Agency and Citizenship in the Structuration of Homelessness in Brighton

Geert Lonterman

Agency and Citizenship in the Structuration of Homelessness in Brighton

Geert Lonterman (5621674)

Utrecht University, 2016

Supervisor: Marike van Gijsel

Cover Design: Gerben Boink

Abstract

Neoliberal state withdrawal from the provision of social services has shifted the responsibility for the support of homeless people to voluntary and charity organizations. This thesis examines how voluntary and charity organizations affect the agency of homeless people in Brighton. The writing of this thesis was preceded by a three and a half months long fieldwork in Brighton, using the techniques of participant observation. Homelessness in Brighton is structured through the interplay of the agency of homeless people, neoliberal policies and ideals of citizenship, and the endeavours of well-meaning voluntary and charity organizations. Throughout this thesis, it will become clear how the neoliberal ideal of citizenship is applicable to homeless people in Brighton and how this affects their agency. It is hard for homeless people in Brighton to obtain citizenship rights and to comply with citizenship responsibilities, which affects their ability to be constitutive agents. They are only eligible for priority access to supported housing if they are ill or a threat to themselves or society. As a result, their agency, as well as the neoliberal promise of free, self-sustaining citizenship seems to be reduced to the choice whether or not to perform their vulnerability. However, in accordance with various charity and voluntary organizations, homeless people are involved in the structuration of homelessness in Brighton, which both restrains and facilitates action. By focusing on concrete manifestations of neoliberalism in the field of homelessness in Brighton, this thesis is an example of how anthropologists can study globalist projects such as neoliberalism.

Keywords: Homelessness, Structuration, Agency, Citizenship, Neoliberalism.

Table of Contents

Foreword

This thesis is the product of nearly nine months of preparations, fieldwork, discussions and writing. During this period I have enjoyed the feedback of my supervisor Marike van Gijsel and peer student Charelle Kooy. I would like to thank them, and Patrick Neveling, for their meticulous feedback. I want to thank Lili Kokai, Gerben Boink and Thijs den Braven for their continuous support.

I have met the most helpful and generous people and institutions during my fieldwork. The hospitality I encountered at Salvation Army, Op Safe Winter Brighton, First Base Day Centre, One Church, St Anne's Day Centre, Emmaus, Brighton Unemployed Centre Family Project and the Love Activists, has been enormously helpful in finding access to my research population. This thesis by no means intends to blame any of the actors involved in the structure of homelessness in Brighton.

Finally, I would like to express my gratitude to all my research participants. This research did not only help me forward in a scholarly fashion, but also in a very human way. I have learned a lot from the encounters with these beautiful and powerful people. I hope this thesis finds its way to all of you.

In memoriam of Lionel; perhaps the most colourful person I have met, and surely the person who helped me most to get to know the field of homelessness in Brighton.

Chapter One: Introduction

He eats his breakfast quietly in a corner of the hall and does not mind that I ask him a few questions. It is the first time I see him here, and I ask what brings him to this day centre for rough sleepers. Tim tells me that he has been homeless in Brighton since 2001. He was released from hospital this morning where he was taken after swallowing an overdose of morphine. Tim needs morphine to numb the pain of three surgeries to his knee. Yesterday, after yet another unsatisfactory meeting at the council housing committee, Tim took 28 of his morphine pills to get attention from the clerks who had told him that his condition was not urgent enough for him to be considered in priority need. Day by day, Tim feels more depressed: "I am fed up with it, it makes me feel miserable. Each day passes by and each morning I think about how cold it is going to be at night. It is just horrible."

With seventy-eight rough sleepers counted in the autumn of 2015, the municipality of Brighton and Hove deals with the third highest number of rough sleepers in England.[1] Still, rough sleepers only comprise forty percent of the hundred ninety-seven people who are on the waiting list for supported housing in Brighton.[2] This percentage corresponds almost precisely with Reeve and Patty's (2004) estimate of 'hidden homelessness'. They estimate that sixty-two percent of all homeless people in the UK do not sleep rough, but in the homes of family or friends, in squats, or in other forms of insecure housing. This group can still be considered homeless, as homelessness is a socially constructed concept; a universal definition of homelessness does not exist (McNaughton 2006). This thesis uses the following approach to determine who is homeless: those who regard themselves as being homeless are thus conceived to be homeless (Rossi et al 1987, 1336).

Homelessness confronts society with its inability to offer every member the most basic conditions for a healthy life (Glasser and Bridgman 1999, 2); homeless people are often exposed to a multitude of conditions causing ill-health (Nguyen and Peschard 2003, 449). Homeless people are more likely to become victims of crime, and dependent on alcohol and drugs than people who are not homeless; the life expectancy of homeless people in the UK is forty-seven years, compared to seventy-seven years of the general population (Reeve and Batty 2004). In order to challenge homelessness-related issues, the local council of Brighton and Hove urges voluntary and charity organizations to work together on their goal to 'end the need to sleep rough' by the year 2020.[3] This call for cooperation can be understood in the

light of neoliberal state-withdrawal from the provision of social services (Harvey 2005, 3). The responsibility for the provision of social services has shifted from the state to voluntary and charity organizations (Cloke et al 2006, 1091; Verhoeven and Tonkens 2013, 415). Homeless people in Brighton are supported by these organisations in various ways. How does this support affect the agency of homeless people like Tim? This leads to the main question of this thesis: *how do voluntary and charity organizations affect the agency of homeless persons in Brighton?*

Theoretical Outlining

Throughout this thesis, agency is understood as the exercise of power in its primary sense of 'bringing about of effects', that is, engaged in action that is constitutive (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808). The primary aim of this thesis is to show how the agency of homeless people and the structure within which they operate are mutually dependent in the activity of structuration (Giddens 1979). The focus of this thesis on the particular structuration of homelessness in Brighton gives way to look at the local manifestations (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008) and heterogeneity (Tsing 2000) of neoliberal projects. Neoliberalism has altered the relationship between the state and its citizens (Kivisto and Faist 2007), as well as the approach to the unequal distribution of resources in society, which is always connected to citizenship (1993, 2-3). Citizens are transformed from passive recipients of state assistance into active, self-sustaining individuals, who are 'liberated' from the state (Clarke 2005, 448). However, how does this ideal of citizenship relate to Tim? How can his decision to take an overdose of morphine be understood in terms of agency?

The second aim of this thesis is to show how the neoliberal ideal of citizenship is applicable to homeless people in Brighton and how this affects their agency. It will be argued that homeless people in Brighton have become reliant on acts of performativity (Cloke et al 2008) in order to show their vulnerability (Ticktin 2011; Fassin 2005; Evans 2011). Relying on the performance of vulnerability contradicts the neoliberal ideal of citizenship and seems to diminish people's agency (Lyon-Callo 2000; Mathieu 1993). However, homeless people are active participants in how they negotiate their situation, and it is important to look at the agency they possess (McNaughton 2006, 150). Therefore, the final aim of this thesis is to show how, with both the support and hindrance of charity and voluntary organizations, homeless people in Brighton use their agency in a variety of ways to sustain or alter their homelessness.

Methodology

This research was carried out between February 4 and May 14, 2016 using the methods of participant observation; "a method in which a researcher takes part in the daily activities, rituals, interactions, and events of a group of people as one of the means of learning the explicit and tacit aspects of their life routines and their culture" (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002, 1). In the beginning of my research I made use of the 'windshield survey approach' (DeWalt and DeWalt 2011, 133): I walked around the city to observe the spatial placement of people, objects and fields, while talking to the people I encountered. I had to overcome my personal hesitation to approach homeless people, because I was anxious about their reactions. Why would they share their personal stories with me? Soon it became clear that the large majority of people were actually eager to talk to me. Although this loosened me up, I still had to find my own genuine way of presenting myself. From the ethnographic courses I had followed at university I remembered two important things. First, that during fieldwork, the personal traits, background and perceptions of the researcher shape the entire research process (Diphoorn 2013, 203). And second, that "the acknowledgement that the age, gender, outsider status and lived experience of the researcher will open up some avenues of discovery and inhibit others" (Jordan 2001, 42). Although these lessons were clearly important, I still had to find a way to implement them in the subjective researcher role that was new to me. At first sight, my background seemed different from those of my informants. In addition, I could not foresee with certainty which of my traits would open up or inhibit which avenues of discovery.

My search for a suitable approach was a process of trial and error. Hank, one of my informants, taught me that there is an ever present difference in hierarchy between people who sit on the streets because they are homeless, and those who walk past and are not homeless. Even if the person walking by gives away food or money, or starts a conversation, he or she still literally looks down on the one who sits. I found out that my informants and I were able to relate to each other best when we broke away from social barriers and sat down next to each other. We were able to find common ground - and a certain intimacy - on which personal backgrounds and perspectives could be shared. I have made mistakes during this process. On the first day of my research I sat down with a homeless person. He asked for some change, which I gave to him, contradicting my prior intentions. Another time, while actively participating in the soup kitchen of an activist group, I have accidentally dropped a fork; and then proceeded to nevertheless give it to a man cueing up who was not happy with my deed. These actions reinforced the social hierarchy between myself and members of my

research population. If I wanted to create a horizontal relationship with my research population, it had to be based on equality. The same considerations made me decide not to turn my back on participants who were under the influence of alcohol or drugs. I did evaluate the information they shared differently to avoid succumbing to the pitfall of corrupting my research data. Yet, sticking around while they were high or tipsy helped to establish mutual trust.

Over time, the people I have encountered functioned as important stepping stones towards my ability to get into contact with voluntary and charity organizations who work with homeless people. Gaining permission is the first step to carry out research (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002, 37), and by gaining access to various day centres for homeless people, it was not hard to find informants. I gained permission after I told the managers of these centres about my research objectives. Although the core of my data collection originates from participant observation with homeless people and ex-homeless people, I also used open-interview techniques to interview managers, employees and volunteers of charity and voluntary organizations, local politicians, a police representative, non-homeless people, and activists. All in all, one hundred five people participated in this research. I have shifted between three modes of participant observation as suggested by Diphoorn (2013, 209), while always ensuring that people knew that I was doing research. I participated 'actively' by participating in demonstrations and soup kitchens, which showed my involvement with my research population. I participated 'reluctantly' by visiting the day centres, queueing up for lunch just like the others did. However, by jotting down notes and by interviewing other visitors, my participation was different from that of other visitors. Finally, I participated 'passively' by observing people on the streets. Changing between these three roles helped me to find a suitable and fruitful approach for different research settings. Throughout the entire research process I have followed Diphoorn's (2013, 208) advice to frequently reread my field notes in order to remind myself of my research data and to remember what I talked about with various informants. Instead of following a small number of informants for a longer period of time, I chose to engage with many different informants in order to show the variety of what is often seen as a homogeneous group of homeless people. In this thesis I bring forward those individuals' stories that exemplify my findings best, and I use pseudonyms for people who have not given consent for the use of their names.

It is a widely accepted idea that complete objectivity is not obtainable in the study of human behaviour, and personal characteristics will always have influence upon the role that a particular researcher may adopt (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:25). This is why it is important to

make our personal biases as explicit as possible; others should be informed of these when judging one's work (DeWalt and DeWalt 2002:81). Presented in this thesis is not the unmediated world of the other, but the world created 'between' me and my informants (Jordan 2001, 42). I chose to do this research because I strongly abhor growing inequalities in the world. According to Nancy Scheper-Hughes (2004, 59) the radical promise of the anthropological discipline consists of the ability to question and problematize taken-for-granted assumptions. With this research I intended to defy taken-for-granted assumptions which portray homelessness as a choice and as someone's personal fault. In the conclusion I will return to this intention and the way this personal objective corresponds to the understanding of agency which is followed throughout this thesis.

I believe that anthropologists have a responsibility to mitigate the suffering of others to the highest degree they can (Oliver-Smith and Hoffman 2002:14). Therefore, this thesis does not only aspire to be of scholarly interest, but also to be of societal relevance. By sending a copy of this thesis to all participants in this research, as well as to all organizations and agents who work with homeless people in Brighton, this thesis hopes to "generate public discussion, influence opinion, and engage politicians and policymakers critically to achieve genuine social change" (Robben and Sluka 2012, 25).

Formatting the Argument

The main argument of this thesis is that charity and voluntary organizations play a vital role in both restraining and facilitating the agency of homeless people in Brighton. To support this argument, both existing theories and data derived from my empirical research will be analysed. Chapter two aims to present the structuration of homelessness in Brighton. In chapter three, the applicability of neoliberal ideals about agency and citizenship to homeless people in Brighton will be examined. In chapter four, the different ways in which homeless people in Brighton are both liberated and restrained by voluntary and charity organizations to use their agency will be distinguished. To conclude, an answer will be provided to the main question of this thesis: *how do voluntary and charity organizations affect the agency of homeless persons in Brighton?*

Chapter Two: Entering the Cycle of Homelessness

Introduction

As an overly excited, yet inexperienced researcher I decided to spend my first day of fieldwork walking around town, observing my research population in Brighton and Hove. The city counts 275.000 inhabitants and the main touristic attractions are within walking distance from each other. With the sea to the south it is easy to keep direction. Parallel to the beach runs Kings Road, in reference to King George IV who constructed the Royal Pavilion in the heart of town. Alongside the Brighton Pier and the cramped and narrow Lanes filled with bars, shops and restaurants, the majestic construction of the Pavilion is one of the main tourist attractions. The gardens and parade of the Old Steine divide the town into east and west, with most shopping and leisure facilities being concentrated in the west. During my first stroll around these streets I counted twenty-two men and four women who either sat or lay down on the street; homelessness is eminently visible here. Perched midway between the train station in the north and Kings Road in the south, a pivotally located historic building refers to the connection between Brighton and the British Royal Family. The Jubilee Clock Tower was built in 1888 to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of Queen Victoria, 'Queen of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland and Empress of India'. On the first day of my fieldwork not only Queen Victoria's pictures decorated the Clock Tower: the distinctive structure of the tower was turned into a memorial of the life of K.J. This friendly looking man lost his life a little more than a week before I arrived due to an overdose of drugs while he was living on the streets of Brighton. Three of his bereft homeless friends were sitting on the benches facing the Clock Tower, sipping their beers quietly. In this setting, there was no way for passing pedestrians to ignore homelessness. They either had to make a detour around K.J's friends or walk in between them and the memorial. In the beginning of my research I would come to this memorial daily to ask both K.J.'s friends as well as passers-by: why are there so many homeless people in Brighton? The responses to my question were as diverse as the population of this liberal coastal town. While some people deemed the homeless at fault, blaming them for their alcohol and drug abuse, others pointed at government welfare cuts or thought that the coastal town simply attracted many homeless people. As with most things in life, they were all a little bit right.

During my three and a half months in Brighton, I found many possible explanations to this first question. This chapter aims to delineate the structuration of homelessness in Brighton. Homelessness results from causes that are related to the individual's agency as well as to societal structures (Von Mahs 2013, 122), which in Brighton are influenced by neoliberal policies. Neoliberalism is "a theory of political and economic practices that proposes that human well-being can best be advanced by liberating individual entrepreneurial freedoms and skills within an institutional framework characterized by strong private property rights, free markets, and free trade" (Harvey 2005, 2). Economic disparities and homelessness are by some theorists seen as logical forthcomings of neoliberal policies (see May et al 2005; Lyon-Callo 2003). However, scholars should be wary of conceptualizing homelessness as merely the outcome of neoliberalism (Murphy 2009, 309). Doing so would give neoliberalism too much credit, while the agency of individuals would be denied. It is not a unitary, external force that bears down on states, institutions, populations, or individuals (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008, 119). Neoliberalism should be considered as a heterogeneous rather than a homogeneous project (Tsing 2000). For these reasons, this chapter will look at the concrete structuration of homelessness in Brighton through altered conceptualisations of citizenship and 'home', and through the need to have a local connection to Brighton in order to be eligible for council supported housing. This chapter aims to unravel the complicated interplay of structure, agency, the local and the global on homeless people, and to interweave and complicate different causes for homelessness in Brighton. Zygmunt Bauman (2004, 28) believes that what separates the people getting by in modernity from the people who go to 'waste' is a grey zone and a kingdom of underdefinition and uncertainty. It is hard to say why one becomes homeless, while someone else does not. I invite the reader to enter this kingdom of uncertainty in Brighton.

The Structure and Agency of Homelessness

What causes homelessness? Two theoretical approaches have often polarized the debate, one emphasizing structural factors and the other focusing on explanations which emphasize agency (McNaughton 2006, 139; Neale 1997, 49). As mentioned before, agency must be understood as the exercise of power in its primary sense of 'bringing about of effects', that is, engaged in action that is constitutive (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808). To put it simply, homeless people are often either seen as the logical result of a rotten barrel or simply as rotten apples. In the beginning of my research I was struggling to understand the relationship between the

structure and agency of homelessness. The Giddensian concept of structuralism was the theory that helped me grasp how these concepts relate to each other. Anthony Giddens (1979, 53) argues that "the notions of action and structure presuppose one another". People's agency and the structure within which they operate must be understood as "mutually dependent in the activity of structuration" (Giddens 1979, 69). Structure and agency work in tandem. Social life is structured by and reproduced through human agency both individually and institutionally and is capable of both restraining and facilitating action (Giddens 1979, 69-70). Giddens would argue that homelessness cannot be reduced to either individual or structural causes (Neale 1997, 56). Edgar et al use the following conceptual tool to understand causes for homelessness: structural causes create the conditions within which agency factors and vulnerability to homelessness interact to determine the scale and nature of homelessness (Edgar et al in Anderson 2004, 386).

Although it can be argued that this model is oversimplified, it did help me to understand why some people become homeless while others do not. I will illustrate how this concept can be applied by introducing someone I met during my first week in Brighton:

Steven, in his early sixties, has no local ties to Brighton. The local council does not treat his case with priority, because by the council's standards his medical needs are not urgent. Without a local connection and a priority status, he is not eligible for council supported housing. Steven was made redundant three years ago and although he desires to spend his days in Gambia with his Gambian wife, the English benefit system does not allow anyone who is living off benefits to stay abroad for longer than 26 weeks a year.[4] For this reason, Steven needed to fly back to London Gatwick at the end of 2015 where he bought a train ticket to Brighton with the only money he had left.

Steven is strong, tough and determined. He knows that he needs to travel back and forth every six months between his wife in Gambia and the benefits system in England until he reaches pensioners age, yet he chooses to put up with it. Without a job to afford the rent with and without friends or family to support him, Steven is vulnerable to homelessness. People experiencing homelessness often lack some or all of the resources of human, social, cultural and economic capital, which will strongly influence the chances they have in life (McNaughton 2006, 137). Steven's vulnerability is exacerbated by his life on the streets; in May this year, on the day he wanted to go to a travel agency to book his flight back to Gambia, his money was stolen. Without financial support it will take Steven another few

months to save enough money through the benefits he shares with his wife, before he can afford to buy a ticket. Hence, structural causes have created the conditions within which Steven's agency and his vulnerability to homelessness interact to determine Steven's life on the streets.

Although the theories of Giddens (1979) and Edgar et al (2004) help to make sense of the myriad reasons for homelessness, Suzanne Fitzpatrick would argue that the representation above is unsatisfactory from a theoretical point of view. This is because many causes of homelessness cannot solely be ascribed to either structure or agency (Fitzpatrick 2005, 5). Her point can be illustrated by looking at the case of Stewart. He became homeless in the aftermath of losing his wife in a motorcycle accident. The mental problems brought about by his loss are not a macro-structural problem, but neither are they in his own control. In this chapter I will use Edgar's scheme to come to terms with all possible reasons for homelessness, but this thesis does not argue that these causes can simply be attributed to one category or the other. For this reason, this thesis will provide ethnographic examples of homeless people, not only to illustrate individual factors, but also for supposedly structural causes. That is because homelessness is caused by the complex interaction of experience, characteristics and environment (Pleace 2000, 592). During my time in Brighton I have not heard the same explanation for the homelessness of different individuals twice. However, that does not mean that there are no common denominators in the causes for homelessness; homelessness is structured by and reproduced through human agency, both individually and institutionally.

Modernity's Unfortunates?

Zygmunt Bauman (2004, 5) argues that the production of excessive and redundant 'wasted humans' is an inevitable outcome of modernization. Economic progress cannot proceed without degrading what is invaluable and the order-building principles of modernization unavoidably cast some parts as undesirable and thus invaluable (Bauman 2004, 5). In the 'profit-making modernization game', people who are not needed will be made redundant (Bauman 2004, 12). The poor in the midst of corporate wealth can be seen as irrelevant in the new world 'disorder'; their labour is outsourced and workers are no longer needed (Susser 1996, 412). In Brighton, indeed many homeless people point to the loss of their job as a main reason for homelessness and some feel like they are left out by modern society. Harry, for example, told me that he, like everyone else present at the day centre where I met him, feels

'disenfranchised': "We [homeless people] don't matter", he said. "People have become assets for profit. If you don't produce profit you don't matter. I have had enough of it! I have seen people flick their keys away, they don't want to live in their homes any longer!" Harry calls himself anti-capitalist and anti-money. Although he probably would be entitled to receive job seekers allowance, he does not make a claim. Harry is not the only homeless person who feels let down by modern society. In Brighton, I found seven other people who share this sentiment. They all claim that their homelessness is a conscious choice to turn their back at society, although this may make life more difficult. For Harry, survival is a daily task. A job seekers allowance would give him enough money to sustain himself, but his refusal to make a claim gives him the feeling of being more engaged in constitutive action. Harry is able to travel around the UK without having to apply for jobs. His attempted withdrawal from society is also an attempt to uphold his agency.

Concrete Manifestations of Neoliberal Structures

The lived experiences of people like Harry are important indicators of perceived powerlessness within capitalist society. However, it is important to note that globalisms like neoliberal capitalism and modernity are not a 'meta-descriptive container category' applicable to any social phenomenon (Neveling 2014, 20). Instead of following paradigms speaking of neoliberalism as a thing that acts in the world, it is necessary to focus on concrete projects that account for specific people, institutions and places (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008). Therefore, it is important to look at the ways neoliberal practices are manifested concretely in the field of homelessness in Brighton, namely through altered conceptions of citizenship and home.

Neoliberal Citizenship

Like most of my informants in Brighton, Carl felt like he did not live up to what is considered good citizenship. Carl is a nearly-sixty year old Brightonian whose social network has significantly decreased after the death of his parents and a dispute with his only sister. I met him regularly at one of the main day centres for rough sleepers in Brighton, although he was taken off the streets and put into supported housing after suffering from several serious health conditions. Traditionally voting Conservative, Carl agreed with people who think you need to earn your own living. Before he lost his home, he walked past homeless people without feeling much sympathy. His prejudice told him that homeless people are drunks. It

was only after Carl himself lost his job and his home that he saw that most homeless people are "not always drunk and can actually be quite reasonable". He realized that society is not considerate of those who are not wealthy. "We [homeless people] are at the bottom of the ladder, as far as society is concerned."

The vast majority of homeless people in Brighton are UK citizens like Carl. A homeless health audit conducted in Brighton in 2014 showed that 89% of all respondents were UK nationals (Brighton and Hove City Council 2014). The audit demonstrates that formally, the majority of homeless people in Brighton are citizens who possess a set of rights both claimed and bestowed upon all members of a political community (Pukalski 1997, 3). However, Kivisto and Faist show that citizenship is not just a collection of rights and obligations; citizenship also inevitably involves a dialectical process between inclusion and exclusion, between those deemed eligible for citizenship and those who are denied the right to become members (Kivisto and Faist 2007, 1). The concept of citizenship is therefore often subject of discussions concerning nationalism and immigration, but to me it appears to be just as applicable to the allocation of wealth between different members of what appears to be a homogenous polity of members of the same nation-state.

This is because citizenship is necessarily connected with the problem of unequal distribution of resources in society (Turner 1993, 2-3). The popular notion about how these resources should be distributed among citizens is subject to an ongoing debate. By the middle of the twentieth century, the dominant idea was that the state had a primary task to create and maintain a welfare state, whereas the rise of neoliberalism in the 1980s signalled the beginning of an attack on existing welfare state programs (Kivisto and Faist 2007, 8-9). Neoliberalism subsequently changed the relationship between the state and its citizens (Kingfisher and Maskovsky, 2008, 116). In neoliberalism, the underlying moral image of the individual is one of an autonomous, free, rational, and self-regulating citizen who takes responsibility in regulating herself, her children and her neighbourhoods (Dean in van Houdt et al 2011, 411). "The neoliberal subject is … not a citizen with claims on the state but a self-enterprising citizen-subject who is obligated to become an 'entrepreneur of himself or herself'" (Ong 2006, 14). In neoliberal England, citizens are transformed from passive recipients of state assistance into active, self-sustaining individuals, who are 'liberated' from the state (Clarke 2005, 448). Through this liberation, people have become responsible for their own well-being. Those who for a multitude of reasons cannot comply with this responsibility, are particularly vulnerable to homelessness.

Conceptualising 'Home'

Another way in which neoliberalism is structured concretely is through changing conceptualisations of 'home'. Home is more than just a house (Easthope 2004, 134). It is both a place we give meaning to, as it is a place yielding meaning. We give meaning to our houses by expressing ourselves symbolically in the spatial arrangements and decorations of our houses and the surrounding public space (Cieraad 2006, 2). Home is a physical place that is a constancy in the social environment, and a spatial context for daily routines; home is where people feel in control of their lives, and a secure base where identities are constructed (Dupuis and Thorns 1998, 29). These conceptualisations of home help to understand what it must be like to be homeless. However, whereas Dupuis and Thorns conceptualize home as something static, Oude Breuil shows how home can also be experienced through mobility. She therefore calls for a break from limited, fixed and territorialized ways of thinking about home (Oude Breuil 2014, 139). As a result, Oude Breuil broadens the scope of the concept home, which helps to explain why some people are attached to life on the streets. Although it may be hard to conceive a piece of cardboard underneath the canopy of a supermarket a home, my informant Lee thought of it as his home for the three years he stayed there; a pitch where he felt relatively safe to sleep and where others would come to meet him. Something hard to conceive indeed, especially in England where home ownership is, or at least used to be, part of the dominant culture.

According to Lee and other informants, the 'general ethos' in the UK twenty years ago was to buy your own house. A large scale survey conducted by Saunders (1990) in the 1990s showed an overwhelming preference for homeownership by UK citizens. The dominant idea of home ownership rose alongside the rise of neoliberalism in England (Anderson 2004). Anderson studied the historical relationship between UK state intervention and homelessness. After the rise to power of the Conservative Margaret Thatcher in 1979, the role of the state changed. State bureaucracies were deemed to be inefficient and were therefore subjected to the disciplines of the market, while state support for housing was largely withdrawn (Anderson 2004, 375). Council owned houses were sold to private owners and, due to cuts in government expenses, could not be replaced (Anderson 2004, 375-376). The results of government stimulation for homeownership and a decrease of social rented houses are still visible in Brighton and Hove today. Most recent Brighton and Hove housing statistics show that in 2011, 53 percent of houses in Brighton and Hove were owner-occupied, 28 percent of households were renting from private landlords and only 15 percent

were renting in the social rented sector.[5] In December 2013, housing prices in Brighton and Hove were 44 percent above the average in England and Wales. And prices continue to rise. In 2013, the average price of a home in the city increased by 5.5 percent compared to 2012. The minimum household income required to afford entry level market housing is £42.000 per year, while the median income in Brighton and Hove is only £28.240 per year. The high housing prices explain why the phrase 'most people are only one pay check away from being homeless' is often heard in Brighton. Unsurprisingly, the demand for social housing is bigger than the amount of houses the city council can offer. More than 23.000 people are on the waiting list for social housing.[6] As a result, Brighton and Hove council cannot comply with its statutory obligation (Loison-Leruste and Quilgars 2008, 77) to house homeless people. I spoke with Labour councillor and member of the housing committee in Brighton, Clare Moonan, who told me:

"We are building houses as fast as we can, but with the sea on the south and [Natural Park] the Weald to the north there is not much space, and housing is expensive. We are looking at alternative housing options right now. Container-, pre-built, factory-built housing, which are cheaper. We do everything we can, but the need is bigger than we can manage."

The effects of neoliberal policies are thus articulated concretely in housing policies and altered conceptions of 'home'. Neoliberal marketization of the housing rental sector have changed the conception of home in England; from a place one owns to a place one rents. Due to an extreme increase in rental prices, many people in Brighton now cannot even afford to rent a house; they are left homeless.

The Need to Have a Local Connection

Those who are homeless in the UK need a local connection in order to be found eligible for council supported accommodation (Dobie et al. 2014, 2-3). The requirement of having a local connection problematizes the freedom to move around. The European Federation of National Organisations Working with the Homeless even considers this requirement, like any other restriction on emergency accommodation, a violation of European and human rights (European Observatory on Homelessness 2015, 24-25). Nevertheless, Simon Hughes, manager of First Base Day Centre, showed me that the local connection policy in Brighton is very strict. To receive council supported housing, one needs to have proof of a tenancy in

Brighton and Hove for six months minimum out of the last twelve months, or three years out of the last five years. Other ways to comply with this policy is by having permanent employment or at least one blood relative in the city. The only way to circumvent the requirement of having a local connection is by making a compelling case of why it would be in their best interest to stay in Brighton and Hove, and not in another city. The measure concerning the local connection requirement is taken to discourage more homeless people from coming down to Brighton. It is argued, and confirmed by some of my informants, that many homeless people prefer to be homeless in the relatively sunny south of England than elsewhere. This puts extra pressure on the local council and the charities commissioned by the council to deal with homelessness. By requiring a local connection to Brighton, the local council rejects responsibility for people coming from other parts of the UK.

By denying homeless people the right to move around, their 'power-geometry' is reduced. Power-geometry is what Massey (1993) calls the power to overcome spatial barriers. Although technological inventions and processes have revolutionized the objective qualities of space and time (Harvey 1989, 240), not everyone has the same resources to make use of it. Different social groups have distinctive access to spatial movement, and some are more in charge than others (Massey 1993, 63). Additionally, for many of the homeless people I have spoken to, these regulations pose massive restrictions on their agency to find themselves a place to live. After becoming homeless, one might understandably want to leave their town of residence to break away from domestic violence, bad habits or shame. I understood this better after talking to Hank and Maria, who have been homeless for respectively nine and thirteen years. While planning out the route for a demonstration in solidarity of people who still live on the streets, they explained to me the ways in which the need for a local connection can be detrimental. Hank explained why it is favourable to move around when one is homeless. In his experience, people are more likely to help a homeless person they see for the first time than a homeless person they see every day. However, this was not the only reason why it was better for him to move away from his home town. In his home town, his family and friends will always remind him of his drinking problems. Furthermore, his father who still lives in his home town, abused Hank when he was younger; Hank does not want to go back and risk running into him. When Hank became homeless he was 'totally out of money' and therefore needed to beg, which would have been very shameful to do in his home town. As Maria put it, "nothing is worse than being homeless and to have people you used to hang out with walk past you and pretend not to know you". Hence, moving around the country might make life

easier for homeless people, but the need for a local connection decreases their necessary power-geometry to do so.

Yet, how does this decrease of power-geometry relate to Steven? In the last three years he has been able to fly back and forth to Gambia every half a year with a cheap airline. Whenever he is in this former British colony he lives in 'the biggest mansion' of the town he inhabits, together with his Gambian wife who 'makes him feel like a king', and where his health issues seem non-existent. Whenever he is in England, he sleeps on the streets and is reliant on social services and their provision of food and medical attention, because he needs to save money for his return flight and to support his wife. A king in post-colonial Gambia and a rough sleeper in Brighton; Steven's case exemplifies how homelessness cannot be reduced to structural causes. Steven is in control of his mobility and engaged in action that is constitutive (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808) to negotiate the scale of his homelessness.

Conclusion

Homelessness is neither the result of merely agency nor structure. The agency of homeless people and the structure within which they operate are "mutually dependent in the activity of structuration" (Giddens 1979, 69). Homelessness is therefore not a logical forthcoming of neoliberal policies, but structured and reproduced through human agency, both individually and institutionally. People who become homeless are constitutive agents who to different degrees influence the scale and nature of their homelessness. This chapter has shown how the structuration of homelessness in Brighton is influenced by altered conceptualisations of citizenship and 'home', and through the need to have a local connection to Brighton in order to be eligible for council supported housing. Chapter three will delve deeper into the consequences of the structuration of homelessness on the agency and citizenship of people who have already become homeless.

Chapter Three: Agency Reduced to the Performance of Vulnerability

Introduction

"Let's score him up!", calls the chairperson of the Supported Housing Panel. It is my last week in Brighton and I am very happy to have been given the opportunity to be present at this panel meeting. There are six women and one man seated around me at the table. The regular members of this panel are the manager of the supported housing allocation team, two council officers, a mental health placement officer, and representatives from the services Probation, the Rough Sleepers Team and Adult Social Care. The manager and chairperson of the panel just presented a poignant case of a homeless person. The information is provided by the council or by the organization which referred the applicant. Applicants cannot apply themselves. 'Let's score him up!'; the comment is meant to lighten the mood after reading a concise collection of the tragedies of the applicant. The members of the panel sit through a meeting which lasts several hours; the fate of seventeen applicants is decided. The outcomes of this discussion have great consequences for the homeless applicants. 'Scoring up' means assigning points to each individual's case to three different categories: current accommodation, support needs and risk to self and/or others. Some subcategories are 'risks to members of the public', 'misuse of drugs', 'major physical illness', 'suicidal ideation' and 'fire setting'. The homeless person whose poignant case was just presented is given a high score, after which the manager jokingly says 'I am feeling soft today'. The applicant is lucky: the sum of scores received in the three categories determines whether the council's priority to house the applicant is low, medium or high. In a morbid way, being vulnerable, or a risk to self and/or others improves one's chances of being housed. I asked one of the housing officers how this affects the way homeless people in Brighton position themselves. She argued that the way clients position themselves is not affected by the scoring system, because they are not aware of it. However, during my research, I met plenty of homeless people who knew that their chances of being housed were not substantial, without, for example, a major addiction or mental health issue. In a city where 23.000 people are on the waiting list for social housing, and over 200 people wait for a vacancy in supported housing, this very panel can be seen as the last resort for homeless people who wish to find a house in Brighton. Consequently, for homeless people wishing to be allocated to supported housing, it has become an advantage to be ill or a threat to themselves and society.

How did it come this far? The need to be ill or a threat to society opposes individual agency and the neoliberal image of the free, rational, and self-regulating citizen (Dean in van Houdt et al 2011, 411), who is active, self-sustaining, and 'liberated' from the state (Clarke 2005, 448). In the UK, citizens possess economic, social, civil and political rights. Citizenship responsibilities include living with environmental limits, participating in civic society through voting and jury service, assisting the police, paying tax and obeying the law (Ministry of Justice 2009, 9). However, in the 'new interactive' neoliberal mode of citizenship, rights and benefits are not necessarily obtained through nation-state membership, but in accordance with entrepreneurial capacity (Ong 2006, 119). The results of this shift are visible in the field of homelessness in Brighton. The aim of this chapter is to delineate four factors which have led to the supposed reduction of the agency of homeless people to the choice whether or not to play the trump card of vulnerability. First, by looking at the right to vote, the right to be protected and the difficulties of complying with citizenship responsibilities, this chapter will show how citizenship rights and responsibilities are not equally attainable for homeless people in Brighton. Second, by showing how the neoliberal ideal of managing one's life does not apply to people who have become homeless in Brighton and are allocated to emergency accommodation. Third, by exploring how common perceptions of homeless people as either lazy, undeserving people or as blameless victims correspond to the understanding of agency as involvement in action that is constitutive (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808). Finally, by examining the implications of the need to perform vulnerability.

Liberation from or Abandonment by the State

In Brighton, many homeless people feel abandoned rather than liberated by the state. Moreover, despite the promises of neoliberalism, they have not become self-reliant. For people like Anthony, self-reliance does not seem to be an achievable goal. Anthony is an army veteran who suffers from Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder. He is not considered homeless, because he lives in temporary accommodation provided by the local council. Nevertheless, due to his mental health disorder, Anthony spends at least one night a week sleeping rough. Anthony is often distressed; at least once a week to the extent that he feels like he needs to get away from it all. That is when he sleeps on the street; with a knife to protect himself, far away from the city centre, because he is afraid he might hurt someone. Although staying away from his apartment eases his distress, it provides him with other

worries, since staying away for too long could result in the loss of his accommodation. Anthony: "If you abandon your house you will never get accommodated again". Anthony's case further problematizes strict conceptions of homelessness: people may have adequate housing, yet continue to sleep rough. Furthermore, Anthony's case proves the point made by Simon Hughes, that accommodating homeless people is not sufficient in its own in getting people off the streets. Many people need additional support to prevent them from becoming homeless again at a later point in life. However, this type of support has become increasingly scarce due to government cuts. As a result, Anthony does not receive mental health support which could help him self-manage his anxiety. As the case of Anthony exemplifies, the neoliberal liberation from the state can be a curse rather than a blessing.

Citizenship Rights

While Anthony's needs are not fully met, at least he has been given the statutory right to housing. The question arises how people who are literally without a home can obtain citizenship rights. Councillor Clare Moonan argues that the rights of citizenship are not equally attainable for everyone. If you live on the streets and you do not have an address, you are excluded in 'all sorts of ways'. One way homeless people are excluded is through the difficulty to vote. When Lee was still homeless, he wanted to cast his vote at the most recent national elections. In theory, people in Brighton without a home address register on the address of First Base Day Centre so that they are registered to vote. However, when Lee went to the nearest polling station, they said they had never heard of the day centre and that he was not registered to vote.

In addition to the right to vote, homeless people are often deprived of the right to protection. Those who see no other option but to sleep rough are in a dangerous situation; most rough sleepers say that they feel the need to either walk around all night or to 'sleep with one eye open'. These safety measures are not without good reason. Although I was personally never witness of violence against homeless people, they are often victims of crime. I never actually realized my plans to sleep on the streets of Brighton. Mostly, because my rough sleeping informants never seemed to encourage the idea. Second, I did not want to lull myself into a false sense of understanding that I could truly imagine what it is like to stay out; I would have had the prospect of eventually diving into my warm bed after the experiment would be over. However, I did make long hours at night, walking around alone, or with some of my informants, and I noticed how the atmosphere at night can be

intimidating. Especially on weekends, when members of the party crowd stop to have a laugh at rough sleepers; people take supposedly funny pictures with them or shout really mean things. I interviewed police officer Andrew Platt, representative of Sussex Police Street Community Team, responsible for safeguarding, as well as monitoring homeless people in Brighton. Platt told me that the local police is determined to protect the utmost vulnerable people, who have nothing to protect themselves with; they only have their sleeping bags to hide in. It happened during my stay in Brighton that someone's sleeping bag was set on fire.[7] Several of my informants told me that they were beaten up, or urinated on at some point during their homelessness. Andrew told me that people on the streets are 13 times more likely to be the victim of crime, a statement backed by Reeve and Batty (2004).

According to Platt, the police does everything they can to arrest perpetrators of such cowardly crimes. However, many rough sleepers feel like their safety is not looked after. Lee: "What are you gonna report [to the police]? It is not as if you can always give the police a clear description of the person who did something to you. And is the police really going to take any interest in your story?" Hank once stepped up to a police officer after he was beaten up only to hear the policeman ask 'what did you do to deserve that beating?' Formerly homeless Nick: "When you are homeless you are an outlaw, meaning you are outside of the law. We need to look after ourselves." The police does not only try to protect homeless people. They also fine people who are caught begging. This does not help with gaining the trust of homeless people. The local police also warns homeless people that they can get arrested if they do not engage with local services attempting to end homelessness. As a result, homeless people in Brighton do not have enough trust in the capacities and objectives of the local police to give them the sense of safety.

Citizenship Responsibilities

When it comes to citizenship responsibilities, Clare Moonan believes that everyone holds certain responsibilities in society:

"[People are ought] to obey the law, to act responsibly ... be good neighbours, behave appropriately within society, to look for work when you are able to, to maintain yourself as much as possible ... You know? Normal things that make civilized society a pleasant place to live."

In a similar vein, one of Moonan's colleagues, David Gibson, who represents the Green Party in the local council, argues that everyone holds certain responsibilities in society:

"I think all citizens have duties to be kind of civil and respectful of other citizens. And however bad or alienated you might feel, I feel like that is what people should aspire to do. Everybody can fall on hard times, feel bad and loses their status, but you need to interact with your fellow citizens in a way that is not intimidating or threatening, you should always respect others in a way you deserve and not always get yourself".

Although these elected councillors claim that everyone has certain responsibilities in society, Clare Moonan suggests that while people may argue that citizenship rights and responsibilities apply to everyone, not everyone has the same abilities to fulfil those responsibilities. Some people need more support than others. However, she adds that their responsibilities are 'not zero', and people need to engage and move forward to do best to their ability, and with the right support, they can fulfil their citizenship responsibilities. What constitutes 'one's best' remains unclear, but these opinions of local councillors show how, in popular opinion, homeless people are not discharged from their responsibilities of citizenship.

However, once someone enters the cycle of homelessness, it is hard to make a contribution to society, even if it is one's intention to do so. Harry, for instance, thinks that homeless people continue to have certain responsibilities, yet he cannot tell how he can contribute to society: "I don't know how. I don't abuse the system, I don't steal, I don't rob, if I could help with something I would". A common way to contribute to society is through employment. According to Marks (2001, 170), the term citizen conjures up an image of activity and physical prowess to comply with the responsibilities of the political community to which one belongs. However, maintaining a job is extremely difficult for those living on the streets. Homeless informant Danny: "You can't get a job when you are on the streets. When you apply for a job they will ask for your address. What are you going to say?" Danny's point is elaborated by Paul, who used to be homeless:

"The system [as in the way society is organized] is very solid, but the borders [of society, which contain its citizens] are pretty weak. Once you drop out you are placed outside of the system. It is circular. You cannot get a bank account if you don't have an address, and you cannot get a job, because you don't have a bank account."

Even when the problem of not having an address can be circumvented by registering oneself at the day centre, it is hard to maintain a job. Ben finds it hard to sustain his job in the kitchen of a major hotel in town, because he is sleeping rough. Ben had only slept one hour the night before I spoke to him in order to not be robbed or attacked. For homeless people in Brighton, maintaining oneself is hard, and obtaining citizenship rights and fulfilling citizenship responsibilities is even harder.

Managing One's Life

Besides unequal attainability of citizenship rights and compliance with citizenship responsibilities, homeless people in Brighton also seem unable to abide by the neoliberal ideal of managing one's life. Ilana Gerson (2011:539) argues that in a neoliberal vision people own themselves as though they were a business. By seeing people as businesses, a neoliberal perspective presumes that people own their skills and traits which must be nurtured, managed, developed and invested in. The self has thus become a product through an engagement with a neoliberal market that requires participants to be reflexive managers of their abilities and alliances (Gerson 2011, 539). "The individual is to become, as it were, an entrepreneur of itself, seeking to maximize its own powers, its own happiness, its own quality of life, through enhancing its autonomy and then instrumentalizing its autonomous choices in the service of its life-style" (Rose in Strauss 2007, 809). What struck me when I listened to Jen's story is that this ideal of managing one's own life does no longer seem to apply to people who have become homeless and are allocated to emergency accommodation in Brighton.

When Jen's landlord decided to sell the house to a family member, Jen and her daughters Frances (11) and Emily (2) became homeless. The council of Brighton considered them to be in priority need, and offered Jen a room in a bed and breakfast in Seaford. Jen found it difficult to take care of Emily without a kitchen in their room, but this was not her greatest worry. Frances attended school in Brighton, and because Seaford is a fifty-minute bus ride away she was separated from her mother and sister and went to live with her father in Brighton. After six weeks Jen and Emily moved again. Jen:

"We *were* moved to Windsor Court [in Brighton]. I can't believe I say this, but if you are lucky you get a place there. It is a block of flats, really grim. While I was there, a caretaker got stabbed in the neck by one of the clients. We stayed on the fifth floor in a room of ten and

a half square meters. I had always been in the position to choose where I wanted to be. Now, I was facing a situation in which someone else tells you what to do next. You are not in control. There are a lot of rules [in Windsor Court]. I could not have any visitors after 8 pm, so Frances could never sleep over, which was really difficult for her. They [the council's housing officers] kept us as low as possible. They came down periodically for a check, and while I lived there with a two-year old and without any storage they said things like 'you could tidy up a bit'."

Windsor Court is infamous for its poor living conditions. According to Jen, it is not really the place to stay for a mother with a young child. Consequently, she feels really lucky that they could move to a bigger and more comfortable apartment after ten months. However, the contract for her new apartment is only temporary as well. Jen feels powerless. Since she became homeless, she was never informed about the housing procedure and about what would happen next. All Jen could do was wait and show up at the housing office regularly. When she got mad, she felt like she was made to wait even longer. Jen claims that the overall attitude towards homeless people can be summed up in the statement 'you chose this way of life'. This frustrates Jen. She says: "we didn't [choose this life]! To a certain degree we are to blame, but we didn't choose this. It makes me pissed off and upset, but my hands are tied, I can't do anything." Jen's sense of inability does not only oppose the neoliberal ideal of managing one's life, it also opposes the conceptualisation of agency as action that is constitutive (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808). The underlying cause of these oppositions originates from popular understandings of homeless people as undeserving citizens, or as blameless victims.

Undeserving Citizens or Blameless Victims

The attitude towards homelessness, which frustrates Jen, is a widely shared perception in society. Homeless people are often seen as urban outcasts whose problems are not products of flaws in society, but deficits within themselves (Wacquant 2009). Are neoliberal citizens not liberated? Then, homelessness must be a voluntarily adopted lifestyle (Westergaard 1995). The idea that poor people have enough opportunities to 'pull themselves out of poverty' has become common sense (Bamfield and Horton in Tyler 2013). Within the neoliberal paradigm, poverty and unemployment are depicted as results of 'bad individual choices' (Tyler 2013); a view which I often encountered in my research. During my

fieldwork, I asked many random people why they think there are so many homeless people on the streets of Brighton. A response exemplary for many of the reactions I received came from Joshua. After he heard that this Dutch student came all the way to Brighton to study homelessness, he near-apologetically told me that most homeless people in England have become homeless due to their own personal mistakes, alcohol and drugs abuse. Like Joshua, many people in Brighton consider homelessness to be the result of bad personal choices.

On the other hand, many other people in Brighton emphasize the victimhood of homeless people. Two volunteers working for homeless people at two different organizations gave the exact same reply to my question about their motives to do voluntary work: "there but for the grace of God go I". People say this to underline how someone else's misfortune could also happen to themselves. Another often quoted sentence among those dealing with homelessness in Brighton is: 'most people are only one pay check away from becoming homeless'. This implies that anyone within the current structure of society could become homeless after losing employment; economic and social security in Brighton are understood to be contingent.

Close reading of the comments placed under an article on police fining beggars by the local newspaper The Argus,[7] reveals both stances on this topic, exemplary of the public opinion on homelessness in Brighton. Opinions range from *'its not there [the beggars] fault there on the street (sic)'* to *'can't they [beggars] grow a backbone and work for a living?'* These comments triggered a fierce debate between opponents and sympathisers of homeless people in Brighton. On social media, the city seems to be torn between two sides; and there does not seem to be a middle way. This reflects a division in Britain between those who regard homeless people as vulnerable, in need of assistance and care, and those who think homelessness is a sign of weakness and an active choice (Pleace 2000, 581). The two sides can be described as voluntarist and non-voluntarist (Strauss 2007, 808). Voluntarism is the assumption that human actions are the result of unfettered voluntary choices. The voluntarist might be aware of external factors that have an effect on behaviour, but still highlights the individual's freedom to choose how to act. Non-voluntarism represents the opposite standpoint, focusing on external factors rather than on individual choices to explain human action.

Pleace (2000) argues that both views on homelessness have for some time undeniably been present in Britain. The 1977 Housing Act is a key piece of legislation that has shaped British policies towards homelessness. According to this law, which is still partly in place, homeless people are only eligible for priority access to social housing if they are vulnerable

and unintentionally homeless (Pleace 2000, 585). The requirements were and remain strict to prevent an 'undeserving' population of homeless people from exploiting its provisions. Hence, a division was made between homeless people who deserve assistance and those who are undeserving of assistance on grounds of victimhood. Contrastingly, policy responses since the 1990s have advanced that individual characteristics predispose some individuals to being vulnerable to homelessness, emphasizing deviance (Pleace 2000, 592). Whether homeless people are portrayed as lazy, lousy, undeserving people, or as blameless victims, they are not portrayed as active agents, in control of their own destiny (Whiteford 2010, 17). As a result of the above, the most prominent way in which homeless people remain able to utilize their agency in Brighton is through showing their vulnerability.

Acting on One's Vulnerability

The choice to act on one's vulnerability seems to be the last resort for homeless people in Brighton to be engaged in constitutive action. As seen before, in order to be eligible for supported housing, homeless persons must show that they deserve support. This thesis opened with the story of Tim. His decision to take an overdose of morphine in front of the council offices was a desperate call for help, showing how much he needed to be housed. The supported housing allocation team is faced with a perplexing number of applicants for way too few housing opportunities. As a consequence, decisions need to be made, and not even nearly everyone can be housed. However, the current supported housing scheme, compounded with the scoring system, is detrimental for homeless people. They are no longer political agents whose biography is decisive, but poor victims who rely on their biology, vulnerability and their supposed threat to society.

The aforementioned argument of one of the housing officers that clients are not aware of the scoring system does not hold water. Homeless people in Brighton are aware that they need to be vulnerable in order to be housed. For instance, Luke thinks that he is not being housed because the council does not regard him to be in priority need, something he disagrees with. Luke: "When I was five years old I attacked my new-born brother with a poker and I [used to] sniff glue, but they never checked my mental health. They only judge me on what they see. [Because] I don't drink or use drugs they don't regard my needs as great." Luke positions himself as very vulnerable. He disclosed that the only way he thought he could get off the streets was if he would be offered council supported housing. Luke cannot read and does not know how to use a computer, which makes him believe that he can never find a job

which would earn him enough money to pay even for the deposit of his own flat. Only by convincing the council that his needs are bigger than the needs of the other two-hundred people on the waiting list, Luke could move away from the life on the streets he claims to be 'sick of'. People like Luke feel as if they need to show that they are 'deserving' people in need.

What applies to showing your vulnerability also applies to being a threat to society. The scoring system also considers 'risks to self / or others' as an indicator of one's need to be housed. Although Tim did not know the exact scoring guidelines the panel applies, his actions will probably score points on the condition 'Self Harm', and perhaps also on the conditions 'Misuse of Drugs' and 'Suicidal Ideation'. As a consequence, it has become advantageous to be a risk to self or others. During the panel meeting, an applicant was given a high score on the 'Risks to Staff' condition, because he attacked his 'drug abuse caseworker'. In a similar vein, Kirsty was given supported housing after showing to be a threat to society. Kirsty was addicted to heroin and was homeless for ten years. At first she did not want to tell me how she eventually got off the streets, but after some hesitation she said:

"I went to prison and when I got out I was put under probation. They gave me a place to sleep and I have the place ever since. Which is good in one way, but the negative side is, you know, it seems crazy, but that you have to go that far to get help ... We are shouting, but remain invisible."

By showing their vulnerability, or threat to society, homeless people resort to acts of performativity. Acts of performativity can, according to Cloke et al. (2008), be deliberate (to gain certain resources) or less intentional (Cloke et al. 2008, 245). In the latter sense, identity formation is 'inscribed' by both routinized performances of fragmented forms of social practice and by the regulatory power of the discourses that are thus fragmented (Cloke et al. 2008, 245-246). In the case of homeless applicants in Brighton, identity formation is inscribed by the regulatory power of a discourse which prescribes that the most vulnerable and dangerous rough sleepers should be dealt with first. Unintentionally or deliberately, performing their vulnerability allows homeless people to find supported housing. By performing their vulnerability, homeless people become reliant on what Ticktin (2011) refers to as a 'new humanity'. In this new humanity, making biological compromises becomes the main type of action taken in order to be considered a righteous applicant for support on

humanitarian grounds (Ticktin 2011, 200). By taking an overdose of morphine, Tim made a biological compromise, hoping it would give him access to supported housing. According to Ticktin, being sick is now required to be a political subject, and displaced people need to foreground their stories of suffering in order to be heard. The diseased body has become a social resource (Fassin 2005, 371), which is understood by most of my homeless informants, like Travis, who told me that: "Unless you have a problem, no one is going to help you". Instead of provoking suspicion, illnesses now seem to be the most successful basis of claims for many of society's unwanted (Fassin 2005, 372). Evans shows how neoliberal policies have resulted in the gradation of citizenship into full social citizenship on one hand, and various forms of second class social citizenship on the other (Evans 2011, 30). Homeless people are now reliant on their biology in order to gain access to support. It is through the process of abandonment that lives are reduced to mere biological existence and are separated from social and political existence of the citizenry (Evans 2011, 29). Accordingly, homeless people are 'included through their exclusion' (Evans 2011, 31) Homeless people are included in social housing schemes as a way to exclude their supposed threat to society. Their diseased bodies have become social resources. Homeless people will be treated as long as they are controlled and as long as their resistance is medicalized. This way they do not form a threat to society, while their compassionate treatment is assured.

Someone who recognizes this mechanism is Paul. When he first went to the council to ask for supported housing he was turned away. Then, someone told Paul to overact his mental issues in order to receive support from the council, which indeed happened. Paul told me he needed to learn to talk frankly about his mental health problems to stand a chance at being housed. Paul feels that if he would not have accentuated his issues himself, the council housing officers would have never asked mental health related questions. Paul claims that the severity of mental health issues people on the streets face should not be underestimated, but are often accentuated in order to be housed.

The requirement of having to be a deserving and suffering applicant or a threat to oneself or society in order to be eligible for supported housing, seems to reduce the agency of homeless people to a choice whether or not to show their vulnerability. Related to this phenomenon is the observation that homeless subjects are often taught to look within themselves for the 'cause' of their homelessness (Lyon-Callo 2000; Mathieu 1993). Homeless people are made to believe that the solution to homelessness lies in treating or reforming the self, which makes them unlikely to engage in collective action, and any resistance to the medical gaze is often itself medicalized (Lyon-Callo 2000, 328). Lock and

Scheper-Hughes claim that this medical gaze "is a controlling gaze, through which active forms of protest are transformed into the more passive acts of 'breakdown'" (Locke and Scheper-Hughes in Lyon-Callo 2000, 328). In this way, homeless people are made silent. The controlling gaze reduces their agency to a minimum; if they wish to be treated they need to show how vulnerable they are, that they are deserving recipients of help, instead of constitutive agents who can control their own lives.

Conclusion

Although nearly all homeless people in Brighton are UK nationals, they find it hard to obtain citizenship rights and to comply with citizenship responsibilities, which affects their ability to be constitutive agents. When homeless people are finally allocated to emergency accommodation they are deemed incapable of managing their own lives. Homeless people in Brighton are considered undeserving burdens to, or blameless victims of society who need to be medicalized. They are only eligible for priority access to supported housing if they are ill or a threat to themselves or society. Their agency, as well as the neoliberal promise of free, self-sustaining, active citizenship seems to be reduced to the choice whether or not to perform their vulnerability. However, in chapter four, alternative applications of agency in the structuration of homelessness in Brighton will be explored. Chapter four will show how voluntary and charity organizations play a vital role in both the promotion and hindrance of the agency of homeless people in Brighton.

Chapter Four: Engagement in the Structuration of Homelessness

Introduction

I am talking to John, volunteer at First Base Day Centre. He tries to encourage rough sleepers, who come to First Base for food, a shower and consultation, to take part in one of the available activities. On Tuesdays, rough sleepers can watch a movie, and on Thursdays there is a creative writing course. John wants to get his clients involved. "These people feel not listened to. They need to tell everybody the same story. When they register at the council, the doctor, First Base, the rough sleepers' team, at whatever agency, they are always telling the same story. Here, I try to engage other parts of people's lives, using art and writing." By stimulating people, John tries to make people more self-reliant. "[Homeless people] have become dependent. I once had to teach someone how to cook an easy dish three or four times. Not because he is stupid, but because he has become institutionalized." John wants to support homeless people the way he was supported by First Base. "I work for First Base because I am repaying a debt. If it wasn't for First Base I wouldn't be here." John was kicked out of his flat, because he was over four months behind on paying the rent. He developed an alcohol dependency. Instead of finding a solution to his living situation he resorted to his addiction. He started out sofa surfing with friends, but he 'managed to piss off' all of his friends and found himself on the streets, where he stayed for six months. John sees the streets as a 'trap': the longer one stays there, the harder it is to get off. People get used to it. They are surrounded by others and together they comprise a system, a network, which is hard to break away from. John: "What made me change was bumping into my ex-girlfriend who did not recognize me. I looked in the mirror and I had a fear of dying." First Base helped John to apply for council supported housing, and later to find his own place. Now, he wants to help others to break away from the cycle of homelessness. However, as John and I see a confused-looking man entering the day centre, John acknowledges that this is not feasible for everyone. According to John, the man we see has been homeless for at least two decades: "He was already homeless when I was homeless. He will spend the rest of his life on the streets and die 25 years early."

Homeless people in Brighton are not without agency; they remain engaged in action that is constitutive (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808). The positions of homeless people are not passive or static, they are active participants in how they negotiate their situation (McNaughton 2006, 150). The aim of this chapter is to show how, with both the support and hindrance of charity and voluntary organizations, homeless people in Brighton use their agency in a variety of ways to sustain or alter their homelessness. A shrinking role of the state in the provisioning of welfare has resulted in an altered division of roles in the care for homeless people in the United Kingdom. Neoliberal policies have shifted the responsibility for the provision of social services from the state to voluntary organizations (Cloke et al 2006, 1091; Verhoeven and Tonkens 2013, 415). There has been a 'global explosion' of community participation in the domain of caretaking for homeless people (Cloke et al 2006, 1091).

In Brighton, this new division of care for homeless people is apparent. The control over, and the care and responsibility for homeless people is divided between the local council, charities who have been commissioned by the council to work with homeless people, the police, doctors, the voluntary sector, faith-based organizations, and the community. Social life is structured by and reproduced through human agency both individually and institutionally and is capable of both restraining and facilitating action (Giddens 1979, 69-70). Different organizations and initiatives are active agents in the structuration of homelessness in Brighton. They both restrain and facilitate the agency of homeless people in four different ways: by sustaining life on the streets, by empowering homeless people to move away from the streets, by offering alternatives to the structure of society or by objecting to the structure of society. This chapter will first outline the complex web of organizations working with homeless people in Brighton. Subsequently, the different ways in which the agency of homeless people is affected by the efforts of these organizations will be categorized. It will become clear how homelessness in Brighton is structured and reproduced by human agency both individually and institutionally.

Sustainment

Where John speaks of a trap that condemns people to a life on the streets, there are others who actively decide to remain homeless. Many of my informants claimed to be happy to stay on the streets. Nearly every time I walked to the city centre, I walked past Tom and Rosie. They sat in a vacant doorway on a busy street where Tom would sleep or roll a cigarette while Rosie would read a newspaper. After I came to know the couple they told me: "we

choose to live on the streets, because we refuse to spend all our money on living between bricks and next to annoying neighbours". Tom and Rosie seem well-off with the choice they made; living on the streets of Brighton is feasible. Donald told me that he has cycled to Brighton after he became homeless in London, because being homeless in Brighton "is like a breeze: there is a lot of support, you get fed every day. It is an easy life." The local police and charities working with homeless people urge the general population to donate money to charities, instead of giving it directly to homeless people; they are suspected to spend donations on drugs and alcohol rather than on basic necessities of life. Despite this, many people in Brighton continue to give money to homeless people directly. Lionel told me he once 'earned' (as he called it) 140 pounds in one day by begging. With the financial support of community members, homeless people can sustain themselves on the streets. Even if they would not receive enough money to be able to purchase nourishment for themselves, there are plenty of voluntary organizations who provide food and drinks for homeless people. These organizations' locations and opening hours are easily accessible on a 'street-map' which is spread around town. None of the (ex-) homeless people I spoke to during my fieldwork had ever really been hungry. Life on the streets of Brighton is viable and when the weather is nice it can even have its comfortable moments.

Most of the organizations who are mentioned on the 'street-map' are charities. They raise money to feed homeless people with food that is prepared and served by volunteers. The voluntary organizations take great care of homeless people. However, Evans (2011) claims that these organizations now have the discretionary power to decide who belongs to society and is thus eligible for support, and who does not and gets nothing. According to Evans, the decisions of voluntary organizations of who to serve can even be a decision between life and death (Evans 2011, 24). Different from Evans' findings, the data I gathered in Brighton do not point in this direction. Other than the organizations who are appointed by the local council to combat homelessness, these voluntary organizations all have an open door policy, serving everyone, regardless of their background. The only people who were denied access were those previously banned from the premises for breaking the house rules, for instance by displaying aggressive behaviour or by using drugs on the premises. Clients themselves are the only ones who do make distinctions between who are and are not righteous applicants for support by these organizations; some clients spread gossip about others who come to get free food, but are actually not in need of it.

Voluntary organizations in Brighton are of great value to people who live on the streets. However, by sustaining homeless people, these organizations also sustain the

concomitant low rank of homeless people in the hierarchy of society. The open door policy ensures that not only homeless people, but also other people, deprived of resources, come to these places. As a result, friendships and connections are created and maintained within these circles, diminishing the urge to move away from homelessness. Simon Hughes describes this network of friendships and connections as a 'street community'. According to Hughes, people who belong to the street community might look like they are all homeless, but in truth, not everyone is actually without a home. Kirsty often visits charities with an open door policy to have a decent meal, free of charge. Her move away from homelessness was not a move away from poverty all together. In addition, by going to these places she continues to see familiar faces. However, Kirsty claims that many people who come to these charities do not really want others to succeed. Success of others would point at their own failure, and therefore it seems like people hold each other in the grasp of poverty and homelessness.

Although most voluntary organizations allegedly do not only strive for the short term provisioning of food, drinks and hygienic care, but also for long term solutions to homelessness, these long term goals are rarely attained. Michael Lloyd, 'major'[1] of Salvation Army in Brighton, asserts that this is because root causes for homelessness are beyond their reach. However, Salvation Army will continue to provide food and showers for homeless people, "because Jesus would do the same". Paul, one of the volunteers of Salvation Army, told me that they try to help people move away from homelessness. He said that he always tries to look out for new faces among his clients, because 'the longer you stay on the streets, the harder it is to get off the streets". Although both the major and Paul claim to strive to help homeless people in the long term by looking for ways out of homelessness, I have never seen a member of staff sit down to talk with any of their clients.

There appears to be a clear division between clients and staff of Salvation Army. Clients are not treated as equals as was exemplified by the situation when one of the clients, Anthony, wanted to create a Wi-Fi Hotspot with his laptop to provide other clients with internet. The major forbade him to do so, because nobody could monitor the kind of websites that would be visited. This exercise of power reinforced the existing hierarchy at the centre where clients stand in line for a shower or for lunch, while the employees stand behind tables or behind the bar. At St Anne's, another voluntary organization in Brighton, volunteers are discouraged from having any contact with clients outside of the confines of the church, where volunteers serve food to clients. Mary Dunmore, manager at St Anne's asserts that contact

---

[1] At Salvation Army, employees are ranked like any other army. An officer who is active for over 15 years is promoted to major. Major Michael Lloyd is the leader of Salvation Army in Brighton.

with clients outside of the church could be dangerous for volunteers, because many clients have criminal records.

The provision of free and valuable services of voluntary organizations in Brighton is mostly well appreciated by their clients. In the words of Hank: "Small stuff means the world to people on the streets. Some hot food or a shower is like gold dust in a shoebox". However, services offered by voluntary organizations in Brighton do not only sustain homelessness, but also their own profession and significance. Accordingly, the agency of homeless people is restricted by the way they are perceived as helpless victims who need to be looked after by caring patrons.

The Odd Combination of Criminalization and Empowerment

Criminalization

Sustaining one's position as a homeless person in Brighton would be a viable option with support of generous locals and voluntary organizations, if the people who choose to do so would not be prosecuted for it. Reasons to deny people the choice to live on the streets can be understood through the focus on neoliberal strategies of 'rolling out the state'. Roll-out neoliberalism is associated less with economics and more with the political foregrounding of new modes of "social" and penal policy-making; the state has become primarily concerned with the aggressive re-regulation, disciplining, and containment of those 'marginalized or dispossessed by the neoliberalization of the 1980s' (Peck and Tickell 2002, 389). Peck and Tickell overlook the agency of the people who become homeless, and their 'periodisation' of homelessness may be 'too clear-cut' (Neveling 2014, 18). Nevertheless, their conceptualization helps to understand why the state is concerned with the prohibition of sleeping rough and begging. In Brighton, police officer Andrew Platt, explained to me that:

"Those [people] who are vulnerable due to rough sleeping and refuse all offer of support to address their homelessness status, are then engaged with by the police and the Rough Sleepers Team in a multi-agency operation. [They are] required to attend free accommodation where they will have access to a housing worker, physical health nurse, mental health nurse and alcohol worker, as well as [they will be] provided with food. If they refuse this requirement, as a last resort, if the risk is so high, there is a power to be arrested under the vagrancy act."

In the UK, the *1824* Vagrancy Act makes it an offence to beg or sleep rough (see Fitzpatrick and Jones 2005, 395). Certain sections of this law remain in force in the UK today, although local authorities make use of the law in different ways. In Brighton, 865 people have been convicted for crimes related to begging in the period between 2010 and July 2015.[9] Platt told me that in Brighton the Vagrancy Act is used to arrest people who are begging, and for people on the streets who have refused all support from service providers and are 'bothering others'. The need to be engaged with support from service providers is not only imposed by the local police, but also by the supported housing scheme. People are required to engage with these services in order to show their progress towards becoming an independent citizen. In a Foucauldian (1977) understanding, the behaviour of homeless people is no longer controlled by exemplifications of punishment, but by the individual's knowledge of being monitored. The police, the Rough Sleepers Team, probation, and other service providers are all linked together. They all know exactly which homeless person is engaged in which services. Homeless people in Brighton know this. Discipline and punishment are linked to guidance and care.

According to Andrew Platt, the link between guidance and care exists because "arresting homeless people alone is never the solution". This is why the local police always tries to find out the reason of people's begging, and whether they are engaged with welfare. When people are arrested for begging they are subjected to a drug test and if they fail this test, they are legally required to attend an appointment with a drugs support worker. This exemplifies what Murphy (2009) calls the co-existence of hard and soft approaches. Murphy recognizes a combination of softer strategies, designed to help the homeless who are willing to comply with social support, with harsher and more punitive tactics for the homeless who are seen as noncompliant (Murphy 2009, 306,307). The local police in Brighton does not allow people to choose to remain homeless, because homelessness is perceived as a "dangerous lifestyle which needs to be eradicated" (Officer Platt). At the same time, support is offered to help homeless people. Hence, soft and punitive approaches coexist in the treatment of homeless people. The penalization and medicalization of homeless people is a concrete manifestation of neoliberal structuration. The main function of the liberal welfare state is not the promotion of responsibility, but the governance of responsibility; people who display irresponsible behaviours are sanctioned, penalized and stigmatized (Dean in Whiteford 2010, 9). In neoliberalism, the agenda is said to have shifted from one preoccupied with the active destruction of welfare institutions to one focused on the purposeful

construction of neoliberalized state forms and modes of governance, discipline and penalization (Peck and Tickel 2002; Wacquant 2009).

However, according to my observations in Brighton, the congruence of punitive measures and soft approaches is not a modern manifestation of the traditional 'good cop, bad cop' approach, where the police and the government represent the bad and social services represent the good. Rather, social services and the local government in Brighton work closely together, with the best of intentions, to abolish the need to sleep rough. The boundaries between the public and the private sector have become blurred and governance has been divided up among different actors. The operations of government are autonomized and economized in accordance with an entrepreneurial model of shared responsibility and the proliferation of NGOs (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008, 118). May et al (2005) distinguish an altered form of governance of the welfare state. A one-way system in which the government governs the governed, has become a system where the number of actors in the policy arena have multiplied (May et al 2005, 708). 'Sovereign state power' has partly shifted to 'discretionary power' in the hands of doctors, nurses and social workers (Ticktin 2011, 99). Politicians, police, social services and charities work closely together to end the need to sleep rough in a congruence of soft and punitive measures.

Empowerment

Scholars have recently given too much attention to punitive sanctions of homelessness (DeVerteuil et al 2009). While the past decades have indeed seen a range of punitive measures, responses to homelessness have not been 'uniformly hostile' (DeVerteuil et al 2009, 661). The story of John in the opening of this chapter shows how the work of First Base helps people to move away from homelessness; John even claims that the organization has saved his life. First Base urges people to get off the streets. They find out what homeless people need, and help them to obtain this. First Base is considered a great help by some of my informants. Travis, for example, told me: "The bad news is I am sleeping rough. The good thing is I came to know First Base. First Base helps me by providing a place to go to in the morning. They want to help if you give the feeling you want to be helped." Eric explained how the employees of First Base were able to help him when friends and family were unable to do so. First Base offers homeless people in Brighton mediation between the state, society, markets and citizens, which is a requirement to conform to neoliberal strategies of population management now the welfare state has decreased (Van Houdt et al 2011, 410).

Although First Base is a charity which genuinely tries to help homeless people, the charity relies on entrepreneurialism (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008, 118) in order to get government funding. As associates of the council of Brighton and Hove, they are obliged to provide housing support in line with the requirements of the local council. Therefore, they cannot supply housing support to people without a local connection or priority needs. When I was present during an assessment meeting between one of the key workers of First Base and a new client, I found out how this entrepreneurial model works against the aims of the organization. In order to validate their funding sources, First Base needs to closely monitor who receives support. Therefore, new clients are confronted with a long list of questions during their assessments, so that First Base can find out their age, origins and sexual preferences. This scares off some potential clients, like Jimmy, who says:

"When they ask you to put down your name you lose some of your power. This lifestyle is really tough, but one of the few benefits is being free. You don't want to give away your freedom. They want something from you, they need you so they can tick their boxes. They don't really help you, but they can show how many people they 'help'. Once they found you a place to live, and it is still a shithole, they tell you they helped you, on their lists it shows that you are being served."

Jimmy's argument accentuates how getting engaged with empowering charities like First Base may reduce homeless people's agency, as their power to bring about effects (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808) is largely handed over to the organization. The congruent methods of the official parties who work to combat homelessness are not merely punitive, but linked to soft, social measures. By liaising with organizations like First Base, homeless people either use their agency to re-engage with society, or are forced to do so. However, housing alone does not improve their position, which remains vulnerable, and people who do not comply with government regulations are left out; giving some people a reason to look for alternatives.

Alternative Structures

Various organizations in Brighton aim to create alternative networks where homeless people can find a sense of belonging. One of these organizations is Emmaus. Emmaus is an international charity, operating in thirty-seven different countries, offering homeless people a place to live and work. The idea behind the organization is that homeless people (who at

Emmaus are called companions) work for other people in greater need. According to the manager of Emmaus Brighton, Mathieu, the companions renew their sense of self-worth by working for people in greater need and for their own sustenance. Companions get paid for their work, and although it is not much, it does contribute to their living standards and opportunities to move into their own accommodation in the future. Randolph has been living at Emmaus for over a year now. He met his current girlfriend here and is part of a group of companions which collects second hand furniture from people's homes, brings it to their second hand store and delivers sold items to their new destinations. Randolph is happy he can 'do something back' for society:

"I love this place, [I] never want to leave it! If it wasn't for this place I would be dead by now. I spent ten years in prison. They took me from there [prison] in here [Emmaus] … [and] saved me from the streets. … Doing something back for society is most important for me to do something back for society! (sic) Without Emmaus I wouldn't be alive. I was addicted to crack cocaine, and spent all my money on it. Sometimes I have robbed 4,5 grand and it was gone in a few days."

Randolph had spent about thirty years on and off the streets and in and out of prison. In the winter he would commit crimes just to get shelter in jail. He almost lost his life when an argument with friends of his brother escalated and he got stabbed 18 times. Randolph showed me the scars on his back, thighs, belly and even his buttocks. The only scars he spared me from seeing were on his scrotum. Randolph feels like he is in a much better position now and work keeps his mind occupied. He spends this money on his animals (he proudly showed me his fish tank, lizards and canaries) and on occasional gifts for his girlfriend. By working for Emmaus the companions save money for a possible future outside of the community; Randolph has saved hundreds of pounds in his account.

It would be possible for Randolph to never leave Emmaus. However, in reality, Emmaus is more of a haven to recover and work for a while, before moving back to society outside of the premises of Emmaus. Companions who decide to leave Emmaus are supported on their way back into society in three different ways. First, staying at Emmaus for half a year provides one with a local connection, which is needed to apply for social housing; it takes years to get a local connection while living on the streets. Second, Emmaus provides reference letters for people looking for a job outside of Emmaus. Third, Emmaus helps their companions by saving part of their earnings by setting it aside. The companions cannot reach

this money until they leave the organization and need it to afford new tenancy. Manager of Emmaus in Brighton, Matthieu is aware of the possible criticism concerning this policy: "I know it may sound a pit patriarchal, but we want to guarantee they have enough money when they leave, some wouldn't safe a penny if you wouldn't help them". This does sound patriarchal, since the companions are not considered wise enough to manage their own budget.

Although these measures are no doubt helpful for departing companions, it does not ensure a successful return into society. With over 23.000 people on the waiting list for social housing in Brighton, a local connection does not guarantee that the companions will receive accommodation. Moreover, because most companions leave Emmaus in a better state than they have arrived in, they are seldom considered to be in priority need. Moving on to a paid job has often proven to be hard as well, acknowledged by Matthieu: "I sometimes think 'do we institutionalize people?' But some people simply need that. When people come here I comment on that. I say 'it is easy to come in here, but it is hard to get out' ". At Emmaus companions do not have to worry about budgeting or cooking. Their food is daily prepared and the money they earn is not in their own governance. Roy is a companion whose retirement is coming into sight. Because Emmaus is primarily a place where people work to sustain their own living, he does not want to retire and stay on the site of the organization. Preferably, Roy would move away before he reaches retirement age. However, getting employed somewhere else is really hard, especially for someone his age. Roy: "I am happy here and I appreciate it, but there is no training to move into a job in the outside world. How can we, particularly the older people, apply for a job with only the limited experience we have?" Reintegration into society is well advocated yet hard to achieve.

As an alternative to society, Emmaus intends to be a place where homeless people can sustain themselves. One of the important goals of Emmaus is to operate social enterprises to achieve financial sustainability.[10] Homeless people can sign off their benefits and find purpose in sustaining their own living. However, since the organization decided that companions now need to claim housing benefits for their apartment at Emmaus, it has become reliant on government support. Companions no longer fully sustain their own living expenses. Although Roy enjoys living in a community with other people, sharing similar experiences, with great facilities compared to life on the streets, he feels like the support from the government takes away much of the aim for companions to work and run the business. Roy: "Work is very important. I don't like it that we need housing benefits. How can we not make enough [money] to not ask the government for support? … It is disappointing we

cannot be self-sufficient. I would like to be." In a similar vein, Jimmy previously enjoyed working and living at Emmaus, but the organization's reliance on housing benefits is one of the reasons he does not want to return there. "The food on the table is no longer what you have earned yourself, it [housing benefits] takes away the purpose." Thereby, the aim of the organization to make homeless people sustain themselves is undermined.

Charities like Emmaus offer homeless people in Brighton an alternative community to belong to, outside of mainstream society. Through work, companions of Emmaus are able to give back to society and to live in their own community. However, future reintegration into society remains problematic. Finding accommodation or employment is hardly more attainable for returning companions than it is for people living on the streets. Additionally, complete self-sufficiency, which would redeem the often considered burden to society, has become impossible as a result of dependency on government support. Returning to, or withdrawing from society remains utterly difficult, which explains why others try to challenge existing societal structures.

Objection

'No more deaths!', shouts the man in the middle, 'on our streets!', shouts the rest. I am walking together with approximately 250 demonstrators in the city centre of Brighton, in the pouring rain. We are on our way to the Peace statue at the seafront, where some of us will lay down five coffins, representing homeless people who died last year. When we explored the route a month earlier with organizer Maria Garrett, she told me that the local council is responsible for these deaths; there is not enough social housing, there is no rent cap for private landlords, sleeping rough is not a reason to house someone with priority, and that the Severe Weather Emergency Protocol (SWEP) is only put in place after two to three consecutive days of freezing. Brighton does not have any night shelters, but when SWEP is in place the local council is obligated to provide shelter for people sleeping rough. Maria noticed that many people in Brighton are angry about these indecent ways in which homeless people are treated. She also noticed that these people are dispersed around the city and are organized in many different groups. Therefore, by organizing this march, she aimed to bring these people together. When I look around, I see that Maria has succeeded. There is a plurality of people of different generations and backgrounds. Spokespersons of various organizations take the floor to speak to the people at the places where we hold still. The roads are blocked. Cars cannot proceed and those who chose this Saturday to go shopping

look surprised to see so many people. Although the message 'no more deaths on our streets' sounds forceful, the atmosphere is friendly and amicable. I am walking next to some of my homeless friends who are content with the turnout of the event. Harry is happy to see that 'so many people care'. However, he does wonder if this event will actually have a long term impact. My friend Lionel is a bit emotional to see so many people who have braved the ugly weather to stand by people like himself. Months later, I heard that Lionel himself died after spending ten years on and off the streets.

Zygmunt Bauman (2004) wonders why people who lost their jobs, self-esteem and their feeling of being useful would respect the rules of the political democratic game (Bauman 2004, 13). In Brighton, homeless people often feel neglected and disenfranchised, and therefore, some choose to challenge these rules. Many of my informants have lost faith in democratic politics. They do not want to vote and often show their discontent with political leaders. In Brighton, alternatives are available. There is an engaged activist population. In relation to homelessness, the Love Activists stand out. Love Activists Brighton is a horizontal, leaderless movement 'focused on compassionate, systemic change through radical direct action'.[11] This group was set up one and a half years ago and provides resources to homeless people, to raise awareness in society about their situation and to lobby for meaningful change. Every Sunday, Love Activists gather around the Clock Tower, where they set up the Love Kitchen. Everyone is welcome to bring or consume food and drinks, and the Activists also provide clothes and sleeping bags. I visited the Love Kitchen a couple of times, interviewed individual Activists, and attended an organizational meeting; I got to know the movement pretty well. Although the movement is leaderless, it relies heavily on one or two people who connect to homeless people horizontally. Others warm-heartedly donate time and effort to the Love Kitchen, without critically weighing the effects of their work on the sustainment of homelessness. Although the Love Activists are able to get a wide variety of people involved in their movement, there were no homeless people present at the meeting I attended.

According to DeVerteuil et al (2009, 659), homeless people can show their agency through resistance against anti-homeless measures. With the help of activist groups like the Love Activists, homeless people in Brighton are able to show their discontent. However, acts of resistance are often not organized by homeless people, but by activists working on their behalf (De Verteuil et al 2009, 659). Although the Love Activists have gained much attention and political awareness for homelessness, political change takes long and homeless people

are busy surviving life on the streets. As a result, Love Activists mainly demonstrate for and not with homeless people. Thomas tells me that when you live on the streets, it is hard to bother with anything that does not directly result in having food or a place to stay. Jen adds: "People become so low, they are affected by depressions, drugs, alcohol and the judgement of other people. For them it is hard to feel that there are people who can do something. They don't have the clarity to change their situation. I had to get up my feet with my two kids and still it felt like banging my head against a brick wall." Although some homeless people in Brighton are able to show their agency through resistance, it is often other people who resist in their name.

Conclusion

People who are homeless in Brighton are not without agency, no matter how excluded some of them feel. The homeless population of Brighton is heterogeneous, and the ways people approach their homelessness vary widely. In accordance with various charity and voluntary organizations they are involved in the structuration of homelessness in Brighton, which both restrains and facilitates action in four different ways: by sustaining life on the streets, by empowering homeless people to move away from the streets, by offering alternatives to the structure of society or by objecting to the structure of society. However, none of these different approaches to be engaged in constitutive action offers a unidirectional route to more executive power. Although homeless people in Brighton and the organizations who support them participate actively in the structuration of homelessness, the same structuration always restricts the extent to which constitutive action is possible.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Discussion

Introduction

This thesis set out to understand the relationship between the agency of homeless people and their engagement with voluntary and charity organizations in Brighton. To understand this relationship, I sought to answer the following question: how do voluntary and charity organizations affect the agency of homeless persons in Brighton? In order to answer this question, I will first turn to the three aims of this research. The first aim was to show how the agency of homeless people and the structure within which they operate are mutually dependent in the activity of structuration (Giddens 1979). Second, to show how the neoliberal ideal of citizenship is applicable to homeless people in Brighton and how this affects their agency. Third, to show how, with both the support and hindrance of charity and voluntary organizations, homeless people in Brighton use their agency in a variety of ways to sustain or alter their homelessness. After answering the main research question the limitations of this research will be discussed. Finally, I will conclude with a discussion and an examination of the relevance of this thesis.

1. The Structuration of Homelessness

Structural causes create the conditions within which agency factors and vulnerability to homelessness interact to determine the scale and nature of homelessness (Edgar et al in Anderson 2004, 386). However, many causes of homelessness cannot solely be ascribed to either structure or agency (Fitzpatrick 2005, 5). People's agency and the structure within which they operate must be understood as "mutually dependent in the activity of structuration" (Giddens 1979, 69). Contrary to common assumptions, the structuration of homelessness is not merely the outcome of neoliberalism (Murphy 2009, 309). Globalisms like neoliberal capitalism and modernity are not a 'meta-descriptive container category' applicable to any social phenomenon (Neveling 2014, 20). Instead, this thesis has followed Kingfisher and Maskovsky's (2008) encouragement to focus on concrete neoliberal projects that account for specific people, institutions and places, rather than to speak of neoliberalism as a thing that acts in the world.

Hundred ninety-seven people are without a home and on the waiting list for supported housing in Brighton.[12] Homelessness in Brighton is structured in three major ways. First, in neoliberal England, citizens are transformed from passive recipients of state assistance into

active, self-sustaining individuals, who are 'liberated' from the state (Clarke 2005, 448). Those who cannot comply with this responsibility are particularly vulnerable to homelessness. Second, the neoliberal marketization of the housing rental sector has changed the conception of home in England; from a place one owns to a place one rents. Due to an extreme increase in rental prices, many people in Brighton cannot even afford to rent a house and have therefore become homeless. Third, the requirement to have a local connection in order to be found eligible for council supported housing reduces the power-geometry (Massey 1993) of homeless people. However, people who become homeless in Brighton remain to be constitutive agents, who, to a varied extent, influence the scale and nature of their homelessness and participate actively in its structuration.

2. The Contradictions of Neoliberal Ideals of Citizenship and Agency

In Brighton, people who are ill or a threat to either themselves or society are more eligible for supported housing than those who are not. The need to be ill or a threat in order to receive support opposes individual agency and the neoliberal image of the free, rational, and self-regulating citizen (Dean in van Houdt et al 2011, 411), who is active, self-sustaining, and 'liberated' from the state (Clarke 2005, 448). Four factors have led to the supposed reduction of the agency of homeless people to the choice whether or not to act on their vulnerability. First, neoliberalism has changed the relationship between the state and its citizens (Kingfisher and Maskovsky 2008, 116); rights and benefits are not necessarily obtained through nation-state membership, but in accordance with entrepreneurial capacity (Ong 2006, 119). Although nearly all homeless people in Brighton are UK nationals, they find it hard to obtain citizenship rights and to comply with citizenship responsibilities, which affects their ability to be constitutive agents.

Second, in neoliberalism, the underlying moral image of the individual is one of the autonomous, free, rational, and self-regulating citizen (Dean in van Houdt et al 2011, 411). This image, and the neoliberal ideal of managing one's own life (Gerson 2011) hardly apply to people who have become homeless in Brighton. When they are run through the process of supported housing, nothing seems to remain of the neoliberal ideals of responsibility and self-reliance. Third, homeless people in Brighton are either seen as undeserving burdens to, or blameless victims of society who need to be medicalized (Lyon-Callo 2000; Mathieu 1993). As such, they are not portrayed as agents in control of their own destiny (Whiteford 2010, 17). Fourth, if homeless people in Brighton wish to be treated, they need to perform (Cloke et

al 2008) their vulnerability (Ticktin 2011; Fassin 2005; Evans 2011), and show that they are deserving recipients of help, instead of free, self-sustaining citizens, or constitutive agents, who can control their own lives.

3. Voluntary and Charity Organizations Both Restrain and Facilitate the Agency of Homeless People

Homeless people in Brighton are not without agency; they remain engaged in action that is constitutive (Karp in Strauss 2007, 808). The positions of homeless people are not passive or static, they are active participants in how they negotiate their situation (McNaughton 2006, 150). In accordance with various charity and voluntary organizations, they are involved in the structuration of homelessness in Brighton, which both restrains and facilitates action in four different ways.

First, with the support of voluntary and charity organizations, homeless people in Brighton are able to sustain their lives on the streets. The provision of free and valuable services by voluntary organizations support people who claim that their life on the streets is a deliberate choice. In contrast to Evans' (2011) theory, voluntary organizations in Brighton do not use their discretionary power to determine who is and who is not eligible for support. In fact, nearly everyone can make use of their services. Instead, homeless people themselves make judgement calls by distinguishing those who are or are not righteous applicants for support by spreading rumours about supposed prosperity of others. In addition, homeless people in Brighton seem to hold each other in the grasp of poverty and homelessness by discouraging moves away from the streets, as success of others would point at their own failure. Services offered by voluntary organizations in Brighton do not only sustain homelessness, but also their own profession and significance. Accordingly, the agency of homeless people is restricted by the way they are perceived as helpless victims who need to be looked after by caring patrons.

Second, the interplay between the local council, the police, and charities appointed by the local council to provide services to homeless people empowers them to move away from living on the streets. As a result of blurred boundaries between the public and the private sector, governance has been divided up among these different actors who combine softer strategies, designed to help the homeless who are willing to comply with social support, with harsher and more punitive tactics for the homeless who are seen as noncompliant (Murphy 2009, 306,307). Social services and the local government in Brighton work closely together

in their attempts to empower homeless people to find alternatives to homelessness, often with success. By liaising with organizations like First Base, homeless people either use their agency to re-engage with society or are forced to do so. However, in exchange for support, the agency of homeless people is largely handed over to the organizations working with them, and people who do not comply with government regulations are left out.

Third, charity organizations like Emmaus offer homeless people in Brighton an alternative community to belong to, outside of mainstream society. Through voluntary work, homeless people are supposed to sustain themselves and to give back to society. However, the intended future reintegration into society is problematic, as finding accommodation or employment remains hardly attainable. Additionally, Emmaus' strive for complete self-sufficiency, which would redeem the often considered burden to society, has become impossible as a result of dependency on government support. Subsequently, a successful return to, or complete withdrawal from society is hardly achievable.

Fourth, with the support of activist groups, homeless people in Brighton object to the structure of society. However, acts of resistance are often not organized by homeless people, but by activists working on their behalf (De Verteuil et al 2009, 659). Although some homeless people in Brighton are able to use their agency through resistance, more often than not it is other people who resist in their name, as homeless people often need to prioritize their short term survival.

In short, homeless people in Brighton and the organizations who support them participate actively in the structuration of homelessness. However, this same structuration consistently restricts the extent to which constitutive action is possible. None of the different approaches offer a unidirectional route to more executive power and constitutive agency for homeless people.

Answering the Main Question: How do Voluntary and Charity Organizations Affect the Agency of Homeless Persons in Brighton?

Homelessness in Brighton is structured through the interplay of the agency of homeless people, neoliberal policies and ideals of citizenship, and the endeavours of well-meaning voluntary and charity organizations. Charity and voluntary organizations are part of the structuration of homelessness in Brighton and thus play a vital role in both restraining and facilitating the agency of homeless people.

Limitations

The local perspective of this research limits its scope. Although the themes of this research are applicable to different locations, its conclusions only apply to the specific setting of Brighton. This research was conducted in a period of only three and a half months. In order to speak with a wide range of informants, I have built on single or only a couple of encounters with over a hundred different informants. To analyse my data correctly, I have carefully assessed which stories exemplify larger phenomena best. In doing so, this thesis covers a lot of ground. However, in further research, a focus on a smaller group of research informants would allow for a more in-depth approach to discover the complex interplay of agency, homelessness and citizenship. The four ways in which homeless people and charity and voluntary organizations in Brighton are engaged in the structuration of homelessness, which are delineated in this thesis, all deserve a research focus of their own.

Although I have consistently made sure that my research population knew about my research and its objectives, I have not always kept track of the consent that some of my informants gave me for using their names. Therefore, to be on the safe side, I have given pseudonyms to the informants whose consent I could not trace. In doing so, I have fallen into the trap of reducing the agency of my own informants, despite it being the focus of this research. I have tried to give the most honest representation of my findings and I hope my informants can recognize themselves in it, despite the use of pseudonyms. I believe that dehumanization of research informants is a real threat when people are given pseudonyms and their initial quotes are interpreted and analysed over and over again. One of my main informants, Lionel, has suddenly passed during the writing of my thesis. His death has harshly reminded me of the reality of the lives behind the data I have used.

Discussion and Relevance

The wide variety of factors contributing to homelessness given by my informants show that causes for homelessness are never univocal, and never merely the result of either structure or agency. Neoliberal policies are important factors in the structuration of homelessness in Brighton. However, people who become homeless remain constitutive agents who, to a varied extent, influence the scale and nature of their homelessness. Unlike May et al (2005) and Lyon-Callo (2003) claim, economic disparities and homelessness are not merely the outcome of neoliberalism (Murphy 2009, 309). Homelessness in Brighton is structured, not by conflated concepts and globalisms (Tsing 2000), but by actual, concrete manifestations of

neoliberal housing policies mixed with good intentions, unaccomplished desires and irrational expectations. By focusing on concrete manifestations of neoliberalism in the field of homelessness in Brighton, this thesis is an example of how anthropologists can study globalist projects like neoliberalism. Through its focus on homelessness in Brighton and its focus on agency, this thesis has been able to reveal the shortcomings of neoliberal paradigms about citizenship. The obtainment of the neoliberal mode of citizenship through entrepreneurial capacity (Ong 2006, 119) is worthless for people who cannot obtain equal citizenship rights, or comply equally with citizenship responsibilities. In Brighton, many homeless people feel abandoned rather than liberated by the state. Neoliberal 'liberation' by the state can thus be a curse rather than its supposed blessing. The requirement of having to be a 'deserving' and suffering applicant or a threat to oneself or society in order to be eligible for supported housing opposes individual agency and the neoliberal image of the free, rational, and self-regulating citizen (Dean in van Houdt et al 2011, 411), who is active, self-sustaining, and 'liberated' from the state (Clarke 2005, 448). These findings can be used for further research in the fields of homelessness and neoliberalism.

In choosing this research topic, I was inspired by the shifting responsibility for the provision of social services from the state to voluntary and charity organizations (Cloke et al 2006, 1091; Verhoeven and Tonkens 2013, 415). This thesis set out to defy taken-for-granted assumptions which portray homelessness as a choice and as someone's personal fault. By assessing the value of these organizations I hoped to find a solution for the low societal position of homeless people. These initial intentions brought my personal prejudice to light, which was based on a misconception of the mutual dependency of structure and agency in the activity of structuration (Giddens 1979, 69). My misconception reflects the contours of greater societal misconceptions in the field of homelessness in Brighton. Agencies in Brighton attempt in various ways, and with the best of intentions, to support those who are confronted with homelessness. In doing so, they often fail to see their own active, constitutive role in the structuration of homelessness, which is detrimental for the agency of homeless people which in turn is largely overlooked. Future research could utilize this thesis' demonstration of the constitutive role of a variety of different agents in the continuing structuration of homelessness.

During my research I have come to see Brighton as a wonderful, colourful drain. An oxymoron, which gives recognition to the pleasantness of the town, as well as to the broken lives of its colourful homeless population; the lives that led people to queue up for breakfast in clinical, impersonal halls, where they are served by passionate professionals and

volunteers. The message of this thesis is nevertheless a hopeful one: the involvement of each and every well-meaning individual and institution in the structuration of homelessness in Brighton means that all can have a meaningful and positive role in the continuing structuration, or perhaps destructuration of homelessness in Brighton.

Notes

Chapter One: Introduction

1. UK Department for Communities and Local Government. 2015. "Rough Sleeping Statistics Autumn 2015", https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_data/file/503015/Rough_Sleeping_Autumn_2015_statistical_release.pdf.

2. Brighton and Hove, "Draught Rough Sleeping Strategy 2016: Making sure no-one has the need to sleep rough in Brighton & Hove by 2020," http://present.brighton-hove.gov.uk/Published/C00000826/M00006257/AI00050492/$20160304105813_008751_0036655_RoughSleepingStrategy2016DraftStrategy.docxA.ps.pdf.

3. Ibid.

Chapter Two: Entering the Cycle of Homelessness

4. UK Government, "Claiming Benefits if You Live, Move, or Travel Abroad," Last Modified May 10, 2016, https://www.gov.uk/claim-benefits-abroad/illness-injury-and-disability-benefits.

5. Corporate Policy and Research Team at Brighton and Hove City Council. "Brighton and Hove City Snapshot: Report of Statistics 2014," https://www.bhconnected.org.uk/sites/bhconnected/files/City%20Snapshot%20Report%20of%20Statistics%202014%202.pdf.

6. Brighton & Hove, "Housing Statistical 2015/16 Q3 Oct-Dec". http://www.brighton-hove.gov.uk/sites/brighton-hove.gov.uk/files/2015-16%20Q3%20Statistical%20Bulletin%20v1.pdf

Chapter Three: Agency Reduced to the Performance of Vulnerability

7. Jo Wadsworth, "Homeless Man's Sleeping Bag Set Alight in Brighton," Brighton and Hove News, March 9, 2016.

8. Emily Walker, "Undercover Police Targeting Beggars: Homeless Man Brought to Court After Asking For 10p," The Argus, February 8, 2016.

Chapter Four: Engagement in the Structuration of Homelessness

9. Information provided by the Love Activists Brighton, who filed a request under the Freedom of Information Act. Data is not accessible online, but in my personal possession.

10. Emmaus Website, https://www.emmaus.org.uk/strategic_plan, Accessed May 1, 2016.

11. Love Activists Website, https://loveactivistsbrighton.wordpress.com/, Accessed July 15, 2016.

Chapter Five: Conclusion

12. Brighton and Hove, "Draught Rough Sleeping Strategy 2016: Making sure no-one has the need to sleep rough in Brighton & Hove by 2020," http://present.brighton-hove.gov.uk/Published/C00000826/M00006257/AI00050492/$20160304105813_008751_0036655_RoughSleepingStrategy2016DraftStrategy.docxA.ps.pdf.

Bibliography

Anderson, Isobel. "Housing, Homelessness and the Welfare State in the UK." *International Journal of Housing Policy* 4, no. 3 (2004): 369-389.

Bauman, Zygmunt. *Wasted Lives: Modernity and Its Outcasts.* Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.

Brighton and Hove City Council. *Homeless Health Needs Audit.* NHS, February 2014. http://www.bhconnected.org.uk/sites/bhconnected/files/Brighton%20and%20Hove%-20Homeless%20Health%20Needs%20Audit%20FINAL.pdf.

Cieraad, Irene. *At Home: an Anthropology of Domestic Space.* New York: Syracuse, 2006.

Clapham, David. "The Struggle to Define Homelessness: a Constructivist Approach," in *Homelessness: Public Policies and Private Troubles*, ed. Susan Hutson and David Clapham (London: Cassel, 2012), 11-28.

Clarke, John. "New Labour's Citizens: Activated, Empowered, Responsibilized, Abandoned?" *Critical Social Policy* 25, no. 4 (2005): 447-463.

Cloke, Paul, Sarah Johnsen, and Jon May. "Ethical citizenship? Volunteers and the Ethics of Providing Services for Homeless People". *Geoforum* 38 (2007): 1089-1101.

Crisis. *Living in Fear: Violence and Victimisation in the Lives of Single Homeless People.* Mannheim Centre for Criminology, 2004.

DeVerteuil, Geoffrey, John May and Jürgen von Mahs. "Complexity Not Collapse: Recasting the Geographies of Homelessness in a 'Punitive' Age". *Progress in Human Geography* 33, no. 5 (2009): 646-666.

DeWalt, Kathleen, M. And Billie R. DeWalt. *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers.* Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2002.

DeWalt, Kathleen, M. And Billie R. DeWalt. *Participant Observation: A Guide for Fieldworkers*. Lanham: AltaMira Press, 2011.

Diphoorn, Tessa. "The Emotionality of Participation: Various Modes of Participation in Ethnographic Fieldwork on Private Policing in Durban, South Africa". *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography* 42 (2013): 201-225.

Dobie, Sarah, Ben Sanders and Ligia Texeira. *Turned Away: The Treatment of Homeless People by Local Authority Homelessness Service in England.* 2014. http://www.crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/MysteryShopping_Report_FINAL_web.pdf.

Dunn, Elizabeth. "Postsocialist Spores: Disease, Bodies, and the State in the Republic of Georgia". *American Ethnologist* 35 (2008): 243–258.

Dupuis, Ann and David, C. Thorns. "Home, Home Ownership and the Search for Ontological Security". *The Sociological Review* 46 (1998): 24–47.

Easthope, Hazel. "A Place Called Home". *Housing, Theory and Society* 21 (2004): 128-138.

European Observatory on Homelessness. *Local Connection Rules and Access to Homelessness Services in Europe*. EOH Comparative Studies on Homelessness, 2015.

Evans, Joshua. "Exploring the (Bio) Political Dimensions of Voluntarism and Care in the City: The Case of a 'Low Barrier' Emergency Shelter". *Health and Place* 17 (2011): 24-32.

Fassin, Didier. "Compassion and Repression: The Moral Economy of Immigration Policies in France". *Cultural Anthropology* 20, no. 3 (2005): 362-387.

Fitzpatrick, Suzanne. "Explaining Homelessness: a Critical Realist Perspective". *Housing, Theory and Society* 22, no. 2 (2005): 1-17.

Fitzpatrick, Suzanne and Anwen Jones. "Pursuing Social Justice or Social Cohesion?: Coercion in Street Homelessness Policies in England". *Journal of Social Policy* 34 (2005): 389-406.

Foucault, Michel. *Discipline and punish: The birth of the prison.* Translated by Alan Sheridan. New York: Random House, 1977.

Gerson, Ilana. "Neoliberal Agency". *Current Anthropology* 52, no. 4 (2011): 537-555.

Giddens, Anthony. *Central Problems in Social Theory: Action, Structure and Contradiction in Social Analysis.* Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979.

Glasser, Rene, and Rae Bridgman. *Braving the Street: The Anthropology of Homelessness.* Berghahn Books: New York and Oxford, 1999.

Harvey, David. *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2005.

Jordan, Shirley Ann. "Writing the Other, Writing the Self: Transforming Consciousness Through Ethnographic Writing". *Language and Intercultural Communication* 1 (2011): 40-56.

Kingfisher, Catherine, and Jeff Maskovsky. "The Limits of Neoliberalism". Critique of Anthropology 28 (2008): 115–126.

Kivisto, Peter, and Thomas Faist. *Citizenship: Discourse, Theory and Transnational Prospects.* Malden: Blackwell, 2007.

Loison-Leruste, Marie, and Deborah Quilgars. *"*Increasing Access to Housing: Implementing the Right to Housing in England and France". *European Journal of Homelessness* 3 (2009): 75-100.

Lyon-Callo, Vincent. "Medicalizing Homelessness: The Production of Self-Blame and Self-Loathing within Homeless Shelters". *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 14, no. 3 (2000): 328-345.

Lyon-Callo, Vincent. "The Neoliberal State and the Depoliticization of Poverty: Activist Anthropology and Ethnography from Below". *Urban Anthropology* 32 (2003): 47-79.

Mathieu, Arline. "The Medicalization of Homelessness and the Theatre of Repression" *Medical Anthropology Quarterly* 7, no. 2 (1993): 170-84.

May, John, Paul Cloke, and Sarah Johnsen. "Re-phasing Neoliberalism: New Labour and Britain's Crisis of Street Homelessness." *Antipode* 37, no. 4 (2005): 703-730.

Massey, Doreen. "Power-geometry and a progressive sense of place". Page 59–69 In *Mapping the Futures: Local Cultures, Global Change*, edited by Bird, John, Barry Curtis, Tim Putnam, George Robertson and Lisa Tickner. London: Routledge, 2012.

McNaughton, Carol. "Agency, Structure and Autobiography: Charting Transitions Through Homelessness in Late Modernity". *Auto / Biography* 14, no. 2 (2006): 134-152.

Ministry of Justice. *Rights and Responsibilities: Developing Our Constitutional Framework.* Crown, 2009. https://www.gov.uk/government/uploads/system/uploads/attachment_-data/file/228938/7577.pdf

Murphy, Stacey. "Compassionate Strategies of Managing Homelessness: Post-Revanchist Geographies in San Francisco". *Antipode* 42, no. 2 (2009): 305-325.

Neale, Joanne. "Homelessness and Theory Reconsidered". *Housing Studies* 12, no. 1 (1997): 47-61.

Neveling, Patrick. "Structural Contingencies and Untimely Coincidences in the Making of Neoliberal India: The Kandia Free Trade Zone, 1965 –91". *Contributions to Indian Sociology* 48, no. 1 (2014): 17-43.

Nguyen, Vinh-Kim and Karine Peschard. "Anthropology, Inequality, and Disease: A Review". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 32 (2003): 447-474.

Oliver-Smith, Anthony and Susanna Hoffman. 2002. *Catastrophe & Culture: The Anthropology of Disaster*. Santa Fe: School of American Research Press, 2002. Ong, Aihwa. *Neoliberalism as Exception*. Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2006.

Oude Breuil, Brenda. "Fluid Security? Home, Care and Belonging in Prostitution Migration," Page 129-143 in *Positive Criminology: Reflections on Care, Belonging and Security*, edited by Schuilenberg, Marc, Ronald van Steden and Brenda Oude Breuil. The Hague: Eleven International Publishing, 2014.

Peck, Jamie and Adam Tickell. "Neoliberalizing Space. Antipode 34, no. 3 (2002): 380-404.

Pleace, Nicholas. "The New Consensus, the Old Consensus and the Provision of Services for People Sleeping Rough". *Housing Studies* 15, no. 4 (2000): 581-594.

Pakulski, Jan. "Cultural Citizenship". *Citizenship Studies* 1 (1997): 73-86.

Reeve, Kesia, and Elaine Batty. "The Hidden Truth about Homelessness: Experiences of Single Homelessness in England". Centre for Regional Economic and Social Research, 2000. http://www.crisis.org.uk/data/files/publications/HiddenTruthAbout-Homelessness_web.pdf.

Robben, Antonius, C.G.M, and Jeffrey A. Sluka. *Ethnographic Fieldwork: an Anthropological reader.* Chichester: Wiley Blackwell, 2012.

Rossi, Peter, James Wright, Gene Fisher, and Georgina Willis. "The Urban Homeless: Estimating Composition and Size. *Science* 235 (1987): 1336-1341.

Sharp, Lesley. "The Commodification of the Body and its Parts". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 29, no. 1 (2000): 287-329.

Saunders, Peter. *A Nation of Home Owners*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1990.

Scheper-Hughes, Nancy. "Parts Unknown: Undercover Ethnography of the Organs-Trafficking Underworld". *Ethnography* 5, no. 1 (2004): 29-73.

Springer, Sabine. "Homelessness: a Proposal for a Global Definition and Classification". *Habitat International* 24 (2000): 475-484.

Marks, Deborah. "Disability and Cultural Citizenship: Exclusion, 'Integration" and Resistance". Page 167-189 in *Culture and Citizenship.* Edited by Stevenson, Nick. Sage Publications: London, 2001.

Strauss, Claudia. "Blaming for Columbine: Conceptions of Agency in Contemporary United States". *Current Anthropology* 48, no. 6 (2007): 807-832.

Susser, Ida. "The Construction of Poverty and Homelessness in US Cities". *Annual Review of Anthropology* 25, (1996): 411-435.

Ticktin, Miriam. *Casualties of Care: Immigration and the Politics of Humanitarianism in France.* University of California Press: Oakland, 2011.

Tsing, Anna. "The Global Situation". *Cultural Anthropology* 15, no. 3 (2000): 327-360.

Turner, Brian S. *Citizenship and Social Theory.* London: Sage Publications, 1993.

Tyler, Imogen. "The Riots of the Underclass?: Stigmatisation, Mediation and the Government of Poverty and Disadvantage in Neoliberal Britain". *Sociological Research Online* 18, no.4 (2013).

Van Houdt, Friso, Semin Suvarierol and Willem Schinkel. "Neoliberal Communitarian Citizenship: Current Trends Towards 'Earned Citizenship'" in the United Kingdom, France, and the Netherlands". *International Sociology* 26, no. 3 (2011): 408-432.

Verhoeven, Imrat and Evelien Tonkens. "Talking Active Citizenship: Framing Welfare State Reform in England and the Netherlands". *Social Policy and Society* 12, no. 3 (2013): 415-426.

Von Mahs, Jurgen. *Down and out in Los Angeles and Berlin: The Sociospatial Exclusion of Homeless People*. Temple University Press: Philadelphia, 2013.

Wacquant, Loic. *Punishing the Poor: the Neoliberal Government of Social Insecurity*. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009.

Westergaard, John. *Who Gets What? The Hardening of Class Inequality in the Late Twentieth Century.* Polity Press: Cambridge, 1995.

Whiteford, Martin, James**. "**Homelessness and Citizenship: Exploring the Meaning and Negotiation of Place, Space and Geography for Rough Sleepers." PhD diss., Bournemouth University, 2010.