which Joshua is not participating.

Section three explores the regulation of homeless bodies in public space, through Joshua's account of collisions with domiciled lifeworlds when panhandling. I also explore how Joshua challenges the disneyfication of the city. In this section, his photographs illustrate the emergence of homeless people from a hidden underworld into the public domain, and the resulting collision of homeless and domiciled lives through the regulation of homeless bodies in public space. I document Joshua's return to street life in section four. In that section, we see Joshua and his street family claiming space in public. Joshua's comfort and confidence within homeless lifeworlds is evident as he resumes his life on the streets. Here we see how the homeless community ignore the city's disneyfication and lay claim to the city and their right to be in public. These are snapshots of a community defying attempts at displacement from public space. The street is presented as a site for resilience, where homeless people can find purpose, acceptance, and joy. The chapter is completed with a general discussion of core findings and a review of the workshop presented to ACM staff.

Who is Joshua and how did he come to the street life?

Joshua is a single 45-year-old Pakeha male with a contagious sense of humour and a trademark salt-and-pepper beard. At the time of the initial interview Joshua had been living on the streets of Auckland for a period of two years. He had previously lived in various locations throughout New Zealand, but was born and raised in Napier.

Joshua is a father of two daughters, aged 22 and 17 years, who were born to two separate women. He is immensely proud of his daughters. For the time that he has slept rough in Auckland he has not had contact with them, and does not wish for them to see him as a homeless alcoholic. He holds the two women by whom he had his daughters in high regard. For ten years he wore a watch given to him by one of his ex-partners until he reached the streets of Auckland and pawned it for alcohol.



Figure 26. Photograph of Joshua taken by Daniel

He has many tattoos mostly on his arms, one of which rests in the crook of his left arm "69+92". 1969 was the year he was taken from his family, and 1992 was a goal he had set for staying out of jail, although it was not until 2001 that he found some measure of success in this regard. Joshua has spent most of his life incarcerated, having grown up in various boys' homes and borstals, and the majority of his adult life has been spent confined to a prison cell, something of which Joshua regards with a mixture of regret and sadness. Research has demonstrated that, for many young people, experiences of youth detention facilities, foster homes, and institutional care are converging themes in the life histories of many homeless people (Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000; Reed-Victor & Strange, 2002, Robinson, 2005). These less than conventional or ideal environments can make adaptation to the street less of an abrupt change. Being a rough sleeper and the lifestyle that is inevitably part of that still puts Joshua in direct conflict with authorities. However, he has managed to avoid further incarceration.

Joshua grew up around gangs; his older brother was one of the early members of the Mongrel Mob:

He's one of the early members of the Mongrel Mob that's why I get on really well with all the Mob ... He's one of the ones in the stands when the judge said, 'you're nothing but a bunch of mongrel dogs'. Getting dropped off at primary [school] in the V8s and they were just my family and mates ... They got their name in jail cos you fight one of them you fight the whole fucking lot of them. So when they all got out they all used to kick back at my mum's place and come around and get on the piss. I was brought up around it eh really was ... one of the reasons I moved out of there [his hometown] is that my family are all in the Mongrel Mob ... I've always been his little brother, you know, and that's why I wanted to come up here. I made my own name.

While Joshua discusses his family with pride, his brother has cast a long shadow, which he has struggled to step out of for most of his life. By the age of 15, Joshua was declared a juvenile alcoholic and he continues to struggle with his alcoholism. He has been admitted to various detoxification and rehabilitation facilities in an attempt to address his misuse of alcohol as “a way of life”. Joshua has dabbled with various other drugs, and at one time was using drugs intravenously. He stopped injecting after contracting Hepatitis C. He is a heavy smoker and has been diagnosed with Emphysema.

Joshua has built up resilience in the face of adversity through his background, and in many respects was equipped for the transition to street life. Resilience for Joshua has largely been a matter of learning specific strategies for street life and integrating into a homeless family (cf. Lindsey, 1992). After having grown up around gangs, Joshua lives a life separate from that world. Being a part of a homeless street family has inevitably led him into contact with gang members, but his homeless identity has given him a distinct life and the ability to form a separate identity. Within the homeless community, Joshua has managed to create his own identity, and has secured himself a role of vital importance. On the streets he is known as “Joshua the Window Washer”, a title which he regards with satisfaction. Joshua's comfort and sense of belonging to the street and to those he considers family are pictured and articulated in his photographs and subsequent interviews.

At this point, it is useful to explore the four photograph sets provided by Joshua, in an effort to convey his life and transitions between the streets, detoxification facilities, accommodation, and back again to the streets (refer to Table 3 in Appendix 11, for a general count and summary of all Joshua's photograph sets). For the first photograph set, I accompanied Joshua, as he was not permitted to leave detox unless supervised. This did impose some limitations on Joshua, such as the times at which photos could be taken, the distance travelled by foot, and the types of places in which he could be accompanied by an outsider. As stated in the previous chapter, some of Daniel's and Joshua's photographs in their first sets overlap, as they would swap cameras and took pictures for each other (this count is included in Table 2 and 3 see Appendix 10 and 11). The benefit in my accompanying them includes their explaining the significance of each photograph to me in detail as they took it, and I witnessed the creation of these images firsthand. I was able to hear their stories whilst being situated in the places where they were making photographs.

Photograph set one illustrates Joshua's homeless lifestyle; he wanted to portray what being homeless looked like, and to depict other homeless people as a stable presence of Auckland city. Photograph set two marks an important transition for Joshua from the street to supportive housing. These images hint at Joshua's uncertainty about his moving off the streets, and he communicates a sense in which he is not participating in the domiciled world that is passing him by.

In photograph set three, homeless people step out from the hidden world of street life, as depicted in photograph set one, to socialise with each other and the public. Homeless people's interactions in domiciled space come to the fore in a series of photographs depicting contact between homeless and domiciled persons. This theme of homeless people occupying prime public spaces is continued in the final photographic set. In the fourth set homeless people are prominently out and about while few housed people are depicted, the images are of homeless people socialising through drinking and eating together. These photographs convey the notion that homeless people belong in public and share their lives together despite regulatory attempts to displace them.

Joshua's interviews are both an honest account of his alcoholism and an insight into begging as a way of life. The importance of family is a theme heavily emphasised throughout his interviews, and this gives further significance to his photographs. An examination of Joshua's life provides a particular vantage point to view homelessness in Auckland, and evokes aspects of the function of the city and relations between its inhabitants. We see how a homeless man's life and his efforts to get by and survive are manifest within a nexus of public places, facilities, activities, and interactions in various settings. We see a level of resilience in the face of disenfranchisement.

Below I will explore the hidden nature of homelessness in the city, drawing attention to a part of Auckland that defines city living for Joshua and for the homeless group of which he is a part. We see how, by recreating traditional family roles, Joshua is socialized into street life and cultivates resilience for himself and the street family he associates with.

A homeless family and movement between the street and domiciled life

At the time of taking the first set of photographs, Joshua had just entered the ACM detoxification centre, and he was attempting to seek accommodation for himself in order to exit the streets. Concerned that his drinking was undermining his health, Joshua was taking steps to stop drinking by entering detox. This section draws on the first and second set of photographs and on the interviews that span a period in which Joshua is reflecting on his life on the streets and attempting to exit street life. I will explore his socialization and adaptation to street life, and the ways a homeless family were central to his resilience but also a barrier to his moving on and making a domiciled life for himself.

When first asked to participate in the research, Joshua had a clear idea of the images he wished to capture. He photographed a number of public spaces he

frequented, spaces where he and other homeless people resided, and the homeless friends he associated with. He had a clear idea of what homelessness looked like to him and demonstrated his mastery of street life. Joshua visualised the contexts of his life and his interactions with different groups of homeless people, support agency staff, police and security guards, and domiciled passers-by. He wanted to place on record the activities he and others engaged in as a street family, the activities that defined their way of life. These activities include rifling through bins for food (also known as bin diving) and public ashtrays for cigarettes (see Figures 27 & 28), begging, washing car windows, drinking in parks, and the use of sleep outs created and hidden away in public spaces.



Figure 27. Going through ashtrays



Figure 28. Bin diving

Joshua then takes us into the hidden world of homeless people by presenting a number of photographs of the public spaces in which homeless people make private when dwelling in them. We are shown the private sleeping spaces (Figure 29), the ACM, and exposed to the spaces in which streeties develop and maintain a sense of place and respite. This is the underworld of homeless people, who step out to go through bins or wash car windows to support themselves. These images document Joshua's adaptation to street living with support from other homeless people:



Figure 29. A hidden sleep out

It was very hard work from the beginning but once you get to know people ... like I know most of the streeties up here nowadays and everyone up at Hobson Street knows me. They're all workers and stuff like that. When I first came up [to Auckland] I wouldn't do nothing like this. I wouldn't do the signs and wouldn't do begging ... no fucking way. I'd never been on the streets before I come to Auckland and then I saw how much money Valerie was making through begging. Do you remember how I told you how I'd met Valerie? I was freezing like this [imitates shivering], like a bastard outside McDonalds and she taught me how to live on the street. She's my street sister, she's the bomb.

Fresh from prison, Joshua found himself eating out of bins and sleeping in unsafe areas, and he was unaware then of the supports available through the Auckland City Mission. Without the intervention of other homeless people who noticed his dire situation, his adaptation to the street may have been significantly more difficult. In the account above, Joshua makes reference to a street sister, a member of his street family. Joshua's street family offer him space, autonomy, friendship, and resources for adapting to the demands of street life. Through his integration into a homeless family, Joshua has learnt the skills necessary to not only meet his basic physical needs, but to also generate surplus income. Smith (2008) discusses the creation among homeless youth of street families which

recreate traditional family roles and mitigate some of the demands of street life. These families often make the streets more habitable. Members of the street family that Joshua is a part of are able to draw on each other for resources. They provide networks for learning to survive or socializing to street life and cultivating resilience. However, the bonds he has formed make it difficult for Joshua to move on from the streets.

Joshua's life and network is on the streets and his plans for life beyond the streets were tentative. I will explore this issue in relation to Joshua's brief experience of residing in a boarding house after leaving detox. While Joshua is reluctant to leave his street family at this time, he does attempt to make a place for himself in a boarding house. Joshua took only a single photograph of the room he occupied at the boarding house (Figure 30), visualizing his attempts to move on from rough sleeping. When presenting this photograph, Joshua took me on a tour of his room, the objects that occupy it, and the larger house that surrounds this space:



Figure 30. Joshua's room at the boarding house

Got the old stereo and DVD and Play station ... uh not Play station that's my next one. DVD on top and the VCR on the bottom ... That [photograph that did not develop] was supposed to show the area where you go out and have smokes and play cards and chess and things like that where everyone can just kick back and relax. It's quite good ... they've got SkyTV, a little kitchen there and freezers all over the place and out here this is supposed to be the garden area, they've got a couple of tables and some chairs that are backed right into all this scrubbery. It'd be really nice on a summer's night you know, kick back and have a quiet drink or something like that.

Excerpts such as these portray Joshua's nostalgia for the comforts of domiciled living and a space that is his own. Joshua's attempts to accumulate objects and his nostalgia for the comforts of privacy can be read as reflecting his efforts to cross the borders from homeless lifeworlds into domiciled life worlds. As I proposed in the previous two chapters, place-based identities are often grounded in the home, and people collect objects when attempting to make a home and develop a sense of place and belonging (Hodgetts et al., 2010c, Noble, 2004). Joshua is trying to create a sense of home in a domestic dwelling, the boarding house room, through accumulating objects.

This period of rehousing is presented as a rupturing of Joshua's daily life. While he found it easy to articulate and picture street life, the same could not be said for his housed life. Joshua is resilient when on the street and has support for living on the street from the homeless community. His resilience did not transfer across settings, and resulted in his being located in an alien environment that he was not equipped for or supported in.

During his time in the boarding house, Joshua visualized his perspective on domiciled city life. He presents images of parks, food outlets, and housed people crossing the road (Figure 32). These are images of the city as populated by housed people. With the exception of those few photographs that depict the ACM Drop-In Centre several homeless people are depicted at a distance as part of the landscape. It is the sanitized world of domiciled living that homeless people witness in walking exile but are only marginally part. This is a somewhat

Disneyfied world (Amster, 2003). These images are from a man on the move, taking snapshots of the CBD, but not dwelling in public or participating in the scenes depicted. He invokes homeless people as shadowy figures watching the domiciled public and waiting for opportunities to gain resources from passers-by:

They sit there [see Figure 31, the bus shelter] ... And this is where everyone does all their crossings [Figure 32] so they sit [homeless people] ... hanging around waiting for [domiciled] people to come past and ask for money from them. This would be just back this way a fraction and that's where everyone sits [points to Figure 31] and waits for all these fullas [points to Figure 32] to get past, and once they've past them they're in!



Figure 31. Streeties at the bus stop



Figure 32: City living

Whilst Figure 32 may be a photograph of the public, it is the function of their role in a homeless person's life that is being imaged. Joshua sees opportunity in gaining resources from the people depicted in Figure 32.

While domiciled, Joshua maintained contact with his street family, and was still begging and window washing and coaching others in such endeavors. This gave him a sense of purpose, pride and belonging. Window washing (Figure 33) and panhandling are relatively recent and controversial practices in New Zealand, and have provoked a sharp response to the regulation of street life and use of public

spaces (Laurenson & Collins, 2007). Window washing is something that Joshua associates with “real” work, and the public too is more likely to associate it with traditional work as it relies on the provision of labor in exchange for money. The hard, physically demanding labor of this type of work is regarded as being heroic and as requiring physical and mental bravery (Haywood & Mac an Ghail, 2003). Throughout his interviews, Joshua consistently reiterated his success and endurance in this field, and the money he earned as confirmation of his ability to provide.



Figure 33. Joshua window washing

Joshua sees himself as providing a legitimate service by window washing (cf. Lankenau, 1999b). He breaks through the blasé attitude of the domiciled public by offering a service, while lessening the perception of strangeness by transforming the interaction into a type of business transaction. Window washing as a service results from Joshua’s propensity for being in the right place at the right time: that is while cars are stopped at traffic lights, Joshua washes their windows, converting himself into an informal service provider. Joshua’s friendly demeanor also demonstrates how, when window washing, he will often integrate the greeter repertoire into his washing routine. The driver is no longer being

asked to provide a charitable donation. They are being asked to pay for a job well done:

To me it's an art ... when you do it, do it flash and be polite, 'Kia ora, how's your day?' then you talk about anything that's around ... if there's rugby on, 'Oh did you see the game last night?!' You make anything out of everything.

Window washing may be viewed more positively than street begging, though this too sometimes attracts aggression and contempt from the public. Joshua realizes that displaying aggression through words or acts, even if justified, is likely to detract from contributions and might even lead to arrest. Consequently, certain interactional norms are emphasized to contend with humiliation, to maintain supporters, and to avoid arrest.

Joshua discusses his role as a mentor for other street homeless people he has taught to squeegee (for window washing) and beg. Through this strategy, Joshua enhances his status within the homeless community, increasing his value as a member and his own sense of self-worth. His account highlights the problematic nature of the assumption that homeless people lack roles, occupations, and social relationships that allow them to gain status as contributing and worthy members of society (Miller & Keys, 2001).

Sometimes I see them [homeless people] and they're going nowhere, they're just repeating and repeating ... I think fuck that, I can show them how to make money you know and they can do what they want. Your life changes when you know, you can earn that sort of money a day ... I like washing with Bob cos he's not argumentative, he's polite, that's what I try and teach everyone. I taught Valerie, dumb fucking mistake she's abusive. I took Larry; he ripped off fucking wipers and threw them at this lady's car. Wrong choices, but most of the people I have taught are good, they're really good.

A key to a sense of personal dignity and self-worth is being more than the recipient of charity or care. It also involves enacting opportunities to care for others (Jacobson, 2007; Williams et al, 2001). Joshua engages in such caring, and in the process presents aspects of a dignified sense of self linked to meaning

and purpose in life. Leadership in this extract is exemplified through developing a group of people who reflect Joshua's own commitment to seeking and finding solutions to material and social deprivation (cf. Hill, 2003). Whilst his homeless family bolsters his own resilience, he in turn reciprocates and their resilience as a family develops. Building social capital in this setting allows Joshua to gain resources from his street family and enhance their economic security and well-being as a group (Adger, 2003).

Joshua is known by other homeless people, agency staff, store owners, and to his regulars as "Joshua the Window Washer". His prowess in this field is symbolized and epitomized in the window squeegees he can frequently be seen carrying. His pride in his work, his reputation as a major earner, his ability as a mentor, and his aptitude when wielding a squeegee, is recorded throughout his interviews and photographs:

I had a stick in each hand I was twirling them around and then next thing this cop came past ... he reckoned I had stole them from the garage ... and one of the second hand shops on the way, back towards the pub there – he was outside there when the cops were having a go at me and he goes, 'This fulla buys them off me every couple of days,' eh! Which I do, I go buy lots of them off him and he goes, 'He's not stealing them he buys them off me and I know for sure he buys heaps of them from Pay-less-plastic [store]' So the cop had to let us go.

In this account, Joshua relates with pride the hard-earned reputation he holds not only with homeless people but the domiciled public who support his efforts. Social dignity is something that is experienced, conferred, or earned through interaction with others (Jacobson, 2007). In the tradition of Cooley's (1902) "looking glass self", Jacobson (2007) discusses how the dignity individuals accord themselves often mirrors the dignity they see (or do not see) in the eyes of others, and this frequently occurs in a social setting. When immersed in homeless lifeworlds, Joshua sees the reflection of a valued and vital member.

Threats to Joshua's social dignity and ability to build his relational resilience occur when he is confronted with the knowledge that many of the activities that

he would typically engage in are limited in boarding house environments, curtailing his ability to express his self and to re-enact family ties:

Interviewer: Was it a problem not being able to have more than one person over?

Joshua: I'd be down window washing and there might be four, five window washers down there - well you gonna pick one out of four or five to take home and go have a quiet drink? The only time I'd go back there was if it was raining otherwise I'd stay out [on the streets] and go to a park with the others. Plus a lot of the boarders were intimidated by my streetie mates. When I first moved there from detox ... It was sort of like a sixty man unit ... like in prison ... that's what attracted me about it just reminded me about being ... well, home. Spent so many years in there that it's like a home sort of thing

The relationships Joshua had formed with his street family were based on shared cultural interests and through the interaction of street activities (for example, panhandling and drinking schools) which afforded members an opportunity to get to know each other (Smith, 2008). Similar connections were not readily available in the anonymity of a boarding house setting. Without a supportive community to emphasize how he was valued, Joshua lost his social dignity when housed. On the street, Joshua was able to find qualities of home, such as feelings of independence, control, and security, through group membership. When rehoused, he experienced a decrease in his ability to express independence and to make choices that affected his life (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). It therefore may be of value to review the presence and absence of supports in Joshua's experience. Prison is an institution that Joshua has spent the last seven years actively trying to avoid; in prison Joshua was unable to live independently. In the boarding house, much like prison, Joshua was not able to maintain a lifestyle congruent with having a settled home. For Joshua, resolving the immediate problem of "rooflessness" did not immediately bring with it the experience of home (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). It meant moving into an unfamiliar neighborhood away from familiar locations where needed resources and services were typically accessed.

In his account of life before coming to the streets, it is evident that Joshua never articulated a sense of belonging or social support. It was not until his integration

into street life that he was able to find companionship, confront feelings of loneliness and alienation, and find a “useful” role in life by becoming the breadwinner and sharing with other streeties. Despite being without a home, Joshua places great value on the identity he has formed through his association with the homeless community, and that identity is diminished in a domiciled setting. His relationships with other members of the homeless community were characterized as close: they addressed real and specific needs, and offered shared solutions to life on the streets (Smith, 2008). When viewed from this angle, it is important to recognise Joshua’s continuing identification with the street and his street family. Perhaps it would be reasonable to assume that Joshua was never actually ready to leave the streets, nor, did he ever really do so.

Regulating homeless men: Responses to begging, aggression and drinking

When Joshua took part in the third photo-production exercise, he still held his room at the boarding house. However, he had taken to sleeping on the streets again, and had missed two weeks’ rent. He had claimed back his old sleeping “pозzie” with his homeless family, and had not been back to his room at the boarding house for more than two weeks and had resumed drinking. His photograph set this time was more a visual diary of a typical day on the street for him that foregrounds his skill at generating money for the group. It also depicts his becoming progressively more intoxicated as the day unfolds. Joshua’s appearance had markedly declined and he was also intoxicated during the interview. The photographs depict aspects of interactions between homeless and domiciled persons. Here the worlds of homeless and housed people overlap and collide. The images and talk invoke the physical regulation of homeless people in the CBD. At times this is clearly appropriate, if, for example, a panhandler is overly aggressive and attempts to intimidate local people or passers-by. However, regulation can also function to displace homeless people and deny them a sense of belonging or a place to be and opportunities to obtain resources. The nature of begging involves asking a non-homeless person for money, therefore advertising one’s status to a broad and often unsympathetic audience (Lankenau, 1999b). I will illustrate how, through pride in his work as a beggar and an assertion of his right to be present in the city, Joshua maintains a positive

sense of self and belonging. However, such self protective work is undermined by the incapacity to reason that accompanies his drinking as the day unfolds.

Joshua wanted to capture images of himself as an innovative provider. To be successful at begging, Joshua employed a number of strategies to appeal to the public's expectations of what a deserving homeless person should look like. This meant appealing to the public's sympathy in a way that is both humorous and unique. Figure 34 depicts Joshua begging outside of McDonald's on Queen Street in central Auckland. Although Joshua is pictured begging alone, there are other homeless people positioned all along Queen Street, who keep an eye out for each other. Being a part of a community provides Joshua with protection not just from other homeless people, but from the sometimes hostile encounters with the public as well.



Figure 34. Joshua begging

Begging with humour is a strategy Joshua skilfully employs in order to obtain resources from the domiciled public. For Joshua, the creative signs and humour associated with begging can also be read as a means of dismissing or disguising

the humiliation often associated with begging strangers for “spare change” (Knowles, 2000). Joshua is engaged in a creative enterprise that involves more than a simple routine. It requires forethought and hard work. Signs need updating, new jokes are required. Joshua conveys his upbeat approach:

My signs are a wee bit different. They're things like, 'Ninjas abducted family, need money for kung fu lessons,' and uh what else is it ... I'm on e-bay for them apparently; quite a few people come past and recognise me ... another one is, 'I'm starving and so is the idiot holding me,' um 'Aliens abducted family, need money to build spaceship,' and things like this ... it's all money-makers. Well it is for me.

Interviewer: Why do you put that spin on it?

Joshua: Because they're different, they're different, and people actually come past and see them and it gives them a giggle. You know, instead of just the normal homeless bullshit that everyone's used to.

Joshua's presentation here is of someone who is upbeat and sharing a joke with the public. Underlying the resulting exchanges is the identity and emotion management undertaken by Joshua. The signs are nonthreatening props for conveying need. Joshua's creations are a twist on the classic plea signs, such as “hungry please help” (Lankenau, 1999a/b). They play on the hard luck storyline while claiming unusual circumstances to the point of absurdity, and in this lays the humor. He is also strategic in his placement of self on the street in terms of location and time so as to maximize his income. His work on the street is planned in detail and based on considerable thought and insight into the behaviour and patterns of the domiciled majority. This planning requires a detailed knowledge of the routines, pathways, and patterns of the domiciled in and through the city. As Knowles says (2000), “Panhandling involves considerable insight into how the street and its flows of people work, and how to ‘work’ the crowd deploying the appropriate combinations of performed tragedy, cheerfulness and need” (p. 221). Strategies like these enable Joshua to diminish negative emotional reactions among passers-by, while evoking their sympathy, transforming stereotypes of panhandlers from pariah to person (Richardson, 1999). He exhibits resourcefulness and problem solving in adjusting to the difficulties as a man approaching people he does not know for charity, when many are likely to either ignore the advance or respond in a hostile manner (Lankenau, 1999a).

Reciprocity plays an integral role to Joshua's life as he shares his earnings through begging with his family. His street family reciprocates by sharing strategies and providing protection for Joshua. These examples of mutual reciprocity, raise a critical mass of needed goods and services for Joshua and his street family, and increase their resilience as a group (cf. Hill, 2003). Although through begging Joshua bears the "mark" of social disgrace, and is disqualified from full social acceptance (Campbell & Deacon, 2006), he has managed to forge positive attachments and experience family. Joshua and his street family have developed the foundations for group members to experience resilience, security, belongingness, and psychological connectedness (cf. Sonn & Fisher, 1998) in the shared enterprise of begging:

Most of the streeties get on, the only thing that'll ruin it for a streetie is if he's got a "background problem" ... he might've ripped off a gang previously and one of the gang members up here might've heard of it. But most of the fullas up here are all good, cos we're all in the same boat. For instance when I do my signs if I've got anything about hungry or starving you get a hell of a lot of food ... I just give them out [food] to streeties as they come past.... They're brothers, cos they'd give me anything if anyone here sees me hungry or shaking... they'll give me something to get over it cos they know I'd do the same for them. It's a family; it's a fucking big family.

While to the public eye Joshua may represent the failed male worker, within a street family he confirms his identity as the bread winner who belongs, cares for others, and who is cared for.

In stark contrast to photograph set two, in the third set members of Joshua's homeless family step out from the hidden world of street life to interact with each other and the public. Pictures like that of Figure 35 make a strong statement of the homeless community's ease within the city, with the person depicted taking a defiant and assertive stance. Homeless people are shown in such photographs as part of the city scene and they interact with members of the public. There are also images of homeless people attempting to dwell and participate in public, and being moved on by authorities. Correspondingly, the antagonism felt by Joshua

and the homeless community towards those groups who enforce the regulation of their right to participate in public space is evoked through images like that of Figure 36.



Figure 35. Photograph of a homeless man flipping the camera the finger



Figure 36. Depiction of harassment felt by Joshua

This security guard is a busker's fucking nightmare, in thirty minutes he came back and I'd moved one store down. He goes, 'I gave you a warning,' and I go, 'Read that warning mate, what shop was I outside of,' he read it and it was the store next door. He goes, 'You cheeky prick,' so he couldn't do anything. Cos you're allowed to busk legally outside any shop as long as you've asked the shop keeper for thirty minutes and then you must move on.

Here Joshua uses the camera as a tool to visualize his sense of injustice and rebellion. He defends his lifestyle and challenges the disneyfication of the city, and has moved back to the street. It is in such instances as the one Joshua describes that homeless people come face-to-face with the regulation of society that they are not fully engaged with or have opted out of, but which has influence over their lives. Although homeless people are nearly always in public, they are not typically counted as part of the public (Mitchell, 2003). Being monitored and asked to leave can disrupt a person's sense of belonging and identity as a rightful citizen.

Homeless people begging and squeegeeing within Auckland's CBD has resulted in the development of policies by local governing bodies to augment perceptions of safety and general amenity in the public eye (Laurenson & Collins, 2007). Begging as a street trade is punishable by a fine, and if the person is intoxicated the police will be alerted. Such policies result from evaluating the rights of disparate groups who use public streets and sidewalks - shoppers, strollers, and entertainment seekers at one end and beggars and squeegee handlers at the other end of the spectrum – with more value being placed on the activities of the former than the latter (Laurenson & Collins, 2007; McIntosh & Erskine, 2000; Mitchell, 2003; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). These policies can reduce the access of homeless people to much needed resources (Amster, 2003).

Homeless people often express a sense of defensiveness from constantly being challenged on the appropriateness of their presence in public space (Hodgetts et al., 2008). Typically, the need to maintain good relations with passers-by, store

owners, and police encourages positive interaction strategies based on emotional labour. Obstacles to success for Joshua include interpersonal difficulties when intoxicated. Domiciled people are less likely to accept homeless people in the city when they see them heavily intoxicated. Tensions between local acceptance of pleasant local vagrants and the regulation and exclusion of those not behaving remain an important consideration, despite passing pleasantries between Joshua and some locals. There are different sources and manifestations of such responses, from drivers shouting “get a job”, to passers-by refusing to make eye contact or respond or acknowledge the existence of a homeless person, to police moving them along. Joshua’s behavior is not always consistent, and ranges from polite requests for help to aggressive demands for money (cf. Lankenau, 1999b). Figure 37 depicts one such strategy of intimidation in order to solicit money. The “aggressor routine” is a term Lankenau (1999b) uses to describe a strategy premised on evoking fear and guilt in the public by employing either real or feigned aggression:



Figure 37. Aggressive techniques for window washers

Here I am doing it again, all hooded up and shit like that.

Interviewer: Are people okay when you're doing it like that - all hooded up?

Joshua: They feel intimidated and that's why I don't do it as a rule but I just tried to put it across ... this is what the brothers do ... I've seen a lot of brothers do it ... intimidation. What they do is when they go to reach across the car like that they push down on the corner, make the car rock - let them know your weight. Serious, you make a lot of money through intimidation. I only do it when I'm really, really drunk.

In the aggressor role, Joshua obtains money through persistence, intimidation, and attempting to embarrass and shame members of the domiciled public into giving him money. Joshua often drinks when begging, leading to his style shifting from polite and humorous appeals to loud and aggressive demands. In the latter case, store owners would contact security guards who may end up having to bring in the police, ending in fines and in some instances, brief visits to prison. His diminished capacity due to alcohol and drugs alarms passers-by and creates feelings of anxiety for the domiciled public about the predictability of his actions (Lee & Farrell, 2003). His presence then becomes intimidating as he fits demographic (male) and behavioural (erratic, aggressive) stereotypes of homeless street people (Lee & Farrell, 2003).

Sharing and texturing public spaces for resilience

During our last interaction, Joshua produced photographs depicting homeless people in public, not only participating but commanding prime public spaces. Here Joshua and his homeless family are ignoring the disneyfication of the city and claiming public space. They are out and about while few housed people are depicted. The images are of homeless people together socialising through drinking and eating together. These are pictures of people that belong in public and who share their lives together. The domiciled are depicted as visually irrelevant to this social scene. Sibley (1995) discusses how subordinate groups can take over prime space and push out dominant groups (see Figures 38 and 39). What is particularly interesting about photograph set four is that Joshua did

not take the majority of the photographs. At this point he asked one of the people he had mentored into window washing to follow him around and take pictures of him as he went about his daily routine. The sense of community, belonging, and friendship imaged in these photographs is almost tangible. All the pictures depict the many friendships Joshua has formed since coming to Auckland, from homeless friends and ACM staff to the public. Because he knew I would be interviewing him, some of his pictures were of various participants I had interviewed or knew, thus bringing my own small role in his life to the camera. A sense of continuity is captured as the people that populate his life continue to feature in his photographs. What is shown is Joshua's comfort and confidence in this street setting. For Joshua, the street is home.



Figure 38. Streetie posing with passerby



Figure 39. Resting in between window washing

The previous sections have demonstrated the value for Joshua in being a member of a homeless family and the contributions he has made to his street family. Though street life for Joshua carries a high risk of being trapped within his alcoholism, the desire for connection overrides this concern. The street provides a place of social connection for him to engage in activities with a family and to foster a sense of shared identity. A key point here is that, in many respects, Joshua is more resilient on the streets and can draw on resources of communal participation and acceptance. In stark contrast, when rehoused he had no purpose and lacked connection. Boydell and colleagues (2000) propose that a positive homeless identity may in part be acquired and reinforced through social comparison and identification with other homeless people. Joshua cherishes his membership in a homeless family and conveys a strong sense of belonging there.

The notion of sites for resilience enables us to place what is often seen as an individual process of surviving adversity and growth to include dimensions more prominently geographical and relational (Sanders et al., 2008). Resilience occurs somewhere and often in concert with the aspirations and efforts of others.

Resilience can be seen in communal acts occurring in specific locales. For example, Figure 40 is of a friend's space in Victoria Park where Joshua and other homeless people get together to have barbeques and drink. Joshua and his friends go to local supermarkets and retrieve from the bins expired food and alcohol that has been discarded. This communal activity provides a space for getting to know each other, as with your neighbours, and solidifying existing networks. It is images such as these that epitomise health concerns linked to homelessness. For Joshua, drinking is tied up with his membership of his homeless family, and the two are closely intertwined, even though this carries the risk for Joshua of being identified as homeless and separate from the domiciled public (Hill, 2003). These communal images symbolise the friendships, emotional support, and enjoyment often experienced by homeless people, yet, as noted by Radley and colleagues (2005), are missing from the academic literature. From Joshua's account, it becomes clear that life on the streets is about more than just survival. It is about having a life and all that that entails as well. Much of what Joshua described about life in the city had to do with engaging with others in public space. These interactions with others promoted a sense of dignity for him:



Figure 40. A dwelling of a homeless couple who own a barbeque

*Something I don't know if you guys would have too many photos of is when all the boys get in and have all their barbeques ... They have their own barbeque they scored from a garage sale ... we go to Foodtown [supermarket] and go through the bins because they throw out anything that's up to the due date. It's a daily thing for a lot of streeties; they go down and hit the bins ... We have 'em quite a bit. You got heaps of people sitting around, like you'll have the sniffers' here, and the smokers here, the drinkers there. And someone will be on the Barbie cooking up and oh it's brilliant. And then you get everyone having spewing competitions and see who can spew the furthest! Its fun eh, it really is. Even if you're not drinking, it's good to go up and **just be a part of it.***

We are presented here with an insight into Joshua's social world and references to the activities that define this space for homeless people. By combining their efforts, homeless people can store up supplies (beyond the basics provided by groups such as the Auckland City Mission) to the extent of engaging in barbeques and having a party. In this, we see a shift away from basic survival to socializing and living. Such practices also give homeless people more choice regarding when and where they eat beyond the schedules of charities (Dachner & Tarasuk, 2002; Knowles, 2000). These images are reproduced from a homeless man's perspective which deviates from public perception that sees drinking as simply a negative and disruptive activity engaged in by "lonely old tramps" (cf. Radley, Hodgetts, & Cullen, 2005). For Joshua, drinking is a shared and possibly positive activity through which group solidarity and reciprocal relationships are cultivated (Hodgetts et al., 2006). Images taken in these locations provide insights into the practices through which homeless people construct themselves as social beings within specific spaces.

The relational and spatial dimensions of resilience in the context of a street family can be explored through the way in which homeless people construct communal sites for experiencing and enacting social links. This takes on importance as people are embodied beings existing in a material world, and they collectively create communities and strengthen relationships through participation in shared activities. By exploring these dimensions, we are able to document how fostering a sense of belonging and place combined with community membership is

resolved in particular locales, objects, and styles (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). In this way, people and places are mutually defined in that they mould and give meaning to each other.

It's a family. It's a fucking big family ... When you're known ... for my birthday we went to this site which is behind New World [supermarket]. That was us, we were on the piss and [friend] turned up with a burner so that we could put on a boil up [contemporary meal popular with Māori] ... three days, three fucking days. And I had money in my pocket those three days and every time I tried to touch my pocket they'd go, 'Get your fucking hand away from there.'

Communities are often located in what has been referred to as “activity settings”. These are socially constructed spaces where members engage in ritualistic practices that function to reproduce shared norms and values (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). Sonn & Fisher (1998) propose that mediating structures, such as homeless relationships, and activity settings moderate the impact of oppressive systems and present frameworks for resilience and consciousness raising. Joshua emphasized community events like the party, the artefact of the barbeque cooker, and spaces like that of the park in which the barbeques take place. He asserted positive attachments and experiences of community and celebration so important for cultivating social networks and collective resilience.

Joshua made references to further sites within which communal activities took place and invoked strong positive links and a sense of belonging. During the first photo-production exercise I accompanied Joshua to one particular sleep out, Figure 41.



Figure 41. “Resistance futile, suicidal ideas, I will crucify my own being to satisfy myself”

I asked him to record on film the street poetry or graffiti, as I considered it a striking statement. Joshua was not the person who wrote it, but one of the occupants had done so. It is a visual expression of the issues facing homeless people and a place where they can claim space and state in their own words their lives, their beliefs, their attitudes (Finley, 2003). You can also see in the picture ornaments, sleeping arrangements, pictures and writings on the pylons – evidence of ways that homeless people claim space much as housed people do. Participative acts as decorating (for example, through poetry) convey more than simple acts of aesthetics, but express as well notions of pride, caring, belonging, value, and identity (Hurdley, 2006; Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). Homeless people like Joshua socially distance themselves from the domiciled public by bolstering their images of themselves as people who can make it on their own outside of traditional institutions (Hodgetts et al., in press). They attempt to create a less fragile existence by altering their perception of “home”, in the physical sense of a house, through embracing a more conceptual nature of “home”, as a place of belonging (Hill, 2003). Much like domiciled people developing a sense of ownership through the purchase or leasing of a home (Rivlin & Moore, 2001), homeless people can develop similar feelings about makeshift shelters and outdoor accommodations (Hill, 2003). This alleviates underlying distress and transforms definitions of home to a place where they may rule their own space.

The physical space of the enclave beneath the bridge is given meaning through its use by Joshua and his friends, and in the process this shapes their sense of belonging and identity.

Homeless people may come together for a number of reasons, including protection and safety. Negative encounters with the public, marginalized status, and fears of robbery and assault, these make many wary of outsiders (Hill, 2003). To avoid unwanted attention from the local authorities and the police, they are secretive about their communal dwellings. Joshua discusses incursions into spaces occupied by his street family:

I took one of my friends over [a gang member] ... I'd been with the bastard all day sort of thing and the bastard was getting abusive - you know, to people around me. He picked up this empty bottle and threw it down the hill. Tane was in bed with Valerie and he jumps up picked him [gang member] up and threw him down the hill. Because they had cleaned it all up cos the police kept coming down there and they told us 'If you clean this up we'll stop harassing you,' and so the Bro's cleaned up. There was shit there but no bottles, no cans, no boxes or anything like that. They did a bloody good job mate.

Snell and Hodgetts (2007) discuss the conceptualization of a psychological sense of community where trust is developed through members' shared sense of safety and interest. Joshua views his homeless relationships more favorably than outside links, homeless connections he regards as more loyal, and he has stronger relationships within this community. He refers to members as *brother* or *sister* and this has led Joshua to trust fellow streeties more than outsiders, a situation that translates into a synergetic association between a sense of community and the physical environment of their communal home. This is visualized in photographs of Joshua's like Figure 42. The sense of community and camaraderie conveyed in this group photograph that Joshua asked a passer-by to take, is almost tangible.



Figure 42. Illustration of street friendship outside of the church next to the ACM

The prominence of places of support for homeless people has been linked to notions of “spaces for care” (Hodgetts, et.al; 2007b). Spaces like that of the ACM are places where the homeless can gain access to basic material resources such as food, clothing, and medical care. These places provide a haven and brief escape from material deprivation, but are invaluable in that they also provide social support, respite from loneliness, and a shelter from stigma:

That’s the Mission [ACM], I thought I’d take one of there because that’s a saviour for streeties is the Mission and at eight o’clock to nine o’clock you can get in and have yourself a nice warm drink and when you’ve been out on the street on a rainy night or a cold night, a winters night ... and you’re sleeping on concrete and you are frozen to the bone ... the best thing you’re looking forward to is a hot drink in the morning and that’s the place to get it.

Photographs such as Figure 42 and the associated discussion, allow Joshua to organize his experiences and provide a coherent reflection of his membership to his family and their common use of the Auckland City Mission. What the street entails for Joshua in terms of resilience building, and what is not offered by the boarding-house, are opportunities for intimacy, helping others, caring, friendship

and understanding, purpose and belonging. Street sites hold more resilience for him. In this section we have returned to issues of place and identity, which was also explored as it pertained to Brett, in Chapter Four. In occupying the streets, parks, and other public spaces, homeless people both reshape space and create a home (Robinson, 2000). They re-imagine their lives as linked to those who share their circumstances in a manner that exceeds the realities of alcoholism and escapism. In the process, they are able to cope with their situations. This should remind us that beyond the efforts of individuals, such as Brett, Daniel and Joshua the relationship between identity and place is fluid. In constructing and understanding the self, these participants are reconstructing the city and their place in it. Their relationships are enacted in specific locales, and this requires a need for strategy and adjustment in relation to domiciled society. Thus, resilience is also evident when homeless people create links to their environment by interacting in public and creating a home there. They take up the challenge of re-imagining the park, for example, as a site for their group, through the salience between the space and the identity of streeties. They have engaged in a strategy for developing a sense of belonging.

Chapter discussion

Cooperation and reciprocity are central to the resilience of a group. Although not providing access to the same level of resources enjoyed by many housed families, homeless people can pool their knowledge, opportunities, and efforts, and thus enhance their shared access to material, as well as social psychological, resources (cf. Prince, 2008). In this context, we can see how a sense of belonging and acceptance on the street is central to Joshua's resilience. He fits in when living on the streets. He epitomizes resilience through his interdependence with his street family. This is not to say that Joshua embodies the experiences of all homeless people, as the previous two case studies have provided very contrasting examples. We should also note that Joshua's resilience in the context of street life has a down side, in that he is repeatedly drawn back to the streets and drinking (the negative side to family participation), despite his efforts to move on from time to time.

Joshua has successfully adopted begging as a strategy, which presents a tangible expression of homelessness and the communal aspects of his life. For him, the sidewalk acts as a stage from which he may challenge the blasé passerby (Lankenau, 1999b). He does this through the successful employment of a comprehensive repertoire of routines to lessen strangeness, to rouse the blasé pedestrian, and to increase contributions. His skills have made him a valuable member of a homeless family, and strengthened his connections with other streeties. Panhandlers who successfully devise routines to overcome treatment as a nonperson by the wider public demonstrate resiliency and fortitude, qualities that in another setting would have led to promotions and acclamation rather than the discarded change of a stranger's charity (Lankenau, 1999b). Begging is essentially a response to economic and social marginality. Rather than depending exclusively on service providers such as the ACM, Joshua supports himself and others in a way that is creative. Through his engagement with a street family, Joshua has overcome many of the hardships associated with homelessness (Hill, 2003). In particular, coming together brings the benefits of reciprocal sharing. Joshua shares his earnings with his family and helps to raise a critical mass of goods. Considering consumption behaviour amongst homeless people is one other way of thinking about the deeper level responses that are an integral part of their functional adaptation and survival, and that also demonstrate their resistance and resilience in the face of adversity.

This case study demonstrates how panhandling can be part of a broader range of linked practices for resource generation, including window washing and bin diving. Joshua is not only able to generate resources for himself, but also provides for others through sharing his earnings from begging. Such engagements with others create a sense of pride and purpose on the streets for Joshua. A sense of pride is linked with providing for others, rather than being a passive recipient of charity. In many respects, Joshua's repertoires are not that dissimilar to those used by conventional salespeople in that he is sharing a joke or dramatising need in order to elicit funds from reluctant customers (cf. Lankenau, 1999b). Even Joshua's attempts to acculturate others and meet his obligations to his street family reflect a sense of purpose, contribution, and belonging that reaffirm his identity as a man who can handle psychological and material hardship and still support others. In this way, his resilience is relied upon

and expressed through his actions and relationships. As a result, we can see a fundamentally social and relational approach to street resilience.

Further, this case exemplifies how, in certain environments and at certain points in time stigmatized people are able to challenge and transform stigmatizing representations and practices, to claim a place in public (Sibley, 1995). We need to take into account the capacity of homeless people for agency, so as to allow for the likelihood of resistance and change. The concept of resilience offers a frame for engaging with the ways in which groups respond to disenfranchisement. Joshua and his homeless family have developed processes and methods to solidify valued cultural identities and the development of its members. This provides opportunities for group members to experience stability, security, belonging, and psychological connectedness (Sonn & Fisher, 1998). Through this examination of Joshua's life and the street family he associates with, we are able to perceive the socio-cultural tools which provide them with meaning. These tools are protected and disseminated in various settings and are at the heart of a shared goal for resilience and survival (Sonn & Fisher, 1998).

A focus on the spatial dimensions of building resilience allows insight into the processes of how homeless people interconnect space and group membership in their organisation of their daily life paths. This shifts the focus from the "strategic" control of space to the "tactics" of place making (Robinson, 2000). Resilience is an ever-changing process, and may not necessarily transfer from one situation to another. In a domiciled setting, Joshua lacked a role, an occupation, and social relationships with other domiciled people that could provide him with a status equivalent to the one he achieved through his integration into a street family. His relationship with members of the street family mimics the intimacy and support commonly experienced by traditional families (Smith, 2008). Joshua's case provides an example of what Kidd and Davidson (2007) referred to as "figuring out who I am" from living on the streets. Joshua has a strong self-identification as a streetie and a person who belongs to a street family. He has a sense of being himself when begging, when window washing, and when socialising with other streeties. He has found pride in his ability to survive and provide for others. Joshua is confident and purposeful on the streets, in contrast to being dependent and uncertain when living in supportive accommodation. It is interesting that he

presents an honest and explicit picture of the street family, often qualifying descriptions of communal events with almost flippant references to the violence and disputes that might arise when people do not successfully integrate into it.

The case of Joshua was the first workshop presented by my supervisor and myself at the Auckland City Mission. In this workshop, we communicated the preliminary findings of Joshua's case, and discussed them with caseworkers. It was initially difficult to conceptualize an appropriate and effective care plan for Joshua, as he had intensely invested in streetlife. While integration into a street family had many important benefits for Joshua, the parasitic relationships inherent to street life would ultimately kill him. Addressing his debilitating alcoholism would only be effective if the care plan included a similar sense of purpose and belonging that he had with his street family. This workshop informed efforts by staff to assist Joshua and led to the creation of a care plan that was on the one-hand, self-directed but, on the other, facilitated by staff. It was not successful, and Joshua's health continued to worsen alarmingly. The relationships Joshua has built with other streeties acts as a strong pull factor back onto the street, and staff continue to adjust their care plans in order to find a combination that will ultimately assist him. Joshua has refused to give in to adversity, and in many respects has found a home for himself on the streets and outside of the prison system. However, this does come at a cost in terms of his health. In this way, resilience carries with it a sense of vulnerability in that survival on the streets entails for Joshua a self-destructive misuse of alcohol. As was found by Kidd and Davidson (2007) efforts to leave the streets are complicated by the friendships and practices that people are engaged in. This becomes a difficult issue when entering detox, where Joshua must stop drinking for a while, and his continued abstinence is challenged by the need to fit in with his reference group who are still drinking and who are also reliant on his contributions. If he is to move on from street life, what is perhaps needed is an alternative reference group of housed people who are not drinking. Joshua comes from a large family, and agency staff have begun to look at speaking to members of his family who are not engaged in gang life to support Joshua.

Chapter Seven: The case of

Ariā

This chapter explores the everyday life of Ariā and her efforts to preserve her own health and identity while fostering the wellbeing of others on the streets of Auckland. I will illustrate how a sense of self and identity for a Māori homeless woman is not only preserved, but enhanced and grown through her participation in Māori cultural practices. Māori cultural concepts are invaluable in understanding Ariā's own resilience and her efforts to foster the resilience of other homeless people. Recently psychologists have called for a greater focus on culture and social inequalities as central elements in illness experiences (Lapsley, Nikora & Black, 2002; Marks, 2008) and how resilience is important for the health of people facing adversity (Hodgetts et al., 2010b). Previous research into homelessness, even when dealing with issues faced by minority people (Prince, 2008) and Indigenous groups (Memmott et al., 2003), rarely employs cultural concepts germane to these distinct groups in an interpretation of their lived realities. This is counter to the emphasis some scholars place on research participants being able to recognize themselves and their own cultural frames in research about their lifeworlds (Anderson, 2009; Pe-Pua, 2006).

The emptying of rural tribal homelands through the flood of Māori to towns and cities has been repeatedly described as extremely rapid (Durie, 1998; King, 2003; Metge, 1964; Pool, 1991; Schwimmer, 1968; Walker, 1990). Many new migrants to urban areas ended up swamping the homes of relatives, or occupying substandard dwellings and sometimes living in slums (Schrader, 2005) that no one else wanted (King, 1991). At the last census, 84.4% of Māori lived in urban areas (Statistics New Zealand, 2006). Links to those places left behind were reconfigured. The values, beliefs, customary practices, and strategies useful for

everyday life were translocated and tried out in new and different ways that were useful and adaptive to urban spaces and city life (cf. Nikora, 2007).

While Māori have relocated from hau kāinga (tribal homelands) to occupy urban spaces, many, over the course of their lives, move between the two (Nikora, Guerin, Rua & Te Awekōtuku, 2004), becoming conduits for flows of information, experiences, resources, advice, relatedness, and care. The more people engage the “betweenness” of places departed and their urban homes, the more likely they are to be remembered and remain as important resources across multiple spaces and places. Through engaging the between, they metaphorically invigorate their ahi kaa (keeping the home fires burning). Relationships with people in their tribal homelands are enlivened and nurtured. They maintain a place to stand, at home, in their tūrangawaewae. Māori who live their lives through them, along with that of their traditional hau kainga, claim a new space. This gives rise to multiple relationships and ways of belonging, and to the reality of many homes even when, for some, that home is on the streets of Auckland. It is common practice to associate Māori strongly with specific places. We also need to be recognized that ours is a history of human movement.

The analysis in this chapter is orientated around understanding how specific everyday places, objects and actions constitute Ariā as a Māori woman on the streets of Auckland. Five core cultural concepts (cf. Ritchie, 1992) are used to develop an understanding of Ariā’s life. Whānaungatanga, manaakitanga, wairuatanga, rangatiratanga (mentorship and getting things done) and kotahitanga (search for unity in complex relationships between status, history, kinship, and the human need for affirmation and esteem): these form a conceptual framework that allows us to explore the interactions between facets of everyday life for Māori people (cf., Nikora, 2007). This conceptual framework enables us to build a richer picture of the lives of Māori homeless people than is currently offered by scholarly research.

The literature concerning single homeless women makes a number of useful points regarding the range of problems they face when living on the streets.

Women “are more likely to experience involuntary sex, physical or sexual violence, unmet health needs, a sense of insecurity and fear, cycles of repeated homelessness after initially experiencing domestic abuse” (Radley, Hodgetts & Cullen; 2006, p. 438). As we saw in the cases of Brett, Daniel and Joshua, these issues are not experienced solely by women. A common pathway into homelessness for many young people is the escape from family abuse and violence (Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Paradise & Cauce, 2002; Smith, 2008). While there will be convergence in the experiences of homeless people, it should not be assumed that pathways and risks are universally constant and that individual responses to homelessness are uniform. For example, Indigenous people experiencing homelessness can maintain and cultivate a strong sense of self and purpose through participation in cultural practices (cf. Smith, 1992; Waller et al., 2008). Further, the literature on pathways to homelessness and associated health risks does not provide an adequate picture in terms of the socio-political context and lived realities of many Indigenous homeless people. Thus, an analytic approach informed by an Indigenous world view is crucial for developing our understandings of experiences of homelessness among such peoples.

With notable exceptions (Hanselmann, 2001; Memmott, Long, Chambers & Spring; 2003), previous research into street homelessness has all but ignored Indigenous histories, circumstances, and worldviews. As psychologists, we need to situate our work within local socio-political contexts (cf. Valsiner, 2009). To address this omission, I will focus on a homeless Māori woman whose life reflects, in part, broader processes of colonization. For many Indigenous women, processes of colonization have undermined their value as equal partners in tribal society (Te Awekōtuku, 1991; Waller, Harper, Martin & Valiani; 2008). Writers such as Te Awekōtuku (1994), Smith (1992), and Mahuika (1992) have attempted to redress this omission by pointing to suppressed histories and, in particular, challenging the widely held assumption that Māori women did not fulfill mentorship roles in pre-colonial society. While many historical roles and functions remain in some form or another, colonization has reduced their familiarity for many Māori. Although structural intrusions have clearly posed challenges to Māori wellness, it is crucial to note that we are not passive in the face of socio-political upheavals. We are resilient and adaptive (Nikora, Rua & Te Awekōtuku, 2007). Claims to, and the affirmation of, cultural identities and practices by Indigenous peoples are common responses to histories of oppression, and offer

authenticity, a sense of belonging, and the basis for gaining human rights (Dudgeon & Fielder, 2006; Smith, 1999).

This chapter is presented in five sections. In the next section we explore Ariā's history on and off the street. We look to her two photograph sets and subsequent interviews to explore her current circumstances. How Ariā enacts a Māori mentorship role provides a core theme for threading together the subsequent three sections of the analysis. The first focuses on key relationships between Ariā and other homeless people through the enactment of whānaungatanga (the process of tying people together in bonds of association and obligation through kinship ties) (Ritchie, 1992). The second explores the way in which Ariā, as an aging Māori woman, enacts mentorship roles through practices such as blessings that are associated with wairuatanga (the notion that everything in the Māori world is spiritually connected) (Ritchie, 1992). This leads to a discussion in section three of Ariā's efforts, associated with manaakitanga (unqualified, reciprocal caring), (Ritchie, 1992), to transcend the conventional distinction between the clients and staff of social agencies via her efforts to care for others. The chapter is completed with a general review section.

Who is Ariā and how did she come to street life?

Ariā is a woman in her early fifties who strongly identifies as being Māori. Throughout the interviews, Ariā reflects on a childhood immersed in the teachings of her kuia in tikanga (knowledge of customs) Māori, particularly rongoā (the traditional application of medicinal plants):

My grandmother's sister she brought me up. She is 92, and, I'll go back to the Māori medicine which we call rongoā. Her healings I hope will help heal this [her current illness]. Because there are things out there that can heal, types of plants like kawakawa [Macropiper excelsum], dock leaf [Rumex obtusifolius], and a few others and a form of karakia [prayer], which I personally do believe in and I've had that sort of teachings since I was very young ...

Ariā's account draws on a long-standing tradition of mentorship grounded in tikanga. Not all aspects of Ariā's early life were as positive as the time she spent with her Grandmother learning tikanga Māori. To escape the abuse Ariā suffered from other family members, Ariā took to the streets of Wellington at age 12. Her family attempted to bring her back home, but when the abuse continued Ariā retreated back to the streets. By the age of 17, Ariā had made the streets of Auckland her home and the homeless people that occupied the street her whānau. Ariā struggles with the pain of a childhood of abuse, not just for herself, but also for her siblings, cousins, and the generations that followed. Despite her Grandmother's efforts, several children, including Ariā, turned to street life as a means of escape from abuse at the hands of other family members:

My grandmother, used to help the kids ... to feed the kids [cousins] because, there was too many of them ... There's, eighteen of them ... couldn't keep up, couldn't feed them all, they ended up running away. This is where they run to [the streets]. They think they're alright here ... It's the parents, the uncles, aunties alike interfering with you, and then expecting you to shut up and hide things. And then they go to church, and you're sitting in church wondering why are they doing that and the very next day they go and do something different ... You see all that eh, it sticks in here and it hurts, we suffer through it, day in and day out ... I was on the street cracking it [prostitution] to make money for myself because I'd run away from my family for that reason, sexual abuse, yeah, and your family not bothering to listen to you.

This material should not be taken to infer that all Māori families embody abuse. Ariā revisits experiences of abuse in her family as part of an exploration of how she became homeless. In recounting the example of family members being "good" Christians in church and in public, Ariā invokes the dilemma faced by many young people to either suffer in silence or leave the situation of abuse.

Ariā talked little about her time as a young woman on the streets, aside from brief references to prostitution as a way of asserting her independence and gaining resources to survive the streets. She talked about being looked after by drag queens in Wellington, and an older street woman named Ma in Auckland. Ma, much like Ariā's grandmother, fed other streeties, cared for them, and often sheltered them:

She took me under her wing as you might say, and kept me in her little cubby-hole that she had made out of cardboard. And it was lovely.

Ma provided strength, support and care to a 17-year-old girl who was pregnant, alone, and addicted to drugs. Ma also symbolized a continuation in the theme of strong Māori female mentorship. Ma served as the catalyst needed to urge Ariā into nursing, a long standing tradition through the women of Ariā's whānau.

I met Ma because I was sleeping under the bridge along with all the others and, the new ones would come in and she'd awhi [support/welcome] them in ... and make them at home... She [Ma] was cooking boil ups for them and a lot of them had blood on them, I was cleaning them up. She sat me down one day and said 'You'd make a good nurse'. And then I thought about it. I started training. I worked alongside of my Aunty who used to work here at the Auckland Hospital ... she used to be matron of the Blind Institute. And, my grandmother, her mother, was a matron back in the day ... there's only three, her daughter and me that have carried on. But my grandmother went overseas helping the ones that were in the war, that were getting shot and losing limbs.

Ariā trained as a nurse aide and worked in the Far North, visiting isolated elderly Māori in their homes. This is typical work for Māori women of Ariā's generation who were trained as nurses for work amongst Māori communities (Johnson & Pihama, 1995). A considerable portion of her subsequent life was spent domiciled and employed as a nurse aide before returning to Auckland and the street community in late 2007.

Ariā associates her return to the streets with a series of events and choices that are at odds with her earlier gravitation to street life. As a young girl, Ariā fled to the street to escape abuse at home. As an adult, Ariā's return to Auckland is presented as a proactive decision made as a result of the death of a long-term partner and for the benefit of her own health:

When I came back, I wasn't coming back to the streets. I was coming back to Auckland where I would get treatment a lot faster because where I was living up north there was a waiting list and because I had personal problems up there, with a member of my partner's whānau, who were trying

to take over my place. I was going through a rough time. My partner died, and, they were trying to take everything off me. Last year I came back here because I was getting sick, they put me off work, I was having a rough time, I chose to come back here ... that's the reason I'm back in Auckland.

When framing the story of her current return to Auckland street life, Ariā oriented her account around her health problems. Ariā suffers from advanced carpal tunnel syndrome and was seeking surgery at the time of the second photo-interview process. She is also asthmatic, and has a bad hip and knee, making mobility difficult. The troubles with her partner's family, who wanted to claim their deceased daughter's possessions, and health problems added fuel to her desire to return to Auckland and the street scene. It is important to acknowledge Ariā's sexuality as her partner was a woman and as Ariā herself states:

The gay, just sort of, runs in our family.

Ariā's engagements with the gay and lesbian street community are highlighted in her recounting her mentorship from the drag queens in Wellington. Further, three cousins of hers who are currently living on the streets are also gay and lesbian. Ariā lost her partner nine years ago to renal failure; in her interview she implores us to understand that she did her best to apply her training to care for her partner. Much of the literature that explores pathways into homelessness highlights domestic disputes and the loss of a partner as a major risk for homelessness (Al Nasrallah et al., 2005; Morrell-Bellai, Goering, & Boydell, 2000; Toohey, Shinn, & Weitzman, 2004).

The decision to return to Auckland was also informed by the request of whānau (extended family) members back home for Ariā to assist other whānau members who were living on the streets. The streets have always been a place that Ariā sought in times of trouble. She has a niece, grand-niece, and three cousins' currently sleeping rough on the street. The (more recent) addition of her niece to the Auckland street scene had upset whānau, and Ariā was approached to help get the niece off the street. Ariā's engagements with whānau on the streets are captured in many of her photographs and articulated in her subsequent interviews.

At this point it is useful to explore photographs provided by Ariā in an effort to convey her return to the street and the people who occupy it (refer to *Table 4* in *Appendix 12*, for a general count and summary of all Ariā's photograph sets). The most prominent feature of note in Ariā's first photograph set is that all 24 photographs feature homeless people. Ariā's interactions with and affiliation to these members of her whānau are a dominant feature of her account and photographs. The entire photograph set focuses on the daily activities of homeless people as they transit the streets and on the service providers that assist them.

Photograph set two contains 26 photographs, all taken on the premises of two service providers. There was an even divide of 16 photographs of staff and 16 of the streeties. There were very few street scenes; all photographs were taken at the service providers. The only two photographs that did not feature people depicted service agencies, and were used to talk about people and the relationships occurring there. For example, when referring to a photograph of a notice board (See Figure 43) and who reads it, she discusses its function in the lives of streeties:

The next one down is like a notice board, it puts messages on the window for the streeties of places they can go for lodging, messages that come for them through the Mission, and there is one in the bottom right hand corner of a memorial service for a woman... she's an old streetie.



Figure 43. Notice board at the Auckland City Mission

It was not possible to conduct another photo-production exercise with Ariā because she was in and out of hospital at the time, and also traveling up north to visit whānau. In a follow up discussion, we agreed that I had enough information for the case study, and Ariā filled in some gaps via a phone conversation in the data.

Whānaungatanga: Familial and relational dimensions to homelessness

This section illustrates the relatedness of Ariā's sense of self, and the relevance of the classic social psychological notion that the people we interact with complete us (Cooley, 1902), and that the relationships we develop can buffer us against adversity (Wenzel, Koegel & Gelberg, 2000). When I first met Ariā, she was staying at the Night Shelter and frequenting the Auckland City Mission for meals and social interaction. Ariā took part in several casual conversations and an initial biographical interview, after which she expressed an interest in photographing aspects of her life. What became apparent is that, in contrast to the first case study on Brett, Ariā's experiences of homelessness are inherently

social. References to culturally shaped processes of female mentoring across generations enable Ariā to present herself as an insider to street life, and as a link between biological relatives living back on her ancestral land and those living on the streets of Auckland. The ways in which these people are presented and their importance to Ariā's sense of self, place, and notions of home are interpreted through the lens provided by the concepts of whānaungatanga (relatedness) and manaakitanga (reciprocal caring).

Ariā attempts to enact a longstanding leadership role as a continuation of the work of female predecessors within her whānau (family). Whānaungatanga is initially foregrounded when Ariā speaks of Ma, a Māori homeless woman who mentored her in Auckland. Upon Ariā's return to the street, she learnt that Ma had been placed in a rest home, a joint decision made by streeties and agency staff to protect Ma in her failing health and declining age. Ariā identifies Ma's absence as a loss of leadership and cultural continuity, and presents herself as someone who fills the void:

Beautiful mana [status, integrity] that one. Her ahua [character, personality, presence] was, huge for everybody, didn't matter whether you were black, white, purple, it's not the way she was, she was never prejudiced ... And they [streeties] are all missing her ... She used to take her own pots and gas burners down to the square and around town to feed the alkies [alcoholics]. It is hard, when I look at them today, and, now I know what Ma was talking about ... and, the aroha, the love that she gave, in her way.

Although Ma is no longer on the street, she continues to provide a reference point of manaakitanga (reciprocal caring) for Ariā. It is important to Ariā that the streeties know Ma's story, because her experiences on the street constitute an important component of what gives Ariā the legitimacy to position herself as a caring leader. As Ariā states:

The help that was given to me, if I can give it to them, I'm going to.

This is firstly about the transfer of knowledge, histories, and customary practices, from and between three generations of streeties. Ariā discusses her role as a rangatira (leader) as it is located within the process of whānaungatanga (relatedness), and the way in which Ma has influenced her life. Through Ariā we

can see that whānaungatanga is about both lineal whakapapa (genealogical links) and lateral relationships. Her lineal whakapapa is through Ma; her lateral is out to her own whānau on the streets and to streeties in general. Beyond this are the agencies that combine their own whakapapa and personalities into the mix. This forms the fabric of whānaungatanga, of relatedness that obliges or gives rise to manaakitanga – caring relationships.

Ariā's pictures are of the people with whom she shares bonds of association and obligation through the enactment of kinship ties or whānaungatanga (Ritchie, 1992). In taking photographs of homeless people, Ariā demonstrates her insider status and her familiarity with street routine. Few other people would be permitted to take these photographs.

All these are just photos taken after dinner and they're all hanging out at the square on the steps of Queen Street where we always hang out and relax ... He's a carver and this is him and his woman here [Figure 44]. Well she stays with her sister, but she comes out because he's on the streets. She comes to sleep by him at night.



Figure 44. Streeties relaxing after dinner

When asked why the man lying down in Figure 44 was on the street, Ariā provides an account that asserts a common history of family problems. In the process of talking about others in such pictures, Ariā talks about her own experiences and place on the streets. A key feature of her account relates to her experiences of being mentored by other women. In the extract below Ariā illustrates the ways in which she in turn attempts to mentor younger relatives:

This is me and my grandniece [Figure 45], they insisted I get my dial in that picture. That was when they were all getting clothes. Her grandmother is my first cousin and that one there is the worst out of all the streeties, she's got the biggest mouth, and she's pregnant and got no ears. Her criminal record is longer than her arms and I'm telling her she's got to slow down ... 'You're on the streets and you've had eight children!' I've asked her midwife to see if they can counsel her properly because she'll fly off the handle if she's in a group session. This is my niece [Figure 46] she's also laying there getting out of the rain and playing with my phone ... she can't be on her own ... You have just got to be able to put it up here [in your mind] 'I'm a strong woman' and go ahead and do it'. She said 'yeah well you haven't had anyone for years!' and I said 'I don't need anybody either, I am my own boss and that's the way I'm going to stay'.



Figure 45. Ariā (left) and her niece (right)



Figure 46. Ariā's grandniece

Combined, these photographs of Ariā's niece (Figure 45) and grandniece (Figure 46) and associated commentary evoke the day-to-day relationships and interactions Ariā has with family members. This is about whānaungatanga, being related and the obligations of care that whānaungatanga augments. People have to consent to being the recipients of care. Being a consenting recipient of care endorses and affirms the mana (prestige) of the provider, endowing them with the mantle of leadership. Ariā is then able to make expressions of rangatiratanga (leadership) which in turn brings about kotahitanga – unity in balance (Ritchie, 1992). These relationships are endorsed through such concrete experiences as Ariā taking photographs of her whānau as ways of re-contextualising the streets, as a place where whānau members live, and where she can provide direct support to them, thus reinforcing familial bonds.

Ariā invokes familial links central to her identity, which connect both domiciled existence back in her iwi (tribal) homeland and the streets of Auckland. Ariā positions herself as a conduit spanning this divide and keeping family ties alive. References to her niece and grandniece illustrate how Ariā works to maintain connections between her whānau who remain in her iwi homeland and kin in

Auckland. Ariā's grandniece provides a physical attachment to the ancestral land and relationships from which they both come as descendants. Links between places such as ancestral land, and where people enact their familial ties and obligations, are central to a Māori world view and where whānaungatanga (relationality) "embraces whakapapa [genealogical links] and focuses upon relationships" (Mead, 2003, p.28). Throughout her account, Ariā draws on this fundamental value by invoking a tradition of women working to keep family members connected through supporting and caring for others. This is particularly evident in how Ariā talks about her grandmother visiting whānau (family) on the streets:

*I told my grandmother, because she was being very judgmental. 'This [the streets of Auckland] is where they run to. They [Ariā's family on the streets] think they're alright here'. When she got to see them all, she got a fright. I said 'See, they're all here'. I said '**I'm at home, it's our whenua** [land], **I'm tangata whenua** [person of the land, Indigenous], **and I'm still here**'. And then she understood ... I can talk to them about their family back there [ancestral land] because they miss them and like hearing about them. And because I've been back there they want to go back now. But it's taking time, just talking to them, just like you and I are, and just letting them listen.*

For Indigenous peoples, spiritual homelessness can occur when one is separated from one's ancestral land, family and kinship networks (cf. Memmott et al, 2003). A tūrangawaewae (homeland) is something that is engaged with, nurtured and sustained through whānaungatanga (relatedness) and ahi kaa (keeping the home-fires burning) – connections that are lived in the present rather than vicariously. Without whānaungatanga and ahi kaa, the notion of tūrangawaewae collapses. One can have multiple homes, or multiple tūrangawaewae, but one has to engage with them and be seen to be engaging with them. Ariā's account indicates tensions between whānau members who have fled their home because it was not safe and but now want to return to their ancestral home. Ariā's family have urbanized, as have many Māori all over New Zealand and beyond (Nikora, Guerin, Rua & Te Awekōtuku, 2004). They have taken their histories, relationships, and customary practices and values with them, and have used these resources for survival on the streets – a space where they enact their lives (cf. Nikora, 2007). Ariā remains staunchly Māori and whānau-centric. She is the kanohi ora (the face) that embodies the place and people from which she has come from, and maintains the homefires between her hau kainga (homeland) and

the streets. Ariā's grandmother is comforted by the "warmth" of Ariā's presence on the street, just as Ariā is warmed by her kuia's (grandmother) presence.

Ariā and others in her family who are living on the streets of Auckland may be dislocated from their homelands. However, they can still centre themselves around family-based relationships enacted in a new place, Auckland. In the process, they can maintain a sense of cultural identity and mitigate feelings of mokemoke (loneliness). The presence of Ariā's grandmother represents a strong physical embodiment of the connection between those living on the streets of Auckland and members of their family who live on their ancestral land. This is what provides continuity across places despite the dislocation they can experience as homeless people. Ariā transcends the distance between the border of "here" (Auckland, her current place) and "there" (her ancestral land and history). Ariā's whānau living on the street and those back in her iwi homeland allow her to maintain a position of ahi-kaa (keeping the home-fires burning). In this way, she cements her position within the street community through an extensive knowledge of the ways in which she can whakapapa to the street. The street becomes a place of strength and responsibility, a place where she can stand with confidence – her tūrangawaewae. In this example, we see how home is spatially expressed and emotionally realized for a Māori woman experiencing home(less)ness.

This section has illustrated the relatedness of Ariā's sense of self and the relevance of the classic social psychological notion that the people we interact with complete us (Hodgetts et al., 2010b). Interactions with people who are significant in our lives are important for our sense of self and can buffer people against adversity (Wenzel, Koegel & Gelberg, 2000). Ariā used whakapapa during the course of her interviews as a referential matrix against which to construct, among other things, a chronology of significant events in her life (returning to the street to assist whānau); to contextualize her life history (being mentored by her grandmother and Ma); to substantiate claims to tribal place (being tangata whenua, going back home, being rich in land); or to describe her relationship to extended family (those members of her whānau that live on the street) (cf. Jahnke, 2002). Ariā discusses the significance of having relatives around her throughout her life. She cements her position within the street

community by having an extensive knowledge of the ways in which she can whakapapa to the street, that is, her relationship to Ma, the Queens, and whānau that live there. Whakapapa as it takes place within whānaungatanga is one way in which we can interpret Ariā's account. These concepts are complex, dynamic, interactive, intertwined, and re-enacted through Ariā's account of her everyday activities.

He kuia te rangatira: A spiritual dimension to Ariā's mentorship

This section explores Ariā's presentation of self as a guardian of cultural knowledge regarding health and spiritual care. With references to her interactions with other Māori homeless people, Ariā constructs herself as having a role to play in guiding others and affirming bonds between people. Ariā works to legitimate herself as an appropriate person to enact various mentorship roles appropriate to her age and background. The lens provided by the concept of wairuatanga (spirituality) shapes our interpretation of her account.

The authority of kuia (older women) in pre-encounter Māori society was closely bound up with their acknowledged expertise in the holding and transmission of vital information through practices such as waiata (songs) (Mahuika, 1992; Makaere, 1995). Much of this knowledge has survived to the present day and can be seen in the example of Ariā carrying the knowledge of rongoā (the application of medicinal plants) taught to her by her grandmother. She now uses this knowledge to care for her street whānaunga (kinship-like relationships):

Some of it [plants] is to heal sores or cuts ... We call it runaruna [Daucus carota], you leave it on for two days only and it will pull out the poison. And you just wrap it up. There are a lot of different things in the ground that you can use.

The men and women, who are the guardians of such knowledge, are relied upon not just to transmit their wisdom to following generations. In fulfilling this role, individuals are much more than caretakers of knowledge: they are also the guardians of the spiritual welfare of their iwi (tribe). Such knowledge was everyday knowledge, and it was the responsibility of all individuals to pass it on to

the following generations. On the other hand, experts in rongoā were few, and not many remain today. This situation suggests that there was a common body of knowledge to solve everyday illnesses. Expert intervention occurred only when the source of the affliction (all illnesses were viewed as afflictions from some external source) required appeasing, or when the healing methods were specialised (for example, required a specific combination of rongoā; or rare rongoā; or specific procedures like bone setting). Ariā constructs herself in such a way as to occupy a position of leadership in relation to others on the street, and within her own family. In so doing, she is recognised for her knowledge, and accrues mana (prestige) for the knowledge she retains and the service she offers to others. Ariā accumulates mana through providing help, and others amass the benefits of her help. This reflects the deeper meaning of manaakitanga. It is not only about compassionate care, although it is in part comprised of this; it is also about observing the mana and dignity of the other (Ritchie, 1992). In doing so, all parties involved grow in mana, bringing about a sense of togetherness and security in the presence of someone they can go to, or take refuge behind (cf. Nikora, 2007). This takes on the form of leadership, or rangatiratanga.

In her role as a kaiwhakaora (healer), Ariā also acts as a guardian for the spiritual welfare of her street family. Māori women are gifted with the ability to mediate the boundaries between tapu (sacred) and noa (profane) (Te Awekōtuku, 1991). Ariā recognizes the need to take steps to ensure she is adequately prepared for such responsibilities (Nikora, 2007). One way in which Ariā uses whānaungatanga to enable her leadership (rangatiratanga) role is by aligning herself with other people on the street who have mana (status) from engaging in Māori cultural practices – like the carver pictured in Figure 47:

He did a carving for Gary and I blessed it because it's a taonga [treasure] ... It's been carved from wood. It needs to be blessed because what's been put on that piece of wood can affect that person if they take it out of the country.



Figure 47. Homeless man who is known as a carver

This is a crucial point: gender roles within Māori culture are fluid, complementary, and alter over the lifecourse. Ariā's ability to mediate the boundaries between the sacred and the profane through the enactment of wairuatanga is an important component of her identity. There is also an issue here relating to the material basis of cultural practices among Māori homeless people. Objects such as carvings are woven into a network of relationships, histories, and cultural practices that determine their placement in communal life (cf. De Vidas, 2008). They provide a focal point for the practice of Māori culture in which Ariā can position herself as a valuable contributor. Cultural relationships and roles are crystallized around such objects. The fact that the streeties have someone from whom they may seek cultural wisdom, advice, and guidance is crucial in understanding Ariā's life on the streets (cf. Nikora, 2007).

Figure 48 further illustrates Ariā's ability to perform the appropriate duties expected of a rangatira (leader) with specific knowledge. The couple pictured draw upon Ariā's knowledge and leadership:

These two are trying very hard to get themselves together ... Because his wāhine [woman] is a schizophrenic and so she is having problems coping ... Because they believe a lot in our Māori way of life ... they think that

something's been put on her. Because a couple of nights back she freaked out ... They came to me at breakfast the next morning and asked me to bless the taonga [treasure] she's wearing ... It's been gifted to her by her sister's father-in-law. She was brought up by him. And I blessed it, and then today she came and kissed me and said 'I feel wonderful.



Figure 48. A couple for whom Ariā provides spiritual guidance

All cultures have their seers and shamans (Ingold, 1994). The young woman in the picture has been diagnosed with schizophrenia, a diagnosis that often misconstrues the emphasis and value Māori place on spiritual connectedness and communication with ancestors. Consequently, Māori have been over represented with this diagnosis and have had to endure enforced institutionalisation (Taitimu, 2008). In the Māori world, seers (matakite) are held in awe for their capacity to connect the everyday and ordinary with the sacred or other worldly. Objects like the taonga mentioned by Ariā, which are designed to be circulated amongst the living, absorb some of the previous wearers' spiritual status (mana) and or the accumulated mana of succeeding generations (Te Awekōtuku, 1990, 1996). In the hands of a young woman sensitive to spiritual reverberations, objects like taonga can invite unwanted risks (tapu). Ariā works to remove the tapu to return the taonga to a protective state of safety (noa). In short, a childhood steeped in

tikanga Māori has made Ariā an invaluable member of the street Māori community, as she can act as a conduit, connecting others to their own wairuatanga (spirituality) and therefore strengthening whānaungatanga (tying people together in bonds of association and obligation).

Much of Ariā's identity is oriented towards a desire to help, support, and mentor younger people on the street. Ariā's mentorship role is more than about making an identity; it is about making a life. Her identity work links with her past and the people who helped make the streets habitable and gave her the strength and commitment to leave. This past informs her desire for the future, recreated through her desire to solidify whānaungatanga amongst Māori streeties. Ariā has a strong sense of commitment to her identity as Māori and pride in her achievements. Her independence and ability to help others does not fit comfortably with the way much of the literature on homeless identity construction would have us view her. Ariā's strong affiliation to her identity as Māori acts as a major anchor for her identity, providing a framework through which she constructs meaning, purpose, and dignity within her current circumstances. For Ariā, a sense of self takes place within the responsibility she holds to others, both to those who have helped her and those who now need her.

At the time of the second interview, Ariā's health had taken a turn for the worse, and she had recently spent time in hospital. Reflecting on this situation, Ariā discusses aging on the streets and future prospects as someone who is assuming mentorship responsibilities. Unfortunately, Ariā's health is failing and this is a barrier to her realizing the responsibilities of a leader. Ariā mentioned how many of the streeties visited her during her time in hospital, including her nieces who brought taonga [treasure both tangible and abstract] for her to help her through her illness. Such visits are culturally significant in that, when Māori women define themselves a central element of their identity is whakapapa (Smith, 1992) and the support of family:

I've been in hospital, I've been sick for quite a while now, so it's going to be a bit of a hold up at the moment because my health is not the best. I was at the Night Shelter trying to get up out of bed, and couldn't move. I have a form of arthritis that's affecting the whole of my body ... I probably will be in

here for a little while ... I have had visits from some of the street life and some of the volunteers know I'm here... Since I've blessed the taonga this girl has come around and they may have already got a place, or, when I came into hospital they were wanting to tell me good news and I was hoping it was a place, I've only just heard, yes it is ... they're coming up to see me tomorrow to let me know how they got on. It was her [Niece in Figure 46] that brought me into emergency Sunday morning, and ... I was at the Night Shelter trying to get up out of bed, and couldn't move. What I'm wearing now is paua [shell], it's a taonga and was gifted to me by my grandniece.

In considering the situation Ariā finds herself in, it is important to realise that social relationships can be a resource for health. Caring for others also mean that others are more likely to care for her. Caring for others is vital for her; it is a consistent concern throughout her interviews. In caring for others, Ariā creates a viable and positive identity for herself. She wants to be seen as someone who cares for others, is cared for, and is worth caring for. Being respected as a leader is also good for one's own health and self-esteem. However, the associated obligations can be taxing. There is a certain amount of anxiety that comes with trying to fulfil mentorship obligations. Ariā's health is suffering, and her health is a resource that enables her to care. Resilience at an individual level directly corresponds with community competence. Health can allow Ariā to enact her role as a leader within the street community. Illness can undermine this ability. Health allows people to do the things they want to do, meet their obligations, care for others, and respond to the demands of everyday life (Williamson & Carr, 2009). Health does not stop with individuals because people with health are able to engage in activities, often caring for and supporting other people, family, community, and society at large.

Much of Ariā's identity is oriented towards a desire to help, support and mentor other people on the street. Ariā's efforts to position herself as someone streeties can turn to for help and advice is consistent with an interpretation of the identity of Māori women as *whare tangata* (house of humanity). Te Awekōtuku (1994) describes the way in which Māori women are primarily defined within Te Āo Māori (the Māori world) as *whare tangata*, even if they do not have children. The responsibility and role of women as *whare tangata* ensures that through collective

and individual wisdom, in whatever decisions they make and in everything they do, women carry a responsibility to ensure the survival of the living and succeeding generations (Te Awekōtuku, 1994). This is a crucial point in that gender roles within Māori culture are fluid, complementary, and alter over the lifecourse. Ariā's affiliation to a Māori identity acts as a major anchor for her sense of self, providing a framework through which she constructs meaning and purpose within her current circumstances. For Ariā, a sense of self takes place within the responsibility she holds towards others. This relates to the concept of whānaungatanga, which locates individuals in social networks and gives meaning to relationships across time and place (Ritchie, 1992). Whānaungatanga affirms and transcends tribal identity, linking members together whether through blood, adoption, or fostering. It is the process by which family ties and responsibilities are strengthened, and supports the commitment family members have to each other. Whānaungatanga is energised and enacted through other concepts like spirituality (wairuatanga), as demonstrated in Ariā's presentation of self as a healer. This opens up the possibility for Ariā to take on the role of a key worker for an agency. This is something desired by Ariā, and is explored in the following section.

Nga wāhi: A place to care and be more than a client

This section focuses on how Ariā's presentation of herself crosses the conventional line between homeless client and service provider. This transition is invoked through talk about helping others and visually when Ariā takes us on a tour through photograph set two, like a worker showing people around the workplace. It also reflects the double layering of care for Māori engaged with ethnically generic services and drawing on traditional caregiving relationships and resources. Ariā's entire second photograph set is located within the premises of the two main service providers she utilizes, particularly the Auckland City Mission. Ariā retextures the generic service agency space of the Auckland City Mission as a marae, or site for Māori daily life and socio-political negotiation. This final point is crucial to my analysis. For some time social scientists have noted that who people are is often intimately interrelated with the places they have been and dwell in now (cf. Hodgetts et al., 2010c). The types of places we have access to and dwell in, and the extent to which we have control over some of their

positive or negative impacts, affects our quality of life and can increase or decrease our lifespan. When Ariā came back to the street recently, she said things like:

I know this life; I know where to go to get help if I need it.

While the streets may not be the most ideal environment, particularly for an aging woman with significant health problems, recent social psychological research highlights that it is important that we feel a sense of inclusion and connection, and for Ariā her street whānau offer this (Hodgetts et al., 2010b).

A theme that runs throughout Ariā's account is the presentation of herself as someone with the potential to be more than a "client". Ariā presents as someone who can work in collaboration with social workers to mentor others. She expresses a desire to work alongside service providers and to support them in their work. Boydell et al. (2000, p. 36) describe a future self as one that symbolises "assumptions, hopes, desires, and plans for a future currently unrealized". Ariā may be able to help others move on from street life:

That's what I'd like to do with the time I have left ... It would mean a lot, if we could get them off the streets ... Dick [Figure 49], when I took a photo of him he was very ill. They ended up bringing him to the hospital ... At some stage when he's well enough I want to take a personal interest in him because he's in the same age bracket that I am ... He came on to the streets when he was twelve to thirteen, and he's never been off the streets ... They're starting to come to me. They all end up back at the Auckland City Mission and that's where I catch them.



Figure 49. A cousin with a long street history

Ariā constructs a version of herself through talk of caring for others, acting as an advocate, and highlighting how others have sought her support. Her account accentuates her understanding of manaakitanga or hands-on caring and support for others. As is emphasized in previous cases, the self is located somewhere. The importance of the Auckland City Mission in Ariā's everyday life, as a place of social interaction and the development of local ties, contribute to her sense of security and belonging (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). Through the presentation of Figure 50 and several other photographs of service providers, Ariā takes us on a tour of the service facility, pointing out the various staff members and clients, and discussing her role in the organization. Her tour provides a means of exploring the place and relationships she sees as central to her life today. The photographs almost provide a map (de Certeau 1984) and her place in it which is set in the context of her past and expectations for the future:

I'm going to be asking either [service worker A] or [service worker B] and get them to come together and try and explain to these ones ... what they're doing ... There's help here today for these children, but because of the drugs and how powerful they are today, they're just not listening ... They drummed it into my head, 'You're too young to be here'. This is Monday morning and this is the new boss. That was a rainy morning that one and they were running out of the rain and he said to me I take a better

picture if I'm looking at you front on! He's a lovely guy. This is the receptionist office, this here is Peter, and he works right alongside Maude. He's a volunteer; he's a lovely man.



Figure 50. Ariā with staff at the Auckland City Mission

Ariā is looking to collaborate with staff so as to assist and support the younger streeties. She is even pictured (Figure 50) behind the counter with staff who are serving food to the streeties. This is significant in that typically streeties are not allowed behind the counter in order to maintain boundaries between staff and clients. Ariā presents herself as someone for whom these boundaries between client and social workers are more fluid. She presents herself as someone in a space between them.

Concepts of front (mua) and back (muri) are significant locatives that designate spatial zones of ritual within the context of marae (Jahnke, 2002). “Out the front” delineates the formal roles assigned to those who occupy these spaces, and who are often elders. “Out the back” designates the spaces for workers whose responsibilities include providing for guests (manaakitangata). Marae are run and governed from the back. The back is where the engine room of a marae is

located. Typically people occupy more than one role on a marae. Notions of *mua* and *muri*, and of specific roles, break down, and we can see them as dependent on the presence and willingness of people to contribute. This is encapsulated in the following saying, “*ka tika ana a muri, ka tika hoki a mua*”, which translates to “get the back right, and the front will be a success”. Within Māori society, learning to work out the back is part of the process of apprenticeship and an important part of *manaakitanga* (reciprocal caring), which over a life-time will see one’s role change and move from the back to the front of the marae (Jahnke, 2002). These roles are complementary, and each is just as important as the other. Ariā is looking to move from the back to the front through her efforts to establish herself as an appropriate *rangatira* and by aligning herself with staff. In this way, the notion of home-place is internalized and conveyed by Ariā as a lived part of her daily life that shapes her interactions and secures her identity.

Briefly, Ariā’s talk about the service agency constructs it as a marae and a key symbol for connections between clients and staff who interact in this locale. A marae is where community business is conducted, and in this sense it is not just a set of buildings. It is a communal meeting place where people feel comfortable carrying out their daily activities. Te Awekōtuku (1996, p. 35) describes the marae as:

A pivotal site of Māori political and economic negotiation. It is also the location of ceremony and celebration; it is a place to rest one’s feet, to make a stand, to claim one’s rights. It is a place that pulsates with the *mauri*, the essential spirit or metaphysical sense of being part of the community and of the land.

Wherever Māori people gather for the purposes of community business with the right intentions and appropriate protocol, a marae can be formed (Te Awekōtuku, 1996). For Ariā, the street is her land (*whenua*) and the service agencies function like a marae. The importance of the ACM in Ariā’s everyday life is as a place of social interaction where local ties that contribute to a sense of belonging can be fostered. The efforts of Ariā to appropriate spaces like that of the ACM contribute to a homely life in an un-homely environment (cf. Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). Within the marae context, the *mana* of a tribal group is assessed not only by the way in which they welcome and honour their guests formally into the marae setting, but also by the way in which they create a home for guests and feed

them (Pere, 1982). Ariā visualises herself within the context of an expanding mentorship role and so welcomes the streeties into the Auckland City Mission. The concept of manaakitangata embodies principles of hospitality, of showing respect to visitors, and is related to the concept of mana (Pere, 1982).

With the move by Māori to more urbanized settings, traditional practices are still enacted (Nikora, 2007). In the case of Ariā, the practices she learnt from her grandmother as a child are still held, but are enacted within a different location (Auckland) to that of her ancestral land (tūrangawaewae). At the same time, the Mission as a place is in no way fixed, as everyday life develops at different spatial scales and involves continuous border crossings, in the context of which Ariā tests and learns new roles and forges her identity within the street community (cf. Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). As Metge (1976, p. 48-9) observes, “[T]he institution of the marae, comprises both the physical complex of land and buildings and the ideas and practices centered on it”. What is seen here is a strong and meaningful association to the local place and community that provokes the same feelings of security, belonging and connection that can be found in tribal communities.

Chapter discussion

I have noted in various parts of this thesis that scholars report how homelessness is a major traumatic life event that results in threats to identity (Boydell et al., 2000; Hatty, 1996; Snow & Anderson, 1987, 1993). This does not appear to be the case for Ariā. Ariā has crossed the borders between the streets and domiciled experiences for much of her life. Although her current transience is undoubtedly hard on her sense of self, as well as on her physical health, it hasn't been experienced as a major traumatic event. This means that the loss of identity anchors described by Hatty (1996) and Snow and Anderson (1993) have not occurred for Ariā, which explains the consistency in her identity narratives. While the literature is able to distinguish between newly homeless people and chronically homeless people and the differences in their identity strategies, it is unable to account for someone who has spent a significant amount of time off the street, working, only to return later as if coming home. Ariā encounters varying degrees of exposure to tribal history and customs within a range of contexts and

participatory experiences that have helped to shape and define her reality. This occurs regardless of being physically dislocated from tribal roots by time, space, and distance. This chapter shows that a sense of home-place constructs, strengthens, and upholds Ariā's sense of cultural identity.

Ariā grasps opportunities to anchor her sense of self within Māori cultural concepts and practices which transcend homelessness. To understand Ariā and her preservation of self, we have made reference to these cultural resources that shape who she is and what she does in everyday life. Ariā reflects on a tradition of strong Māori leadership throughout her interviews, and consistently uses her notions of customary practices as a basis for describing her life and relationships. She gains authenticity through her culturally-based claims to being an Indigenous woman who is enacting a legitimate leadership role as a mentor and caregiver. Ariā effectively constructs a viable and positive identity for herself as someone who cares for others. Notwithstanding the material hardship of homelessness, the street is associated for Ariā with a sense of belonging, safety, and familiarity that is often associated with a home (Tomas & Dittmar, 1995).

I have explored the negotiation of a sense of self and place by Ariā who engages in street life outside of her childhood tūrangawaewae (ancestral homeland). Durie and colleagues (1996) highlight a number of important conventional markers of Māori identity – self identification, ancestry, marae participation, involvement with extended family, access to ancestral land, contacts with Māori people, and ability in the Māori language. Nikora (2007) and Walker (1989) argue that a hard and fast category of what it means to be Māori is problematic, as it is unable to account for the dynamism of human behaviour. Finding confidence in one's identity based on the strength of how many items can be ticked off on a scale continues to be problematic for many Māori. Those who are not connected in such ways are instead often defined by what they are seen as lacking. It is important to realize the diversity of Māori identity as much as it is to recognise diversity within the homeless population, otherwise we risk dehumanizing both by defining them as a group with problems to be amended without appealing to their own understandings. One can have multiple homes, or multiple tūrangawaewae, but one has to engage with them and be seen to be engaging with them. Ariā is enacting and fostering links between whānau back home and those on the

streets of Auckland. When Ariā brought her Grandmother on to the street to see where she and other whānau members were living she affirmed her identity as Māori, not her loss of that anchor.

Ritchie's (1992) translation of five core concepts for working in the Māori world and the ways in which they interact are particularly pertinent to Ariā. This conceptual framework allows researchers to analyze the interaction of values with each other, and within the contexts that they emerge from (Nikora, 2007). These concepts are: whānaungatanga, manaakitanga, wairuatanga, rangatiratanga and kotahitanga. Each of these has been discussed throughout this chapter. Rangatiratanga is often referred to as mentorship and authority. The second dimension of rangatiratanga (Ritchie, 1992) is particularly helpful as it is related to effectiveness, to being good at doing things or getting things done. Kotahitanga refers to the search for unity within the complexity of status, history, kinship, the human need for affirmation and esteem, and recognition (Ritchie, 1992). Not everyone is in agreement about Ariā's effectiveness as a leader. Ma and Joshua have been conferred their status as leaders, whereas, Ariā is actively pursuing a leadership role. However, Ariā's is seeking to enact rangatiratanga in order to achieve a sense of kotahitanga within the street community.

In this research I have provided an in-depth look at how Ariā makes sense of her life, relationships and actions. In the process we can see how Ariā does more than simply survive homelessness. She engages in social interactions and in many respects grows and develops as a person while engaged in street life. Resilience has been used as a concept to explore how such people can live rewarding lives despite adversity and in some respects rise above adverse life circumstances (Bonanno, 2005; Prince, 2008; Williams et al, 2001). Resilience is more than a fixed attribute located within individuals. It comprises social and relational processes that enable people to respond and adapt to adversity. Resilience can be shared with others, as when Ariā provides cultural support to Māori homeless people. Nikora, Rua & Te Awekōtuku (2007) discuss how through the sharing of Māori cultural knowledge with others a sense of belonging and shared affiliation can arise. Associated collective responsibilities held within the group activate obligations, supports and resources. Here we see how resilience can be enacted communally in ways that allow homeless Māori like

Ariā to engage with and re-craft aspects of their environments and render street life more habitable. Objects such as the young woman's taonga and carvings become symbols of cultural resilience and survival that crystallize support and care (cf. De Vidas, 2008; Nikora, Rua, & Te Awekōtuku, 2007).

Increasingly, social scientists conceptualize the self and culture as being dynamically interrelated and mutually constituting (Hermans, 2001; Hodgetts et al., 2010b). In other words, what it means to be a person is shaped within socio-historical contexts, and as people engage in various cultural practices they reproduce the very cultural systems that have shaped their lives. Here, culture is not simply seen as an abstract set of concepts. Culture constitutes a field of human action, meaning making, and self production. It is through culture that people construct themselves and make sense of the world (Nikora, Rua & Te Awekōtuku, 2007). It is through cultural lenses that researchers also develop understandings of homelessness. If these understandings are to reflect the lived realities and identities of Indigenous peoples, then research should be informed by the very concepts germane to such groups and the conduct of their everyday lives (cf. Anderson, 2009; Pe-Pua, 2006). This case study exemplifies the importance of cultural concepts for understanding Indigenous homeless people. In reflecting on her life, Ariā highlights the importance of connections to place (wāhi), land (whenua), family (whānau) and knowledge of Māori customs (tikanga). Māori cultural concepts informing this chapter allow us to begin to engage with the connections between history, place, spirituality, and relationships that are central to Ariā's place in the world.

To conclude, this research relates to recent work in ethnography that emphasizes the relevance of participant perspectives and cultural frames (Anderson, 2009), and how participants shape social spaces through their daily actions (Pink, 2008). In making her life on the streets, Ariā textures street life with Māori cultural concepts and practices. As Pink (2008) points out, researchers are also involved through ethnographic studies in place-making activities, because "ethnographic places are not simply made in the moments that they are lived. Rather, they are crafted over longer periods of interaction and intellectual activity" (Pink, 2008, 190). In communicating Ariā's perspective to mission staff, we have been promoting the retexturing of the ACM as a marae. The Auckland City Mission has

a long history as a site for care, to which this research contributes. Knowledge of cultural practices central to Ariā's everyday life and relationships extends our understandings of the needs of homeless Māori people. This case study has informed the adjustment of existing services to encompass cultural practices and to better meet the needs of Māori clients. On 7 June 2009, we conducted a workshop with staff from the Auckland City Mission on this case study. Of particular interest to staff was the function of the mission as a marae, and how this might shape the ways in which staff interacted with Māori clients. Staff had noticed Ariā's efforts to help find accommodation and broker health care for other streeties. We entered into a discussion about existing rules where clients cannot become staff. It was agreed that this rule may need to be reconsidered, and that having a staff member with Ariā's cultural skills might strengthen the organization's efforts to provide appropriate support for Māori people. This would also enable Ariā to further develop her leadership role into the future.

Chapter Eight: Thesis

discussion

This thesis set out to explore how four homeless people make their lives on the streets of Auckland and beyond; to consider the nature of resilience among four homeless people in relation to their unique situations and approaches to street life; and to document the relationship between homelessness, place, and identity in central Auckland. The thesis has demonstrated through the analysis of the lived experiences of four homeless people that homelessness is not just an episodic journey that people drift through, but a sociocultural way of life in which they engage in varying degrees. This finding means that researchers need to address the inherently social nature of homelessness as much more than a housing issue. Consequently, this thesis offers more than a “static picture” of the homeless situation; it shows us how options about living are grounded in the material, symbolic, and relational contexts. This thesis also recognized the wider potential of research for contributing to broader agendas of change by promoting participation through the development of collaborative partnerships. In exploring aspects of such contexts, I address the lack of research into the everyday realities of homeless people in New Zealand (Cooper, 2001; Hodgetts et al., 2008, 2009, 2010c; Leggatt-Cook, 2007), and offer a detailed analysis into the experiences of four homeless people in central Auckland.

Throughout the thesis, I have paid particular attention to how homeless people do more than just cope with adversity. They are resilient in ways that highlight both their distinctiveness and similarities. All four participants create, conduct, and enhance their lives on the streets and beyond. Each case study draws us into conceptual discussions regarding resilience, the nature of the self, place, the functions of material objects, and transitions on and off the streets. These

conceptual insights are used to inform my analysis of the daily lives of participants when homeless and also during periods of rehousing.

A core question orienting this thesis has been: how do homeless people make their lives on the streets of Auckland and sometimes beyond the streets? The short answer to this question is that homeless people engage in many of the same home-making practices as domiciled people. They texture physical environments through their use of material objects in a manner that reflects their own sense of self, and in the process attempt to cultivate a sense of belonging, place, and privacy in public. They seek out connections with other people, and manage their relationships in terms of various tensions and contradictions in particular social and material settings. They laugh, get drunk, argue, and, to varying degrees, desire and benefit from supportive relationships with others.

The research findings presented here need to be seen in the context of standardized and dehumanizing practices in much of the academic literature on homelessness. As noted in Chapter Two, the existing research tends to rely on the aggregation of quantitative and qualitative surveys focused at the level of groups. Such research has a homogenizing effect and leads to a lack of specificity regarding the complexities of everyday life. The use of alternative methods, such as detailed case studies enables the researcher to capture the material, spatial, socio-political, and relational dimensions of homelessness. The four case studies I present may offer an important contribution to the literature on homelessness in that they allow us to compare and contrast the unique differences and similarities in how each participant conducts their lives. Some are more isolationist (Brett and Daniel), while others are more communally oriented (Joshua and Ariā). If we are to offer homeless people appropriate assistance, we must acknowledge their uniqueness as well as their shared needs, and develop strategies for care accordingly.

This final chapter returns to the key findings raised in Chapter One, in reference to existing literature on homelessness, and explores the implications for how we as a society might extend our understandings of, and develop more nuanced

responses to, street homelessness. Understanding how homeless people make and live their lives will not prevent individuals from drifting into situations of homelessness. However, more complete understandings can help scholars, policy makers, and service providers conceptualize an action frame to interpret how people such as Ariā, Joshua, Daniel, and Brett survive, how they make decisions regarding their lives, their level of commitment to street culture, and their unique needs regarding assistance. The workshops with service staff at the Auckland City Mission (discussed below) highlighted the complexities of responding to client needs, as well as, realizing the potential to act in a person-centred and compassionate manner that is informed by detailed engagements with the needs and aspirations of people who happen to be homeless.

This chapter is divided into five main sections. In the first, core concepts of resilience, identity, place home-making and objects are revisited. I explore how these concepts have been deployed analytically throughout the case studies to foreground the intricacies of daily life for four homeless people experiencing street homelessness and periods of rehousing. The second section reiterates the significance of the Auckland City Mission and the Auckland CBD as a site for the research, and the importance of such places such as these in the lives of homeless people. Spaces like the ACM are often located within inner city sites where the occupation by homeless people of public locales is often contested (Mitchell, 2003; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Homeless people, then, must negotiate between prime and marginal spaces (Lees, 1997) in order to carry out their lives in public. In the third section the importance of ethnographic methods for research into homelessness is emphasised. In particular, I argue that an ethnographic orientation allows for a full appreciation of the significance of the socio-cultural spheres both within street life and beyond this setting. Through the photographs and verbal accounts produced during repeated interactions every three months over a year, participants interpreted their own lives, and the broader societal processes constraining them, and they ultimately produced materials that potentially could be used to enhance academic understandings of homelessness and the efficacy of practical attempts to help homeless people. In the fourth section, I consider the role of the workshops in this research project, and how these are connected with taking a move towards action. The workshops were designed to communicate preliminary findings from my research and to discuss them with caseworkers in an effort to inform practice. This reflects Freire's

(1970/1993) notion of praxis combining theory with practice and practice with theory. In the final section, I summarise the significance of this research.

A return to core concepts

This section revisits core concepts explored in Chapter One, with the intention of demonstrating how notions of resilience, place-based identity, the utilization of objects, and home-making can be employed in concert to extend our understanding of homelessness. For example, a sense of place-based identity and affiliation with others is linked to increased resilience on the streets. Ariā refers to the streets as her whenua (land) and the people who occupy it as her whānau (family), and through her affiliation to land and family Ariā finds purpose, belonging, connection and support.

Resilience in the lives of homeless people

Homelessness is a significant societal concern involving processes of social exclusion intertwined with material hardship that can overwhelm people and contribute to their bodily decline and early death (Hodgetts et al., 2007b). Research into homelessness is often oriented towards understanding the health risks, deficits, and problematic life trajectories associated with homelessness. While it is important not to diminish the significance of such research, a sole focus on the problems associated with homelessness and negative outcomes can contribute to a perception of the uniformity of homeless people and dehumanize their lived realities (DeVerteuil, May & von Mahs, 2009; Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Snow, Anderson & Koegel, 1994). Homeless people, such as Ariā, Joshua, Brett, and Daniel, do more than struggle to find food and shelter, and cope with disease and disorder. On occasion they also share in a joke, laugh, build relationships, support others, and enjoy various aspects of their lives (Hodgetts et al., 2006). For a more rounded approach to homelessness in social psychology that can account for human fortitude and agency, we need to attend to people's resilience and strength, the complexity of their realities, connections, understandings, and identities (cf. Montgomery, 1994; Seligman &

Csikszentmihalyi, 2000). Further, in focusing on their strengths as well as the challenges people face, we increase our ability to generate appropriate strategies that support the desires of homeless people for a better life.

Not all people experiencing adversity suffer equally from social disruption, illness and an untimely death (Wilkinson, 2000; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009). Concepts such as resilience have been developed to account for how some people thrive despite adversity (Sanders et al., 2008). One particular finding from this research project is that all four participants converge in their shared histories of abuse and hardship. When exploring their pathways into homelessness, a common reason that emerges was a need to escape from family abuse and violence (Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Paradise & Cauce, 2002; Smith, 2008). Further, all four participants appear to have built up resilience in the face of extreme hardship before entering street life. Backgrounds of social and material hardship have, in many respects, equipped them for the transition to street life (Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Reed-Victor & Strange, 2002, Robinson, 2005). These less than ideal childhood environments in many respects made their adaptation to the streets less of a drastic shift than otherwise might be expected (Reed-Victor & Strange, 2002). Each engages in strategies for resilience which are both unique and parallel. Resilience for these participants necessitates learning specific strategies for street life that are in unison with their own sense of self, place and relationships with others.

While the backgrounds of Joshua, Daniel, Brett, and Ariā converge in their experiences of abuse, it does not follow that their strategies for maintaining a sense of self and place are uniform. Due to experiences of child abuse, Brett learned to retreat from other people and utilizes self-isolating strategies to strengthen his resilience. However, Brett recognizes the need for support and connectedness to support his transition from the streets. Daniel's experiences of physical and sexual brutality have severed his ability to form intimate and meaningful relationships. Both Daniel and Brett seek compassionate relationships to buffer them against the hardships of street life and loneliness. Resilience is primarily a personal phenomenon for these two participants. Nevertheless, it also extends to relational processes, and is partially negotiated in their interactions with other people. Through the photographs and associated

accounts, we see how the nature of relationships on the streets and beyond can both enhance and undermine their resilience (Hodgetts et al., 2010a; Jahoda et al., 1933/1972; Sanders, Lim & Sohn, 2008; Seligman & Csikszentmihalyi, 2000; Wilkinson & Pickett, 2009).

Relational dimensions of resilience become particularly salient for Ariā and Daniel. Both Ariā and Daniel recount experiences of abuse in their family as part of an exploration of how they became homeless. The sexual abuse that festered across generations of Ariā's family has made it difficult for Ariā to want to return to her hau kāinga (tribal homeland). With many whānau (family) members living on the streets, Ariā positions herself as a mediator across this divide by animating whānau ties. Ariā cultivates communal aspects of resilience through her efforts to maintain connections between her hau kāinga and whānau who live in Auckland. Joshua's account also reflects interpersonal strategies for building resilience, as he was mentored and supported by other homeless people who socialized him into street life (Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Rokach, 2004). Joshua has incorporated these lessons and strategies into his very being, and reciprocates through sharing the skills he has built up and the resources he earns and acquires. While coming from a family entrenched in gang culture has meant Joshua is reluctant to reconnect with his family, the recreation of a street family in many ways has buffered him against the hardships of street life (cf. Smith, 2008). However, the supports he has cultivated among his street family also leave him vulnerable to parasitic relationships, and these prevent or limit life change undermining his ability to leave the streets.

Through the forging of a street family, Ariā and Joshua have overcome the loneliness integral to Brett's and Daniel's experience of homelessness. Ariā's and Joshua's experiences of being a part of street families provide space, autonomy, friendship, and resources through which they have learnt to adapt to the demands of street life. Joshua's recreation of family roles on the street and his position within the family as the provider also highlights how resilience is something homeless people can give to each other, and in the process increases the likelihood that others will be there to support them (cf. Unger, 2008). As an innovative and charismatic panhandler, Joshua is able to provide not just for himself but for his street family as well, reaffirming his sense of self. In Ariā's

account, through references to her interactions with other Māori homeless people, she presents herself as having a role to play in guiding others and affirming bonds between people. For Ariā and Joshua, personal dignity (Jacobson, 2007) and self worth are about being more than the recipients of charity, and include being able to care for others.

Street families function differently for different participants, and thus connections with other streeties can increase or undermine a person's resilience, depending on the nature of the relationships. This is not simply an "either/or" dichotomy. For example, Joshua's inclusion in a street family buffers him against the violence and loneliness inherent to Brett's and Daniel's experience of homelessness. At the same time, the group binds Joshua to street life which may ultimately lead to his death. Brett's fear of violence and persecution from groups of homeless people undermine his resilience when on the streets. However, it also means that he can move on from the street without feeling the pull of the group. Daniel does not have the same social supports as Brett for exiting the street to draw upon, and struggles to find a way out. Ariā is different again. Ariā can be "housed" while maintaining her connection to the group, and this situation facilitates her sense of belonging, purpose, and reciprocity.

The research also indicates that a person can demonstrate resilience in one situation but not in another (Sanders et al., 2008; Williams et al., 2001). A person's resilience can fluctuate over their life course and across contexts, such as whether a person is homeless or housed (Williams et al., 2001). For example, when rehoused Daniel and Joshua struggled to establish themselves, whereas, they cope exceedingly well when on the streets. Examples such as these demonstrate that resilience is not a fixed attribute solely located within and determined by the individual. It comprises social and relational processes that enable or undermine a person's capacity to respond and adapt to risks as they arise through the course of their lives. A key lesson for social psychological research that may be drawn from these observations is that resilience is an important concept for research into homelessness when proper consideration is given to the complex interplay between personal, relational, and material/situational elements (cf. Sanders et al., 2008).

Survival and resilience are linked to the self, others, and daily practices in the accounts of all four participants. This thesis documents the diversity of lives and survival strategies among homeless people. They can, for instance, learn effective strategies for begging (Joshua), how to construct safe sleep outs (Daniel), how to blend in with the domiciled public (Brett), how to escape but remain connected to and able to maintain cultural identity (Ariā). Homeless people draw experiences and resources into their selves as ongoing projects, and can shift with different contexts, depending on the specific interaction (Hodgetts et al., 2010b). This highlights the dynamism, agency, and versatility guiding Joshua, Brett, Ariā, and Daniel in their adaptability. It also highlights the importance of social psychological and social science theories of the self and place-based identities in extending our understandings of the daily lives and home-making practices of homeless people.

Place-based identities and Home-making on the streets of Auckland

Previous research indicates that the processes of identity development are central to experiences of homelessness. In particular, people rendered homeless often face the loss or disintegration of their identities (Boydell, Goering & Morrell-Bellai, 2000; Hatty, 1996). Such loss has been associated with a sense of low self worth and reduced self-efficacy (Boydell et al., 2000; Buckner, Bassuk, & Zima, 1993; Hallebone, 1997; Snow & Anderson, 1987; 1993). Evident throughout the accounts of each participant in the present study are different strategies for attempting to prevent the loss of self on the streets. Daniel, for example, purposefully domesticates public spaces to establish a sense of purpose and place for himself, an experience that has been missing from his domiciled experiences. His efforts at home-making on the streets may also be utilized to assist him in making a home in a domiciled setting and anchoring his identity in a housed environment. Daniel and Brett made regular references to feeling trapped on the street and the fear of losing themselves (cf. Snow & Anderson, 1993).

Daniel and Brett are resilient, and their engagements in fantasy, diversion, and escapism through substance misuse or a good book, enable them to preserve a

sense of self (Hodgetts, Radley & Cullen, 2006). In the case of Brett, we can quite clearly see the “struggle to maintain a viable and authentic sense of self” (Hatty, 1996, p. 415). However, we can also witness his adaptability, agency, and creativity in the ways in which he preserves his sense of self when on the street by distinguishing himself from other homeless people and refusing to adopt the label of “homeless” (Boydell et al., 2000; Snow & Anderson, 1987). He employs strategies of differentiation “to gain psychic distance from the self implied [by circumstances] and to secure a modicum of personal autonomy” (Snow & Anderson, 1987, p. 1352). Brett manages the conflict of self inherent to his experiences of homelessness by affiliating with domiciled life through associating different facets of his self within different locations, including a concrete bunker where he would sleep and find solitude, public washrooms where he took drugs and maintained personal hygiene, and book stores and libraries where he immersed himself in a good book. In contrast to Joshua, who never left the street when housed, Brett never left domiciled life when homeless.

There is clearly more to the lives of these participants than displacement and loss of self. Ariā’s and Joshua’s integration into street families is revealing in that participation in these networks aids them in counteracting the loss of self that has been reported as being central to many people’s experiences of homelessness (Boydell, Goering, & Morrell-Bellai, 2000; Hatty, 1996; Snow & Anderson, 1987, 1993). Their identities are enhanced through their engagements in street life. Further, the assumption often made that homeless people become disconnected from family, employment, and home (Hatty, 1996) is not the case for Joshua and Ariā, as they re-establish those social spheres critical to the construction of identity through their roles within a street family. In short, while the threat to self posed by homelessness should not be underestimated, findings from my research move beyond a deficit-focused orientation that emphasizes the loss of self. The research thus explores homeless people’s strategies for maintaining a sense of self despite the adversity of their circumstances.

In Chapter One, I proposed that maintaining a sense of self and coherence is fundamental to a person’s resilience on the streets. The significance of daily practices through which homeless people shape, craft, and pattern the physical world to make a place for themselves and to maintain a sense of self can be

explicated through the application of the concept of place-based identities (Hernandez et al., 2007; Manzo, 2003). Such identities take shape over time through social practices and intimate understandings of settings that are cultivated through bodily placement and social interactions (Twigger-Ross & Uzzell, 1996). Human beings are always located somewhere, and this locatedness is central to understanding the social practices through which we inhabit our environments. This concept of locatedness provides a theoretical vantage point for exploring how homeless people are interconnected to their physical and social environments (Cooley, 1902; James, 1984; Manzo, 2003; Mead, 1934). I have shown how, through the conduct of their daily lives, participants come to occupy the streets as embodied beings whose social practices give meaning to places and situations in which they find themselves (Lefebvre, 2000), and often attempt to make a home.

Findings from this present study support the view that the self is multiple and an ongoing project located in the world physically, psychologically, and socially (Hodgetts et al., 2010b). Ariā, Joshua, Daniel, and Brett exemplify how people and places are mutually defined in that they mould and give meaning to each other. Self and world are co-constructed within everyday life. A “sense of place” is often created through memories cultivated in particular locations that are endowed with a sense of connection, belonging, and history (Hernandez et al., 2007). This is particularly evident for Ariā, where many of her family members have urbanized, as have a great number of Māori (Nikora et al., 2004). Ariā and her family have taken their histories, relationships, customary practices, and values with them, and have used these resources for adaptation on the streets. The streets act as a space where they can engage in a life (cf. Nikora, 2007).

In terms of the literature on homelessness and resilience (Bonanno, 2005; Kidd & Davidson, 2007; Prince, 2008; Sanders et al., 2008; Williams et al., 2001), the present study raises questions about the assumption that resilient individuals are those who reintegrate into society and move on from the streets. This can certainly be the case for some. However, others preserve their selves and social connectedness through engaging with the associated lifeworld of streeties. As long as we make a moral judgment regarding the appropriateness of reintegrating into domiciled lifeworlds, we will not fully understand the persistence and

resilience of many homeless people. Encapsulated in the accounts of Ariā, Brett, Joshua, and Daniel, this study has shown how street life encompasses a diverse range of strategies for maintaining identity and building resilience. Each participant does more than simply endure sickness, violence and ostracism. Through each account we learn of their unique strategies for creating a sense of belonging and home.

For most housed people, their homes represent a significant space for the emplacement of the self and social being. While it is important not to overlook what homeless people lack in terms of possessions and facilities, a more inclusive approach is needed that extends beyond stationary definitions of home within a domestic dwelling to include home-making on the street. Homeless people do not stop trying to make a home while they are on the streets (cf. Robinson, 2002). Home-making in public provides structure for daily life. The assertion that integral to resilience and the preservation of self among homeless people are efforts to make the street habitable and home-like has been central to this thesis. Despite lacking a conventional dwelling, homeless people's lives are just as richly emplaced and embodied as the lives of housed people. Daniel, Ariā, Joshua, and Brett invoke processes by which they occupy public spaces and make these more homely. References to specific material objects, including an ornamental pumpkin, a kiwi statue, an MP3 player, a carving, and a squeegee, offer proof of being, memory, belonging, and participation (Hurdley, 2006; Morgan & Pritchard, 2005; Noble, 2004). The focus on places, objects, and links to identity in the present study is an innovative approach to psychological research on homelessness, and is particularly useful in identifying home-making practices as they occur among homeless people in public spaces and extending beyond the streets.

The life histories of Brett, Daniel, Joshua, and Ariā reveal how achieving safe and secure residences has been, and continues to be, a challenge (cf. Tomas & Dittmar, 1995). Establishing a place one can call home is a physical, imaginative, and social process. I have commented on the use of material objects to texture public spaces as domestic realms. The use of these objects provides opportunities for self-expression, and act as touchstones of meaning, invoking memories and embodying the past within the present (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005).

Material objects such as an MP3 player, Doc Marten boots, and needles are used by Brett as a way to rise above street life and provide personal anchorage points that foster multiple selves which can exist in multiple places. The MP3 player and books become a way for Brett to tune out his environment by providing psychological refuge from a resounding lack of “homefulness” (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). Home-making is also culturally patterned. Some objects can be seen as extensions of the self: when Ariā discusses taonga and carvings, we see how such artifacts mediate emotions, relationships, and identities within her lifeworld (Morgan & Pritchard, 2005). For Daniel, objects like that of the kiwi statue and the ornamental pumpkin represent a tangible longing and desire for a domestic home.

It is worth reiterating that all four participants have been housed between four walls at some point. In all their accounts, we see how, due to distressing childhoods characterized by domestic violence, abuse, poverty, and family dysfunction, they have struggled to develop a conventional attachment to a home (Paradise & Cauce, 2002; Rivlin & Moore, 2001; Smith, 2008). These people have been denied a “conventional” home in both a physical and a relational sense (Jones, 2000). This does not stop any of them from desiring and imagining meaningful relationships and a home. The case studies also illustrate how people can develop a sense of “home” and belonging despite their not having conventional accommodation (Memmott et al, 2003). The streets can become equated with a greater sense of “home” and belonging for homeless people than many domestic dwellings in which they have been housed. In the cases of Daniel and Joshua, we are able to see how the streets allow them to live life more or less on their own terms, which is something neither had experienced when housed. People can make a home on the streets and can feel out-of-place when rehoused. When sleeping on the streets, Daniel and Joshua find qualities of home, such as feelings of independence, control, and routine, more than they do in a boarding house. Their street dwellings provide spaces within which everyday practices relating to the self and self-care are enacted, and where a sense of routine, privacy, safety, and familiarity is gained (Mallett, 2004). When they were domiciled, Daniel and Joshua lost their independence, control, and security and their ability to establish a routine, and this fragmented their sense of purpose and belonging. In sum, the streets may not represent the ideal of home for Joshua,

Ariā, Daniel, and Brett, but after significant periods of occupation the streets do embody familiarity, association, and purpose.

My findings support the view that it is misleading to assume that home-making is always situated in a house or domiciled dwelling. In each case study presented here, we can see how alternative urban spaces (such as cavities under bridges) can provide a range of functions that approximate a sense of home for streeties. Despite the constraints on the existence of all four participants, these homeless people seek ways to carry out their private activities in public spaces that would otherwise occur in a domiciled setting (Heidegger, 1971; Mitchell, 2003; Veness, 1993). We can see this in the photographic images produced by participants and in the accounts of how each participant worked to appropriate public space and craft homes for themselves through daily routines and practices. Much like many housed people, Daniel discusses how he tidies his spaces and expresses himself through decorative objects. Further, he expresses frustration and annoyance at outside intrusions into his space. He is proud of his homes and works hard to maintain them.

The efforts of homeless people as they attempt to make a home in public spaces can often be tenuous in nature. Joshua's and Daniel's attempts to create homes occurred in spaces "in-between". These were spaces under bridges or in alleyways that domiciled citizens frequently passed through or avoided, and often they would be forced to move on, evicted from these spaces (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Daniel and Brett worked hard not to bring attention themselves or their dwellings in public. Brett's use of public space required him to take on the guise of holiday-maker or book-store customer to conceal his homeless status from other people. In the cases of Daniel and Brett, we see how making a home on the street can be an unsafe and lonely thing to do. Yet, home-making is a necessary activity for homeless people, because without a home they are out of place and lost. Attempts to cultivate and maintain a sense of place, home and self-worth are critical for survival, as it enables those situated on the margins of society to retain a sense of self and their own humanity.

In Joshua's case study, the relational and spatial dimensions of home-making are evident in the way in which he and his street family construct communal sites for experiencing and enacting social links. In Joshua's account, he visualizes and articulates homeless people in public, not only participating in, but visibly occupying prime public spaces. The street provides a place of social connection for such homeless people to engage in activities as a family, and to foster a sense of shared identity. Although local authorities attempt to displace and regulate their lives when begging in prime spaces, Joshua and others are able to adjust survival strategies and shift locations. Communities are often located in what has been referred to as "activity settings", the socially constructed spaces in which members re-enact shared practices that serve to reproduce common norms and values (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007). Communal activities discussed by Joshua, such as barbeque parties, provide a space for streeties to get to know each other. The images taken in such places express the connectedness, friendships, and happiness experienced by homeless people, aspects which are typically absent in accounts provided by academic literature on homelessness (Radley et al., 2005). From Joshua's account, it becomes clear that street life is about more than surviving hardship and deprivation. For Joshua, life in the city comprises engaging with others in public spaces. Such engagements with those he considers family promote a sense of dignity when living on the city streets.

The relational and spatial dimensions of home-making can be explored through the ways in which homeless people construct communal sites for experiencing and enacting social links. This is very important, because people, since they exist in a material world, are embodied beings that collectively enact relationships through participation in shared activities, and consequently experience a sense of "we-ness". By exploring these dimensions, we are able to document how fostering a sense of belonging and place, combined with community membership, is resolved in particular locales, objects, and styles (Snell & Hodgetts, 2007).

In the context of the lived reality of Indigenous people, the problematic nature of notions of home and homelessness takes on new significance. For Ariā, the street is her land (whenua) and the service agencies function like a marae. The function of the ACM in Ariā's everyday life is as a place of social interaction where local ties that contribute to her sense of security and belonging can be

fostered (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). The efforts of Ariā to appropriate spaces like that of the Auckland City Mission contribute to a homely life in an un-homely environment (Vaiou & Lykogianni, 2006). As Massey suggests, place (that is, home) is at its core a set of social relations (Massey, 1992). In her own account, Ariā discussed the significance of having family on the street. There are many cultural benefits that accrue from Ariā being connected to land (whenua) and having access to close family contact. Family ties invigorate her, and disintegrate the borders between the “here” (Auckland as her current home) and “there” (her hau kāinga, her tribal homeland). These circumstances draw our attention to issues of multiple home spaces and processes of community building.

This discussion of the enactment of place-based identities through home-making on the streets of Auckland is given further consideration in the section below through an exploration of the research site.

Considering the research site

Central Auckland has been a significant site for this research because of its iconic status in media framings of homelessness (cf. Cooper; 2001) and its high rates of urban poverty (Hodgetts & Stolte, 2009). The Auckland City Mission provides a number of services in this location for disenfranchised people, including a food bank, clothing and sleeping equipment, an advocacy service, medical centre, social work assistance, detoxification facilities, and a Drop-In Centre (Auckland City Mission, 2006). The importance for homeless people of interactions with domiciled citizens in the form of agency staff and of supportive environments has been discussed by researchers in relation to the notion of “spaces of care” (Johnsen, Cloke, & May, 2005). Such spaces encompass semi-private domains, such as hostels and day centres, where people may obtain basic material resources, including food, clothing, and medical care. These spaces also offer reprieve from material hardship and loneliness. Hodgetts and colleagues (2008) propose that public places where inclusion is advocated—where homeless people can find a sense of belonging—also qualify as spaces of care, and such spaces help ameliorate the consequences of adversity and are associated with improved health outcomes (Glesson & Kearns, 2001).

The photographic and spoken images of the ACM and surrounding area provided by my participants offer clues to the practices through which homeless people experience social connections within specific locales (cf. Hodgetts, Radley, Cullen, 2006). It is in locales such as these that positive relationships can be fashioned between homeless people and domiciled staff members. For example, Daniel presented the ACM as a place where he could be safe for a while, and where he could engage in conversations from a life predominantly lived alone in marginal spaces, such as under bridges in a park (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Both Ariā and Daniel, as the two participants with the longest history on the streets, have had a long association with the ACM. Daniel visualized this in the photograph he took with his name carved onto the tree outside the ACM (Figure 15), and Ariā articulated this through her efforts to collaborate with staff, which she conveyed through many of her images (in particular, Figure 50).

People often develop “a sense of place” where memories are associated with particular locations, which in this way provide a sense of connection, belonging, and history (Hernandez et al., 2007). The places people move through, dwell in, and come to call their own crystallize aspects of who they are, want to be, and how they wish to be seen by others (Hurdley, 2006). Ariā invokes the ACM as a site for the maintenance of self through simple activities such as chatting with staff and clients. Her comments make clear the importance of relationships and interactions between staff and homeless clients in supporting a sense of belonging and purpose. Ariā’s account as a homeless Māori woman raises further complexities of self and place, and highlights the importance of connections to whenua (land), whānau (family) and knowledge of tikanga Māori (customary practices). The core Māori cultural concepts interwoven throughout Ariā’s case study allow us to delineate, and appreciate, the connections between history, place, spirituality, and relationships that are brought out in her engagements within the physical location of the ACM and her very sense of self.

Despite the prominence of such inner city sites for homeless people in Western nations, and the common location of services in these areas, the right of homeless persons to inhabit such city locales is often contested (Mitchell &

Heynen, 2009). All four participants in this study referred to processes by which they were positioned by others as being out of place in the city, and their ability to settle and congregate was policed and regulated (Mitchell, 2003). We see this in examples like Joshua being moved on for begging and being fined for window washing, Ariā being questioned by the police when sitting in Aotea Square after dinner, Brett escaping into music in order to create a space where he can belong in public, and Daniel being evicted from sleep outs. Local responses to the habitation of public space by homeless bodies include the introduction of CCTV systems designed to make housed citizens feel safer whilst strategically displacing “bums” and “beggars”, and the hiring of security guards to police and remove homeless people from shopping districts and public libraries (Hodgetts, et. al., 2008). The claim of homeless people to belong and their right to participate in these settings are contested publicly, and consequently access to social participation and support is restricted (Laurenson & Collins 2007; Mitchell, 2003; Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). Practices that deny homeless people access to public places inevitably increase the likelihood of material hardship, distrust, disrespect, stigma, and risk of illness (Hodgetts, Chamberlain & Radley, 2007a) Further, strategies designed to constrict the ability of homeless people to inhabit and make a life in the city exacerbate, rather than reduce, hardship for homeless people (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009).

Mitchell (2003) contends that in order for a person to enact citizenship, a person must have access to *somewhere*. Although homeless people are nearly always in public, they are not typically counted as part of the public. In the case of Joshua, the production of photographs led to a discussion about relations between homeless and housed people, and about who is included and who is excluded from public spaces. Through Joshua’s account, we see how being monitored and asked to remove themselves from public spaces can disrupt a person’s sense of belonging and identity as a citizen, particularly as his presence when begging is rendered offensive and punishable. Critical discussions of place, centred on the concept of social exclusion and processes of “othering” in urban spaces, inform understandings of discriminatory practices aimed at homeless people (Hodgetts et al., 2010c). The participation in civic life of homeless people and their right to dwell in prime public places are crucial, as this allows them to be, to experience belonging, and to move out from marginal spaces (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009).

The concept of place-based identities is important here, because places are crucial to everyday life and our sense of self. Places, or a perceived lack of place, are also a defining element of being “homeless”. The development of viable place-based identities is revealed in the accounts of Joshua, Ariā, Daniel and Brett. Each participant demonstrates the importance of acknowledging geographical spaces as more than simply backdrops to social psychological processes. Places become central to who people are, and this insight foregrounds the importance of understanding how homeless people forge a place for themselves and create a sense of at-homeness when dwelling on the streets that can also extend beyond the streets.

Modern cities are comprised of an eclectic selection of “marginal” (under bridges) and “prime” (shopping districts) spaces, across which homeless people and others conduct their lives, and where the urban setting reflects the planning and contestation of social power to embrace and prohibit (Lees, 1997). The co-locating of homeless and domiciled people inevitably has a negative impact on domiciled perceptions of such places (Hodgetts, et al., 2008). Distinctions between such spaces can be experienced in tangible ways; however, the distinctions are not permanent and can change over time as particular urban spaces gain or lose favour with investors or local authorities. Prime urban spaces can also become marginal according to the time of day or who is present. Daniel’s photographs and talk portray the fluctuation of prime and marginal spaces over time (Hodgetts et al., 2009). Daniel pictured various sleep outs he had occupied over time, and the effects of conflict of local opinion and incursions from other homeless people on his ability to belong in the city. This reflects the complexities of space and the politics of inclusion, where homeless people like Daniel and Brett resist exclusionary practices, for example, by appropriating marginal spaces (a gun emplacement), journeying across prime spaces (parks and shopping areas), or occupying prime spaces like a car park adapted as a sleep out at times less likely to be occupied by the domiciled public (Mitchell, 2003).

When considering issues of safety and security, the importance of location should be included alongside the regulation of habitation in public. Often homeless dwelling occurs in spaces “in-between”, or alleys, sidewalks, hidden corners of parks, doorways, and bridges that are crucial for the safety and survival of homeless people (Mitchell & Heynen, 2009). This thesis has registered the importance of spaces like that of the ACM in the daily travels of Ariā, Joshua, and Daniel, as they construct their lives across prime and marginal spaces (Knowles, 2000). Moving out from the ACM, homeless people come into contact with members of the general domiciled public. This can at times create conflict, as highlighted by several of Joshua’s experiences and in my discussion of the displacement of homeless people from public locations. It is also important to consider how homeless people, such as Brett, participate in local domiciled communities through casual engagements with local residents in libraries and shops (Hodgetts et al., 2008).

In the case of Brett, he structures his day so that he can interact in domiciled lifeworlds in order to avoid other homeless people. Such approaches constitute strategies for challenging binary distinctions between “us” (domiciled citizens) and “those” (homeless people), through Brett being able to claim status as someone who belongs and uses public space appropriately. However, this can be a precarious and fragile performance for homeless people whose efforts to obtain inclusion can be dismissed or rejected by housed people. For example, hiding his homelessness from the domiciled public came at an immense personal cost to Brett, as he struggled with feelings of humiliation and self loathing. These feelings disrupted Brett’s sense of belonging and identity as a legitimate citizen and invoked for Brett a heightened “sense of difference” (Sibley, 1995). For Daniel and Joshua, a heightened sense of difference was exacerbated by the difficulties they faced when attempting to make a transition into domiciled life. In the case of Daniel, the sense of difference is manifested in feelings of loneliness and isolation, which ACM staff at the time of writing this were currently attempting to mitigate through their ongoing efforts to assist him in building supportive social networks. Ariā is different again, as she would clearly differentiate herself from “other” homeless people by drawing on her former occupation as a nurse aide and a caregiver in her current circumstance.

In this section, I have revisited the importance of place in constructing a sense of belonging and inclusion for street homeless people. Central Auckland offers homeless people a place where they may participate in civic life and dwell in prime public places. This is crucial when affirming a place where they can be, experience belonging, and step out from marginal spaces. It also highlights the need to explore the importance of place in future social psychological research into processes of social exclusion and homelessness (Dixon, Levine & McAuley, 2006; Hodgetts et al., 2008). In the next section I summarise the research methods used in this thesis and how the combination of methodological approaches I have employed has allowed for a richly detailed analysis of the lives of four homeless people in Auckland.

Further comment on method

As explained in Chapter Two, my adoption of an ethnographic case study approach was, in part, a response to calls within social psychology and research on urban poverty for context-sensitive research that includes a focus on material objects, places, and situations that are important to research participants (Small, 2009; Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008; Valsiner, 2009). What I refer to as the ethnographic impulse, or drive to consider context and everyday interactions in the lives of homeless people, has enabled me to appreciate the significance and consequence of the socio-cultural and political spheres, not just as background context, but as integral players in human social life (Griffin & Bengry-Howell, 2008). As Griffin (2000, p. 27) argues, psychology needs to develop a far broader notion of what constitutes psychological knowledge if it is to seriously include everyday life into its domain. My analytic task was to encourage Brett, Daniel, Joshua, and Ariā to communicate how they conduct their lives by showing and telling me about the relationships and daily practices of importance to them. This accords with how social psychologists are beginning to adopt a more expansive selection of qualitative methods and analytic perspectives for understanding social life and to conduct research *with* rather than *on* people (Hodgetts et al., 2010a).

My utilization of ethnographic techniques means that key social practices are clearly identified. The ethnographic approach required me to participate in the daily lives of homeless people for an extended period of time, watching what was going on around me, listening to what was being said, and collecting data to inform understandings of the issues being investigated. The particular advantage offered by utilizing ethnographic methods in the setting of the Auckland City Mission is that it allowed me to contact a group that is typically resistant to involvement in the research process and also highly transient (Hodgetts et al., 2009). Making cups of tea as a part of volunteer work, chatting with homeless clients, socializing with staff, and the workshops for each case study: all these helped situate me in the ACM and Auckland CBD, and ensured the maintenance of an ongoing rapport between myself and the ACM. This approach involves contributing to and participating in the setting, and not just merely observing it. Griffin (2000) argues that spending such time on site has important implications to analyses. It allows the researcher to go beyond data gathered in more formal interviews and to bring to the fore a wider frame of reference in order to make sense of issues under investigation. Insights gained from my time at the ACM and in the surrounding area also led directly to the design of workshops and, as I will discuss in the following section, influenced the procedure and activities employed by the ACM when working with clients. This approach conforms with Gergen's (1973) classic argument regarding the purpose of social psychology, that we not only observe and document events, but we also work to actively engage in these events and everyday practices. Our research can have a positive and powerful impact.

In particular, by offering the participants cameras to picture their worlds, I encouraged them to take the opportunity to "turn upon" their environment, and to provide an account of how and why they did so (Radley and Taylor, 2003a). The still photographs created by homeless participants convey more than static images, and consequently provide insights into the evolving relationships and cultural practices central to their lives (Hodgetts et al., 2007a). This is not to say that I have fully captured participants' life experiences, but I have sought to examine the decisions they faced as they visualized and articulated significant aspects of their lives through their photographs and spoken accounts. This perspective requires researchers to consider more than an understanding of photographs. Rather, it asserts an understanding with participants based on their

attempts to visually capture their lifeworlds (Radley and Taylor, 2003b). Such an orientation involves tuning into conversations that extend beyond the photograph. Wright (1999) has described this as an interpretative process involving “looking at” and “looking behind” the picture to discover related memories, events, and daily practices, and involves both researchers and participants looking at and behind from their different positions to determine the significance of the depiction for the research (Radley and Taylor, 2003a; 2003b).

The photographic method was invaluable in orienting me towards the situations, places, objects, relationships, strengths, and needs of each participant. Ariā’s and Joshua’s photograph sets are similar, and quite distinct from those of Daniel and Brett, in that their photographs are dominated by people. The high proportion of photographs featuring homeless people demonstrates Ariā’s and Joshua’s insider status and their knowledge of street life. For both, these are pictures of the people with whom they share bonds of association and obligation through the enactment (and creation) of kinship like ties. Ariā and Joshua belong with and are comfortable amongst streeties. Joshua images the relevance of his role as a provider for his street family through photographs of himself panhandling and window washing. Ariā depicts the significance of her role as a spiritual caregiver within her whānau through pictures of streeties with taonga that she has blessed. In contrast, Daniel’s and Brett’s photographs are similar in the lack of depictions of people, including self portraits. Their combined images convey a sense of isolation and loneliness. Both also picture places where they go to be alone, such as a gun emplacement or sleepouts that they have lived in by themselves for some time.

Photographs provided by Joshua, Daniel, and Brett also convey transitions between the streets, detox, marginal rehousing, and, in some cases, back to the streets again. These transitions give rise to questions about where people such as Joshua and Daniel are most resilient or feel more at home, and present insights into the problems facing homeless people when engaged in processes of rehousing. We see in the (lack of) images produced of their boarding house rooms that Joshua, Daniel, and Brett are not at home there even though the immediate issue of being without a roof has been resolved (Rivlin & Moore, 2001). In the case of Brett, when discussing his imagined third photograph set, it

becomes clear that Brett has resources in the form of friends and family to assist him off the streets. In the photographs produced by Joshua and Daniel, by contrast, their entire being is grounded in homeless lifeworlds. Ariā is different again. While she is in many ways deeply immersed in streetlife, she clearly differentiates herself from 'other' streeties, much like Brett. Consequently, Ariā's images are used to depict her role as a mentor rather than a victim of circumstance.

Both Ariā's and Joshua's photographs spill out into domiciled lifeworlds, demonstrating the dynamism of their roles within homeless lifeworlds. Ariā's photographs of agency staff highlight her ability to function in a domiciled setting through her efforts to collaborate with agency staff. Joshua's photographs of domiciled passers-by are taken to showcase his skill as an entrepreneur when panhandling. Ariā uses photographs of domiciled people in the form of staff to distinguish her role as separate from homeless people who require her help, whereas, Joshua takes photographs of domiciled passers-by to highlight his ability to obtain resources from them in order to provide for his street family.

Joshua's and Daniel's photograph sets explore the hidden nature of homelessness, and the contradictions of this, as their lives are on public display because of their being situated on the street. Many of their images are of sleep-outs constructed in public spaces and public parks. However, Joshua's photographs, as they progress over time, also highlight the emergence of homeless people from a hidden street underworld into the public domain. In the photograph sets we see the resulting collision of homeless and domiciled lives through the regulation of homeless bodies in public space. Daniel photographs sleep-outs that have been burnt out and/or fenced over by authorities, and Joshua photographs the police and security guards harassing streeties as they panhandle or congregate in the city. Further, the photographs of sleep-outs created by Daniel and Joshua provide insights into the evolving relationships and home-making practices central to their lives. The photographs portray material objects and domesticated public spaces associated with attempts to create a home. These photographs exemplify links between their backgrounds (having had limited experience of a domiciled home), homelessness, home-making efforts, and identity.

The use of photo-voice in psychological research enables the researcher to explore everyday lives in ways that are often overlooked in research into topics like homelessness (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). The process of photo-production allows participants to illustrate linkages between people and places, objects and relationships, and groups and society (Hodgetts et al., 2007a, 2008). The method provides insights into the ways in which people connect themselves to the significant and the mundane events and relations in their lives. Through using this method, we apprehend how the process of picturing enables participants to engage in critical reflection and dialogue *with* researchers, beyond that occurring through talk alone. Participants can extend the investigation in new directions unanticipated by the researchers. As makers of photographs, the participants become interpreters of their lives, of broader societal processes, and of the research, and ultimately generate material that can be used to lobby for social justice (Hodgetts et al., 2010a).

I attempted to strengthen the efforts of participants' interpretations of their lifeworlds by combining a conceptualization of what people do when picturing adversity and how they make sense of their photographs. This allowed for the generation of people-centred and workable strategies for change in their lives. Qualitative researchers in psychology have often focused on overly descriptive accounts of experience, and neglected the broader potential of research for making a difference in the lives of people (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). Developing a richer conceptualization of picturing allows us to demonstrate how, in using photovoice methodology, psychologists are doing more than simply acting as conduits for the experiences of others. We are developing theoretical interpretations of social processes that are central to the lives of homeless people, theoretical interpretations which can inform our efforts to address the needs of marginalised people. This accords with Freire's (1970/1993) work on critical consciousness-raising and community-based action research approaches to social transformation (Carlson et al., 2006; Lykes et al., 2003). Freire developed an approach to education that conceptualized teachers and learners as co-constructors of knowledge. He shifted power relations in education from a sermon type approach to a conversational approach involving the mutual exploration of topics (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). Such thinking is taken up in the

following section in relation to the four workshops conducted with ACM staff. I consider how my research strategy provided a bridge for research and practice to be put into action through workshops.

The workshops: A move towards action

In community-oriented research, the convention is to work with homeless people themselves towards collective action or the resolution of barriers to their overcoming difficulties (Prilleltensky & Nelson, 2002). Feedback was carried out with each participant during the cyclical nature of data collection. The participants and I were engaged in an ongoing dialogue and, at each point of the research process, reflected on what had occurred in the intervening periods, as well as considered where they felt they needed to be in the future. In many respects, this process involved aspects of conscientização (Freire, 1970), particularly during interviews conducted with participants in detox as they reflected on why they wished to be sober and move on from street life. This conscientização can also be seen in Ariã's account of wanting to be more than a client through her efforts to assist other streeties in collaboration with staff at the ACM. In addition, we noted earlier, in Chapter Five, how Daniel had begun to articulate a desire for a domestic home where he could shut the door and choose what was on television, and who entered his domain. Similarly Brett had invoked a desire to leave the streets and reintegrate into domiciled lifeworlds. These participants all critically considered their realities, and articulated their needs, concerns, hopes, and dreams over the course of the interviews and through the images they produced. The research process opened a space for Ariã, Daniel, Joshua, and Brett to explore their lives and selves as ongoing processes and as being open to transformation (Freire, 1970).

I was not comfortable in simply locating action in the context of my interactions with each participant, because the participants are not necessarily in control of their homelessness. Many decisions shaping their situations are made beyond their lifeworlds, and it is up to us, as critical scholars working with community groups, to help bridge this divide through advocacy and joint action. The use of photographs is important in this context because it renders the situation real, and

such images can be used to raise questions at different levels of the socio-political system that perpetuates homelessness (cf. Carlson et al., 2006). This kind of approach necessitated an understanding with Ariā, Joshua, Daniel, and Brett based on their efforts to picture their lifeworlds and to consider changes in their circumstances (Radley & Taylor, 2003). The idea of gaining an understanding of homelessness through each participant's images and talk formed the basis for working with service providers. As different views were shared, new meanings were in turn constructed. Understanding the transitions occurring in each person's life was crucial, and a focus on picturing can be used to foreground the agency of homeless people as they attempt to make their way in the world, as well as to inform and assist in the refinement of ACM services. The case studies provided a basis for considering why common interventions like finding a person residence through agencies such as Housing New Zealand had not worked for this group in the past. This required all of us to consider what might be done differently, and allowed for an exploration of the complexities of each person's experiences of homelessness across both a range of settings and shifting circumstances.

I do not claim that issues of homelessness can be resolved merely by using photo-production exercises. However, we can develop more grounded understandings of homelessness and insights into homeless people's lives from their use. Such understanding and insights can facilitate change at a personal level through engagement in critical reflection and dialogue, and at an agency level through the use of the images to facilitate the policies and practices of people with the power to help (Hodgetts et al., 2010a). The use of photography in this thesis is informed by Freire's (1970/1993) notion of praxis, combining theory with experience and practice. Freire describes how action, reflection, and learning interrelate repetitively, interactively, and through an ongoing process (Gaudine, Gien, Thuan & Dung, 2009). In this process, reflection and action not only inform one another, but depend on each other to develop active participation. Reflection without action can become stagnant over time (Gaudine, Gien, Thuan & Dung, 2009). Equally, action without reflection becomes pointlessly uninformed. Both risk tokenistic participation (Campbell & Jovchelovitch, 2000).

Research projects like the present one can have a positive impact on the way in which assistance is provided to homeless people. Even if in a limited and localized way, work-shopping each case study with ACM staff who had the task of supporting those specific individuals resulted in different efforts to support them in a manner that reflects both their shared and unique needs. The workshops followed Woolley's (2009) recommendation that teams can benefit from complex, open-ended tasks which equally profit from the creation of a combination of new ideas and knowledge. It was especially striking how quickly and openly staff responded to issues raised by the case studies, and their willingness to think laterally when reformulating service responses was also significant. Staff particularly saw the benefits in working with the strengths and desires of the four research participants as they rethought some of their practices (See Chapters Four to Eight).

Finally, the four workshops reached across the agency and the university and constituted an attempt by us to jointly better meet the needs of homeless people (van Laere & Withers, 2008). Shared knowledge and collaborative working relationships between myself and ACM staff cultivated during the course of this research can help agencies better identify and decipher joint problems; manage programmes, policies, and services; and initiate improvements in both organizational structure and information content (Dawes, Cresswell & Pardo; 2009). These relationships can also ground emerging scholars such as myself, and ensure the applicability of our research to the needs of participants. The workshops and positive outcomes for my four research participants, as set out in Chapters Four through to Eight, demonstrate the applicability of academic research to professional practice. I was able to use my research findings to support the actions of ACM staff when working with clients. As Freire (1970/1993), following Karl Marx, insists, we must move beyond mere observation in order to actively engage with the world and the people who inhabit it in their everyday contexts of conflict and ingenuity. In its own way, my thesis encapsulates an action orientation through the creation of a shared space in which theory and research could meet practice, and experienced practitioners could help me engage with the implications of the materials that had been constructed in dialogue *with* rather than on Joshua, Daniel, Brett, and Ariã.

Concluding comments

The city highlights some of the most obvious and considerable economic differences between people, which in turn reflect ethnic, gender, age, employment and education issues (McLennan, Ryan & Spoonley; 2000). This is particularly evident in Auckland CBD. Amidst the towering office buildings that loom above passing pedestrians, the busy commercial strips, the gaudy affluence of the Sky Tower (or, as it is frequently referred to by the rest of New Zealand, “the syringe in the sky”) directly contrast with the unspectacular premises of the Auckland City Mission that serve some of the city’s most marginalized people, and have done so since Auckland city’s early beginnings (Ball, 1997). The Sky Tower locates and marks a contradictory intersection of human traffic. On the one side, we have affluent international and national business people exuding and expending wealth as they dine and gamble within the Tower. On the other side we have homeless people lining up outside the nearby Auckland City Mission for a meal that has been donated from a small and struggling collection of bakeries and restaurants around the city. Adding to this, on the periphery, and far beyond, we have security guards employed by governing bodies to regulate homeless lives in order to appease domiciled anxieties. This juxtaposition of wealth and abject poverty provides a striking insight into the contradictions of the city and the people who inhabit and pass through it. Amongst this human traffic, you just might pass a man deeply immersed in the music playing from his portable radio, or an older man with his shoulders hunched against the world and not daring to catch your eye, or a jovial man with a beard twirling a squeegee and holding a can of bourbon, or an older Māori woman chatting to a young Māori girl wearing a beautiful taonga. Anything is possible in the city. In such a brief encounter, what you may not realise is that the city, and the streets that connect it, is their home, and that they belong.

The crucial finding from this research lies in the range of strategies participants use to make their lives on the streets, which exemplify their strengths and resilience. These strategies range from isolation and reflection, to passing and fitting in, to forming networks on the margins of society. The variety of strategies indicates how homeless people do not simply constitute a homogeneous social category or group. There is considerable diversity among homeless people and a

poignant depth to their humanity. At the same time, it would be misleading to downplay their individual struggles, the demons that plague them, or the activities that undermine their survival, including violence and substance misuse. For all homeless participants, the threat of homelessness is the threat of losing oneself to the streets (Boydell et al., 2000; Hatty, 1996; Snow & Anderson, 1987, 1993). The major emphasis of this thesis is that, despite commonalities in histories of familial abuse, poverty, and adversity, we should not lose sight of the fact that these participants constitute a heterogeneous group. We should avoid homogenizing them and assuming that commonality outweighs their unique humanity. This is why the term “the homeless” is not used in this thesis. Homeless people participating in this research share commonalities. They also live distinct and unique lives that are characterized by different relationships and levels of social and community integration. “The homeless” are not a homogeneous group in terms of origins, self identification, affiliations with street culture, daily practice, or aspirations. The hope of this thesis is to provide an in-depth understanding of the issues faced by, and the potential of, people who happen to be homeless.

In conducting research of this nature one needs to keep in mind the importance of personal engagement and connection. The simple act of making someone a cup of tea, sitting down with them, and being willing to listen, can reveal a conversation so layered in meaning that only a fragment of the picture could ever be conveyed. It is important not to overlook the importance of such simple acts where we express and share in a common humanity. In doing so, we are reminded of and humbled by our lack of knowledge, and gain a glimpse of what we might learn if we are open to what others may have to offer. By engaging with another through listening we are given the tools towards working for joint action, change, advocacy, and transformation. I did not know what Ariā, Joshua, Brett, and Daniel would tell me. I did not expect the findings that this research generated. Perhaps in psychology what we need is more research in which the findings are unanticipated.

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Appendices

Appendix 1

Homelessness in New Zealand

Information Sheet

What is this study about?

This study explores people's experiences of homelessness in New Zealand. We are interested in learning more about homeless people's stories and everyday lives. In particular we are interested in your experiences, the places you go and the people you interact with. We want to understand what your life is like.

Who is conducting the study?

A group of researchers from the University of Waikato and Massey University in Albany with service providers including the Auckland City Mission, Anglican Action, de Paul House and Methodist City Action. This research is funded by Marsden and is approved by the Psychology Department Ethics committee at the University of Waikato.

Who can take part?

We would like to talk with you if you have had an experience of sleeping rough on the streets for at least one month and are aged 16 years and over.

What will I be asked to do?

We would like you to take part in interviews and photo exercises 3 or 4 times at roughly 3-4 month intervals.

1. In the first phase there are 3 things we would like you to do:

- First, we would like to talk with you about your experiences of being homeless. This will take about one hour at a convenient time. You will be asked to talk about your situation and specific events in your everyday life. The conversation will be recorded to make sure we have an accurate account. You will receive \$25 in recognition of your efforts.
- Second, we would like you to take photographs of activities, places, events and objects that have meaning to you. We will provide you with a disposable camera. The researcher will then organise a time with you for a follow-up interview.
- Third, you will be asked to come back to talk with the same researcher about your photos and other experiences. This discussion will also be recorded. At the completion of this interview we will give you \$50 in recognition of your efforts.

2. For the second phase, we will contact you about 3-4 months later and ask you to take another selection of photographs that show your life as it is at that time. Then, we will meet and talk with you for about an hour. We would also like you to bring object(s) that reflect something about your life situation. You will receive \$50 as compensation for your time.
3. For the third phase, we will contact you again about 3-4 months later. At this time, we will simply repeat what we did in the second phase to see how your life is. You will receive \$50 at the completion of this phase.

What can I expect from the researchers?

You can:

- ask questions at any point during the study
- contact the service worker who initially approached you if you have any concerns or you can contact the people listed at the end of this document. You may want to use a phone at the service agency.
- ask for the audio recorder to be turned off at any point during the two interviews
- expect that the information will be kept confidential to the researchers and that other people will not recognise you.
- expect us to make the general research findings available to you through the service agency.

If you have any further questions or concerns regarding this study please do not hesitate to contact:

Darrin Hodgetts
(07) 838-4466 Ext. 6456
dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz

Shiloh Groot
samg1@waikato.ac.nz

Otilie Stolte
(07) 838-4466 Ext. 6454
ottilie@waikato.ac.nz

Appendix 2

University of Waikato

Psychology Department

CONSENT FORM

PARTICIPANT'S COPY

Research Project: *More than bricks and mortar: Homelessness and social reintegration*

Name of Researcher:

Name of Supervisor (if applicable):

I have received an information sheet about this research project or the researcher has explained the study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee (Dr Robert Isler, phone: 838 4466 ext. 8401, e-mail r.isler@waikato.ac.nz)

Participant's Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

=====

University of Waikato
Psychology Department
CONSENT FORM

RESEARCHER'S COPY

Research Project: *More than bricks and mortar: Homelessness and social reintegration*

Name of Researcher:

Name of Supervisor (if applicable):

I have received an information sheet about this research project or the researcher has explained the study to me. I have had the chance to ask any questions and discuss my participation with other people. Any questions have been answered to my satisfaction.

I agree to participate in this research project and I understand that I may withdraw at any time. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Research and Ethics Committee.

Participant's Name: _____ Signature: _____ Date: _____

Family/whanau contacts? _____

Service agency _____

Location of the interview (brief description): _____

Charting the interview

Impression of the interviewee: _____

Impression of how the interview went: _____

Initial themes to emerge in the interview: _____

Potential revisions for the interview guide: _____

Synopsis: _____

Camera Collection

Date: _____ Time: _____

Location: _____

Follow-up Interview

Date: _____ Time: _____

Location: _____

Interviewer: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Impression of how the interview went: _____

Initial themes to emerge in the interview: _____

Potential revisions for the interview guide: _____

Synopsis: _____

Appendix 4

Homelessness in New Zealand

Longitudinal Participant

Background Sheet

Phase **I** **II** **III** **IV** **V**

Interviewee Name: _____

Camera Collection

Date: _____ **Time:** _____

Location: _____

Longitudinal Follow-up Interview

Date: _____ **Time:** _____

Location: _____

Interviewer: _____

Duration of the interview: _____

Impression of how the interview went: _____

Appendix 5

Homelessness in New Zealand

Initial Interview Guide Homeless

Introduction

Talk with participants and explain the aims of the initial interview. This conversation/interview intends to:

- enable me to get to know you and to explore what it means to be homeless
- provide you with the opportunity to recount your experiences
- You should approach this as an informal discussion, so relax, ask questions, and when talking about issues try to think of examples.

Becoming homeless

- Tell me about the first time you thought of yourself as being homeless.
[You could start by describing the experience and then take your time to fill in the details.]
- Can you tell me more about how you became homeless?
- Can you tell me about how you adjusted to being homeless?
- What would you say are the primary causes of homelessness?

Being homeless

If you were to summarise what it's like to be homeless what would you say?

What are the most important concerns you face as a homeless person?

Who is helpful to know on the streets?

How do you overcome challenging situations?

Do you think homelessness affects your health? How?

What happens in a typical day or week?

- When you're on the street is it hard work?
- What do you do to keep yourself going on a day-to-day basis?
- Are there any particular place or places where you feel comfortable or safe? [a home]
Tell me about that/those.

Moving around

Bring out the map and ask participant to indicate where they go regularly and what places are important to them. Ask them to identify specific sites or routes:

- Where they go regularly – how often? What times of the day/night?
- How do they get there?
- What happens at these places?
- What interactions do they have - positive or negative experiences?
- Where do you feel safe or unsafe?

- Why do you go there?
What places do they avoid and why?

Relationships

Tell us about the people that are important to you?

- Other homeless people
- Family and housed friends
- How does your family see you, or respond to you?
- Members of the general public

Have your friends and relationships with family [social networks] changed with your homelessness?

Are you still in contact with people from before you were homeless? Tell me about that.

Representations of homelessness

1. How do you feel others who are not homeless see you? [tell me about it] [example]
2. Does this differ for homeless people from different racial groups [eg., Maori / PI]
3. What images of homelessness do media promote?
4. Any examples? / your reactions to these?

Futures

- Can you tell me about where you see yourself in two or three years time?
- Do you have any specific ideas about how you will get there?
- Who or what will be important in this?

Closing the interview

Summarise the main points from the interview and encourage further input from the participant.

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- Do you have any questions concerning this study?

Script for the photographic exercise

What I would like to do now is to go over the second part of the study with you. Remember this is where you get to take photographs. We would like you to take this camera and use it to record whatever people, places, objects or events seem important to you.

Photographic guidelines

If you want to take a photograph of a person you must ask that person first.

We will pick up the camera on

Do you have any questions?

We will meet back here at so that I can collect the camera and have the photographs processed. We can finalise a time to meet up to discuss the photographs then. Any questions?

Appendix 6

Homelessness in New Zealand

Photo Interview Homeless

Introduction

1. Talk with the participants and explain the aims of the second interview. This interview is:
 - Designed to explore the photographs that you have produced.
 - Intended to provide you with the opportunity to recount the experience of taking photographs and what the images mean to you.
2. Again, you should approach this as an informal discussion.

The experience of taking photographs

1. Place all the photographs on the table. What does this picture show?
 - Can you think back to the beginning of the exercise and tell me a story about how you got started and what you photographed?
 - How did you find taking the photographs?
 - Were you able to take photographs of everything you wanted to take?
 - What or who is missing?
2. Present each photograph to the participant
 - What does this picture show?
 - What does this picture mean to you?
 - Can you tell me why you choose this image?
 - Did the photographs turn out like you expected?
 - If you were to do this again what other things would you photograph?

Reconstructing a story

1. Can you place the photographs into the sequence of a story? [Tell me the story]
2. Out of all the photographs you took which would you say best captures your story?
3. Which photographs best capture your experiences of homelessness?
4. Social networks:
 - Who is important in the photos? Why?
 - Who is not in the photos but is important to you?

Out of all the photographs you took which best captures your story?

Places/locales [link to the map from previous interview]

- Which places are important to you? How/why?
- Are there any important places which do not appear on the photos?
- Do you have any places where you feel safer, or have a sense of 'home'?

Resilience

1. Do any of these pictures represent how you deal with challenging situations?
 - What are your strategies and tactics if challenging situations arise?
 - How do you 'get by' in your day-to-day life?

Ethnicity:

1. Do any of these pictures represent specific cultural patterns/interactions?
2. With Maori participants discuss ideas, conceptions of whanaungatanga
3. Discuss Pacific Island equivalents with issues around family, NZ and islands.

Closing the interview

Summarise the main points from the discussion and encourage further input from the participant.

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- Is there anything that you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- Do you have any questions concerning this study?

Thank the interviewee. Also remind the interviewee that they can contact either their service agency contact or the researchers anytime if they have questions or want an update about the research progress.

Appendix 7

Homelessness in New Zealand

Longitudinal Photo Interview

General follow up questions

Raise issues from the first interviews that seem appropriate for each participant and also ask the following:

- What's changed since the last time we talked?
- How is your health? / Have you been sick lately?
- What happens in a typical day or week?
- How do you get by? / How do you deal with problems?
- Are there any places where you feel safe, or have a sense of 'home'?

Place all the photographs on the table. What does this picture show?

- Can you think back to the beginning of the exercise and tell me a story about how you got started and what you photographed?
- How did you find taking the photographs?
- Were you able to take photographs of everything you wanted to take?
- What or who is missing?

Present each photograph to the participant

- What does this picture show?
- What does this picture mean to you?
- Can you tell me why you choose this image?
- Did the photographs turn out like you expected?
- If you were to do this again what other things would you photograph?
- Which photographs best capture your experiences of homelessness?

Social networks

- Who is important in the photos? Why?
- Who is not in the photos but is important to you?
- Are you still in contact with people from when we first talked? Tell me about that.
- Who else is in your life now? Tell me about them
- Can you identify a friend or caseworker who is important to you and whom we might talk to about your homelessness

Objects

- What does this object mean to you?
- What does this object show about your life now?
- Has its importance changed over time for you?
- How long have you had this object?

Summarise the main points from the interview and encourage further input from the participant.

- Would that be an accurate synopsis?
- Is there anything you would like to bring up or thought should have been discussed?
- Do you have any questions concerning this study?

Thank you for your participation

Appendix 8

Payment sheets

Interviewee Name: _____

Interviewer: _____ Date of the interview: _____

Location of the interview: _____

Service agency: _____

Participation fee: _____

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Darrin Hodgetts, (07) 838-4466 Ext. 6456, dhdgetts@waikato.ac.nz
Lecturer and project coordinator

Signature: _____

Date: _____

Otilie Stolte, (07) 838-4466 Ext. 6454, ottilie@waikato.ac.nz
Lecturer and project coordinator

Appendix 9

Photograph Grid for Brett

	<i>People</i>		<i>Places</i>		<i>Objects</i>	
First set (20)	Public	3	Church	2	Clothing and bag	1
			Bookstore	2		
			Bathroom	3		
			Coastal Bay	2		
			Park	1		
			Street	7		
			Buildings	2		
Second set (19)	Social worker	1	Former residence	1	Books	3
			Boarding house	6	Sculpture	1
			Former workplace	2	Sunglasses	1
			Court	1	MP3 player	1
			Buildings	1		
			Library	1		
Third set (Imagined)	Mother		Wellington		Card from daughter	
	Friend		Beaches		Letter of reference	
			Museum		Gallery advertisement	
			The gallery		Friend's car	
			Mother's house			
			Cow shed			
			Featherstone			
			Friend's house			

Table 1: A simple count and summary of Brett's three photograph sets

Appendix 10

Photograph Grid for Daniel

	<i>People</i>		<i>Places</i>		<i>Objects</i>	
First set (27)	Self	2	Service provider	1	Sleeping bag	1
	Joshua	5	Hidden spaces	2	Barbeque cooker	1
	Homeless	4	Park	1	Signs	3
			Aotea Square	2	Cardboard mattress	1
			Sleep-outs	10	Ornament	1
			Church	1	Clothes	1
			Detoxification facility	1	Tree	1
Second set (25)	Self	1	Park	3	Cardboard mattresses	2
			Sleep-outs	15	Mug	1
			Hidden spaces	1	Rubbish	4
			Boarding house room	2	Power point	1
					Tree	1
Third set (25)	Homeless dog owner	1	Communal sleep-out	3	Rubbish	2
			Fenced off sleep-outs	4	Dogs	3
			Sleep-outs	9	Cardboard mattress	1
			Service provider	1	Power point	1
			Aotea Square	1		
			Hidden space	1		
			Waterfront	3		

Table 2: A simple count and summary of Daniel's three photograph sets

Appendix 11

Photograph Grid for Joshua

	<i>People</i>		<i>Places</i>		<i>Objects</i>		<i>Activities</i>	
First set (27)	Self	5	Street	4	Squeegee	3	Window washing	1
	Homeless	7	Service Providers	5	Barbeque cooker	3	Begging	3
	Public	0	Buildings	7	Signs	3	Drinking	4
			Parks	2	Cigarettes	1	Eating	1
			Car park	1			Socializing	1
			Garage	1				
Second set (27)	Self	0	Street	3	Squeegee	1	Window washing	2
	Homeless	8	Service providers	3	Bottles	1	Begging	2
	Public	13	Buildings	6	Furnishings	1	Drinking	1
	Staff	2	Park	3			Eating	4
	Cop	1	Food Courts	4			Socializing	4
			Boarding house room	1				
Third set (24)	Self	4	Street	27	Signs	4	Begging	7
	Homeless	14	Alcohol stores	2	Alcohol	5	Drinking	3
	Public	15	Queen Street	11	Money	2		
	Police	3	Aotea Square	2				
Fourth set (27)	Homeless	19	Street	27			Window washing	6
	Staff and Public	5	Car park	3			Drinking	4
	Police	1	ACM	1				
			Alcohol store	1				

Table 3: A simple count and summary of Joshua's four photograph sets

Appendix 12

Photograph Grid for Ariā

	<i>People</i>		<i>Places</i>		<i>Objects</i>	
First set (23)	Homeless	23	Street	15	Taonga	1
	Self	1	Service providers	9	Cigarettes and lighter	3
					Food	3
					Clothes	2
					Cellphone	1
Second set (26)	Homeless	16	Service providers	26	Notice board	1
	Staff	16			Taonga	1
	Self	1			Clothes	8
					Food	1
					Gate	1

Table 4: A simple count and summary of Ariā's two photograph sets