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RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables successful tenancy sustainment?

(The *Moving on Project)*

Leonie Boland

A thesis submitted to Plymouth University

in partial fulfilment for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

School of Health Professions

Faculty of Health and Human Sciences

May 2018

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This thesis is dedicated to UM who spoiled us with his absolute generosity

and to LC, an inspiration for this study in so many ways,

whose life was tragically cut short.

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Finally to my family, who I knew were always there for me.

AUTHOR'S SIGNED DECLARATION

At no time during the registration for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy has the author been registered for any other University award.

Work submitted for this research degree at the Plymouth University has not formed part of any other degree either at Plymouth University or at another establishment.

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ABSTRACT

Leonie Boland

Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables successful tenancy sustainment? (The *Moving on* Project)

For individuals with multiple and complex needs, leaving homelessness is recognised as a dynamic and complex process. Furthermore, despite the provision of supports, tenancies may not be maintained and individuals return to using homelessness services. Tenancy sustainment—the maintenance of a tenancy to avoid a premature end of tenure—is fundamental to the resolution and prevention of homelessness. There is a paucity of research about the occupations of individuals as they establish and maintain tenancies. This thesis aimed to understand the transition process from homelessness, and tenancy sustainment, from an occupational perspective, to inform a potential occupational therapy intervention.

Underpinned by the Medical Research Council (2008) framework for the development and evaluation of complex interventions, a systematic review and a constructivist grounded theory study were conducted in a convergent mixed method study design. The systematic review synthesised the evidence on tenancy sustainment following homelessness from a broad range of studies. It presented positive determinants of tenancy sustainment at individual, interpersonal, community and structural levels.

The constructivist grounded theory study was conducted with people who were experiencing or had experienced multiple exclusion homelessness as well as staff in homelessness services. Individuals (n=35) were purposively sampled and interviews

using reflexive photography were conducted. A substantive theory about the core process of tenancy sustainment was conceptualised as ‘Making a Home’. This was enacted through identified occupational strategies of ‘putting your stamp on it’, ‘seeing a new self’ and ‘living the life’. Tenancy sustainment was experienced as ‘feeling at home’, which had two sub-categories: ‘belonging’, which was a sense of connection to place, as well as, ‘having connections’ to other people. The key mediating factor to enable tenancy sustainment was taking control over activities.

The findings were synthesised to propose a framework of factors that influence successful tenancy sustainment. Engagement in occupations, as individuals established and sustained tenancies, provided a sense of well-being, a sense of control as well as social connections. This indicates the value, to all who support individuals leave homelessness, of providing opportunities and supporting tenants to engage in personally meaningful occupations. In addition, this thesis provides a foundation for the development of an occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment following homelessness.

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GLOSSARY

Occupation-based: the use of engagement in occupation as the therapeutic agent of change (Fisher, 2013).

Occupation-centred: adoption of an occupational lens with reasoning based on the core theoretical beliefs of the profession (Fisher, 2013).

Occupational identity: 'how the individual sees the self in terms of various occupational roles' (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013, p.26).

Occupational justice: concerned with 'enabling, mediating and advocating for environments in which all people's opportunities to engage in occupations are just, health promoting and meaningful' (Hocking, 2017, p.5).

Occupational science: discipline to study the form, function and meaning of occupations, occupational processes as they unfold, and the relationship of occupation to other phenomena such as health (Wilcock, 2006).

Occupational therapy: 'a client centred health profession concerned with promoting health and wellbeing through occupation. The primary goal is to enable people participate in the activities of daily life' (World Federation of Occupational Therapists, 2012, p.15).

Occupational performance: the 'doing of meaningful activities, tasks and roles through complex interactions between the person and the environment' (Baum, Christiansen & Bass, 2015, p.52).

Occupational possibilities: the ways and types of doing that come to be viewed as ideal and possible with a specific socio-historical context, and that come to be promoted and made available within that context (Laliberte Rudman, 2010).

Occupational potential: the vision of future possibilities for engagement in occupation; or for restructuring society to enable people participate as fully as possible (Wicks, 2005).

Tenancy: for the purposes of this thesis, a tenancy is a place to live in which rent is paid. Tenancy, as a term, is used interchangeably with flat throughout the study, although it is acknowledged tenants stay in a variety of property types.

Tenancy sustainment: the maintenance of a tenancy to avoid a premature end of tenure.

CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION

Homelessness is a multifaceted and dynamic social issue that impacts on the lives of a diverse range of people. The majority of individuals who experience homelessness return, often reasonably quickly, to stable accommodation (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015; Mayock, Sheridan & Parker, 2015). A much smaller group of people, who are often single and become long term users of services, struggle to leave homelessness as a result of their more complex needs (Jones & Pleace, 2010). For this group, suitable accommodation as well as appropriate support to maintain tenancies are essential to effective housing strategies (Wilson & Barton, 2016). This thesis, with its occupational science underpinnings, aims to bring a unique perspective to the transition from using homelessness services to tenancy sustainment.

This chapter provides a background to the thesis by introducing occupational therapy and occupational science. As the research was conducted in the UK and Ireland, the context of homelessness in both countries is outlined. The theoretical framework of the study, research questions and the rationale for study are presented. An outline of the

thesis structure concludes this introductory chapter.

1.1 Occupational therapy

As a profession, occupational therapy marked its centenary in 2017 (Bass, Baum & Christiansen, 2015). Occupational therapy is 'a client centred health profession concerned with promoting health and well-being through occupation. The primary goal is to enable people to participate in the activities of daily life' (World Federation of Occupational Therapists, 2012, p.15). It was founded on the understanding of a link between occupation and health (Wilcock, 2006). The core beliefs of occupational therapy are: people are occupational beings; occupational challenges impact on the lives of people; and occupation is a powerful therapeutic agent of change (Fisher, 2013). It is acknowledged that there is a lack of agreement in defining occupation (Carlson *et al.*, 2014; Frank, 2012), perhaps associated with the complexity and richness of its scope (Pollard & Sakellariou, 2012b). As a concept, evolved within occupational therapy literature, occupation has been used to describe both the outcome and the process of the profession (Reed, 2015). However there is consensus that occupations are temporally, historically and socio-culturally situated (Carlson *et al.*, 2014) and through occupations people create and express their identity (Christiansen, 1999; Ikiugu, 2005). This study uses the World Federation of Occupational Therapists (WFOT) definition of occupation—'the everyday activities that people do as individuals, in families and in communities to occupy time and are expected to do. Occupations include things people need to, want to and are expected to do' (2006, p.2). These include everyday activities such as eating a meal, spending time with friends, having a pet or volunteering. The WFOT definition was chosen as most appropriate for this research within homelessness as it does not categorise occupations as self-care, productivity and leisure. This

categorisation has been criticised as too simplistic (Hammell, 2009) and value laden (Pierce, 2001). Individuals' experiences and meanings of occupation are unique and are influenced by contextual factors including 'perceived temporal, spatial and socio-cultural conditions' (Pierce, 2014, p.3). In other words, the experience of an occupation and its meaning, for example preparing food, will differ from one person to another. In addition, the occupation can differ depending on the context in which it is carried out, which is important to consider as individuals transition from homelessness.

Occupations are a means by which to express self to others. Occupational identity is 'how the individual sees the self in terms of various occupational roles' (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013, p.26). It is particular to that person, and includes roles such as sister, father, friend, musician, neighbour, worker. Roles from an occupational perspective are 'culturally defined patterns of occupation that reflect particular routines and habits' (Canadian Association of Occupational Therapists, 2002, p.182). Stereotypical role expectations, for example, those typically associated with the lifestyles of people experiencing homelessness, may limit persons' potential occupational performance. Occupational performance is central to occupational therapy (Christiansen, Baum & Bass, 2015). Occupational performance is the 'doing of meaningful activities, tasks and roles through complex interactions between the person and the environment' (Baum, Christiansen & Bass, 2015, p.52). Doing is 'acting on the environment and interacting with other people' (Brown & Stoffel, 2010, p.639) and is influenced by physical, temporal and sociocultural factors (Reed, 2015). As people transition from homelessness to their own tenancies, the physical and socio-cultural environments influence their occupational performance. Occupational performance supports participation (active engagement and involvement that contributes to the well-being of individuals and

communities) and well-being (satisfaction and quality of life). Participation is involvement in everyday life situations (World Health Organization, 2001), and is enacted through occupation (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013, p.26).

Occupational therapists work with people and communities to enhance their ability to participate by modifying the occupation or the environment to better support engagement in occupations (World Federation of Occupational Therapists, 2012). This enablement, focused on occupation, has been identified as the core competency of occupational therapy (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013). Occupational therapy has been defined as a complex intervention as it comprises 'a number of separate elements which seem essential to the proper functioning of the intervention although the 'active ingredient' of the intervention is difficult to specify' (Creek, 2003, p.14). To add to the complexity, occupational therapy interventions are tailored to meet the needs, circumstances and values of individuals.

Historically, occupational therapy has been most closely associated with the medical profession and the cultures of health and social care because, traditionally, these organisations were the main employers for the profession (Clouston & Whitcombe, 2008). However, Wilcock (2005) proposed this is to deny the core roots of the profession, which adopted a holistic approach to the individual, and advocated occupational therapy should extend its enabling role beyond mainstream health and social care. Over recent years, there has been a shift in the profession with therapists seeking opportunities to work in new settings which focus on the full participation and inclusion of people (Pollard & Sakellariou, 2012a). The voluntary third sector is one of the largest areas for the recent development of occupational therapy, and this includes homeless hostels and supported housing (Polglase & Treseder, 2012).

1.2 Occupational science

Occupational science shares with occupational therapy a core interest in understanding human occupation and the relationship between health and occupation. It can be viewed as a science, providing knowledge for the applied practice of occupational therapy (Molineux, 2014). Occupational science was founded in the late 1980s in the Department of Occupational Therapy at the University of Southern California as a discipline whose unique focus is the study of occupation (Yerxa *et al.*, 1990). Its scope is to study the form, function and meaning of occupations, occupational processes as they unfold, and the relationship of occupation to other phenomena such as health (Wilcock, 2006). Pollard and Sakellariou (2012b) suggest that the link of occupation to therapy and clinical practices has constrained its study and in fact diverted it from its social reform origins. There is a growing awareness within occupational science about larger social issues. Indeed there is evidence of a growing focus on social issues, such as homelessness, for example, which would not previously have been identified as falling within the scope of occupational practice (Paul-Ward, 2009). However, as will be discussed in more detail, in section 2.4, this is in its development stage. Several authors, for example Cutchin and Dickie (2012) and Galheigo (2011), proposed the relationship between social justice and occupational science needs to be clarified further. Frank (2012) maintained this ought to take place within an interdisciplinary arena of critique and research. Occupational science presents an occupational perspective to other audiences but it must also be interdisciplinary to promote critical reflection and expand ways of thinking about the complexity of occupation (Rudman *et al.*, 2008). The social relevance of occupational science will be explored in more detail in section 2.2. One concept that has aligned occupation to social justice, is occupational justice, and is fundamental to consider in relation to homelessness and its impact on individuals.

1.2.1 Occupational justice

The term occupational justice is credited to Ann Wilcock (Reed, 2015). It offers a lens to view and act on social issues from an occupational perspective (Stadnyk, Townsend & Wilcock, 2014). Occupational therapists are experts 'in doing' to enable people to participate fully in society (Whiteford, 2014). Occupational justice is concerned with the 'forms of enabling, mediating, or advocating that are needed to create a doing environment that is both just and health promoting for all, recognising the need to empower people regardless of differences' to meet their potential and well-being (Wilcock, 2015, p.166). This will be discussed in more detail in section 2.1. As illustrated in figure 1.1, Whiteford (2014) proposed three 'pillars' of occupational justice.

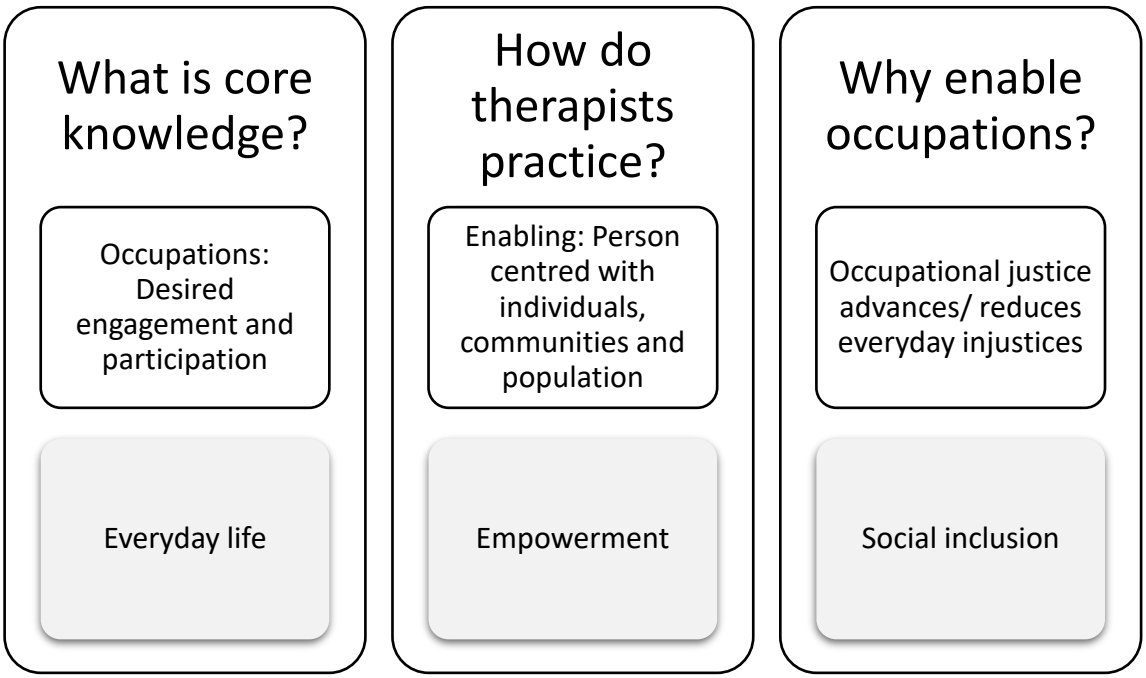


Figure 1.1. Three pillars of occupational justice (Whiteford, 2014, p.176)

These are adapted from three pillars of reasoning which were part of an exploratory theory of occupation justice (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004b) and led to the Evolving Theory of Occupational Justice (Stadnyk, Townsend & Wilcock, 2014). It proposed that structural determinants (for example economic, national and international policies) as

well as cultural values shape occupational forms, for example education, employment and transport. These, in turn, shape possible occupational injustice outcomes which include loss of purpose, boredom and isolation. Durocher, Gibson and Rappolt (2014), in their scoping review, acknowledged that although the theory listed key concepts and demonstrated some interaction between concepts, it presented limited explanations about the relationships. Despite these limitations, the pillars proposed by Whiteford (2014) in figure 1.1, illustrate how this study is situated within occupational justice. Namely, the study will add to the core knowledge about the role of occupation in the process of transition from homelessness to a tenancy. This knowledge will inform occupational therapy practice within homelessness, which will in turn, potentially help reduce the injustice of homelessness by promoting successful tenancy sustainment. An overview of homelessness, service provision and policy context is presented in the following section.

1.3 Homelessness

Homelessness is a multifaceted and complex social issue, impacting on the lives of a diverse range of people. The number of people experiencing homelessness is growing across Europe (FEANSTA & Foundation Abbe Pierre, 2017). As an issue, it is commented on, and informed by, a broad array of stakeholders including a range of academic disciplines, governments, policy makers, voluntary and charitable organisations as well as the media and general public. In the following section, I will outline the context of homelessness, referring to policy in England and Ireland, to situate this study.

1.3.1 Definition of homelessness

The European Typology of Homelessness and Housing Exclusion (ETHOS) classifies living situations that constitute homelessness or housing exclusion: rooflessness,

houselessness, insecure housing, and inadequate housing (FEANTSA, 2017). This typology provides a framework for policy and practice but individual countries continue to hold national definitions. The legal definition of homelessness in England, set out in the Housing (Homeless Persons) Act 1977, is broad as everybody without permanent housing is considered homeless. However in practice, its interpretation is narrowed down, whereby a distinction is made between statutory and non-statutory homelessness (Housing Act, 1996). The 'main homelessness duty' of local authorities is to provide temporary accommodation for the statutory homeless (Housing Act, 1996). To be 'eligible' for this assistance, homeless households must be 'unintentionally homeless' and 'in priority need'. Priority need groups include households with dependent children, and people who are vulnerable, for example because of mental illness or physical disability. The Homelessness Act, 2002 extended the priority need to applicants aged 16 or 17; those aged 18 to 20 who were previously in care; vulnerable as a result of time spent in custody or the HM Forces or having to flee their home because of violence. Furthermore, assistance will only be provided by the local authority with whom the household has a 'local connection'. The most recent homelessness monitor (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2017) identified the ongoing upward trend in officially estimated rough sleeper numbers as well as an increase in statutory homelessness. The vast majority of people accepted as statutory homeless were made homeless from the private rented sector.

As a result of the eligibility conditions, the statutory homeless system generally excludes most single homeless people (Fitzpatrick & Pleace, 2012). Those excluded, referred to as non-statutory homeless, are typically dependent on voluntary and charitable organisations for support. They include persons who stay in hostels and other

accommodation providers, sleep rough, as well as the 'hidden homeless'. The hidden homeless include people staying in severely overcrowded conditions, squats, 'sofa surfing' and sleeping rough in hidden places (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2017). By its very nature, it is difficult to quantify the numbers and assess the trends in hidden homelessness, but it is it commonly agreed that this figure is also on the increase. A recent study, collecting data from homeless accommodation providers and day centres in England, identified just over 35,000 bed spaces and 214 day centres (Homeless Link, 2016). Although numbers are valuable to understand the extent of homelessness (depending on definition) and influence how it is responded to, they can mask the complexity of the experience (Cloke, Milbourne & Widdowfield, 2001).

The statutory system in England is unusual within an international context, in that it provides a right for homeless households to be accommodated by the local authority. A study by Fitzpatrick and Pleace (2012) highlighted its value in appropriately housing families who had been homeless. However, as a means of allocating finite public resources, it has been critiqued as it legitimises the claims of certain groups while simultaneously excluding others (Somerville, 1998). The focus on intentionality in the eligibility for support, that is 'not intentionally homeless', insinuates individual blame and results in some people with complex needs depending on the support of voluntary and charitable services (Dwyer *et al.*, 2015).

The first legal definition of homelessness in Ireland was provided by the Housing Act, 1988. The scope of the definition is similar to that in English law but in contrast, it does not place a duty on local authorities to provide housing. Within Ireland, the rights based homelessness system was rejected in the mid-1980s in favour of a 'social partnership model' (Watts, 2014). This placed an emphasis on partnership between the statutory

and voluntary services working within homelessness. Local authorities had the responsibility to consider needs and provide money to people to source accommodation through the private sector. In addition, local authorities provided funding to voluntary services to provide accommodation for people who are homeless. There are a relatively small number of agencies providing most of the homelessness services. O'Sullivan (2016) noted that four non-governmental organisations (NGOs) received nearly 50% of national funding. Quantifying the number of homeless people reflects the definition of homelessness used. Official figures are produced by the local authorities and capture the number of individuals in state funded emergency accommodation. Within the city of Dublin, official figures also includes data from most of the homelessness services, as people are counted in 'real time' (FEANSTA & Foundation Abbe Pierre, 2017). Despite this, the official figure tends to be lower than reported by the voluntary organisations. However there is consensus that the extent of homelessness, particularly for families in Ireland, is at unprecedented levels (O'Sullivan, 2016).

1.3.2 Causes of homelessness

Most contemporary explanations weave together both structural and individual factors (Fitzpatrick, 2005). Structural contributors to homelessness include a lack of affordable housing, poverty, unemployment, and housing policies (Shoredike, O'Brien & Marshall, 2011). Furthermore the social housing sector has declined in recent years (Byrne & Norris, 2017; Fitzpatrick & Watts, 2017). The ending of a tenancy (including eviction) in the private rented sector has become the most commonly cited reason for loss of a settled home in the UK (Wilson & Barton, 2016). Factors at the level of the individual centre on personal characteristics, needs, choices and behaviour (Fitzpatrick, 2005). The process of becoming and remaining homeless is mediated through the interaction of individual characteristics with social and economic structures (Johnson *et al.*, 2015).

Structural and individual factors can become mutually reinforcing which increase the likelihood that homelessness is sustained (Jones, Shier & Graham, 2012). For example, using homelessness services could lead to increased alcohol misuse, which could, in turn, make it more difficult to leave homelessness over time. The options and choices available to individuals who are homeless are often limited, but nevertheless, they make decisions, although constrained, to influence their lives (McNaughton, 2006; Somerville, 2013). For example, people make decisions to move between areas, access or leave services or source help from friends. Cloke, May and Johnsen (2008) recognised the strategic or tactical agency of some people who are homeless in their use of space within cities. The value of understanding pathways in homelessness (Pleace, 2016b) has been advocated by several authors (May, 2000; McNaughton Nicholls, 2009; Somerville, 2013). A homeless pathway is the route into, experience of and route out of homelessness—in other words, it is a dynamic process, influenced by both structural and individual factors (Clapham, 2003). For the majority of single homeless in a UK study, May (2000) noted that the experience was episodic, with periods of homelessness interspersed with tenancies in their own accommodation. This complexity of housing pathways is echoed by other research (De Decker & Segers, 2014; Mayock, Sheridan & Parker, 2015). Somerville (2013) stressed each person's journey is unique although there may be common themes in the process. He argued that pathways out of homelessness are poorly understood and require further research.

1.3.3 Homeless service users with complex needs

It is acknowledged that the majority of individuals who experience homelessness return, often moderately quickly, to stable accommodation (Department for Communities and Local Government, 2015; Mayock, Sheridan & Parker, 2015). This is often with the support of statutory and voluntary services. However, a much smaller group of single

people struggle to move on as a result of their higher and more complex needs (Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2010; Jones & Pleace, 2010) and become long-term users of homelessness services. Within Europe, long-term homelessness is defined as more than one year (FEANTSA, 2017). Individuals within this group can have chronic physical health problems, mental health difficulties and substance misuse problems (Aubry, Klodawsky & Coulombe, 2012). In terms of numbers, this tends to be the smallest group of homeless people but they account for an extraordinarily high proportion of resources over the course of a year (Culhane & Metraux, 2008; Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & White, 2011). Services may not be able to cope with or take responsibility for individuals in this group (Scullion *et al.*, 2015). Consequently people may stay for extended periods in emergency hostels, sleep rough or move between homelessness services. Culhane and Metraux (2008) observed sustainable exits from homelessness were less likely as time passed. Furthermore, substance abuse adds greater difficulties to exiting homelessness and achieving housing stability (Aubry, Klodawsky & Coulombe, 2012). The negative impact of homelessness on physical and mental health is well documented (Bharel *et al.*, 2013; Queen *et al.*, 2017). In addition, this group experience sustained isolation and worklessness (Jones & Pleace, 2010). There is a strong overlap between long-term homelessness and other support needs, including substance misuse and street activities (such as begging) (McDonagh, 2011) . As a result of these multiple and complex needs, this group is at serious risk of falling between services, reinforcing their vulnerability to ongoing homelessness (Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & White, 2011). Fitzpatrick, Johnsen and White (2011) proposed the term 'multiple exclusion homelessness' (MEH) for people who have experience of homelessness combined with chronic physical or mental ill health, problematic substance misuse or institutional care. It describes a group of individuals who experience deep social exclusion; very few of whom want to remain

homeless (Bowpitt *et al.*, 2011). Individuals were predominantly single homeless men, aged between 20 and 49 but particularly in their 30s (McDonagh, 2011). As a definition, MEH has been criticised for assuming that individuals cannot manage health problems and for over emphasising structural factors (McNaughton Nicholls, 2009). However, within this study, I am solely using this term to refer to a group of individuals whose support needs are complex and multiple, and I do not assume a difficulty in managing personal health. For many people, housing needs cannot be separated from other issues. Moreover, the support needs of individuals are likely to be unique and evolving (Fisher, 2015). Therefore, practical routes out of homelessness need to include appropriate accommodation, in combination with flexible, individualised and integrated support from appropriate services.

1.3.4 Service provision and pathways (models)

For single people, the private rented sector has increasingly become the destination for those exiting homelessness, in line with the decline of the social housing sector (Rowe & Wagstaff, 2017). However, this in itself raises a concern, as tenancies ending in the private sector have become the leading cause of homelessness (Wilson & Barton, 2016). Provision of accommodation alone does not always totally resolve homelessness, especially for those with more complex needs. It is generally agreed that assistance to address people's support needs should be provided in a flexible and integrated way alongside accommodation (Mackie & Thomas, 2014; McDonagh, 2011).

1.3.4.1 The staircase model

Traditionally the prevailing approach to enable people to leave homelessness was known as the 'staircase model', so called, because it used a series of steps to help homeless people develop the skills to live in their own tenancies (Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2010). Similar to the 'continuum of care' approach, people progress through

separate residential services where they demonstrate sufficient evidence of 'housing readiness' or treatment compliance (Johnsen & Teixeira, 2010). These models have been criticised for their linear approach which appear contrary to the variable recovery process homeless people with complex needs may experience. Although time constraints tended to be imposed on the length of time individuals could stay in various stages, it was also, to some degree, flexible as individuals could move directly into specialist services once needs were assessed (Johnsen & Teixeira, 2010). Until recent years the linear model was the predominant approach to homeless service provision in the UK and Ireland. However, as a result of the challenges faced by homeless people with complex needs to access and maintain accommodation, as well as successfully negotiate the 'steps of the staircase', alternative and innovative models had to be considered.

1.3.4.2 'Housing First' model

A model entitled 'Housing First', which originated in the United States, has the premise of giving people their own tenancies and providing floating support to enable tenancy maintenance (Tsemberis, 1999). There is no prerequisite to be 'housing ready' or treatment compliant. Housing First provides immediate access to housing and services which challenges the previous focus on deficits (Nelson *et al.*, 2017). Initial evaluation of Housing First in England shows the potential effectiveness of this approach in reducing homelessness (Bretherton & Pleace, 2015). However, as it has been developed, there has been a range of practices in how Housing First has been implemented and evaluated across services (Homeless Link, 2015). These may be interpretations and translations to suit local demands and political constraints but critical attention should be paid to these processes and practices to deepen the understanding of Housing First as a model within the political and housing context (Baker & Evans, 2016). Studies have shown that

services with higher fidelity to the core principles of Housing First have more successful outcomes, regardless of the operating context (Aubry *et al.*, 2016b; Gilmer *et al.*, 2014).

1.3.4.3 Supported housing

Not all individuals transition into independent tenancies. An alternative service type is supported housing, which provides secure accommodation typically in self-contained apartments, as well as on-site staff support (Johnsen & Teixeira, 2010). These projects have been developed for people with a range of needs. Some supported housing settings provide permanent accommodation, sharing some principles with the Housing First model, whereas others are part of the 'staircase model' of housing. As a tenant, one is likely to have a shared license agreement which provides fewer rights than a tenancy agreement but has greater flexibility (Green & McCarthy, 2015).

The importance of the suitability of accommodation as well as supporting people to sustain their tenancies is recognised as being essential to effective homeless strategies (Wilson & Barton, 2016). Tenancy sustainment teams were traditionally part of resettlement services, which first emerged following the closure of large hostels (Harvey, 1999). Their scope of practice has expanded to any individual moving into their own tenancies, requiring a level of support. They typically offer a mix of practical and emotional support tailored to individual need, to help people sustain accommodation (Homeless Link, 2013).

1.3.5 UK and Ireland policy context

National policies in both the UK and Ireland focus on homelessness prevention and the need for delivery of housing. Preventing and rapidly resolving homelessness costs less public money than allowing homelessness to become sustained or repeated (Pleace, 2015). In a UK report, published in 2016, the Community and Local Government (CLG)

Select Committee advocated a prevention focused approach to homelessness (House of Commons Communities and Local Government Committee, 2016). To help address this, the Homelessness Reduction Act, a recent amendment to the Housing Act (1996), places a new duty on local authorities to help prevent homelessness of families and single people, regardless of priority need, who are eligible for assistance. This is due to come into effect in 2018. Although this prevention focused report has been commended as an approach to tackle homelessness, it has been critiqued for not adequately addressing the needs of the smaller group of homeless adults with additional complex needs (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2017). The CLG Select Committee cautioned against investment in Housing First in favour of more mainstream efforts to tackle homelessness and prevent instances of entrenched homelessness. However, on the ground, there is a commitment to Housing First; the Homeless Monitor reported it has been developing in services throughout England (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2017) although the degree of fidelity to Housing First principles was not studied.

The Irish Homelessness Policy Statement proposed a housing led approach advocating the 'rapid provision of secure housing with support as needed to ensure sustainable tenancies' (Department of the Environment and Local Government, 2013, p.2). This was implemented through action plans, the most recent entitled Rebuilding Ireland: Action Plan for Housing and Homelessness (Department of the Environment and Local Government, 2016). This was launched in the midst of a housing crisis, comprising a deficit of affordable housing, rapidly rising rent prices and unprecedented levels of homelessness, especially family homelessness (Boyle & Wood, 2017). The focus of the action plan was to increase delivery of housing across all tenures and help those currently housed remain in their tenures. Included are commitments to increase

Housing First tenancies and to extend tenancy sustainment teams across the country. However the realities of an inability to secure properties in the private rented sector as well as prospective tenants having a preference for social housing, as highlighted by Quinn and Sheridan (2016), cited in O'Sullivan (2016), challenge the implementation of Housing First in Ireland. As a result, individuals have to spend longer within homelessness services.

To understand homelessness and the process of transitioning from it, the broader context of the welfare system must be considered. The findings of a study by Bramley and Fitzpatrick (2017) highlighted the centrality of poverty to the generation of homelessness. Within the UK, there has been a number of welfare reforms over the last five years. Those which could impact on individuals transitioning from homelessness and sustaining tenancies include Housing Benefit, the 'bedroom tax' and universal credit. As a result of changes to how Local Authority Allowances are calculated, private rental tenancies have become more unaffordable due to the difference between the amount of Housing Benefit and actual rents (Wilson & Barton, 2016). In addition, most people aged under 35 are only eligible for Housing Benefit at the Shared Accommodation Rate (Rowe & Wagstaff, 2017). This means shared housing, which can be difficult to find and may not be a personal choice, can be a younger person's only option when dependent on Housing Benefit. The 'bedroom tax', officially called Spare Room Subsidy, resulted in a reduction in Housing Benefit and therefore income for social housing tenants (Moffatt *et al.*, 2015). Universal credit aimed to simplify the structure of welfare benefits in the UK by combining several different payments, including Housing Benefit. However, the monthly payment regime, rather than fortnightly, as well as a mandatory six week wait to receive money under the scheme, has made money management more difficult for

some people (Hartfree, 2014). An additional reform has resulted in a reduction in the permitted earnings level for those working, before claimants are subject to a tapered reduction in their entitlement of universal credit (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2017). These welfare cuts, in the context of higher housing costs, have significant consequences on the day to day lives of individuals sustaining tenancies following homelessness.

Within Ireland, as well as a considerable decrease in the availability of properties to rent, there has been a growing divide between rent supplements and market rents (Simon Community, 2016). To attempt to address this, a Housing Assistance Payment (HAP) scheme was introduced in 2014, which allowed for people to receive up to 50% above the current rent supplement limits with the aim of creating better opportunities for people to access housing and move out of homelessness (O'Sullivan, 2016). It is paid directly to landlords and has no restriction if a person is in employment. The group most affected by welfare policies was young people in Ireland, as the age of eligibility for full job seeker payments was increased to 26 (Mayock, Parker & Murphy, 2014). This makes an assumption that young people have families who can support them. This is not the case for many when sustaining tenancies following homelessness. As introduced in section 1.2.1, policies, as structural determinants, shape housing, employment, homelessness, and health services, which in turn shape occupations at the level of the person.

1.4 Personal background to the research

My interest in homelessness and people experiencing homelessness goes back to a gentleman I met as an occupational therapy student in Dublin. He was living in a homeless hostel and his story opened my eyes to the day to day life of using services for basic needs like shelter and food. Growing up on the west coast of Ireland I was not

aware of homelessness, per se. However I was lucky to grow up in a family in which the term social justice definitely was not used, but it was actioned. Values of treating all people with respect and not judging difference; being aware that although we had certain opportunities, not everybody did; doing what you can, even if very small, to make a difference, were instilled in me. After college I volunteered with a soup run for people experiencing homelessness for several years, which I really enjoyed. One memory sticks in my head: we had been asked by someone, who had settled down for the night, to mind his stuff while he did an errand. I waited back and as it was late in the evening, I just rested down on my hunkers. I became more associated with his sleeping bag in the doorway than the giver of soup and I felt a great sense of being separate and not part of that busy street.

When working as an occupational therapist in community mental health services I was seconded into a social inclusion team within homelessness to develop a role for occupational therapy. This was a challenge as interventions and strategies for occupational therapy in homelessness were not available to draw on. However, I held my core beliefs of occupation, and its link to health and well-being, drawing particularly on the work of Yerxa (1998; 2005), Yerxa *et al.* (1990), Townsend (1997) and Townsend and Wilcock (2004a) to help me construct my role and identity within the team. I moved job to work on a specialist mental health team for the homeless. Within this service, the occupational therapy role was more established but the challenge was to make it most relevant and occupationally based for the people accessing the service. I was involved in setting up service user groups and working in partnership with experts by experience. Over my ten years working in the area, the literature base only slowly developed. I passionately believed in the value of occupational therapy within homelessness and

loved working clinically. However I recognised that to further expand the role research would be required, which led me to this study path.

1.5 Assumptions underpinning the research

As an occupational therapist, I worked with people as they moved into tenancies from homelessness services. My assumptions underpinning the research are influenced by the people I have worked with and my professional beliefs as an occupational therapist. The experience of being homeless impacts on a person's opportunities to engage in what they want to do and will change how they spend their day. This experience can limit a person's sense of themselves and their potential and view of the opportunities available to them. Transitioning into one's own tenancy will lead to a change in daily occupations but having a tenancy does not automatically lead to a better quality of life. Some people can lead more occupationally deprived and socially isolated lives in tenancies than in the services from which they moved. Engaging in occupations that are valued can provide opportunities for positive experiences, for a sense of achievement and can reintroduce a sense of confidence which will enable a tenancy to be sustained. However, what those occupations are, most likely, will be different for everyone. Some people who have experience of homelessness may find it difficult to recall what is of value or meaningful to them and as a result having the opportunity to try out activities is important. Another assumption I bring to the research is that not turning up for an appointment is not always a sign of disinterest. People who are homeless can have many competing pressures on their time and one should not assume disinterest and another opportunity given. This must, of course, be balanced with the right not to partake. The challenge for me is to acknowledge these assumptions during the research and to be willing to revise or relinquish them depending on what emerges from the process.

1.6 Rationale of the research

Provision of accommodation alone does not always resolve homelessness, especially for those with more complex needs. Although it is generally agreed that support should be provided in a flexible and integrated way alongside accommodation, more needs to be known about the establishment and maintenance of a settled home for people who leave homelessness (Sabatelli Iaquinta, 2016). It has been acknowledged that adults with multiple and complex needs struggle to move on from homelessness. One of the core beliefs of occupational therapy is the power of occupation as a therapeutic agent of change. Occupation could be a critical tool in tenancy sustainment. It has been described as a means for regaining confidence as a tenant or participating in the local community as it can create spaces where people experience a feeling of connectedness (Duncan & Creek, 2014). Occupational therapists, by understanding individuals within their environmental context, can provide a perspective to help individuals engage in occupations that enable them to connect with others and establish strategies to develop meaningful occupations. Within occupational science and therapy, researchers have started to explore the meaning of occupation and the experience of occupational engagement for people who are homeless, but this thesis will focus on sustaining tenancies following homelessness. It will develop an understanding of the process of tenancy sustainment and the role of occupation in that transition for people with multiple and complex needs.

1.7 Research questions

The overall aim of this research is to increase the understanding of the role of occupation in making the transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy. The study has four research questions:

1. How do people who experience multiple exclusion homelessness make the transition from using homelessness services to sustaining a tenancy?
2. What enables successful tenancy sustainment following homelessness?
3. What is the role of occupation in facilitating this transition?
4. How can occupational therapy practice be informed by an understanding of this transition?

1.8 Theoretical framework

The theoretical lenses that underpin this study provide a framework for understanding the experience of transitioning to a sustained tenancy following homelessness. Occupational science, symbolic interactionism and pragmatism inform the study. Together they are the lens through which literature and data have been viewed, analysed, and how the findings were generated. The following sections provide an outline of each.

1.8.1 Occupational science

Occupational science was introduced in section 1.2, and will be expanded upon in 2.2. Holding an occupational centred perspective is the adoption of an occupational lens with reasoning based on the core theoretical beliefs of the profession (see section 1.2) (Fisher, 2013). An occupational perspective foregrounds what people do; the how and why they do it. It considers what meanings are held in the doing as well as the conditions that support or hinder individual and group engagement in difference contexts (Whiteford, 2014). Maintaining an occupational justice perspective, pertinent in the study of homelessness, ensures that individual experiences and occupations must be viewed critically to highlight socio-political influences (Laliberte Rudman, 2013).

1.8.2 Symbolic interactionism

The symbolic interactionism perspective assumes that individuals act towards things located in the environment in which they live, on the basis of the meaning those things have for them. Through interaction with others, individuals define their environment—not just respond to it. It is dynamic, as individuals engage in social processes, meanings are reviewed and modified (Nayar, 2012). Symbolic interactionism is presented in more detail in section 3.4.4, in the context of constructivist grounded theory.

1.8.3 Pragmatism

Pragmatism and symbolic interactionism share the view that humans are active agents that can interpret and act upon situations, and treat events as open ended and emergent (Charmaz, 2014). Pragmatism emphasizes the value of experiences, practical consequences and understanding real world phenomenon. Section 3.1.2 presents, in more detail, how it informs the methodology.

1.9 Significance of the study

This study is important within the current context of housing led polices and housing led models of service provision within homelessness. As stated earlier (section 1.3.3) adults with multiple and complex needs are a small group within homelessness but they account for a high proportion of resource use. In addition, the nature of their homelessness is cyclical (see section 2.5)—returning to homelessness as a result of difficulties with tenancy sustainment. Viewing the process of transition and tenancy sustainment following homelessness within occupational science will provide a unique perspective to the transition which could inform existing housing models and services for individuals with complex needs, as well as policy within the field.

This study will add a unique contribution to the body of knowledge within occupational

science by furthering the understanding of disruption to everyday occupations as individuals transition from homelessness and the influence of occupation on tenancy sustainment. This research will explore the potential contribution of an occupation based approach for tenancy sustainment and provide evidence that can be used to inform an occupational therapy intervention.

1.10 Thesis structure

This chapter has set the scene for the research study, outlining the research aims and the theoretical lens through which they are addressed. Occupational therapy and occupational science has been introduced as well as the context of homelessness, in which this study is based. My background as an occupational therapist and how this has informed the study, in addition to the assumptions I hold are outlined. An introductory discussion of the significance of the study provides a rationale for this research.

Chapter two reviews the pertinent literature informing this research. As this study includes a constructivist grounded theory methodology, and as the use of a literature review is widely debated within grounded theory research, I need to address this issue. In the original publication by Glaser and Strauss (1967) they explicitly advised against conducting a literature review at the early stage of the research process. In developments within grounded theory since, Strauss and Corbin (1990) acknowledge that no researcher is a blank slate. Dunne (2011) proposed that Glaser and other purists are not calling for a blanket ban on existing literature but for researchers to be aware of the timing of engaging with literature and acknowledge the importance of literature in the later stages of a grounded theory study. Reviewing the literature at the beginning orientates the researcher to the field of study and Urquhart (2007) argues this does not necessarily prejudice towards existing concepts. Charmaz (2014) suggests that the

literature review can ‘set the stage’ (p.308) and show where the study being undertaken fits or extends relevant literature. Chapter two ‘sets the stage’ for the understanding of the process of transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy, as well as the concept of home.

The methodology and methods used in this study are explained in chapter three. It provides the rationale for a mixed methods design and details the systematic review methodology as well as the constructivist grounded theory study methodology used in this thesis. Chapter four presents the data collection and analysis strategy that generated the grounded theory. The following chapters, five and six, present and discuss the grounded theory findings. Chapter seven presents and discusses the systematic review findings.

The synthesised findings of the constructivist grounded theory and the systematic review are presented in chapter eight, in keeping with the mixed methodological approach. Chapter nine provides a discussion of the synthesised findings and locates them within the wider literature. Chapter ten concludes the thesis with an overview of the contribution to knowledge, including the implications of the findings and avenues for future research.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

The aim of this chapter is to 'set the stage' for understanding the process of transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy. It furthers the debate on the social relevance of occupational science (introduced in section 1.4) as well as occupational justice (initially discussed in section 1.4.1). The pertinent literature on homelessness within occupational science and occupational therapy is discussed in section 2.2. The following section (2.3) will explore wider literature pertaining to transitioning from homelessness, the facilitators and barriers to leaving homelessness and conclude by highlighting the knowledge gap from an occupational perspective. Home as a concept, and the process of making a home, concludes the literature review (section 2.4).

2.1 Occupational justice

As introduced in section 1.2.1, occupational justice emerged in the late 1990s with the integration of the work of Townsend and Wilcock (2004a). Occupational justice recognised individuals as occupational beings who have the right to equal opportunities to engage in varied and meaningful occupations to meet basic needs and maximise

potential through participation in occupation. Therefore occupational justice is concerned with 'enabling, mediating and advocating for environments in which all people's opportunities to engage in occupations are just, health promoting and meaningful' (Hocking, 2017, p.5). Participation in occupations can be 'barred, restricted, segregated, prohibited, undeveloped, disrupted, alienated, marginalised, exploited, excluded or otherwise restricted' through forces outside of people's control (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004a, p.77). In a scoping review carried out by Durocher, Gibson and Rappolt (2014) five forms of occupational injustice were identified and described:

1. occupational apartheid,
2. occupational deprivation,
3. occupational imbalance,
4. occupational marginalisation,
5. occupational alienation.

2.1.1 Occupational apartheid

Occupational apartheid (Kronenberg & Pollard, 2005) occurs in situations where opportunities are afforded to some and restricted to others based on race, gender and/or nationality. Individuals may be deprived of meaningful activity through segregation due to social, political, economic factors or social status. Hammell and Beagan (2017) cautioned that occupational apartheid has uniquely political and systemic causation and should not be misapplied to other unjust situations. When interacting with the criminal justice system the lack of fixed address can have a significant influence on who is granted conditional release from prison and people who are homeless are subject to more security measures than the housed population (Cooper, 2016).

2.1.2 Occupational deprivation

Occupational deprivation (Whiteford, 1997, p.145) is 'the influence of an external circumstance that keeps a person from acquiring, using or enjoying something'. Occupational deprivation over extended periods of time can have significant health and well-being implications (Wilcock, 2006). It has been recognised as a process as well as an outcome (Whiteford, 2005). People who experience homelessness can be in situations that lead to occupational deprivation (Occupational Therapy Australia, 2016) as a result of the living situations they find themselves in. The nature of occupational deprivation was discussed by Crawford *et al.* (2016) in their work with asylum seekers in Australia. They challenged the proposition that deprivation is solely the result of external forces and argued that it is better understood as an interaction of external factors (structure) and personal characteristics (agency) that adapt how individuals respond in those circumstances. Hocking (2017) noted a similar interaction of structure and agency was also significant in individuals' experiences of socio-economic deprivation, as identified by Bassouk & Donelan (2003, cited in Hocking, 2017). Laliberte Rudman (2010) proposed that occupational science would benefit from a deeper examination of the interplay between structure and agency to not only comprehensively understand occupational possibilities in context, but how they are taken up or resisted by individuals. Therefore the influence of the wider socio-cultural context as well as agency must be considered as individuals transition from homelessness, to deepen the understanding as to why tenancies are sustained or not.

2.1.3 Occupational imbalance

The third identified form of occupational injustice is occupational imbalance (Stadnyk, Townsend & Wilcock, 2014). This refers to excessive time spent occupied in one area of life at the expense of other areas or having patterns of being over or under occupied.

For example, addiction can result in occupational imbalance, whereby engaging in occupations related to the addiction dominate time use. However, the judgement of what constitutes balance or imbalance is judgement and value laden. Hammell and Beagan (2017) suggest a disparity in the literature, as occupational imbalance is most frequently identified among people who are marginalised or poor. They highlight that the occupations of the privileged or wealthy are rarely critically labelled as unbalanced.

2.1.4 Occupational marginalisation

Another form of occupational injustice is occupational marginalisation, in which exclusion from participating in occupations is based on invisible norms and unnamed expectations (Stadnyk, Townsend & Wilcock, 2014). Groups or individuals may not be offered chances to participate in some occupations, not because of explicit social policy but because of habits or expectations. The assessment of occupational marginalisation has been questioned by Hammell and Beagan (2017)—by what criteria is it to be measured and by whom? Nevertheless, as individuals transition into tenancies, occupational marginalisation could occur if expectations for tenants are lessened after using homelessness services. For example, not being expected to become an active member of a residents association. To counteract this, the source of these expectations, standards or norms needs to be identified and made visible to prevent occupational marginalisation.

2.1.5 Occupational alienation

The fifth defined form of occupational injustice is occupational alienation. This is the 'prolonged experience of disconnectedness, isolation, emptiness, lack of sense of identity, a limited or confined sense of identity or a sense of meaninglessness' (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004a, p.80). The experience of alienation, whether it be social

or occupational, has been suggested as a challenge for a person who has experienced homelessness moving into a new home (Bryant, 2016). It is proposed that the experience of using homelessness services can negatively impact on a person's sense of identity and therefore adapting to the role of a tenant or a neighbour, although important for a successful transition to a new home, may be difficult.

Although occupational injustice terms are used throughout occupational science and occupational therapy literature, they lack conceptual clarity (Durocher, Rappolt & Gibson, 2014; Hammell & Beagan, 2017). Whalley Hammell (2017) proposed that a focus on occupational rights might be more constructive, such that 'occupational injustices are understood, clearly and simply, as violations of people's occupational rights' (p.53). Although occupational injustices appear to be at the level of the individual, occupational injustice is essentially caused by structural inequalities (Whiteford & Townsend, 2011). Occupational science holds a vision to be a 'more socially responsive discipline which in turn is able to make robust and relevant contributions to societal reform, inclusion and participation' (Hocking & Whiteford, 2012, p.4). Hammell and Iwama (2012) contend that there has been little or no effort to address occupational rights by promoting changes at a social, organisational or political level. The critique in the literature that occupational science does not adequately address issues at a societal level will be explored further in the following section.

2.2 The social relevance of occupational science

If occupational science is to continue its development as a socially and politically engaged discipline—focussing on occupation as means for social transformation—there is a need for more critical perspectives to confront theoretical foundation assumptions (Angell, 2014; Frank, 2012). Occupation-based social transformation proposes

occupation is both a lens to view, and a means to bring about, change in social inequalities. A critical and reflexive occupational science perspective challenges occupational therapists and occupational scientists to 're-think what may be taken for granted' (Hocking & Whiteford, 2012, p.4). This includes considering social structures and policies, the mechanisms of injustice, how occupations are judged as well as the power we hold as occupational scientists and occupational therapists. This study attends to the impact of structures and power on occupational opportunities available to individuals as they transition from homelessness into tenancies and advances the articulation of an occupational justice perspective within homelessness.

2.2.1 Beyond an individualistic perspective

Several authors have criticised the occupational science discourse for its continued focus on an individual level as opposed to considering occupation within broader macro levels (Cutchin, Dickie & Humphry, 2006; Hammell & Iwama, 2012). Emphasis on personal motivation or individual inadequacies have been predominant when considering occupational engagement. The economic, political and cultural factors that influence social values or access to occupations haven't been fully considered (Phelan & Kinsella, 2009). It has been noted this is in keeping with neoliberalism, which currently prevails in the western world (Morrow & Hardie, 2014). Neoliberalism places an emphasis on the priorities and principles of the economic market to benefit social, cultural, and political practices and policies as well as contribute to the advancement of individual well-being and the greater social good (Harvey, 2007). Expectations of neoliberalism theory are of individualised responsibility and, therefore, individuals are seen as responsible, self-directing and autonomous irrespective of the context. However, 'to fully understand and respond to the occupational issues of people who experience systematic disadvantage and marginalisation' (Hocking, 2012, p.59), there is a need to move beyond an

individualistic perspective. The lens must be expanded to consider how the complex interplay of social, economic, cultural and political factors influence expectations and possibilities for occupation (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). The importance of research that generates knowledge about occupation 'as situated' within social and political contexts has been echoed by others (Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2016; Hocking, 2009; Pereira, 2014). Individuals make life choices within the reality of opportunities provided to them in their social and cultural worlds. The situated social, economic and political context influences the opportunities that are available to leave homelessness as well as the tenancies into which people move. This includes the housing crisis and welfare reforms as discussed in section 1.3.5.

To highlight social context in occupational analyses, frameworks such as transactionalism (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012; Cutchin, Dickie & Humphry, 2006) have been used, drawing on Bourdieu's (1994) theories of practice. He described habitus as the set of dispositions, acquired during the process of socialisation that are taken for granted. How individuals behave and what they do, depends on their habitus. It is not static; it is situated within particular places and is contextualised by them. Habitus influences actions more reliably than all formal rules and explicit norms (Huot & Rudman, 2010). It enables a comprehensive understanding of groups, and power in groups, which impacts on occupational engagement. Many situations, especially when using services within homelessness, involve being part of groups, for example eating, waiting for appointments, activities, etc. As a constructivist theory, transactionalism stresses the co-constituted nature of individuals, groups and their physical, social and cultural worlds (Angell, 2014). The focus is on experience, where individuals constantly construct and are constituted by their transactions with the world around them. This is seen, in part,

through engagement in daily occupations, for example with whom and how people spend their free time. The discipline of occupational science needs to increase its awareness of 'global realities such as poverty, lack of education, environmental degradation, participation in antisocial occupations, and other social and economic conditions' (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012, p.33). Occupational opportunities are not equally distributed and there is a need to highlight the effects of policies on occupational participation (Farias & Laliberte Rudman, 2016). In addition Townsend (2012) and Angell (2014) challenged occupational scientists and occupational therapists to be more critical by considering the ways occupation can, in itself, be used as a means to enact social power.

2.2.2 The range of occupations

Theories of occupation rarely mention engagement in occupations that have a negative impact on health and well-being. Kiepek, Phelan and Magalhães (2014) question if this is deliberate and speculate if it is the influence of western, ableist, middle class values —occupations viewed as unhealthy or 'negative' get less attention. Categorising so simplistically fails to consider that, in reality, occupations may have effects on individuals, the community and the environment in complex ways. For occupational science to increase its social relevance, 'it is imperative that occupations that are disrupted, deviant or self-damaging be described' (Pierce, 2012, p.302). Again, it is important to bear in mind that for those who are marginalised, the realities of daily life influences the type and range of occupational opportunities available to them (Duncan & Creek, 2014). Unsanctioned occupations, as described by Kiepek, Phelan and Magalhães (2014), are those not been seen as 'worthy' or are considered negative, unhealthy or deviant. Subject to complex social dynamics, some people may find themselves, resort to or even chose to participate in antisocial or dark occupations

(Twinley, 2013). Twinley (2017) cautioned that this is not to make a value judgement but to draw attention to occupations that are traditionally unexplored and challenge the pervasive belief of the causal relationship between occupation and health. Another critical aspect, revealed both by Galvaan (2015) in her work with young adolescents in a marginalised community in South Africa and Gallagher, Pettigrew and Muldoon (2015) in a study with disadvantaged youth in Ireland, was that the locus of control over occupational choices was not just individually controlled—it was shared with subgroups they were part of. Both studies observed that social processes at group and societal levels were inseparable from the individual's occupational choices and resulted in a limited range of choices. Galvaan (2015) highlighted that this was not to attribute blame to individuals but to provide another lens through which to analyse occupational injustice. An occupational perspective has the potential to put a human face on the reality and personal impact of injustice on individuals and communities (Hocking, 2017).

2.2.3 Summary

Occupational science has called for more awareness of and research embedded in social issues including homelessness. Moreover, there is a need to more fully consider structures and processes at a societal level. As occupational therapists and occupational scientists we need to acknowledge our own power and identity and take on a critically reflexive approach to question some of our own assumptions underpinning occupation. The language of occupational science provides a medium for occupational therapists to illustrate their contribution for those who have unmet occupational needs, for example, people who experience homelessness (Lawson-Porter, 2009). Since the appearance of initial occupational therapy articles in the area of homeless in the mid-1990s there has been a developing literature base and this will be explored in more depth in the following sections.

2.3 Occupational science and homelessness

As discussed in section 1.2, occupational science develops knowledge about the form, function and meaning of occupations, occupational processes as they unfold, and the relationship of occupation to other phenomena such as health (Wilcock, 2006). There has been an increase in the number of occupational science studies within homelessness over the last eight years. Chard, Faulkner and Chugg (2009) used a descriptive phenomenological approach involving interviews and creation of visual notebooks to explore how eight men who were homeless in a city in Canada engaged in meaningful occupations. Four themes were revealed: 'keeping busy'; 'street-life environment'; 'loss and revelation', and 'sharing of self'. The authors noted that, although participants had real plans for the future, engagement in occupations that would enable them to move out of the shelters and off the street were not evident. Although this was a well conducted study; it was a small scale exploratory study from one shelter. A more recent Canadian study, informed by interpretive phenomenology, carried out interviews to explore time use, occupations and the meaning of these occupations to 12 chronically homeless persons (Marshall, Lysaght & Krupa, 2017). Emergent themes were *'*occupational alienation*', '*getting a different feeling', 'negotiating the social context*', '*taking care of others' and 'every day is about trying to survive'. In this well constructed study, which clearly showed the analysis process, the need for occupation-based interventions that address the barriers to participation was reinforced. It was proposed that helping people who are chronically homeless make meaningful social connections with others in their communities through occupations might support the transition from homelessness. Also with phenomenological underpinnings, and specifically using interpretative phenomenological analysis (IPA), is a UK study which interviewed and used participant photography with five homeless men (Cunningham & Slade, 2017). The

aim of the study was to illuminate the lived experience of homeless people residing in a homeless hostel in relation to engagement in everyday occupations. Master themes that emerged from the data were 'rough sleeping, survival occupations and beyond survival occupations'; as well as, 'engaging in occupations and the experience of hostel living'. There was recognition that some participants appeared more able to make successful occupational adaptations to their environments and used their time in a more positive way. Whether this was as a consequence of personal factors, social factors or a complex interplay of both, required further research.

Thomas, Gray and McGinty (2012) explored the subjective experience of well-being of 20 Australian homeless participants, through fieldwork and interviews, and revealed that health contributed little to their overall perception of well-being. The key contributors of subjective well-being were 'keeping safe', 'being positive and feeling good', 'connecting with others', and 'staying human and normal'. The study would have been strengthened by a clearer description of the data analysis process but it highlighted the importance for homelessness services to provide opportunities for individuals to experience social inclusion and develop community and cultural connections. Building on the same doctoral research project, a case study methodology presented three collective narratives (Thomas, Gray & McGinty, 2017). The narratives supported the findings that occupations of survival incorporate the concept of staying safe, occupations of self-identity facilitate being positive and feeling normal, and occupations of social connectedness give opportunities to stay connected. Participant numbers were small, in keeping with the case study methodology, but the study expanded on how people who are homeless experience well-being through engagement in occupations. The authors suggest that there is a greater need within homelessness policy for the

benefits of occupation to achieve and sustain well-being.

Illman *et al.* (2013) analysed 60 interviews that were originally conducted to explore homelessness and its relationship to health and well-being, to gain a more thorough understanding of the experiences of homeless adults living with mental illness as occupational beings. Participants were all from one city, which was part of a large multi-site Canadian homelessness project At Home/Chez Toi. The study used interview data already collected by a number of interviewers but no specific probes about occupations were included in the interviews script. The process of data analysis, using constant comparative methods, was clear. The four central themes were 'occupations as enjoyment', 'occupations as survival and/or risk', 'occupations as passing time' and 'occupations as self-management'. The study called for shelter policies and interventions to recognise individuals as occupational beings and enable flexible services to reflect the diversity of their occupations.

In summary, shared themes across the studies included survival occupations; filling time or experiencing boredom; having connections with others; isolation as well as the impact of shelter rules and restrictions on individuals as occupational beings. These are presented in table 2.1 overleaf. The participants in the studies were predominantly using homelessness accommodation and support services.

Shared themes	*Themes from the individual studies*	*Reference*
Survival occupations	Every day is about trying to survive	Marshall, Lysaght and Krupa (2017)
	Survival occupations – managing the elements, trying to sleep and finding food	Cunningham and Slade (2017)
	Survival occupations incorporate the concept of staying safe	Thomas, Gray and McGinty (2017)
	Occupations as survival and/ or risk	Illman *et al.* (2013)
Filling time	Keeping busy Filling time with antisocial occupations	Chard, Faulkner and Chugg (2009)
	The boredom is maddening	Marshall, Lysaght and Krupa (2017)
	Sleep to fill time	Cunningham and Slade (2017)
	Being engaged in purposeful activities	Thomas, Gray and McGinty (2012)
	Occupations as passing time	Illman *et al.* (2013)
Impact of shelter rules on occupations	Frustration of not being able to engage in everyday occupations	Chard, Faulkner and Chugg (2009)
	The meaning of rules and regulations on occupational performance	Cunningham and Slade (2017)
Connecting with others	Formation of bonds despite chaos Using social support and knowledge in order to adapt to shelter living	Chard, Faulkner and Chugg (2009)
	Connecting with others Occupations of social connectedness give opportunities to stay connected	Thomas, Gray and McGinty (2012) Thomas, Gray and McGinty (2017)
Isolation	Loneliness although constantly surrounded by people	Chard, Faulkner and Chugg (2009)
	Profound social exclusion	Marshall, Lysaght and Krupa (2017)

Table 2.1. Shared themes across qualitative occupational science studies

2.4 Occupational therapy and homelessness

As described earlier, in section 1.2, occupational science shares with occupational therapy a core interest in understanding human occupation and the relationship between health and occupation (Molineux, 2014). The need for occupational therapy to

understand more about human occupation has long been recognised (Mounter & Ilott, 1997). Whiteford (2001) called for innovative models of service provision and research to address the needs of those at risk in communities, including those socio-economically disadvantaged. The potential for occupational therapists to challenge socio-political policies is supported by Wilcock (2007) who highlighted that the Ottawa Charter for Health Promotion lists social justice and equity as prerequisites for health. In their position statement on poverty and social exclusion, the Council of Occupational Therapists for the European Countries (COTEC) asserts that occupational therapy can be a key stakeholder in the prevention of poverty and social exclusion and highlights the role of occupational therapy for people who are homeless (COTEC, 2010). They propose that people who have been homeless for a long period struggle to adapt to being in a 'conventional' housing environment and occupational therapy techniques would enable, improve or maintain functional abilities and social skills to allow someone to successfully settle in their chosen community. Although this describes the role of an occupational therapist, it privileges an individualistic orientation and does not consider the wider social structures and systems of homelessness.

2.4.1 Role description

Occupational therapy literature within homelessness has been growing over the past twenty years. Earlier articles reflect the development of role emerging placements in homelessness. These described personal experiences of occupational therapy students at homeless shelters; in Canada (Heubner & Tryssenaar, 1996) and in the UK (Totten & Pratt, 2001). Reflections on an occupational therapy intervention service, provided by students in a hostel in Bristol, suggested that the holistic 'here and now' approach of occupational therapy enhanced the intervention for homeless people with complex needs (Parmenter, Fieldhouse & Barham, 2013). As the occupational therapy service

was provided by a series of students over seven months, agency working was enhanced by having, and committing to, a shared agenda. This is relevant because occupational therapists providing a service in homelessness will tend to do so in conjunction with, and in the environments of, other agencies. Likewise this study recruited participants from a number of agencies (see section 3.6.1) and the role of occupational therapists working as part of homelessness services is considered in section 9.4.

The role of the occupational therapist continued to develop into homeless hostels (Petrenchik, 2006) and employment services (Chapleau, 2010; Kannenberg & Boyer, 1997) but these articles are primarily descriptive in nature and context specific. Griner (2006) outlined that occupational therapists originally became involved with the homeless as a consequence of mental health services becoming more community based. Similar practice areas were also reported in a survey and focus group of 22 occupational therapists in Canada about their perceptions of the role in homelessness (Grandisson *et al.*, 2009). As well as the more traditional occupational therapy role, with its focus on occupational performance, they proposed that emerging roles such as advocate, outreach worker and case manager were also an excellent match for the profession. The value of occupational therapy, as part of a homeless assertive outreach team in Australia, to engage individuals in meaningful occupations to improve health and well-being was described by Lloyd and Bassett (2012). Notwithstanding that the introduction of occupational therapy was a development for this team, working as occupational therapist as part of a multidisciplinary team, with a focus on mental health, is long established. A recent exploratory study suggested a potential for occupational therapy within emergency departments to work with people who are homeless (Lloyd, Hilder & Williams, 2017). The findings and recommendations, for example that senior

occupational therapists could provide brief functional assessments and follow up interventions, were based on limited information from a review of records.

This diverse range of practice areas that support or enable the occupations of people experiencing homelessness, was found in a recent scoping review, which included evidence from both occupational therapy and non-occupational therapy sources (Roy *et al.*, 2017). The authors note there is a lack of high quality research to support the effectiveness of occupation-based practices and there is a need to implement occupational therapy within existing services in the homeless sector. The scoping review indicated there is a role for occupational therapy but outcome based evidence is required to support the development of the role. As Bradley *et al.* (2011) suggested, occupational therapists need to demonstrate the effectiveness of their interventions with people who are homeless, especially when applying for resources to fund services in non-traditional settings. The following section will present occupational therapy intervention studies with people who are experiencing homelessness.

2.4.2 Occupational therapy interventions

A systematic review of occupational therapy literature from 1990-2008 was carried out by Thomas, Gray and McGinty (2011) to support the role of occupational therapy with people who are homeless. They concluded that occupational therapy was an appropriate role with people experiencing homelessness but there was limited evidence of effectiveness—from 40 articles initially identified, seven included in the review demonstrated effectiveness. In considering the articles included in that review, only three will be included in this section as clear intervention studies. The other studies were exploratory studies determining needs (Davis & Kutter, 1998; Glass *et al.*, 2006; Muñoz *et al.*, 2006). The studies included in the original systematic review which are described

below are Gutman *et al*. (2004), Helfrich *et al.* (2006) and Helfrich & Fogg (2007). They are all from the United States and therefore consideration must be paid to context. Collectively the studies provide limited evidence as they ranged in design, quality, and size, but are worth reporting to provide a description of intervention types and outcome measurements used in occupational therapy research with people who are homeless. Key features are summarised in table 2.2.

Study	*Gutman et al. (2004)*	*Helfrich et al. (2006)*	*Helfrich and Fogg (2007)*	*Chapleau et al. (2012)*	*Gutman, Raphael-Greenfield and Simon (2015)*	*Gutman and Raphael-Greenfield (2017)*
Aim	To address cognitive impairment	To evaluate a life skills intervention	To evaluate a life skills intervention	To evaluate occupational therapy consultation	To test feasibility & acceptability SMART	To evaluate effectiveness of SMART
Target population	Women who experience domestic violence +/- homelessness	Homeless youths, Victims of domestic violence, Adults with mental illness	Homeless adults with mental illness	People with severe mental illness who were homeless or at risk of homelessness	Residents with chronic illness and substance use	Residents with chronic illness and substance use
Location	Facility for homeless people with disabilities	Homeless shelters and housing programmes	Housing programmes	Drop in centre for people with SMI – homeless or at risk	Homelessness shelter	Homelessness shelter
Method	Delivered weekly over 6 months	4 week modules- 1 hr group + 1 hr individual a week	6 group and 6 individual OT sessions	Regular OT contact– individual, group and home-based	Three DVD modules 1 hour groups, twice a week over 3 weeks	Six DVD modules 1 hour sessions, twice a week for 6 weeks
Intervention details	Safety planning, community safety, assertiveness, anger and stress management, vocational skills	Finding employment, managing finances, food and nutrition	4 modules – room/self-care, food, and money management, safe community participation	Regular contact from occupational therapist in experimental group. Traditional case management in control group	3 modules – housing interview prep; managing apartment; being good neighbour/ tenant;	6 modules–housing interview prep; managing apartment; being good tenant; living optimally in community, managing money, maintaining health and well-being
Outcome measures	GAS	Ansell Casey Life Skills Assessment	GAF, Practical Skills Test	GAS, Housing Scale (developed for study)	GAS, participant satisfaction survey	GAS, MANSA

GAS=Goal Attainment Scale; GAF = Global Assessment of Functioning; MANSA= Manchester Short Ax of Quality of Life; SMART= Supporting Many to Achieve Residential Transition

Table 2.2. Key features of occupational therapy intervention studies

The earliest study is an intervention designed to address cognitive impairment for women who experienced domestic violence and/or homelessness (Gutman *et al.*, 2004). The intervention, delivered weekly over six months, included safety planning skills, community safety, safe sex practices, assertiveness, anger management, stress management, vocational/education skills, money management, hygiene, and nutrition. Goal attainment scaling (GAS) (Ottenbacher & Cusick, 1990) was used to evaluate outcomes and all 26 participants achieved their expected outcome or greater. There were no follow up measures to determine any lasting effects. Participants were a convenience sample at a facility for people with disabilities who were homeless, staffed by health professionals, which is untypical of most homelessness services.

Helfrich *et al.* (2006) developed, implemented and evaluated a life skills intervention to optimise housing independence for 73 people from four housing programmes. Three groups were involved—homeless youths, victims of domestic violence and adults with mental illness. The intervention was delivered over four week modules by occupational therapy students and included finding employment, managing finances, food and nutrition. The Ansell Casey Life Skills Assessment (Ansell & Programs, 2005) was used as an outcome measurement. More than half of participants did not complete the intervention but the results for the 32 participants who did finish demonstrated increased mastery scores (an intention to treat analysis was not conducted). This was only statistically significant in the group of people who had experienced domestic violence. Another life skills intervention was evaluated with homeless adults with mental illness in two housing programmes (Helfrich & Fogg, 2007). Participants enrolled in at least one of four life skills intervention modules (room and self-care, food management, money management and safe community participation). Modules

consisted of six group and six individual sessions with an occupational therapist. The Global Assessment of Functioning (GAF) (American Psychiatric Association, 2000) and Practical Skills Test, developed by the authors, were used as data collection tools, immediately after intervention and three and six months post intervention. All modules increased skills but there were statistically significant improvements demonstrated for the room and self-care management and the safe community participation modules. The programme was delivered as a manualised intervention by an occupational therapist to 51 adults and the authors questioned if it would be as effective if implemented by housing agency staff. They also acknowledged that further research would be needed to delineate factors that contributed to the success of the intervention. A separate but related study explored if individuals experiencing trauma symptoms could benefit from a life skills intervention (Helfrich, Peters & Chan, 2011). Trauma symptoms were assessed by the Measurement of Impact of Event Scale Revised (IES-R) (Weiss, 2004). Regardless of demographics, trauma symptoms were highest for most participants prior to the life skills intervention and significantly decreased six months post intervention. It was a convenience sample and did not collect relevant history or medication use but suggested that housing transitions can be disruptive and may exacerbate certain symptoms.

One study, using a repeated measure experimental design, evaluated occupational therapy consultation over a year at a drop in centre for people with severe mental illness who were homeless or at risk of homelessness (Chapleau *et al.*, 2012). The experimental group (29 adults, randomly assigned) received regular contact from the occupational therapist in individual and group sessions as well as home based services. The control group (28 persons) received traditional case management with minimal occupational

therapist contact. All participants attended a drop in centre for people with severe mental illness, but the range of housing situations included hospital, street homeless, transitional housing, group home as well as independent accommodation. An initial assessment was completed with all participants using the Allen Cognitive Level Screening Device (ACLS) (Allen, Earhart & Blue, 1992) and the Canadian Occupational Performance Measure (COPM) (Law *et al.*, 1991). A housing scale was developed for the study, detailing options from incarceration to independent living. Individualised GAS scores (Ottenbacher & Cusick, 1990) assessed client status at baseline and two additional times over the 12-month duration of the study. At six months, clients in the experimental group were achieving significantly higher levels of GAS and improved housing status than clients in control group but this declined during the period from six to twelve months, resulting in no significant difference at the study end. The authors speculated if this was a result of goals set with the occupational therapist having a rehabilitative approach, aiming for best possible outcomes and therefore more difficult, compared to case manager goals, which had tended to a maintenance approach. The consultation role of the occupational therapist appeared to change over the course of the study—it included some direct intervention but this is poorly reported and limits the quality of the paper.

A housing transition and maintenance programme, Supporting Many to Achieve Residential Transition (SMART), was piloted by Gutman, Raphael-Greenfield and Simon (2015). The content was designed in consultation with staff at a housing agency for the homeless and modules included preparing for a housing interview, managing an apartment, and being a good tenant and neighbour. A feasibility and acceptability study was carried out with 10 residents of a homelessness shelter. The intervention was

delivered as a DVD module, with group activities, in two one-hour sessions over three weeks. The format was manualised, including facilitator scripts and was facilitated by occupational therapy students. The outcomes measures included the GAS, satisfaction surveys and case manager reports. Only six people completed the three week intervention. All six participants achieved GAS scores at a greater level than expected at baseline (T>50) at one week post intervention. GAS scores were not re-evaluated at any later stage so there was no information as to whether skills were maintained. However case manager reports, six months post intervention, indicated a need for sessions on money management and community participation. These are included in the most recent SMART Program effectiveness study (Gutman & Raphael-Greenfield, 2017).

Gutman and Raphael-Greenfield (2017) reported a two group controlled design to assess the effectiveness of SMART Program for homeless shelter residents with chronic illness and substance use. There are six modules in the program: 1) preparing for the housing interview and application process; 2) managing an apartment; 3) being a good tenant and neighbour; 4) living optimally in the community; 5) managing money; and 6) maintaining health and wellness. The programme was delivered by an occupational therapist over six weeks, using twice-weekly one-hour sessions. The mode of delivery was digitally based programmes combining digital materials and instructor delivery. There were ten participants in both the control and intervention groups. Individuals were not randomised due to practicalities of enrolling those who were interested and availability to participate. GAS (Ottenbacher & Cusick, 1990) scores and Manchester Short Assessment of Quality of Life Scale (MANSA) (Priebe *et al.*, 1999) were used pre and post intervention. A statistically significant difference existed between intervention and control group GAS scores ($U=9.50$, $p<0.03$, $d=1.34$) and quality of life scores

(U=10.50, p<0.04, d=1.30) at post intervention. At six months, 57.14% of the invention group had transitioned into supported housing compared to only 25% of the control group. The results showed promise albeit with a very small sample size. At six months follow up, a case manager reported that members of the intervention group experienced loneliness and anxiety. The control group participants who had also transitioned shared these feelings but, in addition, they also had problems with hoarding and medication compliance. The authors proposed future research could explore if the SMART Program would be of benefit to those who had transitioned into apartments but were having difficulties with community participation as well as apartment, money and chronic illness management.

In summary, most evidence supports the two life skills programmes although the findings of both are limited by very small sample sizes. The Life Skills Manualised intervention (Helfrich & Fogg, 2007) has four modules but is more time intensive as there are six group sessions per module with individual workbooks. The more recent SMART Program (Gutman & Raphael-Greenfield, 2017) has six modules, each taking two hours to deliver, in a combination of digital materials and instructor presentation. Both interventions are designed for people who have experienced homelessness as well as mental illness, with the SMART Program also including individuals with substance use histories. The SMART Program addresses skills beyond home management, including community living and managing health and wellness. These are addressed in the digital format in two one-hour sessions. Another difference is the outcome measure used to evaluate effectiveness. The Life Skills Manualised intervention uses a Practical Skills Test developed specifically for it whereas the SMART Program uses GAS scores; an increasingly popular individualised outcome measure (Lewis, Dell & Matthews, 2013).

Studies with larger sample sizes, with outcomes measured over time or ideally a randomised controlled trial would determine their effectiveness.

It is perhaps interesting to note that occupational science studies report the value of engagement in meaningful occupations for social connectedness and passing time in a positive way (see section 2.3) but this is not well reflected in the interventions occupational therapists have designed. Interventions emphasise skill building and do not appear to address occupational engagement in a meaningful way. Although the SMART Program has a module to support community living, it is delivered in two manualised one-hour slots, and does not appear to include practical community based sessions. As individual and environment are understood to be inseparable, as described earlier (2.2.1), then occupational therapy practices that focus solely on enhancing individuals abilities are inadequate and naïve (Hammell & Iwama, 2012). The constraints imposed by people's lives and/or inequitable conditions must be addressed and requires occupational therapy to be a more politically astute and active profession (Galheigo, 2011; Sakellariou & Pollard, 2009). This is pertinent for occupational therapy within homelessness services. The overall aim of this study is to increase the understanding of the role of occupation in making the transition from homelessness to sustaining a tenancy. The following section will present literature pertaining to this transition.

2.5 Transitioning from homelessness

Pathways out of homelessness are poorly understood (Somerville, 2013). As introduced in section 1.3.3, most people experience homelessness for a short period of time but for a smaller but significant proportion, leaving homelessness is extremely difficult and can take prolonged time (McNaughton Nicholls & Atherton, 2011). This group tend to be longer term users of services with relatively high support needs (Culhane & Metraux,

2008), comparable to the group of individuals who experience multiple exclusion homelessness (Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & White, 2011). The cyclical nature of homelessness was first identified by longitudinal studies, which began to appear in the US in the late 1980s (Wong, Piliavin & Wright, 1998). For example over a six month period Sosin, Piliavin and Westerfelt (1990) found that 80% of recently homeless adults exited to accommodation. However they also noted that nearly two thirds of those who exited became homeless again for a second time. This cyclical nature is supported by later studies from the US (Caton *et al.*, 2005; Culhane & Kuhn, 1998) and from Canada (Aubry, Klodawsky & Coulombe, 2012). Although these studies are critical for understanding patterns, they do not fully illustrate the complexity of homelessness as it is experienced by individuals. Pleace (2016b) cautioned against relying on externally generated studies to guide European research. Patterns in homelessness that occur in other countries do not necessary exist in same way in Europe (Benjaminsen & Andrade, 2015). Compared to the US there is a much smaller number of transitionally homeless individuals, perhaps as a result of the welfare and health care systems in European countries. However much like the US, European countries have a small group of individuals with high support needs who experience long term homelessness (Benjaminsen, 2016). Therefore ensuring a sustainable exit from homelessness will include the provision of suitable accommodation in addition to responding to support needs.

Definitions of what constitutes a homeless exit are somewhat arbitrary (Mayock, O'Sullivan & Corr, 2011), with the duration as well as the destination of the exit as the main variants. Definitions about types of destinations that constitute an exit tended to vary slightly between studies. For example, they included departure from the streets to conventional housing, such as apartment, house or hotel (Piliavin *et al.*, 1996);

apartment, house or rented room (Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999); housing with a permanent contract (Christensen & Vinther, 2005); secure housing with the protection of a lease (Johnson *et al.*, 2015). However, there was much greater variation between studies about the duration required for an exit to be termed successful. Some studies designated 30 days (Piliavin *et al.*, 1996; Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999); others at least a year (MacKnee & Mervyn, 2002) and one Danish study seven years (Christensen & Vinther, 2005). Mayock, O'Sullivan and Corr (2011) noted that 30 days was the most common period of time. In keeping with the uniqueness of individual's homeless pathways, exits from homelessness tend to be to a variety of situations. In an Irish study of women who experienced long term homelessness, Mayock, Sheridan and Parker (2015) found a complex pattern of movement into precarious housing and 'hidden homelessness', for example into the home of a friend or family member. However, exits were not enduring and often resulted in further trauma—most women returned to services with weeks or months and cycle of homelessness continued.

A recent systematic review synthesised 26 empirical studies that explored the transitions of adults from homelessness to finding a home (Sabatelli Iaquinta, 2016). It included all research study designs from a ten year period, up to 2015. Themes common to the seven qualitative studies, included in the review, were meeting basic needs, maintaining stability, coping with challenges, addressing barriers, making adjustments, moving beyond and a place called home. The 14 quantitative studies indicated transitions from homelessness were influenced by demographic characteristics, types of housing programmes, housing conditions, use of support services, mental illness, and substance abuse as well as housing stability. The synthesis of mixed method studies included client choice and defined goals, the importance of community and measuring

outcomes. The range of themes identified in the systematic review reflected that transitioning from homelessness is a variable and complex process. However, as the primary outcome of the review was not clear and the synthesis did not mix the study types, it was difficult to get an understanding of the findings. Sabatelli Iaquinta (2016) called for further exploration of finding a home following homelessness. The first research question of this thesis—how do people who experience multiple exclusion homelessness make the transition from using homelessness services to a sustained tenancy—will address this.

2.5.1 Facilitators and barriers to leaving homelessness

Literature exploring the facilitators and barriers to leaving homelessness spans several disciplines, including sociology, psychology, social work and social policy, human geography, nursing and medicine. The experience of a pivotal event has been classified as a key factor in instigating a transition from homelessness. Participants in the study by Thompson *et al.* (2004) noted both external occurrences and internal observations that influenced their leaving homelessness. Specific 'low points' were described by formerly homeless interviewees as well as other significant experiences, for example, a talk with a father or a relationship with a staff member (Morgan, 2011). Similarly, 'turning points' were identified by all eight participants in a study by Moneyham and Connor (1995). For these men, who were recruited through a substance abuse programme, the events represented a significant change in how they viewed themselves and their lives, many feeling they had hit 'rock bottom' (p.16). Reaching the bottom was also identified as a catalyst in the transition from homelessness, in a much larger study consisting of interviews with 150 homeless people over the course of 10 years (Ravenhill, 2008).

Positive support has been suggested as a facilitator that enables a successful transition

from homelessness (Roy *et al.*, 2016; Somerville, 2013). Relationships with family and service providers, providing a feeling of 'human worth', were most frequently noted as important in interviews with twelve formerly homeless individuals with mental illness (Thompson *et al.*, 2004). The role of services and staff as a critical factor in moving on from homelessness was identified by Kirkpatrick and Byrne (2009) in their narrative inquiry in Canada. The availability of people in services that showed care created hope and motivation for resettlement (Ravenhill, 2008). An ethnographic study by Ravenhill (2008) also suggested that contact with families was important for the process of leaving homelessness and settling into a tenancy. In a study examining the process whereby formerly homeless mothers got into stable housing, the importance of connections to a caring person and a social network was understood to be necessary for repeat homelessness to be avoided (Cone & Artinian, 2009). However studies have acknowledged that not all support is positive. Support from certain networks is associated with increased likelihood of engaging in risky sexual behaviours and substance use, or behaviours linked to remaining homeless, for example anti-social behaviour (Crane & Warnes, 2002; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2011). Another proposed factor to remaining homeless is a profound familiarity with life on the streets which can lead to a deep conflict about transitioning to the unfamiliar (Farrell, 2010). This thesis—in answering the second research question—will add to the understanding of successful tenancy sustainment following homelessness.

Consideration must be given to personal factors influencing the leaving process and supports that address the impact of being homeless on identity, roles, self-esteem, and motivation (Karabanow, 2008; Marshall & Rosenberg, 2014). It is recognised that moving in and out of homelessness is demotivating (McNaughton & Sanders, 2007).

Factors, that facilitate exiting homelessness, rated most highly by people who were formerly homeless include the realisations of their own abilities as well as the negatives of the street (Patterson & Tweed, 2009). A grounded theory study by Cone and Artinian (2009) revealed it had to be the person themselves to make the choice to move out of homelessness. Three major stages in the process of exiting homelessness were found in a study by Kidd *et al.* (2016). There was an initial period of substantial fluctuation before a period of basic stability but feeling demoralized due to difficulties making progress with life goals. This was followed by a period of making some gains with goals which cultivated a sense of hope. The authors emphasised that progress across these stages took considerably longer than one year. This challenges the validity of 30 days (Mayock, O'Sullivan & Corr, 2011) as the most common duration of time for an exit from homelessness to be deemed successful.

People move into accommodation with positive hopes and expectations about what a home will be (Smith, Albanese & Truder, 2014). The challenges of starting a new home were identified in the For-Home report, a UK based study (Crane, Warnes & Coward, 2011). They included adjusting to being on one's own, taking responsibility for the tenancy as well as living in poor conditions. The authors noted that challenges magnified with overly hurried and ill-prepared moves. Respondents reported coping well with household tasks but managing finance and paying bills were the most prevalent problems. Increasing debt was also a reality for formerly homeless people in private rented accommodation (Smith, Albanese & Truder, 2014; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013). Drury (2008), using an ethnographic approach, observed 60 persons with severe mental illness as they transitioned from hospital into secure housing with support over two years. Drury proposed that their transition remained incomplete as fundamental

situations were unchanged, for example, participants remained impoverished and stigmatised. Those who were stably housed in a study of transitions felt that they were 'trapped'—they perceived few opportunities for meaningful occupation of time and experienced acute isolation (McNaughton, 2008). As highlighted by Busch-Geertsema (2005), being rehoused may not, in itself, necessarily result in all aspects of someone's social exclusion coming at an end. Moreover, the resulting social isolation and boredom may potentially mean someone is at risk of returning to homelessness. The importance of having something to do, be it employment, voluntary work or education, was highlighted (Fitzpatrick, Kemp & Klinker, 2000). Johnstone *et al.* (2016a), in their mixed methods study of 119 participants, suggested that building positive connections, through both formal and informal strategies, improved community connections.

Some attention in the literature has been placed on the type of housing tenancies that homeless persons move into. This is consistent with policy developments in the UK in which less social housing and more private rented tenancies are available (see section 1.3.5). The difficulties associated with private rented tenancies have been raised by some studies (Crane, Warnes & Coward, 2011; Smith, Albanese & Truder, 2014). The Sustain longitudinal study over 19 months focused on private rented accommodation for formerly homeless people. Interview results found two thirds of the 171 respondents were unhappy with their original tenancies and this was having a negative impact on their mental health (Smith, Albanese & Truder, 2014). Reasons included the physical condition of the flat as well as their difficulties with the landlord. Crane, Warnes and Coward (2011) found that those who moved to private rented were significantly more likely to have moved or left within 18 months. The most frequent reported reasons were rent arrears and alcohol or drug misuse but the respondents were not followed up with.

This, however, is challenged by another UK report, in which the Real Lettings model of resettlement showed 90% of clients maintained tenancy in the private sector (Hough, 2009). Notably, this model provides support to formerly homeless clients who have low support needs as well as having a rigorous assessment of suitability.

2.5.2 Housing models

Several housing models and interventions have been developed to support people with complex needs to transition out of homeless. As outlined in section 1.3.4, the more traditional 'staircase model' has been criticised and alternative models developed to more effectively meet the needs of individuals. These models have predominantly originated to support people with mental illness or substance misuse. For example, the critical time intervention (CTI) is a time-limited, psychosocial rehabilitation programme to facilitate the critical transition from institutional to community settings (Chen, 2014). Permanent supportive housing (Rog *et al.*, 2014) provides stable accommodation and flexible supports. A model which originated in the US but has developed internationally is Housing First (Tsemberis, 1999), which also provides housing in addition to personalised support. However, a key difference is that housing is not dependent on engaging in treatment. Supportive housing and Housing First focus on housing as a critical point where social connections and social support can be enhanced to promote positive non-housing outcomes (Parsell, Petersen & Moutou, 2015). The importance of people developing and nurturing positive social support mechanism as both a means to exit homelessness and promote the realisation of non-housing outcomes which help sustain successful exits is well recognised (Johnstone *et al.*, 2016b). More detail on the effectiveness of interventions and housing models for tenancy sustainment is included in section 7.2.4.

2.5.3 Occupational perspective of transition

Within occupational science and occupational therapy, an occupational perspective of transition has emerged over the past 15 years. Transitions can occur gradually, over time or more abruptly due to a specific event triggering disruption (Tokolahi, 2015). Research within occupational science has included the process of retirement (Jonsson, Josephsson & Kielhofner, 2001), moving to a care home (Križaj, Warren & Slade, 2016), resettlement of refugees (Suleman & Whiteford, 2013) and immigrants (Nayar, Hocking & Giddings, 2012). Crider *et al.* (2015) observed that, despite the level of academic interest, no theory on transition grounded in an occupational perspective has yet emerged. In their integrative review looking beyond occupational science, they proposed that the unique contribution of occupation is absent from other theories on transition.

From an occupational perspective, there are no intervention studies related to the transition of leaving homelessness and only two that explore the experience (Heuchemer & Josephsson, 2006; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015). As a consequence of the paucity of research on the transition from homelessness to being housed, there is no clear understanding of nature of this process from an occupational perspective (Marshall & Rosenberg, 2014). Marshall and Rosenberg (2014) suggest that once housed, a person's ability to engage in occupations that are meaningful may improve due to an increased sense of control, personal space and opportunities. However the relationship between engaging in meaningful occupations and a successful transition has yet to be established empirically. Marshall and Rosenberg (2014) also questioned the role of identity as a person transitioned from homelessness. They proposed enhancing a person's opportunity to engage in meaningful occupations would contribute to the development of a 'new identity' as a 'housed person' and enable

tenancies to be sustained.

The first study that explored transition from an occupational perspective interviewed two participants who were formerly homeless and recovering from drug addiction in Sweden (Heuchemer & Josephsson, 2006). Both women were in constant housing for approximately a year. There were four main themes—'homelessness as a specific lived plot'; 'social relationship influence lived plots'; 'change through creating possible emplotment' and 'acting out a new plot'. The perspective of life during homelessness was identified as lacking connection to the past and the future and that the present was the only thing that mattered. This was closely related to drug use. However when participants became aware of the distance between their current and wanted life, they changed their current actions and actively engaged in the change process which included attending Narcotics Anonymous meetings. Changed lives resulted in a broader time perspective that included planning future events and had less dramatic intensity (this was viewed as both negative and positive). Both interviewees had a sense of acting in roles influenced by factors beyond their control, for example, economics, family, age, and prejudice. The study raised the importance of working individually with people to address the gap between current and wanted occupational lives as well as adapting the environment. The study was original in exploring transitions from homelessness from an occupational perspective but only had two participants.

A more recent study from the USA explored the perceived experience of the housing transition and maintenance process for formerly homeless people who have a history of mental illness and substance abuse (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015). An exploratory phenomenological approach was used to better understand occupational needs and goals as well as the factors that promoted and inhibited housing

maintenance. All four participants were living in Housing First supported housing. Seven thematic categories were reported: 'desire for home maintenance and budgeting occupations'; 'striving for abstinence maintenance through occupation'; 'transformation of occupational roles through housing'; 'premature aging and awareness of mortality'; 'constant fear and vigilance in daily occupations and the social environment'; 're-engagement with society through occupation', and 'altruism through occupation'. The experiences of chaos whilst homeless fuelled a desire for an orderly existence that included home cleaning, organising and money management; yet budgeting was a shared challenge. Having a home, participants reported, enabled them see themselves more positively and increased opportunities for positive occupations. Abstinence was maintained by both avoiding activities and occupations that previously triggered substance use as well as getting involved in new activities such as gardening and cooking; some of which were volunteer-led. Interviewees held a fear of losing their housing, using drugs again, their neighbours or neighbourhood, which restricted some of their participation but they valued the support of the staff, which was less pressured than in other programmes that has experienced. They shared a desire to engage in occupations to help others now that many of their needs were met. The study used a small convenience sample from a Housing First programme, which is not representative of all supportive housing. However, it highlighted that a focus on occupation has potential to support housing maintenance and abstinence, by developing new routines, leisure occupations and roles while being cognisant of an individual's physical and cognitive abilities and limitations.

Interestingly, where occupational therapists should focus their work was discussed in another article by the same lead author (Raphael-Greenfield, 2012). The study aimed to

determine if an occupational therapy assessment of executive function and task performance, the Executive Function Performance Test (EFPT), initially designed for people with stroke, accurately documented levels of cognitive and performance impairment (Baum *et al.*, 2008) in a population of people who were homeless. Executive skills are important to enable people plan, organise and pay attention. In a convenience sample of 60 homeless persons, results suggest that the impairment detected by the EFPT did not translate into problems in maintaining themselves in their apartments. Therefore, rather than use the EFPT to predict what type of support a homeless person needs before getting housed, occupational therapists could determine the level of cognitive and task support that would most benefit them after they are housed. This study points to future roles for occupational therapy within Housing First programmes and supports Petrenchik's (2006) argument that occupational therapists should assist the homeless population by concentrating on their return to housing rather than remediating impairments and by collaborating with housing agencies to design improved programmes and supports.

In the two studies that explored the transition from homelessness from an occupational perspective, there was a common acknowledgement of the chaos of people's lives while homeless and how this changes through what people are doing, for example roles, routines, activities, and time use. Becoming housed provided opportunities for new occupations but factors such as personal fears, economic realities, and social structures such as neighbourhood influenced the uptake and participation in them. Although the potential of occupation has been alluded to, in supporting people transition from homelessness further research to deepen understanding is required. The third research question of this thesis – what is the role of occupation in facilitating the transition from

homelessness to a sustained tenancy?—will develop this understanding further. This will, in turn, inform occupational therapy practice, which is the final research aim. The consideration of occupation and transition, in leaving homelessness and tenancy sustainment, will provide a foundation on which to base an occupational therapy intervention. This will begin to address the gap of no occupational therapy intervention studies related to leaving homelessness, as identified in this literature review.

The concepts of home and homelessness are inextricably linked. Kellett and Moore (2003) proposed that an increased focus on the concept of home was a valuable way to understand homelessness more deeply.

2.6 Home as a concept

A place called home was a theme identified in the systematic review on the transitioning from homelessness to home (Sabatelli Iaquinta, 2016). Places, by themselves, have no fixed meaning (Mallett, 2004) and therefore any understanding of home needs to be attuned to the meaning people attribute to it (Leith, 2006). As Parsell (2012) succinctly put it, home is subjectively experienced. The concept of home has been examined from a diversity of disciplines. Environmental psychological theories focus on the emotional attachment process to home (e.g., Theory of Place Attachment) as well as how places form part of self-identity (e.g., Theory of Place Identity) (Moore, 2000). A human geographical perspective considers, in more depth, the physical and social components of place as well as the relationship between the place and feelings (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Understanding home 'as a fundamentally felt relationship of place and self' and being open to multiple interpretations is key to understanding homelessness (Robinson, 2011, p.6).

There is general agreement in the vast literature about home that it is a complex and multidimensional concept (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Grenier, Barken & McGrath, 2016; Parsell, 2012; Speer, 2017). Included are the themes of: security (Carroll *et al.*, 2009); privacy (Cronin-Davis, Butler & Mayers, 2009); comfort (Wiles *et al.*, 2009); freedom (Kellett & Moore, 2003); ownership (Mee, 2007); belonging (Vandemark, 2007); control (Leith, 2006); normality (Kellett & Moore, 2003); and emotional affiliation (Newton, 2008). Home, especially in earlier writings, was largely viewed sentimentally in an idealised manner (Meth, 2003), but increasingly its complexity as result of negative situations, for example, strained family relations or abuse situations, has been acknowledged (Grenier, Barken & McGrath, 2016). The impact of traumatic home experiences was observed by Robinson (2005). She proposed that the resulting grief is a key factor that continues to shape the homeless experience, by which young people try to annihilate pain though excessive drug use and self-harm. May (2000) observed that those with a lengthy history of rough sleeping and hostel use were more likely to describe hostels as home. In keeping with this, studies have identified how hostels afford a sense of home (Bell & Walsh, 2015; Tunåker, 2015). Similar to findings about sense of home in caravan parks (Newton, 2008), although physical space is important, the dominant themes are the emotional, psychological and social significance of home. Homeless shelters and public spaces can come to be homelike sites from which to leave and return to (Datta, 2005). Groot and Hodgetts (2012) demonstrated how an individual, who was houseless, engaged in homemaking while living on the street. Despite the isolation and danger, the maintenance of a sense of place was important for survival.

2.6.1 Making a home

The fluidity of home is particularly marked in the context of homelessness (Speer, 2017). As Baxter and Brickell (2014) argue, home is a process that is both made and unmade,

rather than a static location. This process of home unmaking and remaking is central to the experience of homelessness. Drawing on research about place within environmental gerontology, Rowles (2006) proposed that home is not the dwelling per se, although there is acknowledgement that the physical space can nurture or support a sense of home. Home is created by the inhabitant through patterns of habituation (Rowles & Watkins, 2003). This is the manner—the rhythms and routines of daily life—in which, over time, individuals come to physically possess the space they live in and it becomes imbued with significance. Home is a place, a set of feelings as well as the relations between the two—a 'spatial imaginary' (Blunt & Dowling, 2006, p.2). It is created through material objects as well as social and emotional relationships. Agency enables individuals create environments in a manner that can enhance meaning in their lives. However, a critical perspective, building on work by Massey (1992), draws attention to issues of power and gender and how people are positioned differently to construct and experience home.

A person's sense of place can provide a sense of belonging as well as comfort, and is tied to identity (Easthope, 2004). Building on Giddens (1991) ideas of ontological security, Dupuis and Thorns (1998) proposed home is a secure base around which to construct identity. For people who are homeless, a home would be a concrete illustration that they had a place in society—it not only represented a way of living 'normally', but also a signifier of 'normality' (Parsell, 2012). In a study of young homeless people transitioning to their own tenancies, Brueckner, Green and Saggers (2011) observed the participants position themselves as 'normal' home occupiers and hold expectations about how their home should be presented. The manner in which people display objects in their home and the way they describe their feelings towards these objects are integral

to the making of identity (Hurdley, 2006; Tran Smith *et al.*, 2015). Similar to research about homemaking within student accommodation, belongings serve not only as a reminder of the past but also allow creation of a position in the present (Holton & Riley, 2016). Possessions helped women who were homeless cope with current circumstances and restore and maintain their sense of self (McCarthy, 2015).

In keeping with the recognition that the concept of home is multifaceted, there is a call for research within homelessness to use broader outcomes measures than 'housing' alone (Parsell, 2012). Both housing and home needs to be accounted for to ensure complete understanding of well-being and successful transitions from homelessness (Grenier, Barken & McGrath, 2016).

2.7 Summary

Although there are growing calls supporting the role of occupational therapy with people who are homeless and the importance of meaningful occupations for people experiencing homelessness, there is limited evidence to its effectiveness. As current policy within homelessness advocates a housing led approach, for example Housing First, there is a need to understand the transition process and tenancy sustainment from an occupational perspective. However, this literature review highlights a gap in existing knowledge about the role of occupation in the transition from using homelessness services to sustaining a tenancy.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

The previous chapters have presented a background to the study and provided a rationale for the exploration of tenancy sustainment following homelessness from an occupational perspective. The aim of this research is to increase the understanding of the role of occupation in making the transition from homelessness to sustaining a tenancy. This purpose of this chapter is to describe and justify the methodological approach of a convergent mixed methods study design—conducting a constructivist grounded theory study with a systematic review—to explore the process of tenancy sustainment following homelessness. I will initially discuss my philosophical position, which underpins the study design, before explaining in more detail about the research methodology and methods used in both stages of the study, which ran concurrently. The following section will outline the data collection process as well as the ethical conduct of the study. The chapter will conclude by presenting the methods for ensuring the quality and rigour of the study.

3.1 Methodological foundations

Rigorous research should make its philosophical assumptions (paradigm), strategies of inquiries and methods explicit as they inform the design and shape all stages of the study (Creswell, 2012). A paradigm is a worldview that can be characterised through ontology, epistemology and methodology (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Ontology is the nature of reality and can be seen as a continuum from positivism at one extreme followed by post positivism, critical theories, constructivism, and participatory methodologies at the other (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Epistemology is our perceived relationship with the knowledge we are discovering and depends on our ontological view (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Together ontology and epistemology influence the strategy of inquiry (Cronin-Davis, Butler & Mayers, 2009) which typically are distinguished as qualitative or quantitative strategies. The fundamental difference between qualitative and quantitative methodologies are summarised in table 3.1.

	Qualitative research	*Quantitative research*
Ontological position	Constructivism	Objectivism
Epistemological position	Interpretivism	Positivist, post-positivist
Approach to theory	Inductive, theory generating	Deductive, theory testing
Methods	Text and image analysis	Numeric data

Table 3.1. Key features of qualitative and quantitative research

Quantitative and qualitative research have been the two dominant paradigms in health and social research, but this clear cut divide does not hold in practice (Creswell, 2011). For example, qualitative research, although predominantly concerned with the exploration and development of meaning and theory, may include some methods that

are quantitative in nature. Onwuegbuzie (2012) questioned if a paradigm polarisation currently exists as the lines between quantitative and qualitative research have become blurred and asked why one has to overshadow the other. He maintained that holding a purist stance represents a positivistic and reductionistic model that promotes the notion that a single reality exists. Instead he proposed that researchers should adopt a constructivist view to methodology wherein multiple, contradictory but equally valid methodologies can exist for studying the same phenomena (multiple realities) and can inform each other. Mixed methods research is a standalone strategy of inquiry, separate but equal to quantitative and qualitative traditions. It has been described as the third methodological movement (Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003) and the third research paradigm (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004).

3.1.1 Mixed methods research

Mixed methods is a research methodology that 'integrates elements of both qualitative and quantitative methods so that the strengths of each are emphasised' (Corcoran, 2006, p.411). It began to gain attention as a legitimate design approach in the 1980s after Denzin (1978) introduced the concept of triangulation, which involves the gathering of data from a number of different sources so that findings may be cross-checked (Bryman, 2012). Corcoran (2006) noted what followed was, in fact, an assortment of typologies, definitions and procedures. The earlier definitions emphasized the mixing of methods only but this progressed to mixing all phases of the research process as it grew in recognition as a methodology (Creswell, 2011). This includes the mixing of philosophical positions, procedures, interpretation of results and final inferences in a single study (Creswell & Clark, 2007; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2003). Mixed methods research allows multiple ways of seeing and making sense of the world (Creswell, 2011). This is pertinent for occupational therapy, a profession whose

knowledge base has its foundations from a number of disciplines and therefore faces the challenges of blending many bodies of knowledge in the concept of occupation (Corcoran, 2006). Creswell (2011) noted that books about mixed methods research tend to have a specific discipline focus, for example, psychology, and more mixed methods research articles are published in the health and medical field than any other field (Ivankova & Kawamura, 2010). These origins in applied, rather than pure human sciences, is not unexpected. Disciplines within health often need to utilise all data sources to answer practical questions and mixed methods research provides more than one lens to offer a fuller understanding of phenomena (Greene, 2015) and this may explain why it has become more prominent in health services research (Borglin, 2015).

As a methodology, mixed methods research is not without its critics. One critique is that it privileges post positivist thinking because most mixed methods studies favour the forms of analysis associated with positivism (Giddings & Grant, 2007). This has been contested by Creswell (2011) as he purports studies can also give priority to qualitative methods but mixed method writers need to make this overt. Teddlie and Tashakkori (2011) called on authors to describe explicitly their philosophical orientation as well as where methods were mixed in their research. Another point of debate about mixed methods research is centred on the belief that methods have epistemological commitments. Smith and Heshusius (1986) purported that mixing methods which are grounded in very different epistemological positions, for example, phenomenological interviews and surveys, is incompatible and therefore not possible. However, this should not be viewed as a block to mixed methods research (Bryman, 2012). Indeed, it could be an advantage, as one approach alone may be inadequate to get a complete understanding about a research question. A researcher who takes a constructivist stance

with respect to data collection and analysis can also appreciate the inclusion of quantitative data in providing richer data and interpretations (Onwuegbuzie, Burke Johnson & Mt Collins, 2009). Pragmatism, as a worldview, offers an epistemological justification and has been advocated as the philosophical partner for mixed methods research (Creswell, 2011; Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004, p.16).

3.1.2 Pragmatism

Pragmatism stems from the work of Mead (1932) and Dewey (1931), and is concerned with practical application and what works (Cherryholmes, 1992). It emphasizes the importance of research questions, the value of experiences, practical consequences and understanding real world phenomenon (Creswell, 2015). Within pragmatism the importance of addressing the research objective governs the direction of the research (Borglin, 2015). Methods which lead to the best evidence should be used (Johnson & Onwuegbuzie, 2004). O'Cathain, Nicholl and Murphy (2009) suggested that pragmatism within health services research can often be a practical rather than ideological choice. However this view has been challenged by Greene and Hall (2010) who reported that a more philosophically nuanced pragmatism has emerged in research. This holds the researcher responsible for making assumptions explicit and indicating how they guided research methods. Table 3.2 summarises the philosophical underpinnings of pragmatism.

Ontology	*Multiple ways of viewing, hearing and understanding the world*
Epistemology	Knowledge is not neutral as it is influenced by human interest. Hence knowledge is formed by both objective and subjective values
Methodology	Mixed methods design

Table 3.2. Philosophical underpinnings of pragmatism (Borglin, 2015, p.34)

A mixed methods research approach provides more than one lens and perspective so therefore promises a better understanding of a phenomenon. It legitimises multiple ways of making sense of the world, and holds multiple standpoints on what is important and valued. Any single approach just offers one window on human phenomena but the use of multiple approaches can offer a more complete and fuller understanding of the phenomenon being studied (Greene, 2015).

3.1.3 Mixed methods strategies

Mixed methods study designs are influenced by factors such as timing, weighting and mixing (Creswell, 2014). Quantitative and qualitative data collection can occur in phases (sequentially) or be gathered at the same time (concurrently). Priority can be given to the quantitative or qualitative research in a study and this weighting may depend on the interests of the researcher or the audience for the study. Mixing can hold a complementary strengths approach or a dialectic approach. Both welcome multiple paradigms but in the complementary strengths approach, the integrity of each is maintained as they are not combined until the end of the study. Within the dialectic approach there is ongoing interaction between them throughout the research process; also known as embedding (Greene, 2013). A popular design in mixed methods health science research, for example occupational therapy, is a concurrent dialectic stance (Corcoran, 2006). This collects both qualitative and quantitative data at the same time but embeds one in the other to provide new insights or more refined thinking, for example, interviews with a small number of participants who completed a survey. It can be useful in health science research to validate practice. Within mixed methods research the rationale behind any mixed method design, as well as a visual figure (Creswell, 2014), should be presented.

3.2 Rationale for a mixed methods design

Occupational science, with its focus on occupation, generates knowledge to support the clinical practices of occupational therapy. At the outset of this study, as highlighted in the literature review (see section 2.5.3), there was a lack of research on the occupational perspective of transitioning from homelessness and sustaining a tenancy. The overall aim of this research was to increase the understanding of the role of occupation in making the transition from homelessness to sustaining a tenancy. This increased understanding will inform an occupational therapy intervention to enhance tenancy sustainment following homelessness. In chapter one (see section 1.1) occupational therapy is introduced as a complex intervention (Creek, 2003).

A complex intervention comprises 'a number of separate elements which seem essential to the proper functioning of the intervention although the 'active ingredient' of the intervention that is effective is difficult to specify' (Medical Research Council, 2000, p.1). Within occupational therapy the interacting elements are the individual, the context, the environment, and the therapist's actions. These are further influenced by the beliefs, values, knowledge, and skills of the occupational therapist (Creek *et al.*, 2005). This study in the social field of homelessness, puts occupational therapy outside of the traditional area of healthcare (see section 1.1), which adds another level of complexity. This complexity poses a challenge with respect to design, development, evaluation, and implementation of therapeutic interventions (Craig *et al.*, 2008b) because of contextual factors, including resource and policy implications.

3.2.1 Complex interventions framework

Best practice is to develop interventions systematically, using the best available

evidence and appropriate theory, before testing them using a carefully phased approach and evaluation (Craig *et al.*, 2008b). To help researchers address the challenges of designing, evaluating, and implementing complex interventions, the Medical Research Council (MRC) published a conceptual framework in 2000, which was updated in 2008 (Medical Research Council, 2000; Medical Research Council, 2008). The strength of the MRC framework is the systematic yet flexible provision of guidance for the development of complex interventions from their conception to their final implementation in clinical practice (Missiuna *et al.*, 2012). The process of developing and evaluating a complex intervention has several phases, which can take many years, and may not follow a linear sequence (Campbell *et al.*, 2007; Craig *et al.*, 2008b). The phases of the framework are reduced to a four-stage process of 'development-feasibility/piloting-evaluation-implementation' (see figure 3.1) (Medical Research Council, 2008). In the development stage—phase one—existing evidence is reviewed; relevant theory on which to ground the intervention is identified and the intervention is modelled to identify its components to understand its possible effects. In phase two, feasibility is tested to understand logistical issues, for example recruitment and fidelity to the intervention procedures. Phase three involves the evaluation of the effectiveness of the intervention on a larger scale. If supported by phase three, phase four brings the complex intervention into clinical practice through dissemination. It may be necessary to revisit prior phases, depending on the outcomes, making the MRC framework cyclical (Craig *et al.*, 2008a). Craig and Petticrew (2013) reported that researchers have found the framework useful and contrary to criticism that it forces interventions into defined stages of the framework, it encouraged a pragmatic approach to the choice of methods that are best suited at the various phases.

Figure 3.1. Key elements of the development and evaluation process of complex interventions (Medical Research Council, 2008, p.8)

The MRC framework is a fitting methodological approach to underpin this study, which aims to inform a potential occupational therapy intervention to support the transition of individuals from homelessness to tenancy sustainment. Craig *et al.* (2008a) caution that if adequate development work is neglected in complex interventions, it can 'result in weaker interventions that are harder to evaluate, less likely to be implemented and less likely to be worth implementing' (p.4). Therefore this thesis will focus only on the development stage of the MRC framework—phase one—as circled in yellow on figure 3.1.

Three major components contribute to the development stage of the framework:

1. identifying existing data from comparable interventions,
2. identifying the theory behind the proposed intervention,
3. model the process and outcomes (Richards, 2015).

The first two components form the main focus of this PhD thesis. One of the first steps in developing a complex intervention is to conduct a systematic review, as it is recognised as the most effective methodology to identify existing knowledge (Richards, 2015). It is a way of bringing together what is known from the research literature. In a comprehensive search of the literature databases and systematic review registers no existing systematic review on tenancy sustainment following homelessness was located or underway. As a result, a systematic review was included as part of the study and is described in more detail in section 3.3.

The second component in the development of an intervention is to identify and develop the theory or theories underpinning the proposed intervention. It is acknowledged that if no existing theory satisfactorily explains how the intervention changes behaviour, empirical research, for example a qualitative study, may be necessary. This is to understand how the recipients or providers of the proposed intervention experience or act in situations in order to construct a specific theory of behaviour change (Richards, 2015). As discussed in chapter two (see section 2.4.2) even though the value of the role of occupational therapy in homelessness has been acknowledged and a potential benefit of occupation in transitioning from homelessness proposed, there is a lack of empirical evidence to support its effectiveness. Therefore the role of occupation needs to be more fully understood before it could be applied in practice. Rahm Hallberg (2015) recommended that a detailed exploration of factors, from the perspective of the person

to whom the intervention is targeted, is an effective approach to develop a preliminary theory for a proposed intervention. Tentative or early-stage theories are required in complex interventions to provide explanatory frameworks to identify the key ingredients of a potential intervention and the processes through which these ingredients might enact change (Armitage, Swallow & Kolehmainen, 2017). Within this study, the process of individuals transitioning from homelessness to sustaining tenancies was explored in a constructivist grounded theory study.

In recalling the research questions listed previously (section 1.7), the systematic review addressed the question about what enables successful tenancy sustainment following homelessness. The process of transition, for people who face multiple exclusion homelessness, from homelessness services to their own home and the role of occupation in facilitating that transition was explored by a constructivist grounded theory study (see section 3.4). The two strands of this mixed method study were conducted concurrently and a complementary strengths stance was adopted (Creswell, 2014). This means the integrity of each paradigm was maintained as they were kept independent during the data collection and analysis stages and were only mixed when drawing the conclusions. This convergent mixed design study is illustrated in figure 3.2.

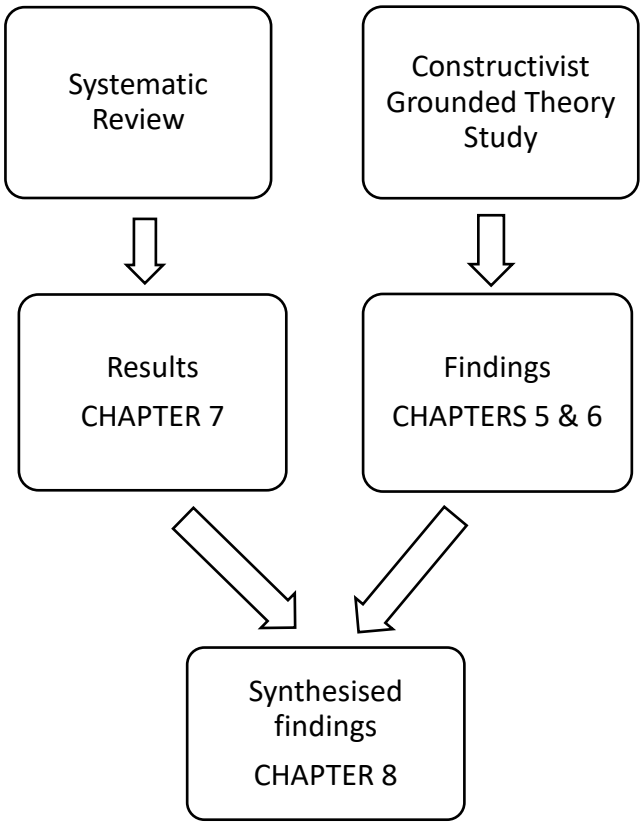


Figure 3.2. The convergent mixed methods design used in this thesis

Both sets of findings were considered together to identify implications for occupational therapy and highlight potential components of intervention delivery. This will set the groundwork for enacting the last stage of the development phase of a complex intervention within the MRC framework—the modelling of the proposed intervention. This stage will form the basis of my post-doctoral research (see section 9.4). Modelling operationalises the intervention—it describes how and where it would be delivered, over what period of time, by whom, as well as the pathways into and out of it. Modelling needs to be completed before progressing to the next phases within the MRC guidance, which are feasibility and piloting, evaluation and implementation.

The methodology and methods of each of the study strands will be explained in the following sections: the systematic review in section 3.3 and the constructivist grounded theory study in the following section, 3.4.

3.3 Systematic review methodology

A systematic review is a research methodology used to locate, appraise and synthesise the best available evidence to provide evidence based answers (Dickson, Cherry & Boland, 2014). They are an essential part of the 'process of interpreting and applying research findings to benefit society' (Gough, Oliver & Thomas, 2012, p.13). In addition they can identify gaps in the knowledge base to indicate where more research is needed (Bannigan & Spring, 2012). Systematic reviewing is a new area of methodological development and is rapidly developing (Gough, Oliver & Thomas, 2012). Most commonly used in the medical field, systematic reviews are increasingly being introduced into the social science context, allowing researchers to identify common themes or trends (Davis *et al.*, 2014). They are distinguished by their rigorous methods:

– a predefined set of questions and inclusion criteria
– a search strategy fully documented in an attempt to eliminate bias and ensure comprehensiveness
– appraisal of the relevance and quality of studies.

There has been an increase in types of reviews (Gough, Thomas & Oliver, 2012) beyond the statistical aggregation of data from controlled trials. These developments somewhat reflect the parallel development of mixed methods research development within primary research. Gough, Thomas and Oliver (2012) asserted that the growth in review types has not been accompanied by a clear typology and this has led to a lack of clarity in their use. To categorise the different types of reviews Sandelowski *et al.* (2012) suggested that reviews aggregate or configure the data, with some mixed method reviews doing both. Aggregative reviews are deductive and likely to be looking at effectiveness using homogenous studies that support each other. Configurative reviews are inductive and more interested in understanding concepts and patterns within

heterogeneous studies. Most reviews have elements of both aggregation and configuration and therefore require an unbiased set of studies as well as sufficient heterogeneity (Gough, Oliver & Thomas, 2017). Examples of review types and the questions they would answer are summarised in table 3.3.

In considering the recent developments in reviews, Moher, Stewart and Shekelle (2015) proposed systematic reviews are a 'family' and the different forms of reviews are the different 'species'. Although different 'species', the reviews share a scientific method—their methods are clearly articulated in advance so that the review can be reproduced.

	Review type	*Review questions*
Aggregative	'What works?' review	What is the effect of a health or social intervention?
	Diagnostic test	What is the accuracy of this diagnostic tool?
	Cost benefit	How effective is the benefit of an intervention relative to its cost?
	Prevalence	How extensive is this condition?
Configurative	Meta ethnography[1]	What theories can be generated from the conceptual literature?
	Critical interpretive synthesis[2]	What theories can be generated from the conceptual literature?
	Meta narrative review[3]	How to understand the development of research on an issue within and across different research traditions?
Configurative and aggregative	Realist synthesis[4]	What is the effect of a social policy in different policy areas?
	Framework synthesis[5]	What are the attributes of an intervention or activity?

[1]Chalmers, Hedges and Cooper (2002), [2]Dixon-Woods *et al.* (2006), [3]Greenhalgh *et al.* (2005), [4]Pawson (2006), [5]Oliver *et al.* (2008)

Table 3.3. Examples of review types (Gough, Thomas & Oliver, 2012, p.4)

The number of systematic reviews conducted in occupational therapy has been increasing (Bannigan & Spring, 2012; Bennett *et al.*, 2013). They are critical for evidence based practice by providing information on the effectiveness of interventions and many researchers have called for more within the field of occupational therapy (Bannigan & Spring, 2012). The challenges of conducting systematic reviews within the discipline is also well documented (Hackett *et al.*, 2014; Murphy, Robinson & Hin, 2009). These include a research evidence base with a diversity of study designs and quality as well as the heterogeneity of interventions and outcome measures. However within a climate in which it is increasingly important to demonstrate efficacy for both service recipients and funders, systematic reviews play a critical role. Occupational therapists need to take full advantage of the range of systematic review methodologies within the 'family' of methods (Moher, Stewart & Shekelle, 2015) to select the most appropriate one to address review questions and inform practice and research. For this thesis a mixed methods systematic review, that is including both quantitative and qualitative data, was the most appropriate to identify and synthesise the existing research on tenancy sustainment following homelessness. The review aim was divided into several objectives which could be synthesised separately.

3.3.1 Objectives

Determining the focus of a review by using clearly formulated questions is the most important aspect in preparing a systematic review (Squires, Valentine & Grimshaw, 2013). Review questions depend on the critical appraisal of the literature and practical experience as well as the results of previous research. The lack of an existing systematic review about tenancy sustainment for people who had experienced homelessness indicated a need to collate and synthesise the existing research.

The overall aim of this systematic review was to identify and synthesise the best available evidence on the phenomenon of leaving homelessness and sustaining a tenancy. The objectives are to address the following:

– What is the range of issues perceived and encountered by individuals, supporters, service providers in relation to leaving homelessness?
– What supports and service models (e.g. 'staircase' approach/ 'Housing First' model) are most effective in enabling people to leave homelessness?
– What are the enablers and barriers experienced by formerly homeless individuals in sustaining tenancies away from homelessness?
– What are the supports and barriers identified by supporters and service providers in enabling people leave homelessness?

3.3.2 Methods

As described in the previous section, systematic reviews are distinguished by their rigorous methods. A study protocol is required to outline the methods for searching, study inclusion, data extraction and analysis (Moher *et al.*, 2015).

3.3.2.1 Protocol registration

The Preferred Reporting Items for Systematic Reviews and Meta-Analyses (PRISMA) statement (Liberati *et al.*, 2009; Moher *et al.*, 2015) advocates that all systematic review protocols should be registered. This is to reduce duplication and increase transparency. The study protocol was registered with the PROSPERO International prospective register of systematic reviews (see appendix 1) and is published online at: http://www.crd.york.ac.uk/PROSPERO/display_record.asp?ID=CRD42015019361. The methodology for this systematic review conforms to the PRISMA guidelines (Moher *et al.*, 2015).

3.3.2.2 Search strategy

The search strategy aimed to find both published and unpublished studies. It was designed in consultation with an information specialist and involved three facets, i.e. 'conceptual grouping of related search terms' namely 'homelessness', 'leaving' and 'tenancy sustainment' as well as their synonyms. Terms such as *housing stability*, *housing tenure*, *residential stability* and *housing maintenance* were included to get a comprehensive understanding of the literature. Multiple versions of search terms were tested and modified in line with each database and the providers indexing system. This search strategy was designed to be sensitive to find relevant studies and the search was carried out in May 2015 and updated in October 2016. Databases searched were AMED (EBSCO), CINAHL (EBSCO), EMBASE (OVID), MEDLINE (OVID), OTseeker, PsycINFO (ProQuest), Social Care Online, SocIndex , Web of Science Social Sciences Citation Index, Cochrane Library, Campbell Library and Joanna Briggs Institute. The following sources were searched for grey literature: relevant third sector and government websites (see appendix 2), EThOS, ProQuest Thesis Index, ProQuest Conference Papers Index, Web of Science Conference Proceedings Citation Index, Google Scholar and Google. Only studies published in English were included and there was no date restriction. Please see appendix 3 for the electronic search strategies. All references were imported into EndNote.

3.3.2.3 Inclusion and exclusion criteria

Two reviewers independently screened all titles and abstracts. Full text papers of any titles and abstracts that were considered relevant by either reviewer were obtained where possible. The relevance of each study was assessed according to the following inclusion and exclusion criteria stated in table 3.4. Tenancy sustainment was the primary outcome as the sustaining of tenancies is one of the primary means of minimising

homelessness (see section 1.3.4).

	Inclusion criteria
Study design	All study types
Population	Individuals (aged 16 years and over) who were sleeping rough, using homeless service accommodation or formerly homeless, now in their own tenancy, regardless of length of time. Supporters and/or homeless service staff of participants.
Intervention	All interventions that support individuals to leave homelessness and sustain a tenancy
Outcomes	Tenancy sustainment following homelessness

Table 3.4. A summary of the inclusion criteria for the systematic review

Studies were excluded if they focused on families only. As leaving homelessness as part of a family can have different influencing factors and any interventions or services should fit a family-centred model (Kilmer, Cook & Crusto, 2012), this review focused only on evidence for individuals. In addition, studies in which participants moved between emergency homeless accommodations were excluded as the phenomenon under review was leaving homelessness.

3.3.2.4 Screening

Two authors independently reviewed all full text articles and any discrepancies were resolved by consensus. Inter-rater reliability was considered good as the kappa coefficient assessed at full text stage (n=458) was 0.698. Whether a study had tenancy sustainment as its primary outcome was the primary issue of discussion amongst the reviewers where there was no agreement. Figure 3.3 presents the PRISMA flow diagram detailing the number of articles at each stage of the process.

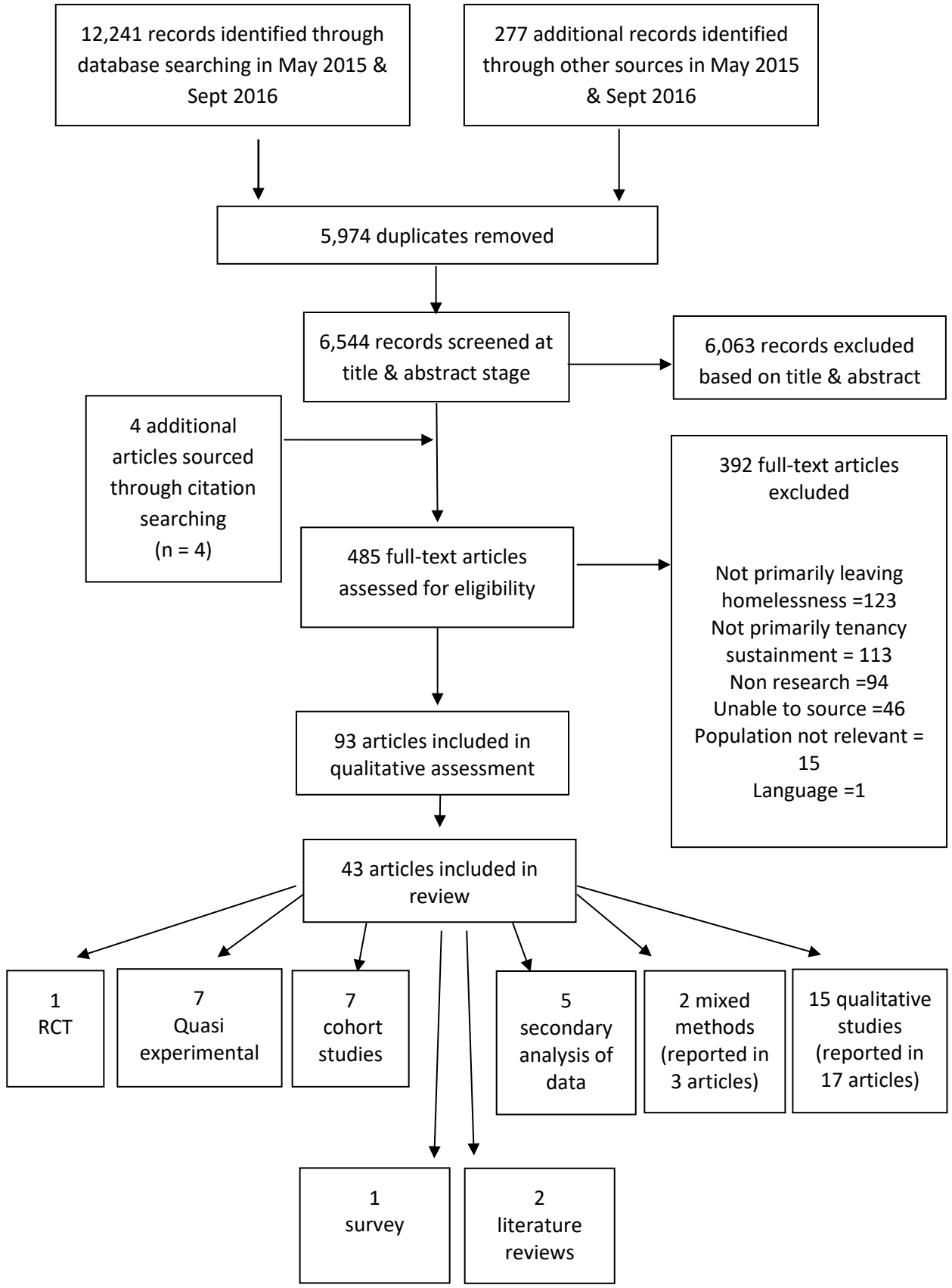


Figure 3.3. PRISMA flow diagram summarising the outcome of searching and assessment of relevance and quality (Moher *et al.*, 2009)

3.3.2.5 Quality assessment process

The methodological quality of included articles was assessed using QualSyst, a validated quality appraisal tool developed by Kmet, Lee and Cook (2004). This tool facilitates the evaluation of both quantitative and qualitative studies, using two checklists of relevant questions (see appendix 4). Each study was scored against each question in the appropriate checklist, as guided by the manual. A score of 2 was assigned if the quality criterion is met, 1 if partially met and 0 if not met. Criteria include the choice of appropriate study design, definition of outcomes and exposures, reporting of bias and confounding as well as sufficient reporting of results and limitations. The QualSyst score is calculated by the sum of ratings divided by the maximum score (the maximum score is 1). Each study was independently assessed by two reviewers and any disagreements were discussed until consensus was reached. QualSyst does not specify a cut-off point below which papers should be discarded. It designates 0.55 as a relatively liberal quality score below which papers should be discarded but to optimise quality given the large number of articles eligible, a 0.65 cut off was agreed upon. This threshold allowed a balance between efficiency, inclusiveness and quality. The most common reasons quantitative study designs were excluded using QualSyst were that the study aims were not clearly identified, analytical methods were not reported or there was incomplete control of confounding variables. Qualitative articles were excluded mainly due to limited or no reporting of data analysis or lack of evidence of reflexivity.

3.3.2.6 Data collection process

A bespoke data extraction sheet was developed to gather the data within the studies relevant for the review questions (see appendix 5). Data was extracted into Excel using the headings: study aim, design, sample, data collection and findings. Two reviewers extracted the data to ensure accuracy.

3.3.2.7 Data management

EndNote was used and found to be effective at all stages of the screening process including: storing references, removing duplicates, using smart groups to filter references and as a data management system. The included studies (43 articles) were imported into Excel and extracted data added to the worksheet. The results of the systematic review will be discussed in chapter seven. The methodology of the second study of the thesis, the constructivist grounded theory, follows.

3.4 Constructivist grounded theory methodology

As mentioned towards the beginning of this chapter (section 3.1), there is a common consensus that philosophy matters in qualitative research (Wertz *et al.*, 2011) because all research makes basic philosophical assumptions about form and nature of reality (ontology), knowledge (epistemology) and the good (ethics). Our standpoints and purposes influence and shape what we do.

Ontology can be seen as a continuum from positivism at one extreme followed by post positivism, critical theories, constructivism, and participatory methodologies at the other extreme (Guba & Lincoln, 1994). Ontologically I believe that reality is subjective, has multiple perspectives and is contextually positioned within a time, place and culture. Individuals hold views based on their experiences and values, and this is as applicable for the study participants as it is for me as researcher. This relativist ontology is reflected throughout the study by acknowledging the interviewees' words and stories. The study does not aim to provide the absolute truth (positivism) but explore the way that people experience events (constructivism). I remained open to the stories people told and how they documented their experiences.

Social constructivism is the view that 'all knowledge, and therefore all meaningful reality

as such, is contingent upon human practices, being constructed in and out of interaction between human beings and their world' (Crotty, 1998, p.42). My epistemological stance is social constructivism—I believe that I, as the researcher, and the participants co-create understandings and meanings in our interactions. We are all influenced by our histories, experiences and cultural context, which in turn, shapes how we view the world. This is as true for the people who have experienced homelessness with, perhaps, many moves between services as it is for me, the researcher, with my cultural context and experiences working in the area. The research aim, to explore the process of transitioning from using homelessness services to own tenancies, was kept deliberately broad and open ended to allow respondents recount experiences and construct their meaning of the situation. The aim was to inductively develop a theory or pattern of meaning (Creswell, 2012) within a certain context. Interpretive positions provide a pervasive lens on all aspects of a qualitative project – respecting individual difference, being sensitive to power imbalances, and acknowledging co-construction of account between researcher and participants.

3.4.1 Selection of a qualitative methodology

A qualitative research paradigm allows for the in-depth understanding of the complex reality of the experience of transitioning from homelessness. Qualitative research stresses the 'socially constructed nature of reality, the intimate relationship between the researcher and what is studied, and the situational constraints that shape inquiry' (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011, p.8). It is aimed at studying phenomena in their natural setting so therefore supports my intention of gathering information from people in a variety of homeless settings as well as their own tenancies. Rigorous qualitative research should make its assumptions, paradigms and frameworks explicit as they inform the design and shapes all stages of the study (Creswell, 2012).

The main methodology approaches consistent with qualitative research include ethnography, phenomenology, and grounded theory. Ethnography, with its roots in cultural anthropology is an appropriate methodology to research within the homelessness context and has been used widely. Its main goal—to explore cultures and people—whilst interesting is not the main focus of my research question, which is to understand process (see section 1.7). This study aims to capture the transition as individuals move from homelessness settings into a variety of tenancies. Therefore using ethnography alone would present challenges in terms of time, access, and practicalities for data collection.

Phenomenology, with its goal of understanding the lived experience, was also considered an appropriate approach. The thick and rich descriptions of experiences would greatly add to the understanding of transitioning from homelessness and sustaining a tenancy and therefore was seriously considered. Constructivist grounded theory has commonalities with phenomenology—both emphasise subjectivity and temporality as well as social constructionism. They both engage initially in detailed scrutiny of the data to closely examine the studied experience. Yet, constructivist grounded theorists later identify and use focused codes to compare across a large number of cases (Wertz *et al.*, 2011). Phenomenology, with its more intense focus on meaning and experience, I felt would not allow sufficient scope to look at the process of leaving homelessness and sustaining of a tenancy. Constructivist grounded theory looks for basic patterns and processes and aims to theorise them by establishing relationships between concepts constructed from the phenomenon (Charmaz, 2014). Grounded theory as a methodology allows for the understanding of social processes shaping human behaviour and interactions over time and is therefore well matched to the study

aim of understanding the transition of people leaving homelessness and sustaining a tenancy. Using grounded theory as a methodology is appropriate when there is little known about the area of study (Birks & Mills, 2015) and this was pertinent, as there was limited research considering occupation as people transition from homelessness (see section 2.5.3).

The following paragraphs provide a brief background of grounded theory to frame the development of constructivist grounded theory and understand its approach.

3.4.2 Development of grounded theory

Grounded theory is a qualitative research methodology founded by the sociologists Glaser and Strauss at a time when there was a predominant positivist deductive approach to research. They proposed, in their seminal work 'The Discovery of Grounded Theory', an inductive method to develop theory without the guidance of a preconceived theory (Glaser & Strauss, 1967). Although it has developed over the years, depending on different philosophical underpinnings, Bryant and Charmaz (2007, p.12) suggest that grounded theory comprises 'a family of methods'. These common features include concurrent data collection and analysis, coding and memo writing, comparative methods, theoretical sampling and saturation (Howell, 2012). Saturation is reached when 'gathering fresh data no longer sparks new theoretical insights, nor reveals new properties of theoretical categories' (Charmaz, 2014, p.213). The overriding aim of grounded theory is to 'generate emergent theories from the data that account for the data' (Charmaz, 2008, p.157). Grounded theory has taken different directions from Glaser's traditional 'critical realist' stance in which the researcher holds a predominantly objective stance (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006). A post-positivist approach is held by Strauss and Corbin, in which they aim for unbiased data collection, have systematic

procedures for data analysis but also acknowledge the voices of the participants (Ghezelijeh & Emami, 2009). Recent developments include the position taken by Charmaz (2006, 2014) in her constructivist grounded theory approach. Charmaz grounds her theoretical stance in constructivist grounded theory in the views or perspectives of individuals. This approach places more emphasis on the views, values, feelings of individuals, including the role of the researcher than on the methods of research (Creswell, 2012). Holding this co-construction viewpoint and acknowledging the researcher role is strongly criticised by Glaser (2012) as not being relevant to grounded theory. He proposed that it (co-construction) should just be one variable to consider in the data as they emerge. Nonetheless I find it difficult to see how I can separate myself, and my experience as an occupational therapist working with people who were homeless for over ten years, from the research. Therefore the epistemological position of constructivist grounded theory allowed me to acknowledge my preconceptions. To give voice to this position and assumptions I have included an autobiographical reflection in chapter one (section 1.4), as proposed by Keane (2015). In addition, critical reflections that I recorded throughout the research process (see appendix 6 for an example) allowed me to be aware of my preconceptions when analysing the interviews.

3.4.3 Constructivist grounded theory

The key features of constructivist grounded theory (Charmaz, 2014), which will be described in more detail in chapter four, are the following:

– initial line by line coding, typically in gerunds (i.e. noun form of verbs) to capture process;
– focused coding, using the most significant and/or frequent codes that make analytical sense to categorise the data;

– memo writing—the creation of analytical notes throughout the grounded theory process—to provide a means to construct analytical thoughts about codes, emerging categories and the links between them;
– theoretical sampling (i.e. gathering data to fill out the properties of a tentative category) to explicitly saturate theoretical categories.

It is important to consider the alignment between the theoretical principles that guide disciplines and the methodology chosen for research study (Higginbottom & Lauridsen, 2014). Symbolic interactionism is one of the philosophical foundations of grounded theory. People act towards things depending on the meanings that these things have for them and the meaning is, in turn, derived and interpreted from the social interaction with others (Charmaz, 2014). Therefore the environment and social interaction shape a person's actions and activities as they either maintain previous ways or adopt new ways of doing things and acting (Nayar, 2012). As proposed earlier (see section 2.3), homelessness restricts a person's opportunities to engage in occupations and therefore can change the meaning of an occupation for them, for example, food preparation and eating. Constructivist grounded theory allows meanings and actions to be understood within the larger social structure (Charmaz, 2009), i.e. within homelessness services and independent tenancies in this study. Within constructivist grounded theory, in keeping with pragmatism (section 3.1.2), attention must be paid to language, both that of the researcher and the participants (Charmaz, 2009; Charmaz, 2011). This included being aware of and attending to terms used within the context of homelessness, for example, what is the implicit meaning of 'service user' for participants.

3.4.4 Symbolic interactionism

Strauss studied with researchers who were associated with the pragmatic philosophical

underpinnings of the 'Chicago school' of sociology articulated by John Dewey and George Mead (Wertz *et al.*, 2011). They adopted symbolic interactionism, the 'sociological derivative of pragmatism' (Wertz *et al.*, 2011, p.58). This theoretical perspective, underpinning grounded theory, views self, situations and society as social constructions that people accomplish through their actions and interactions. From this perspective, the social and political context of the person is central to the shaping of their beliefs, values, thoughts, and actions. The environment shapes a person's actions and elicits change as they either adopt new ways of doing or maintain their previous ways, in response to interpretations of a new environment. We interpret the world from responses of others to our actions and, based on these interpretations, we act again. Within this study, as people transition from homelessness services to their own tenancies, their perspectives are interpreted from the social and cultural environments they find themselves in. This is central to the construction of the social process of how they act or see themselves. Histories and biographies also influence interpretations and, therefore, the experiences of people before homelessness will also have an effect on interpretations. Exploring this from an occupational perspective is the aim of this study (section 1.7)—what is the role of occupation in the social process of leaving homelessness and sustaining a tenancy.

3.4.5 Grounded theory and occupational science

As described in the preceding section, symbolic interactionism is one of the philosophical foundations of grounded theory. The environment and social interaction shape a person's actions and occupations as they either maintain previous ways or adopt new ways, routines and patterns of acting or doing (Nayar, 2012). Within occupational science we explore occupations within context (section 2.2.1) and within these occupations social processes unfold. Grounded theory, as a research

methodology, is therefore well matched to occupational science as it allows for the understanding of social processes, which unfold over time, through engagement in occupation (Nayar, 2012). It further allows the understanding of these meanings and actions within the larger social structure of homelessness services and/or independent tenancies (Charmaz, 2009), yet it remains grounded in the experiences of individuals. This is analogous to occupational science which views the individual as an open system in interaction with the environment of occupation and admits the individual experiences as credible (Yerxa *et al.*, 1990).

Constructivist grounded theory is particularly well suited to social justice research as it considers the position of the researcher as well as the participants and the social world in which the research is conducted whilst taking into account sensitising concepts such as power, privilege, and equity into account (Charmaz, 2011). This enabled a focus on more covert processes, such as structure and power, to be brought to examining occupations, as discussed in section 2.2.1.

3.5 Constructivist grounded theory methods

Grounded theory allows for the adoption of data collection methods that best meet the needs of the process being studied. Although being careful not to generalise, many people who are homeless experience, and have experienced, trauma, distress, mental illness as well as isolation from social supports, and marginalisation (see section 1.3.3). Therefore the data collection methods in this study were developed paying particular consideration as to how best engage and interest people, with experience of homelessness, whilst maintaining their respect and dignity. Semi-structured interviews with reflexive photography were chosen as the main data collection methods in this study.

3.5.1 Interview

Interviews create a space in which participants can relate his or her experiences and the interviewer seeks to understand the interviewee's meanings, emotions, and language (Denzin & Lincoln, 2011). In depth interviews elicit each participant's interpretation at the time of the interview and allows for immediate follow up on these ideas or meanings. This method facilitated the exploration of the experience of leaving homelessness and the experience of tenancy sustainment. My interview guide, in keeping with a grounded theory approach, contained some broad, open ended questions to increase the understanding of people's transitions leaving homelessness as well as their experience of it (see appendix 7). Examples include 'tell me about how you came to be living here' and 'can you describe a typical day for me'. These were influenced by occupation and a focus on 'doing'. Prompts such as 'that's interesting, can you tell me more about it?' helped elicit more depth or detail. The questions became more focused as I used the iterative approach of moving back and forth between data collection and analysis (Charmaz, 2014). To learn more about what struck me as emerging categories, I specifically asked about what helped people settle and what was the role of staff, if any, in that process. I enquired about their interpretation, for example, 'what does a good day look like for you?' and 'doing alright, how do you describe that?' to learn more about personal meaning (see section 4.2.2).

Padgett *et al.* (2013), in a study with formerly homeless people, described how it was less productive to ask participants about abstract things, such as hope, or even more concrete topics, such as goals. Liamputtong (2006) advised that more than one data collection method can be particularly appropriate for researching topics with vulnerable people. In addition I am aware, from my experience of working with people with complex needs, that narrative in the format of interview only, may not be the most

effective in facilitating expression. Consequently, a decision was made to include visual methods to support data collection with people who had personal experience of homelessness. Interviews with staff members, who supported individuals using homelessness services, were also carried out as part of the constructivist grounded theory study (see appendix 8 for interview guide). Staff interviews were conducted without the use of visual methods. They were placed towards the end of the data collection process to seek pertinent data to develop the emerging categories.

3.5.2 Visual methods

Photo elicitation was first named by Collier (1957) who used photographic images in interviews to explore mental health in changing communities in Canada (Harper, 2002). He noted the technique resulted in more comprehensive interviews and it has since become increasingly popular in a range of interdisciplinary research studies (Lapenta, 2011). Over time various terms, including photovoice and reflexive photography, have been associated with photo elicitation, although it must be noted that methods are not uniform (Padgett *et al.*, 2013). Photovoice was initially promoted as a participatory action research approach, whereby people represented their community life or daily routines through photography. These images were then used to discuss meaning with other members of the community, and the researcher, as a means to enable change (Lapenta, 2011). Reflexive photography is a method whereby participants take the photographs (respondent generated) and then elaborate on the content and meaning in a reflective interview (Lapenta, 2011). It fitted well within a constructivist grounded theory methodology and my research questions, as it acknowledges individuals ascribe meaning to the images taken. Images by themselves have no intrinsic meaning. Symbolic interactionism, a key construct of constructivist ground theory, emphasises the meanings that individuals ascribe to things through, and as a function of, their social

interactions (Schulze, 2007).

Visual methods have been recommended for the study of occupation especially to help elicit the tacit meanings behind occupations (Bromann Bukhave & Huniche, 2016; Hartman *et al.*, 2011). Visual methods can enable people to focus on specific activities, reflect on their meaning, as well as consider facilitators and barriers to occupational engagement (Hartman *et al.*, 2011). They can portray meaning that may not be captured in a conversation. The camera is a useful tool to engage with one's environment and photographs give a tangible reference when reflecting on lives and situations.

The benefits of photography have been advocated in studies with people who are homeless (Johnsen, May & Cloke, 2008; Padgett *et al.*, 2013; Radley, Hodgetts & Cullen, 2005). Research participants taking the photographs, challenges, to some degree, the unequal power relationship that can exist between the researcher and the 'researched'. In addition, participants reported to have enjoyed the experience of using the camera and the photographs clearly showed a variation in the way people lived (Radley, Hodgetts & Cullen, 2005). The significant logistical challenges and the resource intensity (following up people, cameras not being returned), especially within the context of homelessness, were raised by Johnsen, May and Cloke (2008) but they stressed that the added insights and opportunity to provide homeless people with a chance to portray their experiences was worth the effort. This data collection method is more time intensive and dependent on stages that may not be completed, for example meeting a second time to carry out the interview after the photographs were taken. However this awareness was balanced by my hope that the camera would spark interest, as well as provide a sense of ownership for the participants, resulting in richer data.

In selecting the type of camera to give to participants, consideration was given to

disposable cameras as well as several styles of inexpensive digital cameras. In the end, digital cameras were chosen for this study for both technical and 'sense of ownership' reasons; the difference in cost implications was minimal. The digital camera is technically superior (Bromann Bukhave & Huniche, 2016) and allowed photos to be seen immediately by putting the SD card into a laptop at the interview. A portable photograph printer at interviews enabled me to print copies for the participants while storing images, with permission, on my computer. The printer sparked interest with its immediate outputs but most importantly the digital camera pragmatically removed a stage in which I would have had to collect the disposable camera to get photographs processed and arrange to meet again for interview. This was advantageous in terms of maintaining contact with the participants. The cameras, although digital and sturdy, were not valuable and therefore not of monetary interest and, if lost or stolen, were not an issue for the study. The digital camera, which was the most straightforward to operate, had a display screen to enable the photographers to see their shot and delete photos that they did not want to share. The photographer holding control was an important factor in deciding the camera selection. An instruction sheet on how to use the camera was provided to the participants (see appendix 9).

3.5.3 Reflexive photography interviews

Participants were given cameras for a period of time, on average a week, to take photographs of their choice. This also provided time for the participants to consider what to present as important. There was no minimum number of photographs and participants were reassured that there were no 'wrong' images. A photo information sheet (appendix 10) provided some written information, including advice about not photographing people's faces. Once the photographs were printed, the interview began with the participant choosing one to start with. The initial question was 'tell me about

that photograph' and was followed up with questions to explore it in more detail (see appendix 7 for sample questions). Photographs provided an insight into the activities people did, and where they passed their time, but the main purpose was to understand the meaning participants ascribed to what they photographed. Reflections on the use of reflexive photography are discussed in section 3.6.7, later in this chapter.

3.5.4 Longitudinal research

Longitudinal qualitative interviews are conducted with the same people, on two or more occasions, over a period of time that will allow for collection of data on specified change conditions (Hermanowicz, 2013). Having a longitudinal element fits well with the iterative data analysis aspect of grounded theory. Data is analysed from the start of the data collection process and this analysis influences later stages of data collection. Meaning emerges over time. The design of my study allowed for an element of longitudinal methodology to better understand how people experience, interpret and respond to change as they transition from homelessness services to their own tenancies. I incorporated a section into the consent form (see appendix 11) to ask permission to hold contact details to enable follow up interviews with some participants. At the end of the interviews I asked participants permission to contact in three to four months time to see how their move was progressing, reiterating that they could decline a follow up interview at this future time. Attrition is a common issue within longitudinal work and must be factored into the study design (Hermanowicz, 2013). I had not planned to follow up all participants but for those with whom it was possible, the opportunity of a second interview would add to the understanding of transition and tenancy sustainment. It is recognised in research with homeless populations that maintaining contact is labour and time intensive requiring perseverance (Williamson *et al.*, 2014). This study was undertaken with the awareness that transience can be a feature of homelessness and

therefore practically following up people would be challenging and participants may no longer be interested after initial involvement. As the value of having a longitudinal approach to examine change over time was recognised, efforts to meet participants a second time was a feature of the study. This was facilitated by getting contact details of key people identified by participants, maintaining good links with services, developing rapport and providing a good understanding of the study to those that took part.

3.5.5 Project advisory group

A project advisory group was set up in one service setting to advise on the project and research context. It was advertised by posters and flyers as well as by the gatekeeper and was open to all, including persons with experience of homelessness, staff and volunteers. Four meetings were held, in which the group have discussed the study aims, the data collection methods and study progression (see appendix 12 for summary of meetings). Each meeting was extremely valuable for feedback and support of the project. There was agreement that the study questions were relevant and the discussion reinforced that each person's experience is very different. Feedback from the group informed the study information sheets, especially in relation to the use of the digital recorder, and group members tested the usability of the camera. A challenge was a lack of continuity of attenders. At the meetings, I took the contact details of those who were interested to inform them about the next meeting but only one person attended twice. Perhaps, this is not unexpected within the context of the homeless service as there were months between meetings. The lack of a consistent group resulted in each meeting functioning as a one-off advisory meeting for different stages of the project. However, this limitation was balanced by the value of having engagement and a diversity of opinions to inform the study development.

3.6 Data collection process

Before going into more detail, table 3.5 presents an overview of the data collection process with persons who had experience of homelessness.

Step 1	*Liaise with gatekeeper in service settings in research locations*
Step 2	Meet interested participants, explain study using information sheet, consent form, provide camera and instructions, and agree date/location for camera collection and interview in 1-2 weeks. Seek consent for contact details to be stored.
Step 3	Contact participant, or gatekeeper if necessary, to confirm interview.
Step 4	Meet interviewee and develop photos on portable digital printer with no cost implications for participants. Conduct interview (digitally recorded) reviewing study information leaflet & consent form. Complete photo consent form.
Step 5	Potential recall for interview, using contact details provided. Information sheet revisited and new consent form used.

Table 3.5. Data collection process for individuals with experience of homelessness

3.6.1 Research locations

The study was conducted in three locations—one city in the South West of England and two cities in Ireland—to widen the sample population and availability of service settings. This was to recruit individuals who could offer valuable and diverse insights at both the purposive and theoretically sampling stages. One organisation had an existing relationship with the University and was very supportive of the research. I strategically approached other organisations, within the locations, to facilitate access to participants at all stages of homelessness (section 1.3.4), including those in their own tenancies, with experience of homelessness. Services approached included a soup run, a hostel accommodation provider, a supported accommodation provider, a Housing First service, a housing advice service as well as a tenancy sustainment service.

The study settings recruited were:

– two tenancy support services for those in independent accommodation (homelessness charity/non-profit homelessness organisation),
– a 60 bed hostel for single persons aged over 18 (Christian homelessness charity),
– a soup run (voluntary group) based in a homelessness drop-in centre,
– a supported housing provider (charity & social enterprise),
– a housing advice service (charity).

One of the original organisations that I approached was unable to facilitate my study because of their existing research commitments. This organisation provided Housing First. Therefore, as a result, no participants who accessed a Housing First service were recruited. As data analysis continued, in keeping with theoretical sampling, I identified the need to recruit more people who were sustaining tenancies with experience of homelessness and this was facilitated by the non-profit organisation in a second city in Ireland.

My strategy for recruitment was through gatekeepers in the services that had agreed to take part in the study. The use of gatekeepers is discussed in more detail in the next section.

3.6.2 Gatekeepers

Gatekeepers play a critical role in supporting the research process by controlling access to a particular group especially in social research with minority groups (McAreavey & Das, 2013). Clark (2011) highlighted the importance of the relationship between researchers and gatekeepers. He suggested that gatekeepers can be motivated by various reasons, including a moral or civic responsibility to engage, or perceive the information generated by the project as useful. The roles of the gatekeepers, within their respective service settings, varied in this study. They were volunteers in two

settings, managers in two services, and nominated staff in the other sites. It is important to develop trust and rapport with the gatekeeper and have the capacity to negotiate, evaluate and act; balancing ethics with practical considerations (McAreavey & Das, 2013). I met with all of the gatekeepers on several occasions throughout the research process and provided them with a leaflet on the role of gatekeeper (appendix 13), project information sheets (appendices 10 and 14) and consent forms (appendices 15 for study and 16 for photographs) in both hard and soft copies. In some of the services, for example the tenancy support service, I met with all members of the team at a meeting to discuss the study. I took particular care to respond to emails or phone messages from gatekeepers in a timely manner, as I recognised their roles within their organisations and valued their support.

3.6.3 Participant selection

To be eligible for inclusion, participants were required to have personal experience of homelessness or work within homelessness services supporting individuals who met the criteria for the study. I wanted to capture the experiences of individuals with more complex needs, based on the assumption that people within this group may be more likely to benefit from a potential occupational therapy intervention. Single individuals are the predominant group with complex needs (see section 1.3.3). The UK definition of 'multiple exclusion homelessness' (MEH) (as described in section 1.3.3) was drawn upon as the basis of the inclusion criteria. This is the experience of homelessness combined with chronic physical or mental ill health, problematic substance misuse or institutional care (Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & White, 2011).

3.6.3.1 Inclusion criteria

The inclusion criteria for this study were individuals who have had experience of multiple exclusion homelessness and:

a. were in the process* of moving from homelessness into their own tenancy,

or

b. had secured and were in their own tenancy,

or

c. had experience of their own tenancy but were currently re-using homeless services.

*For the purpose of this study 'in the process' referred to having a goal of getting one's own accommodation and working, with/without a staff member, to realise this.

The use of phrase 'in the process' was to capture those individuals who were actively working towards moving on. In keeping with my initial plan of conducting some follow up interviews, I wanted to include those who were most likely to transition into their own tenancy within a time frame that would allow a second interview. For those who were in their own tenancy, there were no time expectations about the duration of their tenancy.

All staff who had experience of supporting individuals who met the criteria of the study were eligible for recruitment. The study information sheet and consent form for staff are included in appendices 16 and 17.

3.6.3.2 Exclusion criteria

Participants were excluded if they:

– experienced homelessness as part of a family,

– were under the influence of substances or experiencing psychosis at the time of recruitment,

– were under the age of 18.

As with the systematic review (see section 3.3.2.3) individuals leaving homelessness as part of a family were excluded as this can have different influencing factors (Kilmer, Cook & Crusto, 2012). Although the recruitment settings were adult services, and therefore service users were aged 18 and over, some of the participants had experience of homelessness when they were young adults (under 18 years). Interviews were not carried out if people were under the influence of substances at the time of the interview, but this did not exclude them from the study entirely. With the support of the gatekeepers interviews were rescheduled if the participants remained interested.

Charmaz (2014) advises to conduct as many interviews as needed to construct complex conceptual analyses although acknowledges that quantifying this can be problematic. Balancing pragmatic challenges with theoretical saturation, at the start of the study it was anticipated approximately thirty interviews would need to be carried out in this study (Baker & Edwards, 2012; Dworkin, 2012).

3.6.4 Ethical considerations

Ethical approval was received for this study from the Faculty of Health and Human Science Research Ethics Committee, Plymouth University, reference number 15/16-480 on November 5th, 2015 (see appendix 18). One of the UK homeless service providers have their own ethics committee and approval was received from them on September 8th, 2015 (appendix 19).

Ethics were a consideration throughout all stages of the research project. One step used to address confidentiality was the use of pseudonyms. Interestingly a substantial proportion of those with personal experience of homelessness wanted to use their own name. However, after discussion about the commitment I made with the Ethics Committee, each person chose a pseudonym. However it prompted me to consider the

use of pseudonyms and question the choice of keeping one's own name. If participants were to use their own names, there would need to be full understanding of this consent especially in terms of the permanence of the record. Lahman *et al.* (2015) have called for more debate on pseudonyms in ethical research. To offer the choice to keep names in research has merit but would need to be explored in much greater detail before implementation.

Informed consent was addressed by the use of an information sheet (appendix 14) and a consent form (appendix 11) at the initial meeting, when the camera was provided. I always brought a copy of this completed consent form to the interview and actively encouraged questions. Consent was also considered in relation to the photographs. In both UK and Irish copyright law, for respondent generated visual data (for example, photographs), copyright rests with the image maker and it is necessary for them to assign copyright to the researcher (Wiles *et al.*, 2008). A photo consent form (appendix 15) was designed for this purpose, based on the Visual Ethics Review Paper produced by the ESRC National Centre for Research Methods (Wiles *et al.*, 2008). Only one person asked for one image not to be shown. Otherwise, participants were enthusiastic about sharing their photographs. In situations where photographs included faces or very identifying features, a discussion was held about privacy for that individual and the image was not used in the research.

As part of the study information sheet (appendix 14), I raised the issue that if I heard something in the interview that raised concern for their safety or the safety of others, I would have to inform relevant people. This seemed to be familiar to many participants, reinforcing for me how people were accustomed to the language of key-working/service provision. I negotiated with gatekeepers that they would be available as support

following the interview and reminded participants to use it, as required. In addition, participants were provided with a leaflet (appendices 20, 21, 22 depending on location) and a 'credit card' sized laminated version (appendix 23) of support services. In some follow up situations, the gatekeeper was no longer available so an amendment was made to the Ethics Committee (appendix 24) to include a greater focus in the interview on the availability of community supports. To reduce my risk in carrying out the interviews, I kept the gatekeepers abreast when possible and used a lone working system with my supervisory team in the UK and an ex-colleague who worked in a homelessness service in Ireland.

At the end of the interview, as a gesture of appreciation, everyone was informed they could keep the camera they used. This was not intended as an incentive as it was not mentioned until the very end of the interview. However, within the hostel system, it created some curiosity as participants shared their experiences. Anyone who expressed an interest to take part was prompted to speak with the gatekeeper. At the conclusion of all interviews, the interviewee's interest in receiving a copy of the interview transcript was sought and contact details confirmed. This process, the returning of interview transcripts to confirm that they represent accurately what was said, is one form of member checking (Creswell, 2014).

3.6.5 Recruiting participants

Grounded theory methodology advocates for using purposive sampling, followed by theoretical sampling (Charmaz, 2014). Purposive sampling involves selecting individuals because their characteristics are important to the research (Jupp, 2006). It was used initially to access participants who could share their experiences of the process of transitioning from homelessness to a tenancy. In meeting with gatekeepers to discuss

the inclusion criteria, over a period of eight months, ten people were initially interviewed for the study. In recruitment, I privileged the voices of the individuals with personal experience of homelessness to get an understanding from the insider perspective. Caution about this approach has been raised by Frankham (2009), who warned against 'taking at face value' everything a service user describes—just because they have had a particular experience, they are assumed to understand it. However, in holding my epistemological stance (see section 3.4), I valued the participant's experience and I, as the researcher, and the participants co-created meaning. The staff interviews, placed towards the end of data collection, played an important role in theoretical sampling to clarify the developing theory. In keeping with the longitudinal element built into the study design, follow up attempts were made with all the interviewees who had agreed to be contacted, nine months into the study. Of the ten people who had been interviewed, up to this point, contact was attempted with nine. The tenth person had been in his own tenancy for six years at the time of the first interview, so it was my contention that a second interview, three months post, would not yield a change in experience.

A strategy, within grounded theory, to gather more data to focus on emerging categories is theoretical sampling. It involves seeking pertinent data to develop the properties of the theoretical categories and help clarify relationships between them (Charmaz, 2014). For example, as the study progressed and interviews were coded iteratively, I identified the need to further develop the category about settling into a tenancy and sustaining it (section 4.2.2). Additional questions were added to the interview guide and, by taking advantage of theoretical sampling, I deliberately recruited people who had transitioned into their own accommodation. I secured an

amendment to ethics (appendix 25) to include a supported accommodation provider. Unfortunately this recruitment strategy was not successful in further recruitment. I met with the gatekeeper of the soup run, and prompted her to specifically invite individuals who were in their own tenancies to take part. At one soup run, I met three interested participants who completed the consent forms but the interviews did not come to fruition—one person declined an interview after several attempts to meet, another was taken into custody before we had a chance to carry out the interview and I was unable to make contact with the third person. Aware of the need to seek further data to adequately develop the category about tenancy sustainment, I approached the national homelessness organisation in Ireland to access a second location and successfully recruited three participants. Interviewing these additional individuals helped develop theoretical saturation (see section 3.4.2). This was further enhanced by the staff interviews which confirmed the patterns within the process of transitioning from homelessness. Staff interviews were also digitally recorded, conducted at a location of their choice and in keeping with the other interviewees, staff were offered a transcript of their interview for member checking.

3.6.6 Data management

Using a programme called Express Scribe I transcribed all the interviews I conducted with people who had experience of homelessness. Appendix 26 is a sample of an interview transcript. Transcription was valuable as a means to engage deeply with the interview and was an important first step in the analysis process. It also provided an opportunity to reflect on my interview skills as I considered why I followed up specifically on some answers but not all. Due to time pressures, I enrolled the assistance of a professional transcriber to transcribe the staff interviews. Once I received these, and before I forwarded them for member checking, I listened to the recording whilst

checking the transcript.

I used NVivo as a tool for data management and it had the advantage of storing and organising all my data (photographs, interviews, memos including methodological journal). At the initial coding stage, after about three interviews it became too cumbersome as I was running into hundreds of codes and the computer screen only allows a certain number to be viewed at one time. This prompted me to start raising initial codes to focused codes but within a short period of time, I found the use of NVivo unwieldly. I switched to coding on Word but continued to use NVivo for storage, reflections and memos. The word search function of NVivo was useful, on occasion, to quickly find where and how often a word occurred in a transcript. For example, it allowed quick searching across many interviews to follow up on a word or concept. I found the NVivo mind mapping function somewhat unwieldy and resorted to drawing freehand instead (examples in section 4.2.2).

3.6.7 Reflections on the data collection process

The experience of keeping a research journal enabled me to record and reflect on methodological and ethical issues during all stages of data collection. Reflexivity cannot dispel ethical tensions in research with people who are homeless, but it can raise awareness of power and exploitation (Cloke *et al.*, 2000). It allowed me to consider the interview process and record immediate or fleeting thoughts, which informed the data analysis. It provided me with a place to record some reflections or queries about the methods of the study or interactions with staff or others in services. I used it to record notes on the environment of the service I was visiting and any assumptions I was aware I was making. As many of the interviews were located in a hostel setting, I became very aware of the social dynamics especially in shared spaces at meal times. For example how

individuals selected where they sat and at what time they joined the queue informed my analysis around communal living. Although I was familiar with the setting as a result of spending time there, I was also conscious of being an outsider during mealtimes.

Recruitment provided much opportunity for reflection. Having an incredibly supportive and enthusiastic gatekeeper in the hostel setting resulted in plenty of expressions of interest to participate. A challenge in the study was the practicality of carrying out the interviews. Only a couple of participants met me as planned for the interview or made contact to postpone or cancel the meeting. The vast majority were enthusiastic to take part but were not in the hostel at the planned time or that day did not suit. Regularly I rescheduled a meeting at least twice, even when the interviewees had selected the time and I used text reminders when possible. This challenged me to consider if avoidance was a method to express a wish not to take part (see appendix 27 for example of journal entry). As a result, I would always provide the option of cancelling outright rather than rescheduling but this was never taken up by anyone in the hostel who had consented to the process and taken a camera. If a setting was staffed, I was vigilant to ensure staff did not put undue pressure on service users to take part in the interview process. However, when interviews eventually occurred, individuals enthusiastically shared their photographs and stories. Interviews not taking place was something that challenged me throughout the process. The people who were recruited through the soup run service were the most difficult to engage in the process. Despite multiple attempts, I was unable to meet three participants recruited from one night's soup run. The process of meeting with those who were in their own tenancies and recruited via the tenancy support teams, was markedly most straightforward, perhaps reflecting a more successful tenancy?

In attempting to conduct longitudinal interviews, I used all the details provided at the

time of the first interview. Of the nine people who I attempted to meet again, I only managed to make contact with two—the only individuals who returned their interview transcripts. When visiting the soup run, I met two others accidentally, and they declined a follow up interview. Three of the group of nine had been moved from the hostel, the site of the first interviews and the remaining two were in private tenancies. The follow up interviews, although limited in number, demonstrated the value of capturing process over time and helped refine categories. One interviewee felt they were in the same unsettled situation despite wanting change to happen. The other described becoming more settled in his flat in the intervening time. The study design to capture longitudinal experiences was too simplistic when considering the living situations of those invited to take part. A longitudinal element would need to have been made much clearer to the participants from the outset. This could have been enhanced by the use of more robust techniques for tracking as well as staying engaged with participants during the study period with intermittent contact.

Reflexive photography added value to the interview process, especially as it enabled people to take photographs of their rooms and possessions. In addition it facilitated the portrayal of time use, which may have been difficult to capture in words alone. Some participants went through their photographs briefly and I felt like I was pushing to encourage reflection on why they took the photographs. For others, they used the opportunity to take photos to represent their experiences in a meaningful way. For example, taking a photograph of a wall in both shade and light to represent the negative and positive aspects of having a tenancy. The printing of the photographs when sitting with interviewees, added time in which rapport was developed but my fear, that it would reduce the recorded interview time, did not come to fruition as interviews ranged between 42 and 139 minutes. There appeared to be no ideal duration of days to have

the camera for photographs pre-interview. The project advisory group had initially suggested two weeks but most participants felt that was too long when agreeing a time with them—a week became the average duration. Some individuals took no photographs but were happy to be interviewed. The use of the visual method had cost and logistical implications. However, on balance, it was worth it for the additional insights, in particular about the possessions that made a place feel like home (see section 6.2.1). I believe the importance of decorating a place and the role of personal possessions would not have been captured so powerfully through words alone.

Another reflection that punctuated my reflective journal was holding the role of researcher as well as an occupational therapist with experience in the area. The years of working with people provided an awareness and realistic acceptance of practical challenges—the need to make the most of any space available for an interview, being patient waiting for people and flexible when interviews did not go ahead, having awareness of some of the language used as well as a level of ease facilitating a project advisory group in the corner of a busy dining room. However to be true to the methodology, although acknowledging my background, I had to ensure I was seeing things as they were described by participants and not as how I may perceive them as an occupational therapist. I drew on the assumptions (section 1.5) I made, used my reflective notes to challenge myself (example in appendix 6), critically reviewed the interview transcripts and received feedback from my supervisors.

3.7 Quality of study

In designing and carrying out a study it is essential to consider quality to ensure the study has strong methodological foundations to merit the time which is kindly given by the participants. Charmaz (2006) presents four criteria—credibility, originality, resonance,

usefulness—by which to assess the quality and value of a constructivist grounded theory study:

- To ensure *credibility* the analysis and results are presented in rich detail, in five chapters (chapters 4 to 8), to demonstrate strong links between the data and the theory constructed from it. I strove to represent participants' narratives truthfully. The process of generating the grounded theory is clearly outlined in chapter four.
- The *original* contribution of the study is an insight into the role of occupation in the transition from using homelessness services to sustaining this tenancy. A core process—making a home—is identified in the theory (see section 6.2). This study advances the articulation of an occupational justice perspective within homelessness. It also adds to the body of knowledge within occupational science by furthering the understanding of disruption to everyday occupations.
- The study is grounded in the voices and perspectives of the participants to ensure the study *resonates* with the experiences of those who are transitioning from homelessness, sustaining their own tenancies or have returned to using homelessness services. Although staff working within homelessness services were also interviewed, there was a purposeful privileging of the participants with experience of homelessness in the ordering of the interviews and development of the grounded theory.
- A greater understanding of this process provides, when synthesised with the systematic review results, a *useful* foundation on which to design an occupational-based intervention to support individuals' transition from homelessness and sustain tenancies (see chapter 8).

In addition, Tracy (2010) suggests an additional four criteria—a worthy topic, rich rigour,

sincerity, ethical and meaningful coherence—to assess qualitative research:

- I propose the background, as set out in chapter one, and the gaps in the literature, identified in chapter two, situate the topic as *worthy*. The study findings have implications for homeless service delivery as well as occupational therapy practice. More effective tenancy sustainment would avert some of the human cost, as well as the financial cost, of homelessness.
- Remaining faithful to a constructivist grounded theory approach, and its methods of data analysis, theoretical sampling, and being reflexive, helped ensure *rich rigour* in the study.
- Holding a position of reflexivity throughout the process and acknowledging my position as a researcher with my background and experiences aimed to achieve *sincerity*. Transcripts were offered to all participants and I maintained an openness about the project, for example welcoming questions about any aspect of it when visiting services.

  Ethical approval was received for this study from the Faculty of Health and Human Science Research Ethics Committee, Plymouth University (see section 3.6.4). *Ethics* is not a discrete activity, it was considered throughout the study. I was conscious of being a guest in the lives of the participants, their homes and homelessness service settings so was very flexible about meeting times and locations. I judged when to probe but prioritised an individual's comfort over data collection and focused on ending interviews on a positive note. It was important to me to ensure that participants could share their stories and not leave the interview with a sense of personal failure about the process of becoming homeless.

3.8 Critical reflections on the study methodology

To conclude the methodology chapter, this section will provide a critical reflection on the project design and methodological decisions that influenced the research. It will situate my positionality as researcher in terms of my personal values, beliefs, background and profession to provide an understanding of the dynamics of the research and how the research was shaped (Merriam *et al.*, 2001).

3.8.1 The study design

As outlined in section 1.4, I came to the study with a background of volunteering with a soup run for people who were experiencing homelessness. This reflects my personal commitment to respect individuals and make a small difference in whatever way possible. In addition, it introduced me to the impact of homelessness on the everyday lives and identities of persons, and the significant role charitable and voluntary organisations play for people who have experience of homelessness. This personal interest led me to working professionally in the area as an occupational therapist, as part of teams to support individuals with multiple health needs. I recognised the value of occupation as a means to wellbeing, and participation, for individuals within a complex homelessness system. I was motivated by a desire to bring the potential of occupation to the fore in homelessness, and in particular, empower people to establish and maintain tenancies. I believe this complemented my personal position of wanting to instil change and respecting individual difference. Although constrained to an extent by the professional role of an occupational therapist in a health service, in particular imposing on who could and could not be referred, the role allowed for a great deal of flexibility and creativity to work in collaboration with staff in homelessness services, outside of the statutory services. This particularly motivated me, as well as the freedom to work in an occupation-based way, over time, with persons as they transitioned from

homelessness. This experience provided me with, to an extent, the position of insider when carrying out this research so I had an appreciation of the process of leaving homelessness and allowed rapport to be developed quickly, which facilitated data collection. Yet I was also coming to the study as an outsider—as a researcher fulfilling my own agenda of pursuing a degree which has power and status attached to it. On reflection, this appeared to have more of an impact on the staff interviewees as many questioned if the information they provided was sufficient and they wanted to draw on my knowledge. I constantly engaged in reflection, recorded in my research journal, to balance this role of insider and outsider in the research process.

Simeon (2015) proposes that positionality is never fixed and stable but fluctuates according to context, feelings, and ideas expressed and this most closely reflected my experience throughout the research process as I navigated being an occupational therapist and occupational scientist. Both share a common interest in understanding human occupation and the relationship between health and occupation. Situating the study within occupational science alone, would have grounded the research more deeply to explore the meaning of occupations for people with experience of homelessness, how occupations are facilitated and inhibited as well as the impact of transitions on occupations. This is in keeping with my fundamental belief in the value of occupation within homelessness. However, as outlined, I also came to this research as an occupational therapist, wanting to inform practice and service delivery. Occupational therapy is more traditionally situated within health services research, predominantly grounded in positivist/post-positivist conceptualisations of science (Farias Vera, 2017). Following the MRC guidance on the development, evaluation and implementation of complex interventions, guided the research to identify existing evidence and develop

new theory. Systematic reviews tend to promote, by their rigorous methods, an objective reality, somewhat detached from the researcher and social construction, and more aligned with a post-positivist epistemology. This created discomfort at times for me in the research process, as I simultaneously held a constructivist stance. Epistemologically the constructivist grounded theory approach explicitly assumes that there is an interpretive portrayal of the studied world, not an exact picture of it (Charmaz, 2006). It acknowledged my role as occupational therapist as researcher, and as the researcher, I worked with the participants to actively construct the data to access the meaning of experiences. Although the study design held a complementary strengths approach and kept the integrity of each study intact; as a PhD student I felt a struggle of shifting positionalities. This created a feeling of being drawn between two worldviews, as I questioned approaches, whilst trying to develop an identity of a researcher in the PhD process. The struggle was reconciled by holding a pragmatic approach which allowed me to embrace the complexities and acknowledge their influence on the study design. As this study is not solely situated within occupational science, but is situated in the professional stance of occupational therapy and development of complex interventions, it may not have captured the depth of occupational experiences and meaning, that may have been explored with a different methodology. However the study was strengthened by explicitly situating it within a practice and 'complex intervention' context whilst drawing on occupational science.

The context of the study and stakeholder perspectives influenced the research design. As well as the individuals with experience of homelessness, and services who support them, in planning a potential occupational therapy intervention, beyond this immediate work, the source of future funding was a consideration. Funding authorities within

health have an underlying positivism, and place a value on systematic reviews. Mixed methods studies are common as outlined in section 3.1.1, and maintaining the complementary strengths of each study type can characterise complex phenomena more fully than either alone (Curry *et al.*, 2013). They are increasingly recognised as useful to support development, implementation and evaluation of interventions as a strategy to address the complexity of healthcare questions (Sandelowski *et al.*, 2012). This study although exploratory at one level because there lack of knowledge on the transition from homelessness to a tenancy from an occupational perspective, and holds an occupational justice standpoint, it is still set within the health service research. This led to some challenges in aligning the research paradigms and whilst acknowledging these tensions, I drew on a pragmatic approach to bridge the divide. Pragmatism accepts that both observable phenomena and subjective meaning can provide acceptable knowledge depending on the research question.

3.8.2 The interview process

To ensure the results are potentially transferable by readers to other settings, it is important to present a critical reflection on the sampling and interview process to acknowledge its boundaries. Participants were recruited through gatekeepers in homelessness services. Therefore all persons interviewed in the study, were accessing support, to different degrees and were known by the gatekeepers. This recruitment strategy excluded individuals who were not using services at the time of the study, including those in 'at risk' tenancies. As described in section 2.5, individuals experience a complex pattern of movement from homelessness to precarious housing situations and 'hidden homelessness' and the recruitment process of this study does not fully capture this. Although the soup run was included in an attempt to recruit individuals at different stages of this complex movement, this was not successful, as reflected upon in

section 3.6.7. In terms of gender, only five of the twenty nine participants were female, which under-represented the ratio of women who experience homelessness as a whole. However it accurately reflects individuals who experience multiple exclusion homelessness who are predominantly single men (McDonagh, 2011). Only single women were interviewed—persons who experienced homelessness as part of a family unit were excluded from the study. Although this omitted a specific group of people, family homelessness can have different causes and consequences, and as a result different support needs are implied. Similarly persons under the age of 18 were not included and this is reflected in the service types and settings that were invited to take part.

To access participants who had moved into their own tenancies, services that provided tenancy support services were asked to be part of the study. The 12 people in their own place at the time of interview were renting from a private landlord, council or social housing organisation. No tenancy support services were provided by Housing First. All participants who were using homelessness accommodation services at the time of interview had experience of being a tenant in their own place. The study sought to recruit a group of individuals who had experience of homelessness, and chronic physical or mental ill-health, problematic substance misuse or institutional care, but did not specify more details. Gatekeepers recruited individuals to the best of their knowledge, or assumptions, in relation to complex needs. Although the study did not set out to gather specific background information on health issues, participants revealed issues or diagnoses in their interview narratives, and these were followed up on, as appropriate. However details, collected more systematically, on multiple exclusion homelessness would have added a fuller description of participants, to enhance the study's transferability. In keeping with constructivist grounded theory, the strategy of

theoretical sampling was used to gather more data to develop the emerging category 'settling into a home', as described in section 3.6.5. Towards the end of the recruitment process, I was unable to access individuals who were in their own tenancies from existing gatekeepers and so I approached another tenancy support project in a different geographical area. Yet within the hostel, an original setting, numerous persons continued to meet the inclusion criteria, reflecting the number of individuals with multiple exclusion homelessness who access accommodation services.

Semi-structured interviews using reflexive photography were the main data collection method in this study for participants with experience of homelessness. An interview guide with some broad open ended questions, in keeping with a grounded theory approach, developed for the ethics committee application, is included in appendix 7. In practice, however, the interviews were contextual and the majority were initiated and guided by the photographs taken by the interviewees. The visual images provided an insight into types of occupations, possessions and places the participants valued. Follow up questions and prompts enabled a deeper understanding of the meaning interviewees ascribed to these images and occupations, as well as how this might have changed as they transitioned into and out of homelessness and tenancies. On reflection, when attending to occupation within homelessness—in which people are at risk of occupational deprivation and alienation as a result of their situations—the interview guide could be critiqued for not placing sufficient emphasis on an in-depth exploration of the function and meaning of occupations. Constructivist grounded theory, as a method which prioritises process, revealed the occupational nature of the transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy and the critical role of occupational strategies in making a home. However, placing a greater emphasis on questions to garner more specific experiences of occupational engagement during the transition may have

increased the focus on occupation. It is acknowledged that this could also have been gained by using a different methodology, for example, phenomenology, but the unique contribution provided by this grounded theory study on the process of transition to tenancy sustainment would not have been captured.

Much consideration was given to the placement of staff interviews within the data analysis process. As the participants had been supported by staff in their transition from homelessness or within services, I felt it was important to attend to the wider context and include staff interviews. It is acknowledged that there would have been merit in analysing the staff interviews separately, to allow for a separate representation of their views about the process of transitioning from homelessness. However, in attending to the power differential that can be experienced by service users, it was decided to privilege the personal experience of homelessness. Therefore the staff interviews were analysed to further refine the categories revealed from the service user interviews and develop the substantive theory.

3.9 Conclusion

This chapter described the convergent mixed methods study design of this thesis, in the context of developing a complex intervention, to explore tenancy sustainment following homelessness. The methodology and methods used in the systematic review study and the constructivist grounded theory study were explained. The chapter concluded by outlining the data collection process as well as the ethical conduct of the study. The next chapter, chapter four, will describe the process of data analysis which resulted in the generation of a substantive grounded theory—the findings of which will be discussed in the following two chapters. Chapter seven will present the findings and discussion of the systematic review.

CHAPTER 4
GENERATING THE GROUNDED THEORY

In this chapter I will describe the process of generating the grounded theory about the process of moving from using homelessness services to one's own home for people who experience multiple exclusion homelessness. The data analysis process follows constructivist grounded theory guidelines as proposed by Charmaz (2014), outlined in section 3.4.3. Coding, initial line by line coding and focused coding, is the link between collecting the data and developing an emergent theory to explain the data. Memo writing provided the tool to capture my developing analytical thoughts about codes, emerging categories and the links between them, during the data analysis process. Finally, I used theoretical sampling as a strategy to explicitly saturate theoretical categories. This chapter will conclude by outlining the theory, which I have called 'making a home following homelessness'.

4.1 The participants

Data collection took place over 15 months (December 2015-February 2017). Thirty seven interviews were carried out with 35 participants. This included 29 interviewees with experience of homelessness (two met me for a second interview) and six staff members. Data collection can be viewed in three phases, as represented in figure 4.1 below:

– *Phase one* included the first ten interviews which I coded in detail to get an understanding of the key processes that I wanted to follow up on.

– *Phase two* included interviews with 19 individuals as well as recruitment for the longitudinal aspect of the study (see section 3.5.4). This resulted in two follow up interviews—the process is described in more detail in section 4.2.2. Analysis continued throughout the data collection process. Focused codes were compared against large sections of uncoded interviews to check that the emerging patterns reflected the data. Phase two also involved theoretical sampling to further saturate categories (see section 3.6.5).
– *Phase three* included the six staff interviews which helped saturate the theoretical categories.

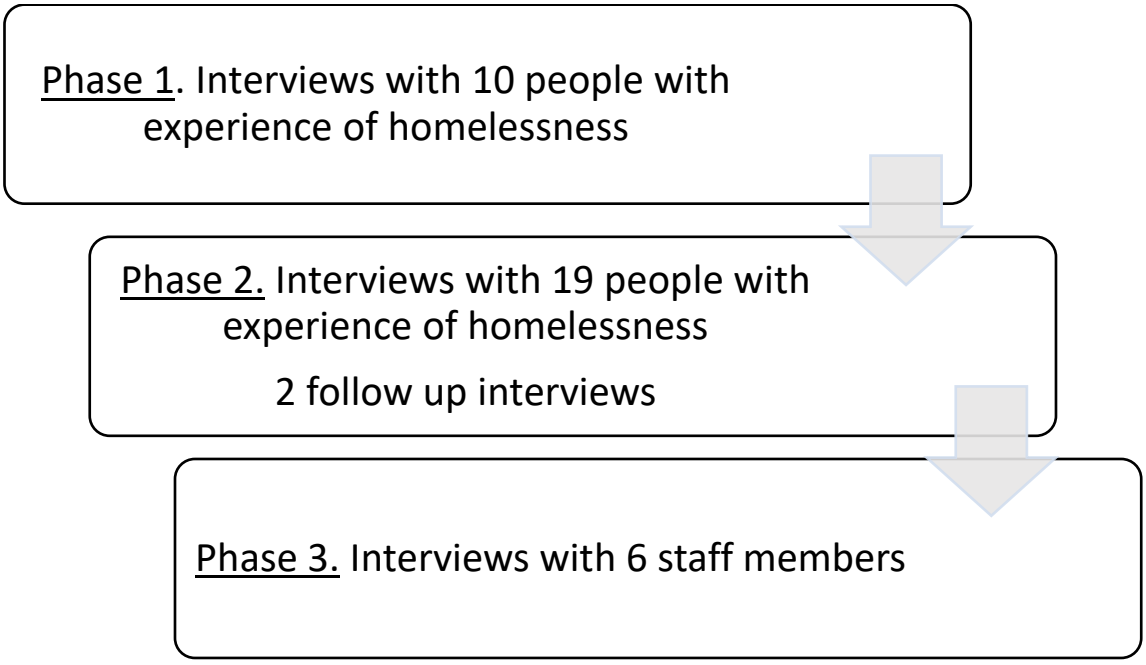


Figure 4.1. Number of people interviewed at the three phases of data collection

4.1.1 Characteristics

Of the 35 people who participated in the study, 29 had personal experience of homelessness and the remainder were staff. Those who were using or had formerly used homelessness services ranged in age from 20 to 67 and five were women. Eight persons were recruited in Ireland and 21 in the English city. There was one follow up interview

in each country. All staff were UK based, although staff from an Irish service were invited to participate. At the time of the interview, 12 people were in their own accommodation, 16 were using hostel accommodation and one person was in a supported housing project (see tables 4.1 and 4.2 for more details).

Participant number	*Name*	*Gender*	*Age*	*Location at time of interview*	*Duration of time at that location*
1	Rico	Male	26	Hostel	2.5 months
2	Amy	Female	20	Hostel	2 months
3	Sandra	Female	33	Supported housing	2 months & 12 months*
4	Roxy	Male	42	Hostel	2 months
5	Richard	Male	25	Hostel	1 month
6	Daniel	Male	44	Flat	3 months
7	Xenophon	Male	41	Flat	4 months & 9 months*
8	Brian	Male	36	Flat	3 months
9	Garfield	Male	50	Flat	5 months
10	Harold	Male	64	Flat	6 years

*Follow up interview

Table 4.1. Characteristics of participants interviewed in phase 1

Participant number	*Name*	*Gender*	*Age*	*Location at time of interview*	*Duration of time at that location*
11	Bernice	Female	42	Flat	4 months
12	Timothy	Male	20	Hostel	2 months
13	Lily	Female	62	Flat	3 months

14	David	Male	58	Hostel	12 months
15	Snoop	Male	30	Hostel	3 months
16	Celeana	Female	21	Hostel	18 months
17	Michael	Male	40	Hostel	3 months
18	Ivor	Male	61	Flat	8 months
19	Eddie	Male	58	Hostel	12 months
20	Ozzric	Male	45	Hostel	2 months
21	William	Male	38	Hostel	2.5 months
22	Matt	Male	26	Hostel	1 month
23	Stan	Male	31	Hostel	2 months
24	Edgar	Male	31	Hostel	5 months
25	Harry	Male	28	Hostel	2 months
26	Islam	Male	32	Hostel	4 months
27	Tony	Male	58	Flat	2.5 years
28	Sean	Male	67	Flat	4 years
29	Joe	Male	54	Flat	3 years

Table 4.2. Characteristics of participants interviewed in phase 2

Within phase three of the data collection process, all six participants were staff members with a range of experience in the area of homelessness from 1.33 years to over 30 years. Table 4.3 presents more details on the staff interviewed.

Participant number	*Name*	*Current job title*	*Years of experience*

30	Aidan	Development manager	Over 30 years
31	Maud	Support co-ordinator	5 years
32	Carol	Employment and training support worker	1.33 years
33	Liz	Support worker	10.5 years
34	Rita	Support worker	19 years
35	Martyn	Support worker	12 years

Table 4.3. Characteristics of participants interviewed in phase 3

4.1.2 Participant vignettes

Within constructivist grounded theory we acknowledge that participants understand and interpret their experiences based on their backgrounds, situations and perspectives (Charmaz, 2014). A very brief background (pen portrait) of the participants garnered from their narratives during the interviews is included in appendix 28 to help place their experiences in context.

4.1.3 Transitions through homelessness

The cyclical and episodic nature of homelessness has long been recognised (Clapham *et al.*, 2014; May, 2000; Mayock, Sheridan & Parker, 2015; Thompson *et al.*, 2004) and this was apparent across the interviews. It was Matt's third stay at the hostel—he had previously stayed there in 2009 and 2012, when aged 19 and 22. He had moved from the hostel to various private rented flats, been to prison, stayed with friends and with family. He, most recently, had stayed with an aunt for over seven months but things, as he described, 'kicked off' (Matt, line reference 180) and he had to leave. Although Harold (age 64) had been in his current flat for six years, he described a history of over 40 years of rough sleeping and hostel use across the UK, as well as staying with family and in supported temporary housing for short periods intermittently. This dynamic (non-

linear) process of moving between homelessness services, hostels and supported housing, rough sleeping, private rented accommodations, stays with friends and family members, as well as spells in prisons and hospitals was a common narrative shared by the majority of participants. In some situations, the moves were imposed, for example being evicted or asked to leave services, prison release dates and relationship breakdowns. Garfield became homeless at the age of 48, when he was evicted by bailiffs for rent arrears. As he was the sole occupant of a two-bedroom house, his rent had increased because of a reduction in his Housing Benefit Entitlement due to the Bedroom Tax (Spare Room Subsidy) introduced in 2013. Harry, who returned to the hostel when friends with whom he was staying temporarily 'kicked me out for no random reason' (Harry, 244), illustrated the precarious arrangement of 'sofa surfing'. In other cases, participants made a proactive decision to leave a living situation and return to homelessness services. Amy, aged 20, was using the hostel for the third time. She described how she decided to leave a flat she shared with a boyfriend in another city, with 'just the clothes on my back' (Amy, 340) because of the level of drug use and feelings of neglect. Rico was also a returnee to the hostel, after two years. On this occasion, Rico recalled asking the probation service to place him somewhere other than the private rented flat he had been staying in as he felt he 'couldn't handle it' (Rico, 207). He described having no electricity or gas and spending all day in bed.

4.2 Data analysis

As described in the introduction to this chapter, the process of data analysis was guided by the approach proposed by Charmaz (2014). Analysis began from the very first interview and continued until writing up this thesis, as insights continued to develop. The analysis process is not a linear process and therefore is challenging to represent

chronologically. However, for this chapter, I based it roughly on the three interview phases (see section 4.1), using the key features of grounded theory – initial line by line coding, focused coding, memos, mapping and theoretical sampling. These techniques will be explained during the discussion. I must point out that, although I am presenting the analysis in three phases, they were not completely distinct and I moved between all the interviews when using the constant comparative methods of grounded theory (see section 3.4.2).

4.2.1 Phase one interviews

Coding is the link between collecting the data and developing an emergent theory to explain the data. The initial coding was at the level of line by line, whereby I used gerunds to define actions and meaning in small sections of data. As mentioned in section 3.6.6, I began this process on NVivo for my original interviews. The first two interviewees, Rico and Amy, had both recently returned to the hostel setting, where there was a sense of valuing the clean place, the food and staff, with some mixed views about fellow residents. An example of the line by line coding of an excerpt from Rico is in table 4.4.

Initial narrative to be coded	*Examples of line by line codes*
I: When you were living in your own place, did you have any sort of support? P: No, I didn't have no discipline. I had probation but I wasn't even turning up to my probation meetings like, I was just, sleeping—sleeping all day and didn't really care—I was	Having no discipline Avoiding meetings when in flat Sleeping all day Lacking motivation

just, didn't care about myself then…so… I: What's different now? [in hostel] P: [Pause] it's just a cleaner house, I got the support here, I got good people around me, [pause] courses, I get my food and that and it's just, it's just a whole, like, place and that. A lot of people complain but, it's what you make of it really…	Not caring about self Appreciating the nice environment of hostel Valuing support of 'good people', food Making the most of it Witnessing others complain

Table 4.4. Initial line by line coding of excerpt from Rico's interview

During initial coding, I was coding to capture process, trying to see what was significant for the person. Rico, for example, was contrasting his life in the hostel to when he was in his last flat. He also contrasted himself to others in the hostel who he sees as complainers. As well as comparing within interviews, I compared across interviews to find similarities and differences. An excerpt from Sandra's interview is in table 4.5 and although she had appreciated the hostel initially (like Rico), because it provided her with a room when she needed it, she raised other issues. She described how she did not fit but had no choice but to stay. She very strongly felt that she was expected to have problems in a 'one cap fits all' approach (Sandra, 1872-1873).

Initial narrative to be coded	*Examples of codes*
P: It's like I didn't fit—it like they have got a system in place they have to… I: And you didn't feel like you fitted in? P: No [laughing] you have to stay here, you have to have some problems to work through. That's how it seems, that's how its presented and not officially presented but what I	Feeling didn't fit Having to stay Having no choice Perceiving you are expected to have

mean is again it's the same kind—you get this feeling that you are meant to be incapable of work, that's the feeling I get from the places. You are meant to be [pause] it's the same where I am at ____, as well as the ____, it seems like because that's often was is the situation when you are there, they—they make this cap that fits everybody—that doesn't fit everyone, basically trying to push it on everyone so they have got a set system, you are meant to stay there and have problems that need working through and some people are just relatively normal people and they don't have all these problems that you have to work through. They just really want to get a home and they don't really help and encourage you to get a home, really. They do eventually refer you on to the next stage which is supported accommodation but they don't—it takes some time and it's like they have their own pace they want to do it and I always got the impression that they were meant to be—from the kind of things that you see up on the wall it seems to me like it's meant to be—meant to be a lot more help I think for getting a place. You see what I am saying…	problems Being judged to be incapable of work Experiencing this in both services Perceiving one cap to fit everybody Being pushed into set system Feeling you have to stay and have to have problems Having to wait Getting referred on eventually Perceiving being controlled by hostel pace Experiencing less actual help than that advertised in hostel

Table 4.5. Initial line by line coding of excerpt from Sandra's interview

Comparing interviews identified the complexity of using the hostel – the lack of choice resulting in having to use the services but this can feel controlling. Box 4.1 is an early memo about the hostel, which, for the majority of participants, was a stage in the process of transition.

Early memo written on using the hostel – tricky balance
Listening has reinforced for me the value of safety and the feeling of being cared for in the hostel –the pleasure of a clean bedroom. The use of the word sanctuary reflects, perhaps, the intensity of the experiences that brought people to using the hostel. So much more than just a roof especially when considering the experiences people came through - things breaking down and people feeling out of control. *A comment by Sandra about 'getting sucked into a lifestyle you don't intend' makes me think about what role does routine play in the hostel? What do staff think about routine? How is help balanced with enabling? I know the word 'enable' is coming from my occupational therapy thinking but I can treat it as a sensitising concept – an*

initial but tentative idea to pursue. How can you enable within an institution? How important is it for the process of transitioning away from the service?

Box 4.1. Example of an early memo about hostel – tricky balance

Within phase one, I carried out interviews with five people who were in their own tenancies. An example of initial coding is shown below in table 4.6.

Initial narrative to be coded	*Examples of line by line codes*
P: I think it's a beautiful view [laughs] I really do because—because really when you have had nothing. I mean the other view is just leading down—looking down onto _____ street but they are not very good views but I mean the other side is beautiful views but now to me that is a good view and I can see the water behind this thing P: All the little things I have [SHOWS PHOTO] which I built up I: When you moved in first Harold did you have any of them P: No, I just bought everything. Yes, yeah because Joe—Joe and me went and got the bed because I mean what I did—I saved money, even though I was in the hostel I put money away each week. Even today Joe takes some of my money which he still saves for me when I ask him to. And I mean—yeah I mean [pause] and to have these things is just—I mean to have actually your—it's like the computer and the telly and the things like that and it's just, I didn't have these things before	Asserting opinion about view Acknowledging others would see differently Appreciating because of what been through Showing off all possessions Being able to gather things Getting help to buy Saving money despite being in hostel Getting ongoing help with money Valuing being able to have things Comparing the present to the past

Table 4.6. Initial line by line coding of excerpt from Harold's interview

Drawing on the most significant and/or frequently occurring initial codes progressed focused coding. This allowed for an iterative process, sifting more quickly through large amounts of data. For example, I checked a code 'comparing past to present', that came up in Harold's coding, against the other interviews. It prompted the following memo, (box 4.2).

Early memo written on being in one's own place - does past matter?
What impact does a person's past have – does having a past identity of neighbour, or a 'local' make the transition easier? What if that identity does not match at all with current situation (like for Garfield)?

Is there a sense of things being more important because of past experiences? For example, hitting rock bottom?

Box 4.2. Early memo on being in one's own place – does past matter?

4.2.2 Phase two interviews

I treated focused codes as tentative theoretical categories, to develop and scrutinise them. Categories 'explicate ideas, events, or processes in your data—and do so in telling words' (Charmaz, 2014, p.189). Categories can subsume themes or patterns. An early mind map (see figure 4.2), created when I was at the start of phase two interviews illustrates the tentative categories I had raised from focused codes.

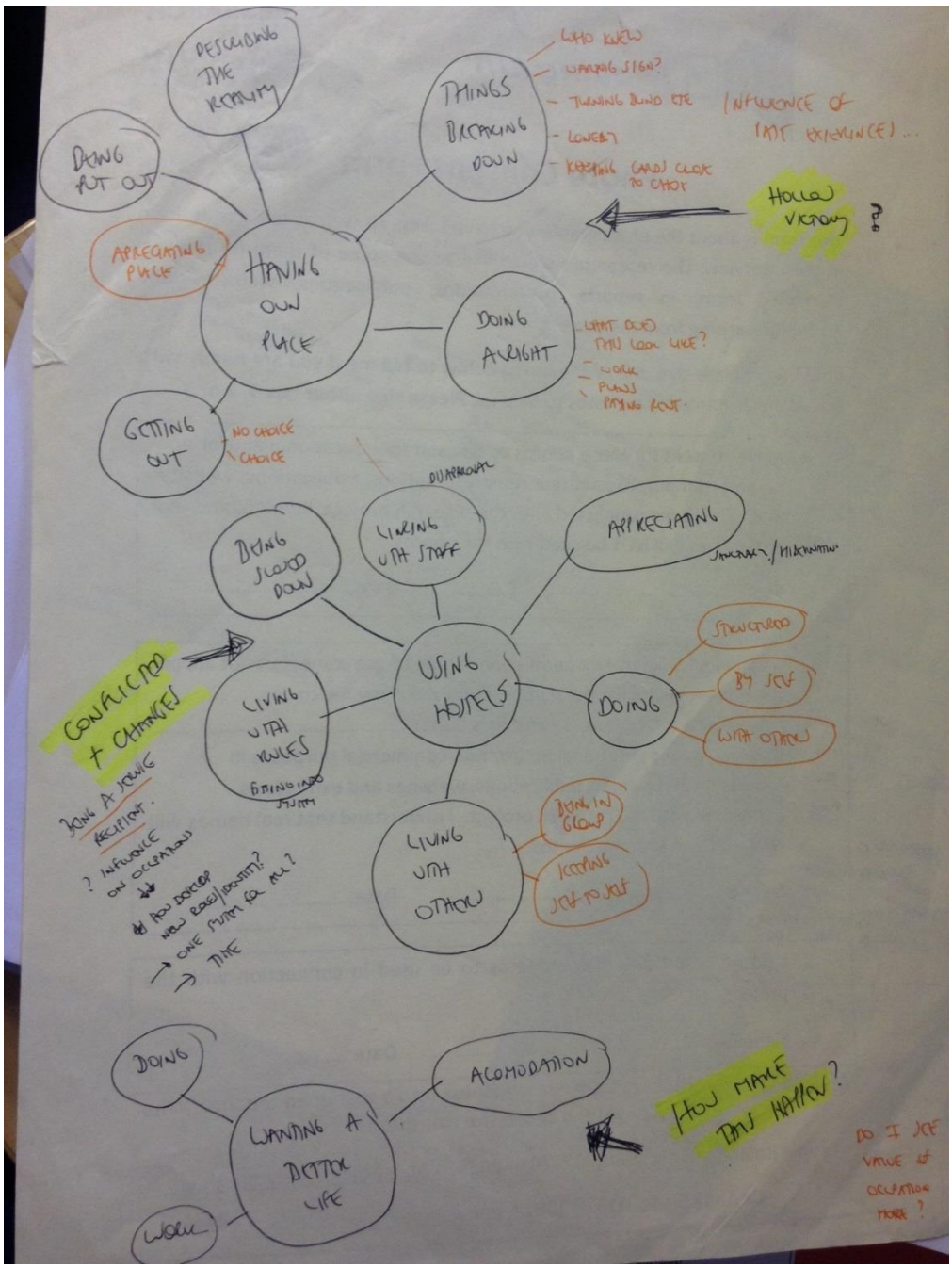


Figure 4.2. Tentative categories at beginning of phase 2 interviews

As theoretical categories were being developed, I could include some questions in my later interviews to check the emerging categories. Examples of questions included 'what does doing alright mean to you?'; 'what does a bad day look like?'; 'what has helped you settle?'; 'tell me about a good day, what did you do with your time?' When considering the categories I also went back to other interviews and found it really useful to move

between interviews to look at patterns. Looking for similarities and differences in the analysis deepened the analysis. An early mind map (figure 4.3 below) about using hostels prompted me to think about moving on from them and building links between concepts.

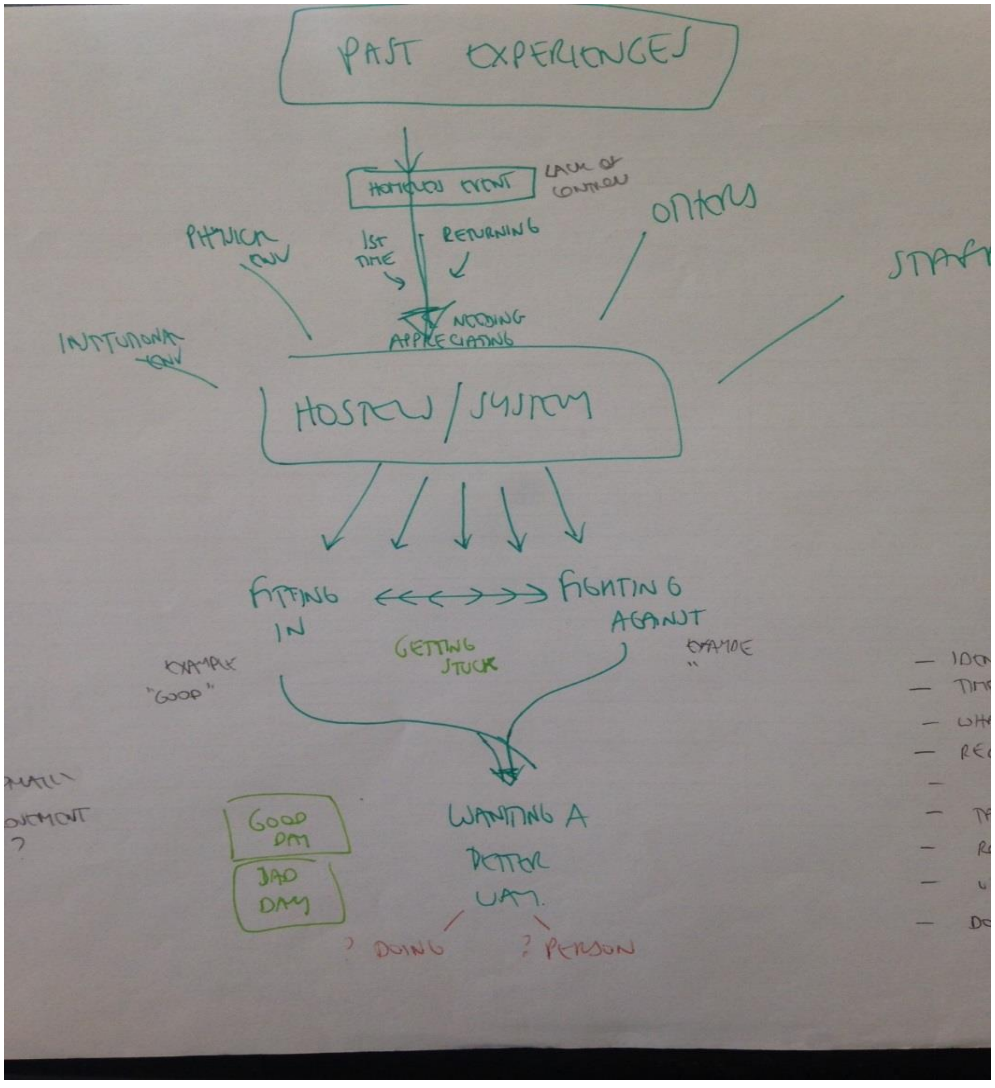


Figure 4.3. Early diagram on the process of using hostels

Phase two interviews helped me realise the magnitude of navigating the hostel system and the need to map it onto the other developing categories (see figure 4.4). As a result of the remaining interviews in phase two, using the hostel system (entitled Navigating Homeless System in the final version of theory) and its sub-categories/dimensions

became part of—earned their place—in the process. Chapter five will present them in more depth.

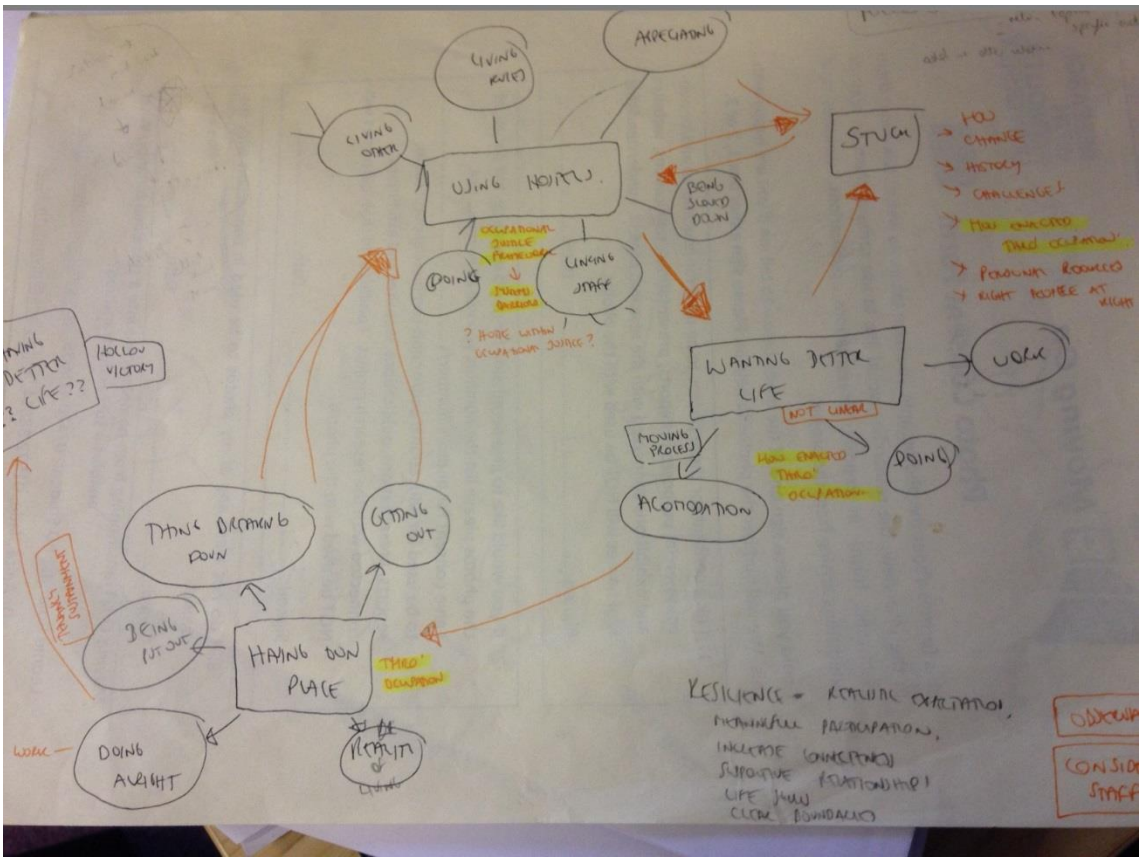


Figure 4.4. Diagramming developing theoretical categories

As data collection and data analysis progressed through phase two, a category of 'feeling at home' was emerging. However, while recruitment was still strong from the hostel, I identified a need to saturate the category with data from interviews with people who were successfully maintaining a tenancy. As described in section 3.6.5, theoretical sampling enabled the seeking of pertinent data to develop the properties of the theoretical categories and help clarify relationships between them. In particular it clarified the strategies that enable the core process of making a home. To address the research question—what is the role of occupation in facilitating the transition—I needed to re-engage with occupational science beliefs and sensitising concepts to support or

refute the role (see box 4.3).

Memo written on occupation – how do we talk about it
Just wondering am I capturing occupation as that is part of my research questions – what is the role of occupation in sustaining a tenancy? How do we talk about it? How do people explain it? How do we capture it? Must go to the occupational science literature to consider occupation to help clarify my ideas about role of occupation.

Box 4.3. Memo - how do we talk about occupation?

Without forcing the data into special occupational concepts, comparing different individual's experiences, made me realise that people use strategies when they move into a new place to make a home. These include 'putting your stamp on the place', 'seeing a new self' and 'living the life' (figure 4.5).

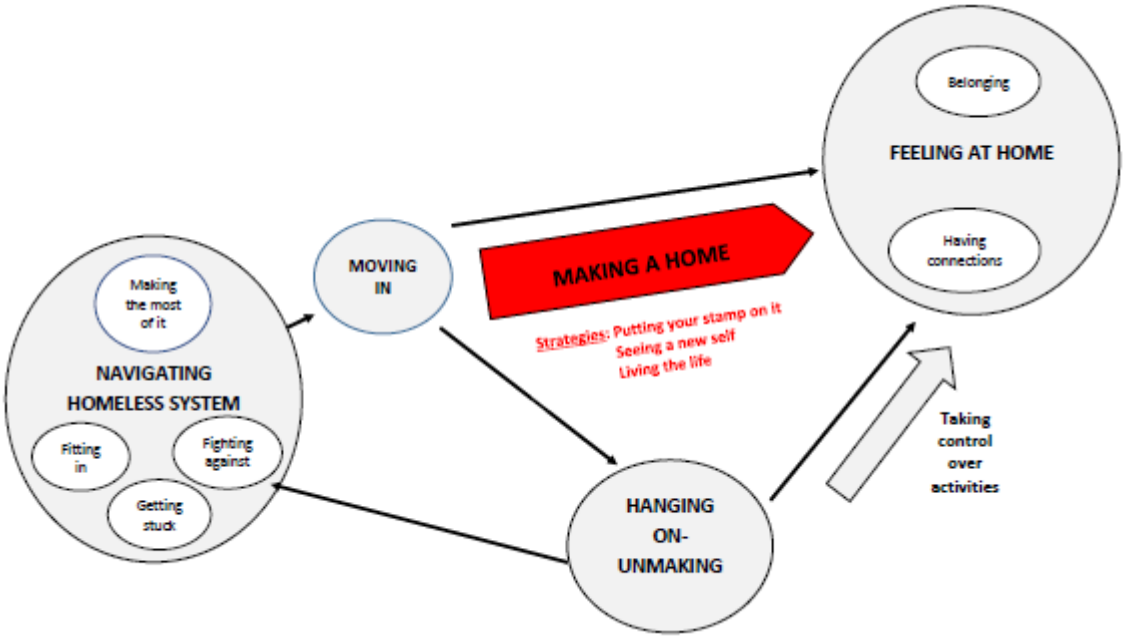


Figure 4.1. The developing process of making a home

4.2.3 Phase three interviews

The opportunity to interview staff in phase three allowed me to check and elaborate on the categories as well as the relations between them. The interviews with staff members further refined the properties of the theoretical categories. Questions were altered

slightly to include a question about the process of an effective working relationship to support people leave homelessness. In addition, more informally, I discussed the emerging theory with two participants who I met when visiting a soup run as well as via email contact with another participant who enquired how the project was going. They agreed and related to the process.

For the purposes of describing the theory, the core process **Making a Home** is bold and capitalised. The ***strategies*** that enact it are bold and italicised. The categories developed as part of the theory are presented underlined and the 'subcategories' are in inverted commas.

In the category Navigating Homeless System, I refined the sub-category 'fighting against' to become 'resisting'. In considering the context of the hostel, and the actions described, for example avoiding meetings and sneaking under the radar of rules, the mechanisms were less active than fighting and therefore more meaningfully represented as resisting. The crucial link between the homelessness system and tenancy sustainment was reinforced and the core process was conceptualised as **Making a Home** (see section 6.2). The categories were further elaborated on as staff reported the challenge of balancing support with encouraging individuals to be independent in an institutional setting. Within the mechanism of 'taking control of activities', the importance of seeking out, as well as accepting help, from staff members or other support networks was highlighted. No new properties emerged in the categories, indicating the completion of the conceptualisation of the theory named 'making a home following homelessness'**,** which will be explained in the following section.

4.3 The theory: Making a Home following homelessness

The constructivist grounded theory study was conducted to answer the research question 'what is the process of moving from using homelessness services to one's own home for people who experience multiple exclusion?' This section provides an overview of the substantive theory developed, entitled 'making a home following homelessness'. It is represented diagrammatically in figure 4.6. My analysis revealed a core process which enables a successful tenancy, which I have named **Making a Home**. This process is dynamic, as people move into a new place and negotiate, in many cases with support, being a tenant following being a user of services. In addition, participants bring with them their previous experiences (positive and negative) of having a tenancy and/or having a home. **Making a Home** moves beyond the initial moving into a tenancy to a stage when a person is feeling at home (see figure 4.6). In this analysis, feeling at home equates to tenancy sustainment or housing stability. Studying the transition, from an occupational perspective, the analysis considered how occupations were engaged in and/or disrupted; how they influenced the transition and how they helped gain control (Crider *et al.*, 2015). From a symbolic interactionist perspective, an important element of changing environments is the new meanings that people experience in the occupations that constitute their everyday lives. This study identified that it is through the performance of everyday occupations that people derive their meaning of place and this relationship between occupation, meaning and place is illustrated throughout the findings.

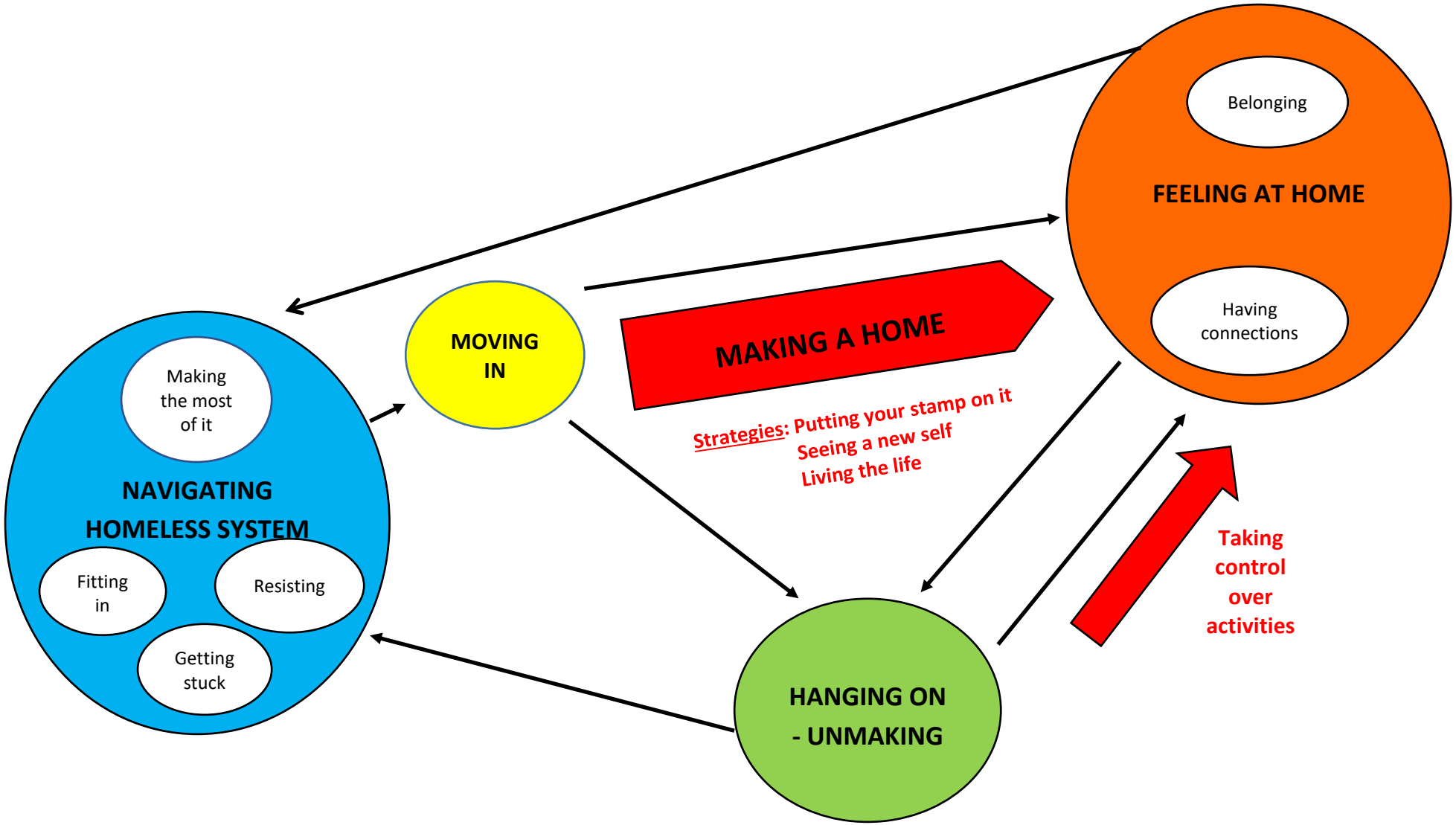


Figure 4.2. Diagrammatic representation of 'making a home following homelessness'

In this substantive theory, the strategies that are part of the core process **Making a Home** are ***putting your stamp on it, seeing a new self*** and ***living the life*** (as displayed in table 4.7.

Core process	*Strategies*
Making a Home	*Putting your stamp on it*
	Seeing a new self
	Living the life

Table 4.7. The strategies of the core process of **Making a Home**

Putting your stamp on it refers to the active process of adapting the physical environment to make it feel more like home. Participants described their efforts, in all standards of accommodation, to make their living space feel more homely with strategies including buying, borrowing and acquiring from skips. The second strategy of **Making a Home** was ***seeing a new self***. This refers to the construction of an identity fitting that of a tenant and the expectations attached to it. Moving beyond identity, ***living the life*** refers to having a consistent routine that enables the successful sustainment of a tenancy. These will be explained and discussed in more detail in chapter six (sections 6.2.1, 6.2.2, 6.2.3).

The core process of **Making a Home** leads to a person feeling at home which is the successful sustainment of their tenancy. 'Belonging' and 'having connections' are the essential sub-categories of this. 'Belonging' is the sense of connection to place, both to the flat itself and for others, to the wider neighbourhood. Feeling connected to other people is encapsulated in the dimension 'having connections'. The categories and sub-categories are presented in table 4.8.

Category	*Sub-category*
Feeling at home	'Belonging'
	'Having connections'
Navigating homeless system	'Fitting in'
	'Resisting'
	'Getting stuck'
	'Making the most of it'

Table 4.8. Categories and sub-categories of the process of **Making a Home**

As illustrated in figure 4.6 the stage hanging on - unmaking refers to when a tenancy is breaking down. Hanging on depicts a passive process in which the participants described things getting worse in the flat but not reporting any sense of control over this. Unmaking, on the other hand, includes an element of agency, in which participants took some ownership of the tenancy ending.

The continuation of the tenancy is influenced and enacted by participants taking control of activities including paying rent and bills, routines, addictions, roles, asking for help and making contacts. If a person feels less in control and loses their sense of mastery on the daily activities connected to making a home, this leads to 'hanging on - unmaking' and may result in losing or giving up the tenancy and returning to using homelessness services. Harold, a tenant who is feeling at home in his current tenancy but had a long history of homelessness, illuminated this when recalling a previous experience:

> And they put me in a flat but the support fell down. That meant I was staring at the walls 24 hours a day, nobody to talk to, nobody who I knew in the flats so then, I mean I had money saved… bought all of these flagons of cider, drunk them all, went up to—just left the key through the door. Didn't have no rent, just went back on the streets again. (Harold, 430-436).

The use of homelessness services is a key part of the process and the category is named navigating homeless system in the theory represented in figure 4.6. Consideration of the impact of service use on occupational engagement is fundamental to understanding personal experiences, as guided by the transactional approach (see section 2.2.1). Participants described experiences in a variety of accommodation projects including hostels, night shelters, supported housing, transitional/ move on accommodation settings as well as Bed and Breakfasts. Navigating the system consists of four sub-categories: 'fitting in', 'resisting', 'getting stuck' and 'making the most of it' (table 4.8). These subcategories will be discussed in chapter five but, in brief, 'fitting in' describes what people do and how they pass their time when living with other people and rules in staffed projects. The aspect 'resisting' includes things that people do to bypass the expectations and structure of the homeless accommodation system. 'Getting stuck' describes the experience observed by participants whereby they stayed longer than they had planned to. The final aspect is named 'making the most of it' to capture where participants describe taking the opportunities provided to them within the system.

The arrow between the categories feeling at home and navigating homeless system acknowledges that tenancy sustainment is not a finite state as tenancies can be lost and people can return to homelessness services. This is also represented through the stage hanging on - unmaking.

As discussed in section 3.5.4, the study included an element of longitudinal design and

follow up interviews were included in the analysis. To illustrate the core process of **Making a Home**, a brief pen portrait of Xenophon is outlined in box 4.4 below. This was compiled from his narrative, in conjunction with reflections and fieldwork notes from the visits.

At the time of my first interview with Xenophon he was in his new tenancy for about four months. Previous to this, he was using homelessness services for four years. Although he had wanted to move and proactively linked with services to get the flat, he called it a 'hollow victory'. He was glad to have 'escaped' the hostel, but was feeling a sense of isolation. He recalled how he got a table, chairs and curtains only because of the social pressure to have them. A tenancy support worker worked with him during this transition of moving in. He expressed anger at the lack of dignity and respect he received within the hostel service. Over the time using homelessness services, Xenophon gained much weight and he was very conscious of his body shape. He reviewed his interview transcript, confirming it represented what he said.

Five months later, I interviewed Xenophon at home. There was a much greater sense of him feeling at home. The strategies which are part of the process of **Making a Home** were evident in his narrative.

- ***Putting stamp on it*** – he was shopping for things for the flat, asked my opinion about frames he had bought and was saving to get paint for the wall.
- ***Seeing a new self*** – he spoke less about his time at the hostel and had stopped working with support worker; he had made links with old friends on social media and mentioned his weight to them; he was making plans for training in advocacy
- ***Living the life*** – he had taken part in comedy workshops and went to a music gig; a friend was coming to stay with him while visiting the city; he bought a Christmas gift for neighbour. He reported his only challenge was the contact from some mates who he met when homeless, who outstayed their welcome in the flat.

Box 4.4. Xenophon: Making a Home

4.4 Reflections on the data analysis process

The process of data analysis in grounded theory provided a systematic but flexible

approach to coding to follow leads from memos, compare between interviews, adapt questions asked, and theoretically sample. This flexibility allowed ideas that are grounded in the data to emerge but it also felt a bit overwhelming at the beginning of the process. On reflection, I spent too long on the line by line coding of interviews initially. As I became more confident, I moved more fluidly between line by line and focused coding, to explore an idea noted in a memo. The use of gerunds, i.e. words ending with 'ing' emphasising action, was familiar to me as an occupational therapist as we consider 'doing, being, becoming and belonging' as core dimensions of occupation (Hitch, Pépin & Stagnitti, 2014). I could also recognise their value in describing process. However, sometimes, I felt like I was pushing lines into a gerund for the sake of it and had to challenge myself to be more analytical in my coding. I used the support of my supervisors for this as well as much reading on the work of Charmaz and other researchers who used the grounded theory process.

A key principle of constructivist grounded theory is that data is co-constructed between the participant and the researcher (see section 3.4.2). This was one of the rationales for its selection as a methodology in this study. During the data analysis process I was very conscious of not overly imposing my view. I regularly attended to my assumptions and used them to critique my analysis. For example, was I only seeing a specific meaning because I, as an occupational therapist, wanted to? Discussing analytical ideas with colleagues outside of occupational therapy was also very useful to challenge this.

As recommended in the analytical process, I used the literature to help develop concepts, to compare and contrast my ideas. Reading from a range of literature about home, occupation and homelessness was very valuable in developing my concepts but it also brought me down paths in which I got side-tracked. However, returning to the

memos and developing categories helped move the analysis forward.

4.5 Conclusion

This chapter described my analytical process as I generated the substantive theory about the process of moving from using homelessness services to one's own home. An overview of the theory entitled 'making a home following homelessness' was outlined. The following two chapters of findings will present and discuss parts of the theory. The category navigating homeless system and its sub-categories will be discussed in the next chapter. Chapter six will explicate the core process of **Making a Home** and the category feeling at home.

CHAPTER 5
FINDINGS I. GROUNDED THEORY NAVIGATING THE HOMELESS SYSTEM

This chapter expands and discusses the category identifed in the substantive theory as navigating homeless system. During the analysis process (see section 4.2.2), the extent of the influence of services, and people's experiences of service use, on the process of transtioning from homelessness came to the fore. It became the largest category, with four sub-categories: 'fitting in'; 'resisting'; 'getting stuck' and 'making the most of it'. It is presented as a separate chapter to reflect the depth and richness of the category.

At the time of the interviews, 16 people were staying in hostels and one person was using supported accommodation (see section 4.1.1). This was not their first use of homeless service accommodation—they all had experience of their own tenancies but circumstances had led them to reusing hostels. This is represented in figure 4.6 as the process from hanging on - unmaking to navigating homeless system. People who experience homelessness negotiate a complex network of statutory and non-statutory services. These include accommodation (emergency and longer term), day centres, soup

runs, welfare and housing advice services and some specialist education and training services. As discussed in the introduction of the thesis (see section 1.3.2), homelessness is often the result of an interaction of risk factors, trigger events, cumulative life experiences and structural conditions (Gonyea & Melekis, 2016). Individuals can be linked with a range of health and social care services as well as the legal and criminal justice systems. For example, William was attending appointments with health, addiction and welfare services; Sandra with child protection and the legal system in relation to custody of her daughter, and Rico with probation services as well as healthcare.

In line with other studies (Bell & Walsh, 2015; Choi & Snyder, 1999), there was, for some participants, a sense of acceptance and relief in returning to the hostel:

> I don't think anyone really understands—appreciates this place unless you have been out on the streets and you have been homeless and you've been hungry because it's a roof over your head and a meal on the table and you can't [pause] mess with that. Its—I appreciate this place a lot because of what they do for us. (Amy 256-259).

> Unfortunately you can't stay here forever but… It's just [pause] you get the support, you get food, it's nice and cosy in your rooms, it's homely like. (Rico, 86-90).

Sharing themes with research on day centres for the homeless, interviewees expressed feelings of sanctuary (Bowpitt *et al.*, 2014), refuge (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2010) and being cared for (Biederman & Nichols, 2014). Considering the situations people had come from, including rough sleeping as well as failed tenancies, these emotions are very understandable. Yet, moving into a communal living setting, with staffing, rules and a set routine, was an adjustment and caused some frustration (Burns, 2016; Choi & Snyder, 1999), as illustrated by Roxy in figure 5.1.

Roxy, Image 12

> It was a bit of a shock to the system at first… Well, just the whole set up, like you know and the people [pause] the regime of it, like, the set meal times. I was never used to all that and I am still not used to like eating meals, like being told and that. (Roxy, 517-522).

Figure 5.1. Communal living in a hostel setting

Roxy acknowledged that you get used to it after a couple of weeks—'you blend in' (Roxy, 518) which echoes 'fitting in', one of the sub-categories that will be explored in more detail. The other dimensions are 'resisting' which includes trying to maintain a personal identity within a system; 'getting stuck' refers to the time spent in the hostel and 'making the most of it'.

5.1 Fitting in

To access the majority of services and receive resources, in particular accommodation and welfare services, individuals have to be recognised as homeless. It has been suggested that this identity can dominate all others, so individuals become engulfed by a homeless self-identity which is permeated with stigmatising notions of personal inadequacies (Gonyea & Melekis, 2016; Takahashi, McElroy & Rowe, 2002). In keeping

with the observations of Parsell (2011), although the homeless context influenced identity, participants in this study held individualized identities distinct from their homelessness. Identities included being a son (Alex); mother (Sandra); father (Garfield); painter/decorator (Matt) and fisherman (Daniel). These occupational identities, as proposed by Schell, Gillen and Scaffa (2014), are generated from experience and provide a sense of who one is and wishes to be. Cunningham and Slade (2017), in their study with people who are homeless, argue that we dynamically construct and adopt identities, so therefore being homeless can become part a person's identity.

'Fitting in' describes what people do and how they pass their time living in a hostel setting with rules and with other people. Occupations can be interactive and this was evident in the hostel. Co-occupation, as a concept, refers to how the occupations of one person are shaped by, and shape, the occupations of others (Pierce, 2009). Within the communal hostel environment, participants took part in some activities just to hang out with others. These tended to take place where people gathered, for example, the dart board was in the dining room, as shown in figure 5.2.

Amy, Image 9

> Yeah, quite a few people [play]. Depends who is in the kitchen and who is about and what time of day it is really because about soup time everyone starts playing pool and darts. (Amy, 171-178).

Figure 5.2. Playing darts with others in the hostel

A pool table was available in a sitting area. Amy, who hadn't played the game since her last stay at the hostel, noted that she plays it because it is part of what is done (see figure 5.3). For others, pool was associated with being bored:

> If I am bored I go down there, see who is down there. (Harry, 800).

> There are a few of us in the pool room at the minute that, you know, are bored all day long. (Stan, 570-571).

This sense of boredom and meaninglessness characterises occupational alienation—a form of occupational injustice (see section 2.1). The environment influences the meaningfulness of an occupation (Rebeiro, 2001); for many, pool and darts were a shared activity to fit in with others in communal spaces. Occupations are a medium for expressing self to others. In addition, people can manipulate their identity by the management of their occupations in social situations (Laliberte Rudman, 2002). Interestingly Snoop, who identified himself as being 'good at snooker' (Snoop, 601),

didn't take part:

> I had a go on it but it was like a bad table. (Snoop, 601).

Snooker held more meaning for Snoop than doing it just to fit in so he declined participation. However, for other participants, identifying with others through a shared activity helped alleviate boredom and contributed to identification of status based on group characteristics (Bell & Walsh, 2015).

Amy, Image 6

> On a day to day basis we play—I must play pool, about six, at least six or seven times a day. (Amy 137-138).

Figure 5.3. Pool playing as part of the daily routine in the hostel

There was a paradox related to routine in the hostel. The imposed routines were, for some, comforting but at the same time restricting. Imposed routines in the hostel, which were predominantly structured by meal times, as well as rules influenced the occupational routines of those staying there (Chard, Faulkner & Chugg, 2009). This could be viewed as the paradox of routine. Furthermore, the physical environment of bedrooms and shared communal spaces controlled and disrupted the opportunities for occupational engagement (Hocking, 2017), as indicated by the following comments:

> [Doing laundry] I think it's best to do it at night, about 10 o'clock at night because no one is using them then and then you get them done. Well, you don't get to bed until one in the morning but you can live with that, you know. (Roxy, 363-366).

> I would like to cook for myself and yeah, instead of being back at a certain time for tea and if you miss that, you go hungry. (Amy, 33-34).

The influence of the hostel on a person's occupational opportunities and engagement contributes to occupational deprivation (Whiteford, 1997); a form of occupational injustice (see section 2.1). Common among participants, and similar to findings in a recent study by Marshall, Lysaght and Krupa (2017), boredom was a feature of life in the hostel. Participants described spending long periods in their rooms, for example Edgar and Amy, in figures 5.4 and 5.5 respectively.

Edgar, Image 6

> Too much [television] is just sitting in your room all day and sometimes all night. Staying up until six o'clock. (Edgar, 626-631).

Figure 5.4. Watching television in own room, all day and sometimes all night

Amy, Image 1

> Just chilling in my mate's room, listening to some music, yeah… All day, every day. (Amy, 48-52).

Figure 5.5. Spending long periods of time in a friend's room in a hostel

In line with the concept of place, and how it impacts on the material form, and meaningfulness of a space (Williams & Sheehan, 2015), the meaning of occupations is also influenced by place. In the above examples, both Amy and Edgar associate television with killing time, which is in contrast to the meaning expressed by Harold and Timothy when watching televisions in their own tenancies (see section 6.3.1). At home, for them, watching television represented relaxation, choice, and control.

Within the hostel, participants had personally meaningful occupations that contributed to well-being (Thomas, Gray & McGinty, 2012) and were strategies for coping in their living environment. These include walking, reading (see figure 5.6) and diary writing:

> Well I takes walks every day or normally—the last couple of times when I have been robbed I—they have got a punch bag out the back—out the back. (Harry, 331-332).

Celeana, Image 6

Reading… Yeah, it keeps me nice and happy and sane in this place where there is loads of insane people (Celeana, 15-18). A lot of issues and things that have gone through my life – it was always the constant so it made me happy and it still makes me happy, especially when these lot start annoying me. (Celeana, 29-30).

Figure 5.6. Reading as a valued occupation

Diary writing was Amy's meaningful occupation, which helped her manage her feelings. She had kept a diary through a number of accommodation transitions but lost it at the time of her most recent move. Without it she described her hurt turning into anger:

> I broke my wardrobe door, yeah, but that's because everything that's going on I like to bottle it up. I don't like to talk about my problems because it hurts. (Amy, 481-483).

One hostel provided a varied programme of activities that included numeracy and literacy, cooking, outings, gardening, drama, as well as a range of sessions facilitated by visiting health and social care students. It also had a wood workshop facility. However, there was a mixed interest reported in attending sessions and fluctuating involvement in groups was observed within a hostel setting. This was similarly identified by Cunningham and Slade (2017). Participants who attended groups expressed pleasure, a

sense of achievement, and an increase in confidence, as shown by Rico (figure 5.7), Stan (figure 5.8) and Celeana (figure 5.9).

Rico, Image 10

[Volunteer] does cooking lessons Tuesdays and Thursdays. ….she gives me a shout if there are any spaces and yeah, I likes cooking. (Rico, 558-559).

Figure 5.7. Enjoying cooking lessons in the hostel

Stan, Image 3

The allotment is just a new thing that I have just got talked into... And now I've got—I have seen what its like, I will be alright there. (Stan, 431-433).

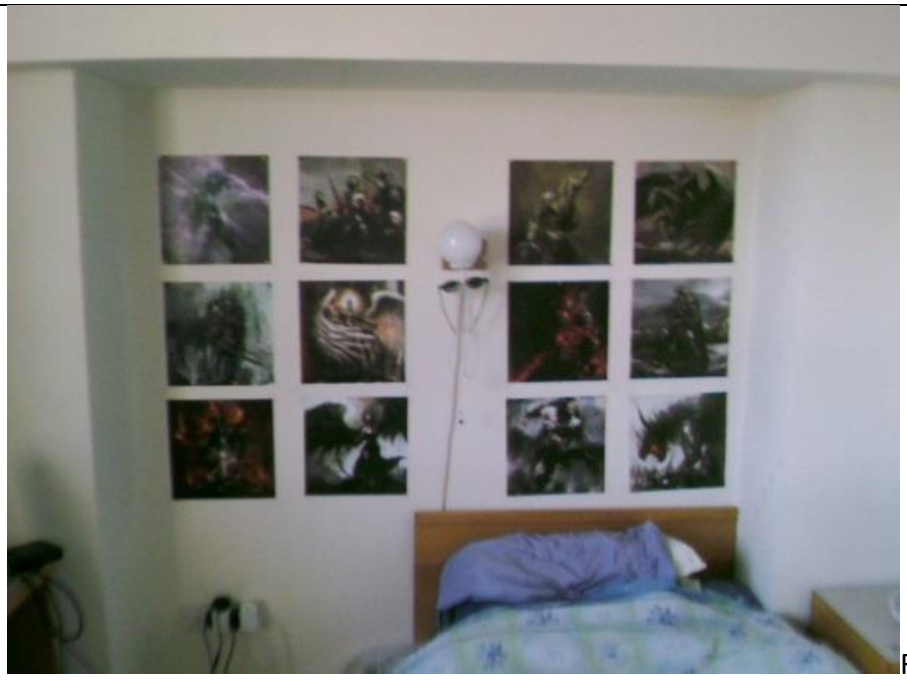
Figure 5.8. Getting involved in an allotment

Celeana, Image 11

[Described setting up a book club]We did a lot of posters, a lot of word of mouth and I just bribed people the first time because I bought loads of biscuits in. Therefore, I bought like digestives and caramel digestives and crisps and things… we start talking about what we are reading at the moment and then we start to have a discussion over one specific book. So we had a discussion on emigration because somebody was reading a book about that topic, so yeah, really good actually. (Celeana, 602-606).

Figure 5.9. Setting up a book club in the hostel

Another dimension of 'fitting in' revealed in the narratives was the hostel affording a sense of home. This is not unique to this study (Bell & Walsh, 2015; Datta, 2005; Tunåker, 2015). May (2000) observed that those with a lengthy history of rough sleeping and hostel use were more likely to describe hostels as home. However, Amy and Rico, aged 20 and 26 respectively, viewed the hostel as home for the sense of stability and security it afforded; as well as the relationships with staff built up over previous visits. They had both experienced transience in their teenage years due to foster care. Personalising one's bedroom, by decorating, made the hostel feel more like home, as described by Roxy, in figure 5.10.


Roxy, Image 7

So I put the calendar up. I done my whole wall for £1.50. You can't knock that, can you and it looks nice, don't it. (Roxy, 340-341).

Figure 5.10. Personalising hostel bedroom

Rico, Image 13

Yeah, my hamster, Buster I call him… He just keeps me company. I like looking after him, you know. (Rico, 624-628).

Figure 5.11. Keeping a pet hamster in the hostel

Interestingly, Roxy used the term 'put your own stamp on it' (Roxy, 307), similar to the

strategy, ***putting your stamp on it,*** that participants used in their own tenancies (see section 6.2.1). Although studies have indicated that it can be difficult to access homelessness accommodation settings that accept pets (Cronley *et al.*, 2009; Slatter, Lloyd & King, 2012), Rico was able to keep a hamster in his room. As outlined in figure 5.11, Buster, the hamster, provided companionship and a carer role. Similar findings about pet ownership as a meaningful occupation were observed in other studies with people who were homeless; pets provided company (Slatter, Lloyd & King, 2012) as well as a sense of responsibility and being needed (Labrecque & Walsh, 2011).

Outside of the privacy of bedrooms, hostel life is controlled by formal rules and routines, in addition to more informal norms associated with communal and service living. Bogard (1998) characterised hostels as total institutions in accordance with Goffman's (1961) asylum, within which individuals present themselves as victims and must demonstrate 'service worthiness' to show genuine need (Marvasti, 2002). Hostels are a time of transition, in which individuals embrace a better self by profaning the past, i.e. their decisions and behaviours (Meanwell, 2013). Practically, staff reward individuals who assume this role of 'submissive reformer' (Wasserman & Clair, 2010)—rewarded by tangible support if they stick to the rules (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2010). The language used in the following comments illustrates the power differential experienced by individuals staying in the hostel:

> You went back to the hostel… then if you were a good boy [laughs] you would end up—you would end up in flats, opposite the hostel and then crack on from there. (Ozzric, 613-615).

> Now you can stay here for so long and then, you know if you behave yourself you put your name down and when one comes up, you get considered for it. (Ivor, 258-260).

> You have got to prove to them that you can cut it really, living on your own.

(Stan, 414-415).

Conforming by providing answers that staff want to hear is an aspect of the role of 'submissive reformer'. This can negatively affect a therapeutic working relationship and staff members expressed awareness of this:

> But if I sort of pressure him in certain ways, he will just say whatever I want to hear. (Maud, 394).

Both Harry and Rico talked about wanting to get involved by asking staff:

> If I am bored I will ask the staff if they have got anything they want doing, like cleaning wise and then I helps them. (Harry, 362-363).

> Normally I just wait around here, [pause] just see if there's anything need doing like. I'll ask if there's some work in the kitchen and that or [pause] normally upstairs. (Rico, 107-108).

Offering help to staff could be interpreted as doing for recognition's sake as part of stigma management. However, from an occupational perspective, it could be a desire to engage in an occupation to achieve a sense of well-being within an environment in which there were limited options and a lack of personal control.

A sense of gratitude or necessity because of a lack of alternatives (Biederman & Nichols, 2014) resulted in people fitting into the hostel despite the negatives of it:

> You couldn't say—you can't say anything. You are *always* wrong. You don't complain. (Xenophon, 248). Until you find accommodation, you are trapped and the thing about it is that there is always a queue—you are just a number—there is always a queue of people there to replace you, you know. (Xenophon, 253-254).

> Try to ignore fights because there is so many fights in the homeless places and like, just count yourself lucky, maybe they will keep you —think that place is more important for you. Count yourself lucky that you are indoors, other people they are outdoors. (Bernice, 541-542).

Living with unpredictability because of social dynamics and addictions, like the fights Bernice commented on, is one of the most stressful aspects of hostel life (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2010). Staying away from others and seeking refuge in one's room are strategies used by participants:

> It is nice to be able to sit down and get away and sit in your room and [sighs] take a breather. Because its—because there are a lot of people here, it is all over the place. You can *feel* it sometimes and someone got some issue with someone and then you are in the dining room and you just know this is going to kick off and feel that and it does and then staff involved. (Islam, 874-881).

> There is so much that you witness and so much that you see, that you just physically you get to the point you try to keep yourself away from them but there is no feasible way because, you know, you stay in your room and you are surrounded by it. Yeah you have got a door, you can lock it and everything but you still got to go out there if you need the loo. You still got to go out there if you want a shower. You are still surrounded by it when you come down for your meals, so. (Celeana, 835-838).

Despite the tensions and in keeping with other hostel based studies, some participants felt a sense of belonging (Bell & Walsh, 2015) and connectedness (Holt, Christian & Larkin, 2012) in sharing meal times, smoking areas and communal areas:

> You know, it's nice too to have someone call you and you go down and meet up, have breakfast. Or when it is dinner time they will knock on my door 'Islam, come on lets go'. (Islam, 615- 617).

Yet, Islam showed an awareness of social control and a sense of agency in how he fitted into the system (Rayburn & Guittar, 2013):

> You just got to blend in—you just got to adjust to what it is here—to their rules. Different rules, different place, that's it. The system is the same. You know, as long as you keep yourself to yourself, you know. Treat people the way you want to be treated and it will be alright. (Islam, 66-69).

Others, like Rico, also referred to keeping themselves to themselves but it appeared to

be more on the level of self-protection:

> Some of the people, like—just moaning, trying to bully each other, you know, it's not good. You do get a lot of that here, but well, not a lot, but you get certain people who will try bully other people and I don't like that. No one likes a bully. I just stays away from all that, like, you know, keep myself to myself. (Rico, 286-289).

In summary, fitting into a hostel was enacted through shared activities, making bedrooms feel more homely, following rules, spending time in the privacy of one's own room in addition to keeping oneself to oneself. However, the complexities of being within a hostel and homelessness system also resulted in situations whereby individuals are 'resisting' the system.

5.2 Resisting

Hostels have rules and policies to create secure and safe living environments for the people staying and working in them. They tend to include a ban on alcohol and drugs on the premises, no smoking indoors as well as details about possible curfews or visitors. Formal rules enable staff to understand what behaviour is 'acceptable' or 'unacceptable' and how to deal with it according to policies (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2010). Hostels lean towards organisation and control by using polices that focus on changing the behaviour of people (Hartnett & Postmus, 2010). Amy was penalised for smoking in her bedroom by having to move to a communal sleeping area for a couple of nights. She accepted this with a 'life goes on' attitude and that it is part of living in the hostel:

> It's what everyone goes through in the process here. (Amy, 201).

Breaking rules and avoiding getting caught was part of daily life for some participants in the hostel. Brian complimented life at home because of the comfort of having a few beers—he commented about drinking in the hostel:

You could but you would have to sneak them in or something... (Brian, 183).

Referring to the hostel rule about not staying overnight in someone else's room, Amy wanted to provide the official line to the recorder but was happy to share that she breaks it:

> Is it something I do? [Silence as she nods head and mouths yes] No, it is not something I do, recorder. [Laughs & leans towards recorder] *I do not stay in (boyfriends) room whatsoever.* (Amy 244-247).

Although there was an appreciation of the need for rules as well as respect for staff who implemented them fairly (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2010; Ryan & Thompson, 2013), there was also a sense, especially among those who misused alcohol or substances, that rules were discriminatory to their situations. These were seen within the hostel setting as unsanctioned occupations, considered negative, unhealthy or deviant (Kiepek, Phelan & Magalhães, 2014). Michael commented:

> One rule for one, another rule for another. I might get a bit out on drugs but then I come back and I might be falling asleep at the dinner table and I get threatened to get kicked out of here. But the next person comes in, pissed out of his head, starts on people and just gets told to be nice to people, you know what I mean and that's what I don't like about this place. (Michael 271-273).

This was transposed with Ozzric, who told how he was put out from the hostel for the night because he came in drunk whereas 'zombies' just get told to go to their room. This frustration with rules is revealed in other studies (Biederman & Nichols, 2014; Choi & Snyder, 1999). Being in the hostel was likened to prison although there was a sense that rules were clearer in prison:

> They make the rules up as they go in here. You know the rules in jail. (Matt, 327).

The consequences of breaking hostel rules is the serious threat of eviction and this was experienced by several participants:

> People are regularly—normally threatened by the removal of their bed. (Xenophon, 130-131).

> And then I felt threatened when—another thing is I was threatened by eviction for [pause] what's the word, non-engagement even though I was fully engaging and I just think—I just feel like people are threatened unnecessarily when they have not done anything wrong. (Sandra, 381-384).

The powerful threat of eviction will naturally have an impact on the recipient's relationship with staff. This was especially evident in relation to engagement, which as a construct could be open to interpretation, as outlined by Sandra who felt she had been engaging. Similarly, differing judgements about behaviours caused disagreements:

> Because I suffer agoraphobic tendencies, you know, sometimes it is general encouragement needed that I have been in my room too long … the staff were looking at it as just bad behaviour and is a recurring argument that me and the staff have. (Celeana, 247-249).

Contradictory relationships with staff have also been noted by other researchers (Burns, 2016; Ryan & Thompson, 2013). One strategy to 'resist' was 'shutting off' as termed by Edgar—just answering questions to get out of a meeting with staff and not committing to what was discussed. The other common strategy was missing meetings, which demonstrated agency, albeit constrained (Parsell, 2010):

> Well the last two ones I have missed [laughs] … So if I am sort of kicking off—not as in—in the sense of sort of a passive aggressive thing, I know and it's not the best way of dealing with it perhaps, but it's better than shouting my mouth off I suppose. But I just got so cheesed off recently that I just skipped meetings. (Sandra, follow up, 293-295).

Sandra's main conflict with staff was in relation to her income and work. She felt she was being discouraged from working, as it 'didn't fit' with being in a hostel:

> They were trying to encourage me to switch, because I was on working tax credits because I was already considered self-employed when I ended up in the hostel and they wanted me to switch from working tax credit to [pause] ideally

> the [pause] what's it, ESA [Employment and Support Allowance]. They were talking about JSA [Job Seekers Allowance] but also ESA. (Sandra, 58-61).

Although Sandra would have received a more substantial income on one of the allowances, she strongly believed work was 'one of the best ways to get back on your feet and get a flat' (Sandra, 34-35) and claiming an allowance to which she did not feel entitled was going against 'her religion—her faith' (Sandra, 306). She continued to try to support herself by catalogue selling work but felt this was not respected. In addition, she felt she had to adjust to staff priorities as she was expected to drop everything if staff wanted to speak with her:

> I think staff should try to respect the routines people are trying to put into place, really and basically if I set up a work schedule that I think works for me to make sure I get the hours done, I think they should respect that but... they don't [laughs]. (Sandra, 1757-1760).

Sandra placed a value on work as her meaningful occupation and this caused many difficulties in her relationships with staff. She contrasted herself to the culture of worklessness that she perceived in the hostel:

> They should be glad that I am different. (Sandra, follow up, 253).

Sandra's comment suggests 'distancing'; a strategy proposed initially by Snow and Anderson (1987) to protect identity when homeless. More recent studies expand the concept; 'distancing' is when people point out others' shortcomings (Rayburn & Guittar, 2013) or use resources such as lack of addiction or employment to differentiate self from others (Terui & Hsieh, 2016). An example of distancing is Michael's comment:

> I think most people are idiots. (Michael, 267).

Michael, as a result, tended to spend most of his time alone when in the hostel, in his room on the Xbox, watching television or playing on his guitar, which he highly valued. Similar to the experience of music making as part of a band (Roberts & Farrugia, 2013),

Michael's guitar playing gave him something to do, which was his own choice. At meal times he would try to sit at a table by himself, but he liked to get involved with the organised groups and classes when he was on methadone.

Interestingly, Matt who was back in the hostel for a third time was extremely conscious of stigma and his identity during this current stay:

> I mean this place gives you a bad name and I ain't even none of them so. I don't rely on drink, I don't rely on drugs, I am not a prolific fucking criminal. I am not a gambler so yeah. (Matt, 121-123).

On this visit, Matt has been clean for 10 months, which contrasted with previous stays when he described 'running around causing trouble, doing any drug under the sun' (Matt, 137-138). On previous visits he was not concerned about a label but was acutely aware on this occasion. Another source of 'resisting' is linked to expectations when entering the hostel. Bogard (1998) observed that some people have a primary expectation of housing, rather than rehabilitation, and this causes resistance in working relationships with staff, as illustrated by Snoop:

> The other thing that does my head in is just like, people come up in here, like staff and say 'do you want to do drama, yeah, drama class?' I don't want to do things like that. I am not into that. I want to do my own thing. That's why I want my own place, if I could get one. (Snoop, 76-78).

Participants also spoke about the challenge of living with others and 'resisting' this by staying away from communal areas although this can be a challenge in a dining room at meal times. This is illustrated by Edgar in figure 5.12. The influence of the social and cultural environment, as well as an individual's emotional state, on the complex meaning of social eating as an occupation has been acknowledged (Absolom & Roberts, 2011).

Edgar, Image 3

> I don't like eating in front of people so I will end up taking my food upstairs in a container (Edgar, 279-280)… they see it as being like cocky or [pause] like because I don't know—because I have an air about me that says 'fuck you all' but its not—its just I am scared of them all [laughs]. (Edgar, 296-298).

Figure 5.12. Taking food away to bedroom because of discomfort in dining room

The differentiation of 'acquaintances not friends' as noted by May (2000) was referenced by numerous participants. Furthermore, the expectation to be friends especially when spending time together in the smoking areas was great and difficult to detach from, without gaining unwanted attention:

> Then they are kind of like, 'what's he up to? What's—you know, what's his game?' you know so... (Brian 197-202).

The remaining aspect of 'resisting' was in connection to the groups provided in the hostel. Although the majority of people spoke about their value, only a handful of people attended with any regularity:

> They do have various groups and stuff, which I have not gone to, to be honest [pause] yeah... (William, 568-569).

William suggested that activities don't work in the hostel because you won't get the

numbers as people are too focused on 'getting wrecked' (William, 467). Stan was trying to organise a football group but described the challenges of getting people to attend:

> People saying yeah but then when I go to find them, they are all out. (Stan, 547-548).

It has been suggested that there is an element of distancing in relation to programmes or groups in hostels (Rayburn & Guittar, 2013)—people stay away for fear of being taunted for attending. This indicates that occupational choices are constrained by the social and cultural environment of the hostel setting, not just the physical environment. Therefore, as Galvaan (2015) proposed, providing access to a wider range of occupational choices alone, will not adequately enhance limited engagement.

The social and cultural environment, with its rules and regulations, staff and other users of the service, created numerous situations in which individuals 'fight against' the hostel setting.

5.3 Getting stuck

As discussed earlier (see section 5), there was a sense of appreciation for many on entering the hostel and this is completely understandable when you consider events that led up to their use of the service. This hostel was seen as an escape and a place to relax:

> There's an easier life in the hostel, there is an escape life. (Timothy, 760).

> I think to some extent I needed a bit of —I wanted—it's nice to be able to chill for a bit. (Sandra, 733).

People tend to stay for months or years in hostels (Busch-Geertsema & Sahlin, 2007) and this was the impression Sandra received:

> Have months here and we'll see what problems you have got. (Sandra 841-

842).

A common theme amongst participants was the feeling of becoming settled (similar to the category of feeling at home (see section 6.3) and relaxing into the lack of responsibilities and being cared for:

> I bonded with the place… It's a homeless place but you get used to the place like. You have friends that you know that they know the time for breakfast, now I am going to go and chat like, that kind of way. Maybe I was getting stuck but now paying bills, having your tv and bathroom, oh my God, will I survive on my own again. (Bernice, 367-369).

> Once you are in it for a certain amount of time you get that used to it, you ain't got no bills to pay because whatever bill you got is kind of like–like if you are in the hostel itself they take–the hostel takes the £30 straight out of money so there you go, you ain't got nothing else, you ain't got to worry about electric, gas or anything, no other bills. (Daniel 708-712).

> Probably would stay forever in the hostel if I could. Its got everything you want here. People care. (Eddie, 440).

Neither Bernice nor Daniel had long periods of homelessness and both had recent work histories, until circumstances became more difficult for them (Bernice due to illness; Daniel a relationship breakdown). At the time of the interviews, they were in their own tenancies but both recognised the effect of settling into the hostel environments. Daniel instigated his move from the hostel independently by sourcing funding for a deposit from a charity connected to the sea. Bernice, on the other hand, moved because of staff pressure and felt she had little choice. Eddie, who wished to stay in the hostel forever, had many years of homelessness service use and was dependent on alcohol. At the time, he was undergoing medical investigations so the wish to remain where he felt people cared for him was reasonable. However, others disclosed the realisation that they

stayed longer than they had planned:

> But I didn't intend to be there that long. Six months is quite a long time. (Richard, 53-54).

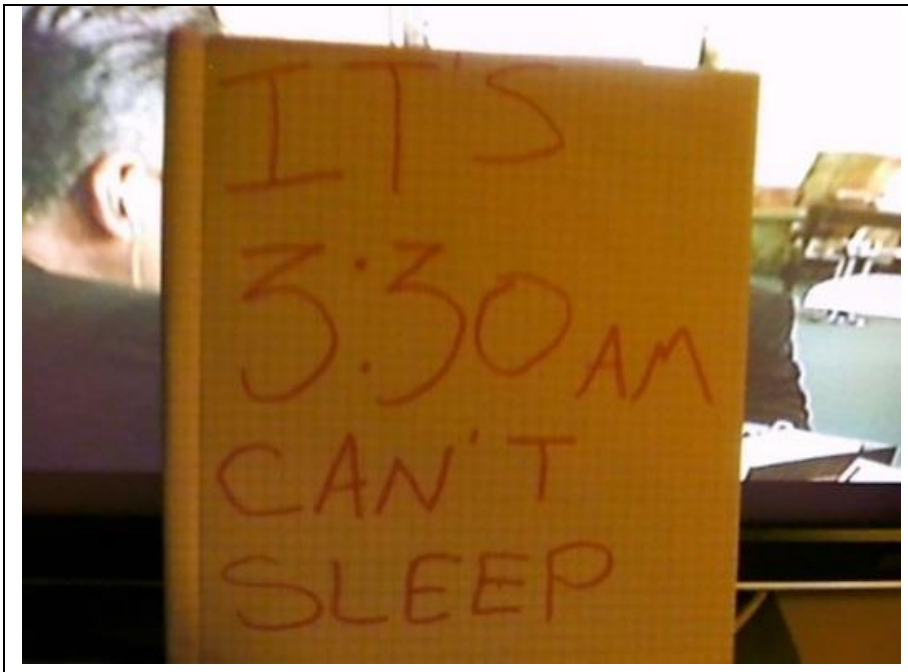
> I have been here a year, nearly a year and a half and I was only supposed to be here for three months, yeah (Celeana, 157-158). I have been stuck in this system for so long. (Celeana, 118).

Being homeless and using hostels can result in experiences of 'permanent temporariness', (Petrusak, Perry & Hassevoort, 2017) or being in 'limbo' (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2010). Individuals can become disorientated to time and objectively long periods of time can feel like shorter compressed durations. Van Doorn (2010) suggested that people who are homeless focus on the short term to manage daily life, and as a result, their perspective of time shortens. In keeping with this, procrastination dominates activity and fewer plans are realised. Therefore, the transition from homelessness is more difficult unless the individual broadens their time perspective (Heuchemer & Josephsson, 2006). Pragmatically, this can be developed by using a watch and diary to make and keep occupationally centred plans. Within the hostel, Edgar illustrates some of the challenges with time:

> I mean—I keep missing appointments because—half of it is not wanting to and half of it *really* wanting to and then like each day rolls into the next in this place sometimes and you forget, what day—what date it is. (Edgar, 512-514).

Edgar also highlighted his difficulties getting to sleep (see figure 5.13), which may also contribute to difficulties keeping appointments. Hui-Ling *et al.* (2015) reported the poor sleep quality experienced by adults using a homeless hostel, and its significant association with poor self-rated health. Although research on sleep is limited within occupational therapy (Green, 2008), a number of qualitative studies indicate that a lack

of sleep negatively impacts on a person's occupational performance and engagement in meaningful occupations (O'Donoghue & McKay, 2012; Wood, Brooks & Beynon-Pindar, 2015).



Edgar, Image 10

> [Can't sleep] Yeah a lot of the time—most nights really. It takes me a long time to—once everything is off, it takes my head a long time to sleep. (Edgar, 706-708).

Figure 5.13. Finding it difficult to sleep most nights

The environment of the hostel enabled a sense of reliance, as Sandra remarked:

> You get used of being a bit lazy, in a sense and having people do things for you. It's like they—it's like you get—you become worse rather than better, if you see what I am saying. You are not cooking for yourself and you are not [pause] you are not even using your own telephone. (Sandra, 983-986).

An awareness of the hostel culture needing to change was shared by staff members, who acknowledged that it can be a block to moving on:

> One of the issues of the whole supported environment is that we have set up this sort of model of thinking for people to say actually 'what are you going to do for me?' whereas what we need to say is 'no, what are you going to do for you?' (Aidan 126-128).

> The issue is when people stay here too long, they can start to go backwards. (Maud, 301-302).

Associated with 'getting stuck' and shared with other studies in hostel settings was boredom (Marshall, Lysaght & Krupa, 2017; Tryssenaar, Jones & Lee, 1999). Harry described the sense of it:

> Its like being locked in your room, looking—looking at your walls with nothing to do [pause] Just like a jail... (Harry, 352-353).

Boredom is the 'most common emotional response to lack of occupation' (Wilcock, 2006, p.171) and can have a negative impact on health and well-being (Martin, Sadlo & Stew, 2012). Within the hostel, occupational possibilities are constrained because of the physical and institutional environment. Being unable to prepare one's own food is an example of occupational deprivation. As discussed previously (see section 2.2.1), the social and cultural environment can negatively influence people taking and using opportunities. This limits participation and can contribute to boredom. However, it is also important to consider the circumstances of individuals before they came into the hostel. In the main, individuals were moving between other homelessness services, rough sleeping, sofa surfing or in a tenancy in the process of 'hanging on - unmaking'. The opportunities afforded by the person's socio-economic environment, as well as their sense of agency, could restrict occupational opportunities and over time erode occupational participation (Whiteford, 2005). The impact of occupational deprivation- an interaction of external factors and personal characteristics (Crawford *et al.*, 2016)—needs to be considered temporally to be fully understood. Rico, for example, before returning to the hostel, was sleeping all the time and had given up any courses or activities he had been attending. Sandra, before her eviction, was spending all of her time preparing for a court case about the custody of her daughter. Engagement in other

meaningful occupations was slowly being eroded, over time, from the person's occupational repertoire. This is similar to the impact of addictions on occupation, whereby other activities are gradually lost. The means it can be more difficult for individuals to reengage in activities in the hostel or perhaps even consider what is meaningful to them. This is evidenced by a sense of not knowing how to change:

> I need a new routine and I don't know how to get it. (Snoop, 162).

> I don't know [pause] There is part of me that has given up here a little bit (Edgar, 499-500). I hope I am not broken forever but that's the way it feels at the moment. I don't know if I can change—if it's possible to change [pause] It feels like a part of me is like destroyed. Well I have done that many drugs that kill my soul anyway. (Edgar, 521-524).

Readiness to change (Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012) and making changes (Patterson *et al.*, 2013) are associated with moving from on homelessness into a sustained tenancy. 'Getting stuck', and its resulting impact on an individual's sense of self and well-being, makes this transition more difficult. Hostels, as part of the homeless system, and their staff, are a key stage in the process of **Making a Home**—which will be discussed in the next chapter. Consequently, opportunities to develop the strategies that are part of the **Making a Home** process following homelessness—***seeing a new self*** and ***living a new life***—should be provided and enabled within the system.

5.4 Making the most of it

The final sub-category within the category navigating the homeless system is 'making the most of it'. This refers to participants taking advantage of the opportunities and services provided by the system, to move on. This includes the supports offered by staff as well as the services and groups provided within the system.

Although the findings so far have tended to focus on challenges within working relationships, there were many examples of very positive ones. Effective relationships were described with immediate support workers as well as paid staff and volunteers in all areas of services. Facilitators of an effective relationship mirrored those referenced by Walsh *et al.* (2010) in their work with people who are homeless—respectful engagement, effective listening and establishing trust:

> She sits down and she listens to what I says and then she speaks. (Alex, 559).

> She is interested, she understands just what I can do and when to push and she also knows when to back down and when to kind of leave me alone and that is kind of, what I really appreciate. (Celeana, 205-207).

To make the most of it, Celeana valued a 'push' at the right time. This was shared by others, including Harold who commented his most effective support worker, who worked with him as he moved to his current tenancy was 'pushy but not so pushy' (Celeana, 772). Some staff and volunteers remained mentors long after the person had left the service (Robinson, 2011).

There are a wide range of services within homelessness, for example, food centres, drop-in services and work training, and participants accessed them to varying degrees. To enable his move out of accommodation for the homeless, Richard described his proactive approach:

> I went down every morning at half seven and forced them, I was like 'make the referral for me'. (Richard, 673).

This stands apart from the majority of participants who worked with staff to help them transition from the hostel and make educational or work goals.

Within the sub-category 'fitting in', participants who took part in groups and classes

within the hostel, described the sense of pleasure, achievement and confidence they developed by getting involved. From being involved in the gardening group in the hostel, to accompanying the hostel volunteer to the local park to meet the 'Friends of the Park', Rico got involved in voluntary work:

> I quite liked that—doing it voluntary. You come back home from doing it and then, I felt good about myself, like as, I done something, I done it for free, for being here, so I felt good about it. (Rico, 114-116).

'Making the most of it' from an occupational perspective is striving for potential in doing within the constraints, challenges and opportunities provided by the system. Occupational potential (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013) focuses on the capacity of people in the future beyond what is in the present. Expectations differ, however, depending on personal circumstances and experiences. For example for William:

> It's just staying clean off the—off those drugs. That is—that is doing well for me, it is. Its not thriving, I know, I know, you know its not making the most out of life but for me it is and for the last seven years that hasn't been it, you know. It's been addiction, very heavy addiction. (William, 111-114).

5.5 Conclusion

The use of hostels and various services are part of a complex network that people who are experiencing homelessness negotiate. To leave homelessness and transition to a sustained tenancy, usually means navigating this system. As discussed in section 1.3.3, the majority of individuals who experience homelessness return, often moderately quickly, to stable accommodation. However for a much smaller group—the focus of this study—leaving homelessness is more difficult as a result of more complex needs. Therefore having a deeper understanding of the process of navigating the homeless system is important in the transition from homelessness. The sub-categories were expanded on in this chapter: 'fitting in', 'resisting', 'getting stuck' and 'making the most

of it'. Considering the homelessness system as part of the transition to a home, necessitates that skills and strategies, consistent with **Making a Home** following homelessness, should be provided and enabled within it. The core process of **Making a Home** and the category feeling at home will be explicated in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 6
FINDINGS II. GROUNDED THEORY
MAKING A HOME

The aim of this chapter is to present and discuss the core process of **Making a Home** revealed in this study (represented diagrammatically in figure 4.6). The three strategies that underpin **Making a Home**—***putting your stamp on it, seeing a new self and living the life—***will be expanded upon and discussed within the context of wider literature. The category Feeling at home and its sub-categories 'belonging' and 'having connections' will be developed. The chapter concludes by expanding on the category hanging on - unmaking. In keeping with the central tenet of constructivist grounded theory, to give voice to the participants (Charmaz, 2014), the findings will be supported by quotations from, and photos taken by, the interviewees.

6.1 Moving in

The routes that participants took from using homelessness services to their own accommodation varied widely. While some moved between stages, for example, via move on supported accommodation (similar to the staircase model), others moved

directly into their own tenancies, both private rented and social housing. Participants reported a diversity in their level of engagement with staff support as well as available advice and information services. The comments below indicate the active role Daniel and Richard played to source accommodation and move on:

> I done it all on my own. I pushed for everything I got, from day one. I didn't let go of it from day one. (Daniel, 312-313).

> That's how I did it, I went down every morning at half seven and forced them, I was like 'make the referral for me'. (Richard, 676-677).

Yet, for others the time restrictions imposed by the hostel appeared to be the main stimulus for their move, as in the cases of David and Roxy:

> You are only allowed stay there a year and then you are supposed to move on again, you know. (David, 174-175).

> Two years, yeah but that's the longest you stay in here, is two years. (Roxy, 145).

What was common across the interviews was a sense of hope associated with initially moving into one's own place (Kidd *et al.*, 2016; McNaughton & Sanders, 2007). Similar to findings by Henwood *et al.* (2013) and Raphael-Greenfield and Gutman (2015), fears and concerns about abilities to manage were also expressed:

> Well, I find it a bit frightening to be honest with you when I first move into a place by myself. Because I wonder what's going to happen and what's going on in the house, then I start worrying me and then the mind starts and just escalates from there, you know, so I have to learn to stop thinking that way and that. (Roxy, 859-862).

> So my first night—my first night was—I should have been happy but [pause] I was more, like worried. I couldn't really sleep properly and I just had so much to do. My head just kept—every time I tried to relax I was like 'ah, don't forget you have to do this'. (Timothy, 520-522).

Timothy's comment 'should have been happy' illustrates the expectation he placed on having his own place compounded by the worry about whether he was ready and able for it. Aged 20 at the time of the interview, he had slept rough, used homeless hostels as well as transitional accommodation for the preceding two years. In his most recent accommodation, he learned 'cooking skills, life skills, just getting on with people skills' (Timothy, 61). He recalled very positive relationships with staff, who reinforced his strengths but yet this added to the expectation he felt to be happy when he finally got his own place. Two months after moving in, he was 'still getting used to it' (Timothy, 548).

Ozzric, who described himself as alcohol dependent and had previous unsuccessful private rental tenancies because of his drinking, was very fearful of having to move onto his own place, which is expected when staying in a hostel:

> If someone say to me tomorrow 'end of January, you are out. You have got to get your own place', I would be in a right panic then. I probably wouldn't bother and I would just end up drinking into oblivion and back on the streets again. (Ozzric, 1468-1470).

Sean delayed the moving in process, although he had completed the paperwork and got the keys to a flat:

> I wasn't stopping there for a while. Even the landlord was like 'when are you going to move in like?' I was so used to being in [hostel setting], do you know what I mean. (Sean, 515-516) You find it hard to go out after all that company and you are on your own again. (Sean, 282).

The challenge of moving from an institutional setting and the loneliness that one can feel, even if it is a goal, was also recognised by staff:

> It's very difficult because once you go out of here I know the biggest thing is loneliness. (Rita, 143).

> When they are with us (in hostel) there is loads to do, loads of people to be with, all of those sorts of things so the walls come out and we then say 'great you have done really well, we will put you back into this flat'. And you sit and leave them there and they are sat there with these walls and the walls then come back in again and everything then starts to fall off, like the low level mental health starts kicking back in. The addiction starts to kick back in when you have your own front door and nobody is telling you not to and all that sort of stuff. (Aidan, 49-54).

Within this analysis, moving in had a procedural focus with an emphasis on getting practicalities arranged. This is, in the main, with the support of staff. Aidan (staff) and Xenophon (tenant of flat) described this pragmatic focus:

> The first few weeks you are setting up all the accounts and everything else and making sure the gas bill is getting paid and all of those sort of things. (Aidan, 342-343).

> I'm here nearly four months and there was just a lot of stuff in the first two months about getting electricity and getting the gas sorted and all that kind of thing and you just need to concentrate on that, I think. (Xenophon, 1683-1685).

However, once the initial move in period is over, it is still a period of transition. As time is less taken up by arranging practicalities, there is a 'what now' feeling as illustrated by Xenophon:

> The last two months have been more about [pause] where do we go from here? This is what I have wanted, so I have it now. (Xenophon, 1688-1689).

Xenophon's comment indicates that the provision of a physical environment alone does not make a home. The following sections present the process **'Making a home'** as revealed in the analysis.

6.2 Making a home

There is general agreement in the literature (see section 2.6) that home is a complex and multidimensional concept (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Grenier, Barken & McGrath, 2016; Parsell, 2012; Speer, 2017). Participants in this study also referenced the many dimensions of home. For example, Brian spoke about the comfort (Wiles *et al.*, 2009) and security (Carroll *et al.*, 2009) it brings:

> Just my stuff or whatever, you know [pause]. Just feel comfortable in it, whatever, you know. Safe and things like that. (Brian, 923).

Xenophon, who moved into his own flat after four years in a hostel, identified freedom (Kellett & Moore, 2003), normality (Kellett & Moore, 2003) and ownership (Mee, 2007), when discussing what home meant to him. In addition, he used the photo in figure 6.1 to represent the complexity of home to him—the mix of both light and dark.

This awareness of less positive aspects reflects the discourse in the body of literature on the concept of home. The impact of negative situations, for example, strained family relations or abuse situations, on home as a concept has being increasingly acknowledged (Grenier, Barken & McGrath, 2016). Amy, for example, when asked about home recalled:

> I never really been settled, like, since I was 14 to be honest… And never really stayed longer than seven months anywhere. (Amy, 16-19)

Towards the end of the interview, Amy disclosed how she 'would normally punch my room up' (Amy, 477) which could be an example of the impact of traumatic home experiences observed by Robinson (2005). Robinson proposed that young people try to annihilate the pain of previous traumatic home experiences though excessive drug use and self harm. Amy, who used various substances, explained:

> I broke my wardrobe door, yeah, but that's because everything that's going

on—I like to bottle it up. I don't like to talk about my problems because it hurts. So my hurt is turning into anger. (Amy, 481-483).

Xenophon, Image 1

It shows a type of normality and a type of freedom and a type of ownership of space. The other thing it does is emphasises the [pause] oneness on—the oneness of it all. I mean you come into the flat on your own and you go out on your own so there is a lot of loneliness here as well, which is unfortunate because when I left the hostel I couldn't wait to get out of it because of people. And at the same time, being here you don't see as many people so... (Xenophon, 28-32).

Figure 6.1. The complexity of home

A pressure associated with home was the increased sense of responsibility:

You only got worries in the hostel about paying your top up fee and as long as you pay your top up fee you got a meal in the morning, you got a meal in the evening so you haven't got worries. I mean, now I am in a flat, I have got more worries. (Harold, 280-283).

Yeah, the freedom but with freedom [laughs] I can go out any time and buy a bloody bottle, can't I and take it back. (Ozzric, 593-594).

An increased focus on the concept of home has been identified as a valuable way to further understand the experience of homelessness (Kellett & Moore, 2003). Rowles (2006) proposed that home is created by the inhabitant through patterns of habitation—rhythms and routines of daily life—not the dwelling per se, although there is acknowledgement that the physical space can nurture or support a sense of home. There is a transactional relationship between the environment and the person—a dynamic two way process. Within this study, even for those who looked forward to getting their own accommodation, the realities of their lives to date and the challenges they faced in terms of complex needs, made the transition to living in a flat more difficult:

> But you know I was happy to move and it was the nicest—a nice little flat. But, you know, then things went pear shaped again. (Ivor, 267-268).

> And you move and you realise you are still you. So you realise [pause] the problems you had in the hostel, some you still have. The outside influences have been removed but wherever you go, you are going to have to live with you. Being on your own, living alone, it's you and you and that's it, you know. (Xenophon, 1678-1680).

The skills it takes to make a home should not be taken for granted (Povey, 2011). Three key strategies, revealed in the analysis (see section 4.4), enabled the '**Making a Home**' process to happen. These were ***putting your stamp on it***, ***seeing a new self*** and ***living the life*** (see figure 4.6) and will be elaborated upon in the next section.

6.2.1 *Putting your stamp on it*

Many of the participants recognised the importance of making the physical environment feel more like their personal space, in keeping with place making (Rowles, 2008) as illustrated by Bernice and Lily, who were both in flats (see figures 6.2 and 6.3).

Bernice, Image 5

I think to put bits and bits of what I have, which is belonged to me, it make me happy, you know, yeah. (Bernice, 392).

Figure 6.2. Decorating place with personal possessions

Lily, Image 3

It's my bed and it's got my covers that *I* like on it….And I got my pillows on it and my old heart shaped cushion which was in storage. (Lily, 229-231).

Figure 6.3. Dressing own bed with personal things

An element the research of Rowles (2008) on place making is based on the assumption that people have artefacts, memorabilia, and possessions to transfer to new places. However, the realities of homelessness can result in the loss of possessions due to transience, eviction, robbery as well as having to sell or pawn items for cash (Robinson, 2011). When evicted Garfield lost his 'wedding photographs, all the pictures of my son as a child and my Dad's pipe' (Garfield, 444-445). Similar to findings by McCarthy (2015), Michael found it difficult to hold onto his possessions:

> From when I first become homeless I am always losing stuff—I am always losing stuff, always. Getting kicked out of places... (Michael, 775-775).

Demonstrating resourcefulness, Stan used the pawnbrokers to store his TV:

> But when I was on the street, what could I do, I couldn't carry it around with me so I sold—I put it in there for a little bit of money but I buy it back. (Stan, 805-806).

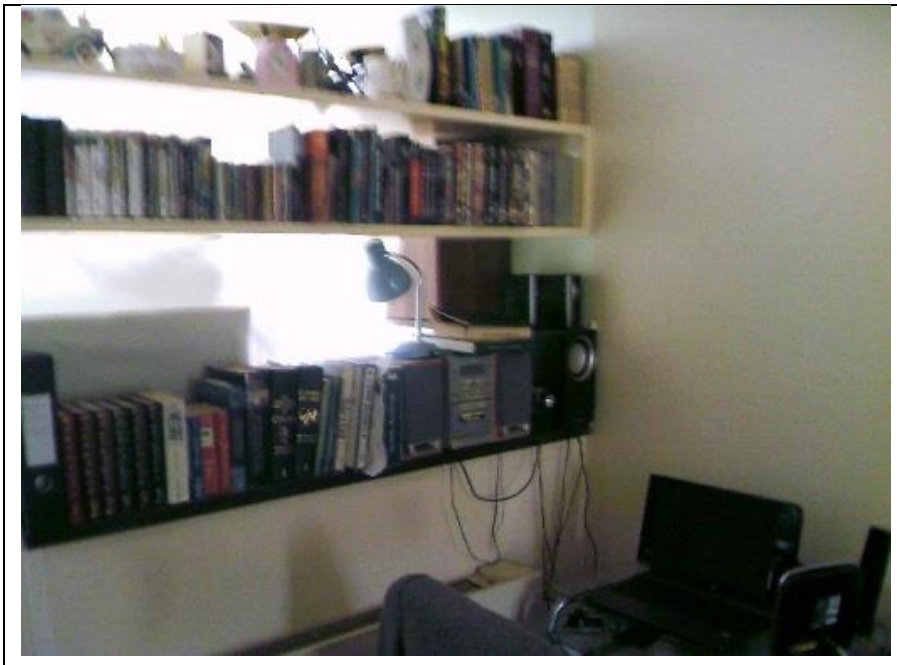
Efforts were made in all standards of accommodation to make the physical environments feel more homely, including buying, borrowing and acquiring from skips. Both Bernice and Brian were in small bedsit style flats on the lower ground floor of old buildings converted into flats:

> It was just not easy, but I told by myself I'll get used to it, I will try to go to the car boot sales and get some stuff. I will make this place my own place. Now, oh God, you can't take me out of here [laughs]. (Bernice, 381-383)

> Yeah, well I had this in the old place [pointing to portable telly/DVD at end of bed], this one the DVD, but my Mam gave me the telly and I bought the PlayStation, when I got here, so yeah. (Brian, 475-476). I got that [PlayStation] in a second hand shop in the last hostel I was in for 15 quid or something, so it is grand, you know. (Brian, 478).

A person's sense of place can provide a sense of belonging as well as comfort and is tied

to identity (Easthope, 2004). The manner in which people display objects in their home and the way they describe their feelings towards these objects are integral to the making of identity (Hurdley, 2006; Tran Smith *et al.*, 2015) as evidenced by Harold whose settled tenancy enabled him gather possessions (see figure 6.4).


Harold, Image 29

> All the little things I have, which I built up… yeah I mean [pause] and to have these things is just—I mean to have actually your—it's like the computer and the telly and the things like that and it's just, I didn't have these things before. (Harold, 811; 817-819).

Figure 6.4. The value of being able to gather and hold onto possessions

Similar to research about homemaking within student accommodation, belongings serve not only as a reminder of the past but also allow creation of a position in the present (Holton & Riley, 2016). It is recognised within occupational science that people use objects to transform or develop their identity (Hocking, 2000). Possessions helped women who were homeless cope with their circumstances and restore and maintain their sense of self (McCarthy, 2015). This sense of self can be developed by making personal choices in home decoration, for example paint colours or flooring. Roxy, however, drew attention to the fact that the freedom to do this within private rented

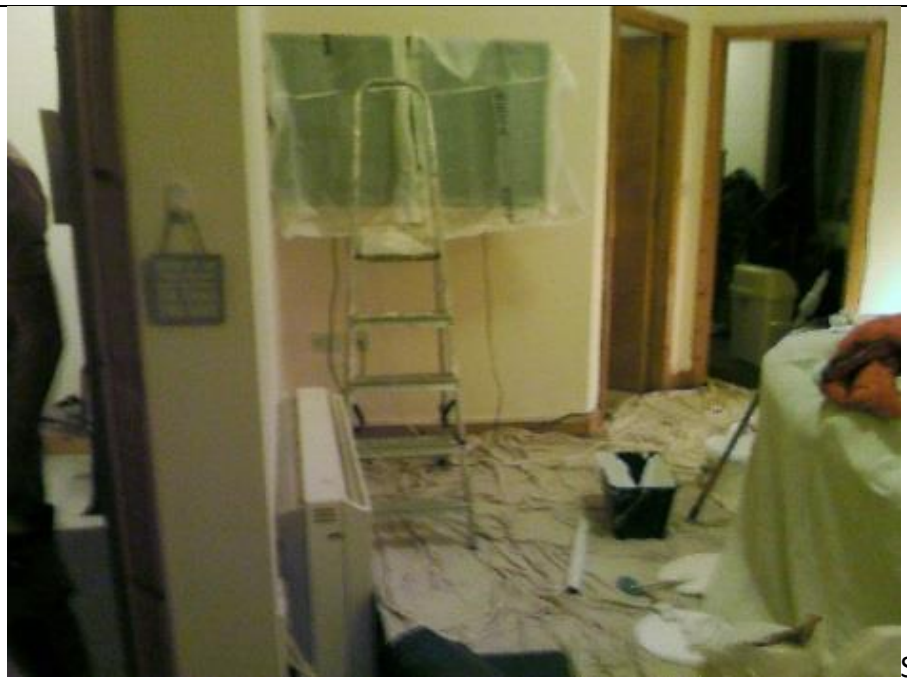
accommodation can be restricted:

> Decorate it the way you want to decorate it, you know, that's what I mean by putting your own stamp on it. Carpet it the way you want to, do what you want with it. In the private you can't, you know. In all private lets all of them are magnolia and white, yeah and there is nothing more boring. (Roxy, 308-311).

Garfield summarised the importance of ***putting your stamp on it*** as making a difference between existing and living, when talking about the bedsit he was in:

> It's nice and that, it's all I need but believe it or not, I *want*, not just need. I don't want to just exist. I want to actually live. I want a place that I can decorate myself, a place where you can hang pictures on the wall. I am scared to put a bloody nail in here in case the landlord says 'you put a hole in the wall'... (Garfield, 642-644).

Sean was in the process of getting his place painted at the time of interview, which he felt was deepening his interest in it as a home and helping him settle into it (figure 6.5).



Sean, Image 5

> Now with the painting done and everything like that I might be—I might take more interest in it… I would like buy my own three piece settee, you know. Make it that bit more homelier, you know. (Sean, 840-841).

Figure 6.5. Making the place more homely by painting and furniture

The quality of housing is recognised to have a positive impact on well-being (Jones-Rounds, Evans & Braubach, 2013) and Rita suggested it was important for staff, working within homelessness services, to be aware of this when supporting people move on:

> I think it is really important that we make sure that it is a place that they like because if not, what happens—they think 'this is all I have got, why don't I just carry on being and using what I was because this is it for me'. And it doesn't need to be so. The environment is important and a nice place to move onto with support. (Rita, 302-305).

Xenophon's 'putting his stamp' on the flat, which he enacted through occupations included painting; choosing, buying, and hanging pictures. This helped him see a future living there, as illustrated by his conversation with his neighbour:

> Tracy was slagging me about—next door—we were talking about something and I said 'ah sure I will be looking at furniture *after* paint'. She said 'you are there for life'. I said 'maybe so'. (Xenophon, follow up, 617-618).

6.2.2 *Seeing a new self*

The strategy of ***seeing a new self*** in this study is related to place, that is, seeing self as a tenant in the new flat is part of the process to enable a successful tenancy. Within the significant body of literature pertaining to the concept of identity, it is contested whether personal identity, once formed, remains stable or is dynamic (Vignoles, Schwartz & Luyckx, 2011). There is, however, growing consensus in the occupational science literature that occupational identities might not be static—that we dynamically construct and adopt identities (Cunningham & Slade, 2017). The majority of participants had previously been tenants for varying lengths of time and tenancies ended for numerous reasons. These experiences are likely to influence their view of themselves and expected success in a new tenancy, both positively and negatively. For example, Rico who asked for help to leave his previous flat as he 'couldn't handle it' (Rico, 207)

did not want to leave the hostel for another tenancy and commented 'unfortunately you can't stay here forever' (Rico, 85-86). On the other hand, Islam spoke with enthusiasm about seeing himself in his own place, once he was off drugs and alcohol:

> I have had a flat before, I know what to expect (Islam, 694-695)….Had a job, had a car, had a flat [pause] And then came the drugs and I went just—just to relapse big time man when I broke up with my missus. (Islam, 350-351).

Occupational identity choices can reflect socio-cultural expectations as well as personal choices (Rudman & Dennhardt, 2008). In addition, personal and social circumstances facilitate or restrict opportunities to compose a personal sense of identity (Sorell & Montgomery, 2001), for example being a tenant (Rowe *et al.*, 2001). For some, a positive identity of tenant had only been with support, for example with a tenancy support worker, which may not be a permanent option. Losing this support can be anxiety provoking as Garfield who had a tenancy support worker commented:

> When she goes I am going to miss her a lot... (I: And how long does she stay for?) I have no idea. I daren't ask in case she says a couple of weeks and that will be it. (Garfield, 904-906).

Although Parsell (2010) cautioned that too much emphasis on homeless identity in research can overlook personal identity; studies have found that accessing services dedicated for people experiencing homelessness can have a negative impact on individuals' self-identity, leading to anxiety, stress and a devalued sense of self (Gonyea & Melekis, 2016; Takahashi, McElroy & Rowe, 2002). Certainly, this affects a person's transition into their own place as explained by Harold, as he commented on the time it took him to settle after many years of homelessness:

> It took a while. It was slowly changing when I was working with Joe [support worker]; it did take a while and if I had said to you when I was on my first—when I was, yeah I was petrified when I moved into my flat the first time, this

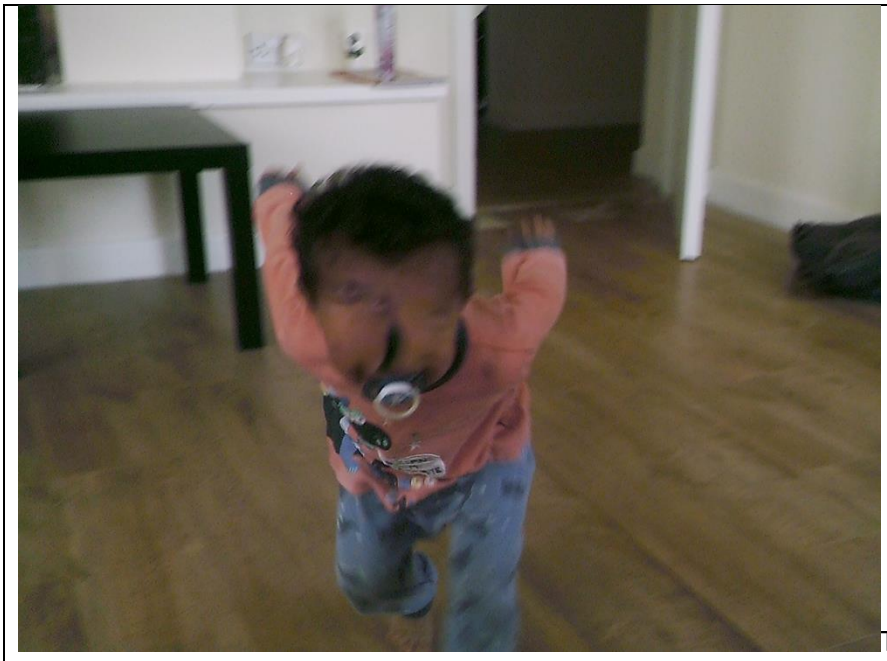
> time. I didn't know if I was going to stay there. (Harold, 1090-1092). I felt that I had to start putting things in place to get—get over that, with the things I do. (Harold, 1097).

Harold recognised the value of what he did during the day in adjusting to being in his flat and with his support worker set up a busy weekly routine, including several volunteering roles. He was instrumental in setting up a lunchtime cafe providing free food, company and advice. Harold, who had been homeless for over 30 years, acknowledged that giving up alcohol and being open to support were both key to making and sustaining these changes. Having a positive identity, independent of homelessness, has been found to be important to maintain stable housing in other studies (Patterson *et al.*, 2013; Tran Smith *et al.*, 2015).

Seeing possibilities for oneself can provide motivation and enable change (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013) and home is a primary site for identity formation (Jacobs & Malpas, 2013). This may be through re-engaging with previously enjoyed occupations or the development of new ones. Being a parent, in spite of homelessness, remains a core identity (Holtrop, McNeil & McWey, 2015) as Ozzric, Sandra and Timothy (figure 6.6) commented:

> Yeah, I—I am nervous about having my own flat but I also want one as well so my kids can come round weekends. (Ozzric, 833-834).

> Basically the point is that for me to get my daughter back and to be the best I can be for my daughter I need to be getting back on my feet. She can't visit a hostel. (Sandra, 845-847).



Timothy, Image 1

Just I waited two years for him to be able to run around like, do you know what I mean. And now he running around my house, happy and I don't know—now he looks free and happy in his pyjamas and all, after a sleepover. Picture says a few stories. (Timothy, 12-14).

Figure 6.6. Having own place where son can stay

The importance of productive roles and meaningful activities in shaping a 'new self' was reinforced by staff members Rita and Aidan:

> We have to move people away from doing nothing but thinking of drugs and alcohol is the only thing in their life, but we need to put other things into their life like people, like activities, like some good work, manageable finances. (Rita, 359-361). It's about building people up to try and get them out of that negative state of mind, 'it will never happen to me, I can never do that'. (Rita, 408-409).

> Actually a lot of the guys have been very skilled workers in their time, you know, the wheels have fallen off from time to time but actually they are skilled workers. If they then realise that they are not 'the addicted' or 'the depressed' or whatever label that they had put on them but actually 'I am John who is useful' and who actually realises that he can contribute to society positively, then, that is when things start to go better. (Aidan, 80-85).

A person's occupations and occupational identity are set within the context of community, politics, culture and economics (Dickie, Cutchin & Humphry, 2006) and therefore need to be considered beyond the individual perspective (Hammell, 2011). Occupational choices are influenced by socio-economic and socio-cultural opportunities (Galvaan, 2012). Xenophon's photograph and comments in figure 6.7 push his identity beyond that of tenant alone, to further analyse it within social expectations and culture:

Xenophon, Image 12

So you have the dark corner and the light coming in through the window and that says it all, you know. You know, the light of [pause] this supposedly good thing that I have. I am a member now of what is considered to be society, you know, respectable society because I have, you know, my own house although I am still looked down upon because I am unemployed. I also fit into that group, you know, I have no children, I'm single, overweight. All those sort of things that society deems to be a bad—really bad things that you shouldn't be, you know. So the light side is that I have this thing around me that doesn't really mean anything, the flat doesn't really mean anything in itself, you know. A secure location obviously, fair enough, that's grand. Then the dark is the reality of what it is—it's, you know, you are living on your own and you are struggling to pay your bills... (Xenophon, 1830-1842).

Figure 6.7. Being a tenant contextualised within wider societal expectations

Despite having a flat, a complex interplay of social, economic and cultural factors are influencing Xenophon's expectations and possibilities for occupation (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). The impact of this interplay of wider social and structural factors can crucially affect the third strategy of **Making a Home**—***living the life***.

6.2.3 *Living the life*

Living the life as a strategy in the process of **Making a Home** refers to engagement in activities. Similar to the view that 'to *have* occupations is not the same as to *perform* occupations' (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013, p.24); ***seeing a new self*** as a tenant in a new place is not the same as ***living the life*** of a tenant. ***Living the life*** is carrying out the daily activities and routines consistent with being a tenant. It can be with supports in place, but holds the expectation of personal responsibility for doing.

After staying in services for a period of time before moving into their own place, several participants valued the simple occupations that a home enabled them to do (Padgett, 2007). For example, having a kitchen enabled Bernice prepare her food of choice, with no time restrictions (see figure 6.8).

Bernice, Image 10

I love salads, like. I love to eat salads. (Bernice, 506).

Figure 6.8. Having the facilities to be able to prepare the food of your choice

In addition, watching television at home was valued as an occupation by several participants, including Matt and Timothy (figure 6.9).

> Absolutely loved it. I don't know, I just enjoyed walking in my own front door and then just kicking my shoes off. Laying on my sofa, having something to eat, when what I want to eat, do you know what I mean? Watch what I want on the box. (Matt, 539-531).

Timothy, Image 3

> Home feels like—I can walk into the sitting room now, turn on the telly and lie there, then look at my phone. Like that's—that's—that's the real me like I remember. (Timothy, 602-603).

Figure 6.9. Being able to lie down in own sitting room and watch the television

These everyday, somewhat taken for granted, activities provided a sense of occupational well-being for participants as defined by Christiansen and Townsend (2010, p.421): 'experiences of satisfaction and meaning derived from participation in occupations'.

Living the life also included attending to household management tasks. Training and support with these daily living skills are regularly provided to single homeless persons in the UK (Jones & Pleace, 2010). Xenophon referred to the cost and the hassle of having

to do them compared to the lack of these responsibilities when in a hostel setting in figure 6.10.

Xenophon, Image 11

> So that's a shopping list. That emphasises the pros and cons, definitely in sense of I have the choice but I also have to spend the money, you know, so I wrote down shopping list and then I wrote expense and then hassle because you have to maintain it, you know. You have *got* to maintain it, you know. You are not—I realise you are not a good adult if you only pay your bills every four weeks. You have to—you got to—do it every week. (Xenophon, 1710-1715).

Figure 6.10. Having to attend to household management tasks

The establishment of a home created severe financial demands on formerly homeless tenants in a UK study (Crane, Joly & Manthorpe, 2016). Five years later, many were still struggling financially. The ongoing payment of bills and rent is critical to sustaining a tenancy and was raised as concerns by staff members:

> *I think there is a number [of people] that have just never been parented, just haven't got a clue what to do in any particular circumstance and so when it comes down to cooking, comes down to paying bills, they have never seen it, never had any of that sort of stuff modelled. (Aidan, 265-258).*

> Its confidence and making sure that you cover the practicals as well. Like it's really easy to get someone a house but to keep them to maintain it. So make sure you talk to them about bills. (Maud, 560-561).

Ivor, who was about to be evicted from his private rented flat due to rent arrears, at the time of the interview, had the following advice:

> Always ask for advice. Don't try and bottle things up because it just gets worse and that is what's happened to me. (Ivor, 842-843).

Ivor, who was 61, had been in his flat for eight months but described letting things go—he didn't sort out his benefits and felt too ashamed to ask about them. He had previously been in step down accommodation as well as a hostel, each for the maximum stay duration. Ivor recounted that he previously owned a plumbing business but lost it, and his house, due to financial difficulties. He described having depression and anxiety and that he drinks too much sometimes. He blamed himself for this tenancy loss because he did not attend to money issues in the timely manner they necessitate. To combat potential difficulties with paying bills, Xenophon advocated an electronic bill payment system:

> There are practical measures in place like the automatic removal of the rent from my pay and the direct debit for the television. The electricity is sorted because the government pay that practically, through the disability allowance. The gas is prepaid so if you want gas you have to go out and buy it. It works for me, yeah. (Xenophon, follow up, 430-433)

Routines are occupations with established sequences which 'provide an orderly structure for daily living' (Erlandsson & Christiansen, 2015, p.123). As patterns of daily occupations, they are an important dimension of lifestyle and are related to health and well-being (Eklund *et al.*, 2017). When transitioning from a context in which routines and habits have become established, for example a hostel setting, individuals may experience a disruption of routine and may need to establish one more suitable for living

in their own place (Yerxa, 2002). Despite the potential influence of routines on tenancy sustainment, routines are rarely mentioned in homelessness research except in reference to work (Crane, Joly & Manthorpe, 2016; Yanos *et al.*, 2007). Brian, aged 36, was the only participant in full time employment at the time of the interview. He had a fifteen-year history of homelessness as well as drug and alcohol misuse. He had continued in the same job, as a kitchen porter, during his transition from a hostel to his own flat. He explained that it was very different going to work from the hostel as he felt self-conscious amongst his work colleagues 'because it is a bit of a stigma living in a hostel, isn't it... you know, so'(385). In addition, the attitudes of other hostel residents changed towards him as outlined in figure 6.11.

Brian, Image 4

That was a bit, like, awkward because they were all thinking 'you are loaded man', 'you have lots of money', you know'. (Brian, 369).

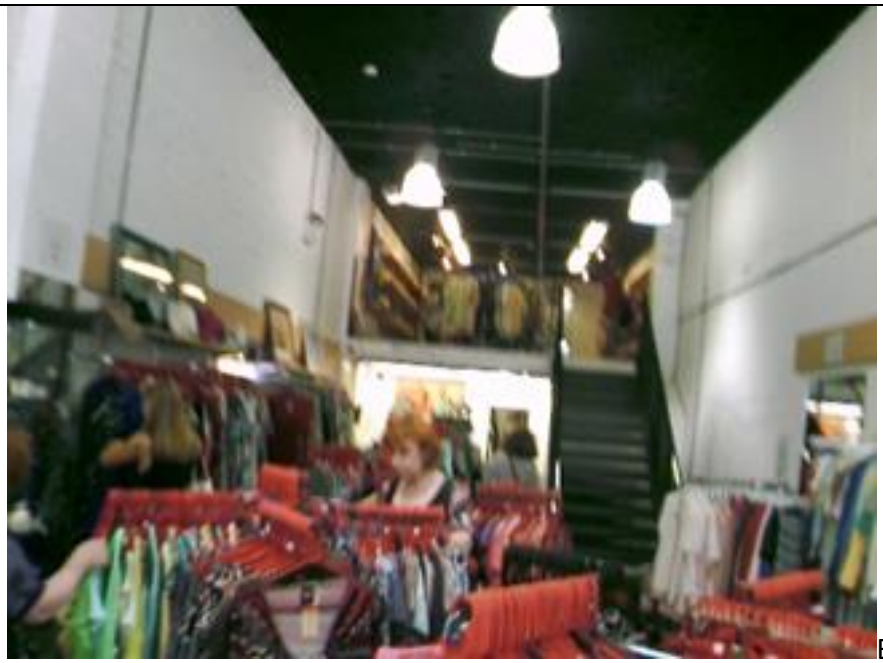
Figure 6.11. The experience of going to work from a hostel

On the plus side, he felt staff in the hostel treated him differently when he was working and helped him out more. Brian reported he had always wanted to work but got the chance when a friend of a friend told him about the job, when in the hostel. Although he does not particularly care for that job, he valued working because another 40 hours

free time ‘can lead you down the wrong path’:

> It’s just different because [pause] well, it’s different in the way I have something to do and to go to but [pause] like it just, you seem like you are forever watching the bus, the times and all this for work. (Brian 534-536).

In keeping with findings by Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016) voluntary work helped build and maintain the self-confidence and self-worth of formerly homeless tenants. As explained in figure 6.12, Bernice worked as a volunteer for many years.



Bernice, Image 6

> I worked in the charity shop for many years—that even everybody that came there after me, they respect me as if I am a full time staff. Even if I pop up now, nobody is going to say 'no, you are not allowed'. I touch everywhere, like you know, they trust me, so if I am bored I just go straight to the charity shop. (Bernice, 388-390).

Figure 6.12. Gaining trust and respect from voluntary work in charity shop

Volunteering, as a meaningful occupation, became a core part of Harold’s weekly routine and he reminisced on the change from when he was homeless:

> Very, very different (routine). When you think of it, [pause] I get up at [pause] I mean tonight, like I have a meeting. I mean, when I go from here, I go and do my shopping for my carers tomorrow.…And Wednesday I pick up my money

> and then I do the shopping for Wednesday night which is the soup run. Thursday again here, (volunteering at lunch café), but also Thursday afternoon I do my shopping for Friday. (Harold, 359-365).

Aidan, a staff member with over 30 years of experience in homelessness, advocated the value of being involved in activities that have some expectation of engagement:

> If you are accountable to somebody by going out and seeing them, if you are engaged in some sort of activity that means you need to be there and all those sort of things, so you have got some sort of network and but also just a positive lifestyle—things to do on a regular basis then that seems to be the thing. (Aidan, 54-57).

In addition to roles outside of the flat, home based day to day routines were found to be reassuring (Padgett, 2007) and comforting. However, Stahl *et al.* (2016) cautioned that they may result in a sense of stagnation in personal goal achievement. Although this could be a concern for tenancy sustainment in the longer term, the establishment of routines were identified as an important strategy in the core process of **Making a Home**:

> For me, I like to have a bit of routine because it keeps me—it keeps me straight. (William, 581-582).

William was working hard to remain drug free after seven years and saw the importance of having a routine to support this. Substance addiction for William had resulted in the loss of an 11 year tenancy, homelessness, a stay in prison as well as a medical procedure on his back, from which he has residual pain.

To help develop a routine when she moved into her new place, Lily, who lives with schizophrenia, explained that she got a dog (see figure 6.13).

Lily, Image 2

> Well now I have to have a routine because of Ruby [dog] because I have to get up, I have to take her for a walk. (Lily, 117).

Figure 6.13. Having a dog to help daily routine

Even when ***living the life***—a key strategy in the process of **Making a Home**— the place feeling like home can take time (Dupuis & Thorns, 1998). As Harold and Xenophon advised:

> Take the time to feel settled. (Harold, 1103).

> Time. Just give it time. You will get used to it. You will get to a rhythm—you'll find your own rhythm. (Xenophon, follow up, 452).

The following section will expand upon 'Feeling at home', which equates to tenancy sustainment or housing stability in this theory (see figure 4.6).

6.3 Feeling at home

Places, by themselves, have no fixed meaning (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Mallett, 2004) and therefore any understanding of home needs to be attuned to the meaning people attribute to it (Leith, 2006), As Parsell (2012) succinctly puts it, home is seen to be subjectively experienced. Viewing home with a symbolic interactionist perspective,

participants will act towards their place of residence based on the meaning it holds for them. This study proposes that as a result of the process of **Making a Home** and the enabling strategies, participants will feel at home. As mentioned earlier, 'feeling at home', as a category, equates to tenancy sustainment or housing stability.

'Belonging' and 'having connections' are the essential interrelated dimensions of 'Feeling at home'. 'Belonging', for the purposes of these findings, is the sense of connection to place—both to the flat itself and to the wider neighbourhood. Feeling connected to other people is encapsulated in the dimension 'having connections'.

The concept of home has been examined from a diversity of disciplines. Environmental psychological theories focus on the emotional attachment process to home (e.g., Theory of Place Attachment) as well as how places form part of self-identity (e.g., Theory of Place Identity) (Moore, 2000). A human geographical perspective considers, in more depth, the physical and social components of place as well as the relationship between the place and feelings (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). Understanding home 'as a fundamentally felt relationship of place and self' and being open to multiple interpretations is key to understanding homelessness (Robinson, 2011, p.6). My analysis added an occupational perspective, in which the focus is on place making activities—how the feeling of home is enacted through doing, as illustrated by Harold, in figure 6.14.

Harold, Image 28

> People would say that is an awful view but that's the view from my kitchen… I think it's a beautiful view [laughs] I really do because—because really when you have had nothing. (Harold, 800-804). I can go in, I mean I can go in now and I can cook when I want or have something to eat when I want or watch telly when I want. (Harold, 398-399).

Figure 6.14. Valuing home for being able to do things when one wants to

6.3.1 Belonging

Participating in occupations provides a sense of belonging (Wilcock, 2006). The physical environment, for example a tenancy, provides a place for the doing of occupations (Huot & Rudman, 2010). For many participants, everyday activities were enabled by having their own space, for example making a cup of tea or listening to radio and television. Xenophon referred to them as the simple things:

> I was talking to my doctor there last week and he was saying how is the—first thing he said to me was 'how is the new house going?' and I said 'it's great, you know'. It's really weird, you are explaining the things—the simple things that everyone should have, you know probably, but most people would just take for granted—I said you are explaining those little things to people as if they are the most wonderful things ever. The very basic like freedom, space, and the kettle. (Xenophon, follow up, 353-358).

> Security and I can go in—I mean I can go in now and I can cook when I want or have something to eat when I want or watch telly when I want. (Harold, 398-399).

> It's peaceful, with the couch and TV and radio system… And listen to the music—I was listening to Judy Garland. (Tony, 544-546).

Joe, who was in his own flat for three years, highlighted the difference as:

> Now when I go out, it is great to come back—I am happy to come back. Now I am able to relax. (Joe, 347-348).

Previously he would have spent his days killing time, not wanting to return to where he was staying—arriving back late and leaving again early in the morning. Joe explained how he had lost everything—his family and house—because of alcohol but now AA meetings were an important part of his life. He described home as:

> I have everything I need—I have a roof over my head and my little bike [motorbike]—my own canaries. (Joe, 548-549).

Belonging appeared to be personally determined as it was described and experienced differently by individuals. For example, Joe gained a sense of belonging through the AA, whereas Xenophon's belonging was garnered through the physical community.

Building on Giddens (1991) ideas of ontological security, i.e. trust is built on a sense of order and familiarity, Dupuis and Thorns (1998) proposed home is a secure base around which to construct identity and this was noted in participants' accounts:

> You've got the key to the door, you've got your security. I know now that the council can't—can't because I have got long term security, they can't just chuck me out now. I know that but I still pay my rent and everything. (Harold, 387-390).

> The doors make it a home. (Xenophon, 555). You feel more like a real person when you are in somewhere. Somebody calls to my door for something, even reading the meter or whatever, it's like they need permission to come in here.

> And the people come here to service the gas boiler, you know 'I am very sorry we were late' and it's not that you want people to bow down to you but it's just a baseline of respect for you and your home and your space. (Xenophon, follow up, 794-796).

Feelings of belonging and relations with others can also relate to a neighbourhood (Blunt & Dowling, 2006). The importance of neighbourhoods as the functional mediator between the individual and larger society has been posited in occupational science (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010). Xenophon moved to a neighbourhood in which he was comfortable (see figure 6.15).

Xenophon, Image 3

> It's a view—it's my view and that's what it means to me. Its—its —its my kind of my neighbourhood, you know, so. (Xenophon, 616-617).

Figure 6.15. Feeling comfortable in the neighbourhood

Participants commented on moving into unfamiliar neighbourhoods but getting to know it through using shops, going for walks and taking public transport, similar to findings by Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016). Wilcock (2007) acknowledged people experience connectedness when they engage in occupations together. This could also be enhanced by feeling safe and supported in the local community (Kloos & Shah, 2009).

Others, for example Bernice and Stephen, selected familiar city centre locations for convenience to college, work, and voluntary work but sacrificed on the standard of accommodation, as both were in small bedsit basement flats:

> This is city centre, I can walk to a charity shop without paying a bus. I can walk to my college without paying a bus so then I came here then. (Bernice, 378-379).

For others, the geographical location of affordable housing resulted in a lack of belonging to a neighbourhood. Garfield, who was in a bedsit converted from a shop unit, commented:

> There are no neighbours. That's the thing, there are no neighbours. I mean I have a sex shop one side and a garage across the road, that's it. (Garfield, 661-661).

The impact changing neighbourhoods can have on occupations has been identified by Fritz and Cutchin (2017). Garfield felt more connected in his previous tenancy, prior to using homeless services, where he used the local pub and shop and had positive relationships with his neighbours. These opportunities were missing in his new tenancy and were further reduced by his limited mobility.

6.3.2 Having connections

Occupations provide opportunities to build connections with others, family, community or organisations through doing (Wilcock, 2006). For many of the participants interviewed, they were a means to maintain and develop their social network, for example attending classes or going to the pub. Findings of recent studies suggest that perceived social support has a positive impact on the well-being of individuals following homelessness, in addition to housing stability (Johnstone *et al.*, 2016b; Roy *et al.*, 2016). Interactions with neighbours and others can be an important element of having a home (Clapham, 2002). Xenophon explained how he felt connected to his next-door

neighbours and was actively reaching out to them by giving a gift at Christmas (time of interview):

> They really are—they are the best people I have ever lived beside. They are just good people….I even have sweets and a bottle of wine for them, and biscuits and stuff. I am just waiting for Saturday to bring it in in case they feel they have to reciprocate, you know the way. (Xenophon, follow up, 273-277).

Joe also described his connections with his neighbours:

> I see them now and again. I put out their rubbish—I takes the rubbish and put it out and I put back in the bin. (Joe, 334-335).

The relationships with neighbours took varying forms. For example, Brian's connection was through a shared identity—other workers:

> We are connected in that we all seem to have similar jobs, like you know. There is a chef upstairs. I know that because I have seen his apron, stuff like that, you know. People getting up early. They'd be hard working people here, there wouldn't be many on the dole... [pause] So mostly everyone sticks to themselves, it's quiet... (Brian, 1058-1060).

This was even important to Brian because he felt awkward when going to work from the hostel (see section 6.2.3).

The work of Dupuis and Thorns (1998) proposed home allows for 'constancy of family' but not all those interviewed had contact with family. However home provided opportunities to build connections again (Kirkpatrick & Byrne, 2009; Tran Smith *et al.*, 2015). This included getting practical support to move in:

> I have a good relationship with my mam… she helped to move in. (Brian, 751-753).

Being settled in his own home, changed the dynamic of the relationship Timothy had with his family:

> Yeah, they treat me like real different, just like an adult like. Even my Mam asks *me* to do her favours and stuff now, do you know what I mean. She would

> never ask me to do her favours. She would never ask me for anything. All she ever asked me is like 'did you get in trouble? Are you ok?' and all like 'what's wrong?' (Timothy, 346-348)

Similar to belonging, the expectations for, and the experience of, connection were perceived differently by different people. Also, the quality of connections was important. Friends are recognised as a central part of a personal support network (Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012):

> You don't get—when you are homeless, you don't make friends, you make acquaintances... Well, you never know whether acquaintances are going to be there the next day. I mean, I have known people die, I have known people take people's money and you never know whether you are going to see them again. But now with friends, I know I am going to see my friends tomorrow. (Harold, 401-404).

Social media provides opportunities to both network with peers (Rice & Barman-Adhikari, 2014) and re-establish contact with old friends. Since feeling settled in his flat, Xenophon re-engaged with some old friends though social media:

> It is certainly a way to feel connected with people. (Xenophon, follow up, 462-463).

Getting internet into his flat was part of the moving in process for Timothy. Similarly for Daniel, broadband was an essential requirement when he was looking for a place to move into:

> A lot of people get me on the media. If I ain't got credit, the only way they can get hold of me then is–is through the bloody thing–not everybody's got–they get through to me on Facebook or whatever, so I need it. (Daniel, 624-626).

Sean and Joe made links with others in the community through occupations. Sean used his shopping as a strategy to ensure he connected with others:

> There are days you get like that and you just want to do nothing and then you have to force yourself to get up and go down and go out. Put it this way, if I needed three things in the shop, I would leave one go because that way then I know I have to go tomorrow, you know. Then you meet people in the street, you know so—you be talking away. (Sean, 530-533).

In contrast, Joe extolled the value of his garden to meet people, as shown in figure 6.16.

Joe, Image 2

> I have photo there of the garden—they are all my fucking flowers… I buy one every week... You can see all the flowers… People love it—all the tourists come up from the docks, they love it—I meet more people through that. They be asking me what kind of flowers I have in there—I don't know what half of them are but they are growing. (Joe, 591-595).

Figure 6.14. Meeting people through chatting about the flowers in the garden

For others, the shared occupations of more formal social groups, work, education and volunteering provided opportunities to build and maintain connections (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015). Bernice started adult education classes during the transition to her flat (see figure 6.17).

Bernice, Image 2

> First time [college] it was not easy. Three weeks were not easy but then after that I started to enjoy it like. Maybe and when I went to the class everybody was just easy people to communicate with, so I start to make friends like and we are friends even now. (Bernice, 294-295).

Figure 6.17. Growing to enjoy going to college

Sean also valued the social aspect of classes (art, boat building) he attended, organised through the homelessness service he had been linked with previously:

> There was a few of us—we were going up there twice a week and it's the social side of it now as well, like you know. You go up and have a cup of tea and you are learning. (Sean, 98-99).

Ivor's volunteering started in the hostel he had stayed in and continued when he was in his flat. He continued to volunteer while his tenancy was in trouble over rent:

> I used to live here [hostel] actually in the past and then it started from there and I just kept coming back—you know as a volunteer. So, you know they appreciate me being here and I—I get a bit of respect from them because of what I do and that's something that I appreciate as well. You know I do like respect. (Ivor, 112-114).

Aidan, an experienced staff member, recognised the importance of connections for people he had seen successfully sustain their tenancies:

> I think quality support networks has been a huge thing. Quite a lot of the guys that I have seen have really engaged with something or somebody—whether it be an organisation, a hobby, you know something that actually gives them something to get up in the morning for so that they are engaged in something outside of their flat. (Aidan, 44-47).

All participants, who were in their own accommodation, shared the view that seeking out support or help when necessary was important to keeping tenancies. This supports the work of Gabrielian *et al.* (2016) who suggested that, in addition to social support, reliance on social resources for emotional and instrumental support was associated with housing stability. Knowing 'where to go if you are struggling' (Maud, staff member, 543) and seeking help is part of the concept of self-reliance for people with experience of homelessness (Kunnen & Martin, 2004). Resources available included support workers, homeless services including soup runs, accommodation and social support services, housing advice and citizen advice services:

> I know that if I have a problem I can go back and see the [homeless service]. And it's from a distance now. So this is what I mean, I'm not just running—going back to them but knowing they are there from a distance. (Harold, 1048-1050).

> It is way easier here with [homeless organisation]. Everyone knows you—they all know you in [homeless organisation]. (Tony, 441-443).

> The soup room is really good because they can just go in and if you have facility there to just chat there to chat about what is bothering you... (Aidan, staff member, 353-354).

The nature of the support can change over time but having the connection to reach out to is crucial. A recent study suggested that the more participants identified with the

homeless service they were residing in, the more supported they felt, even if they had left the service (Walter *et al.*, 2016). This was the case for some, but not all, interviewees. Xenophon spoke about wanting to break ties with people he knew from the homeless setting he had stayed in for years:

> There was the after shadow of that from the hostel, constantly knocking on the door 'have you got this?', 'have you got that?' Then you say no and you are public enemy number one, you know. (Xenophon, follow up, 246-247).

Wanting to break ties became more pressing for Xenophon as he settled into his flat and it became more like home. These feelings were expressed in the follow up interview, five months after the first. As noted by Cone and Artinian (2009) positive connections are important to stability and to help avoid repeat homelessness.

6.4 Hanging on – unmaking

Home is not a static location—it is a process that is made and unmade (Baxter & Brickell, 2014) and this is significant within this study of transitioning from homelessness. The stage hanging on - unmaking, in the core process of **Making a Home**, refers to when a tenancy is breaking down, as illustrated in figure 4.6. This included two dimensions—'hanging on' is a passive process in which the tenancy is at risk, for example due to rent arrears, without feeling any sense of control over it. This would include being evicted by bailiffs, as in the cases of Garfield and Sandra or, for Harry and Ozzric, being put out of more informal situations when staying with friends or family. 'Unmaking', on the other hand, includes an element of agency, in which participants took a more active role as the tenancy ended. As mentioned previously (see section 4.2.1), Rico asked probation services to move him from his flat as he was unable to cope with the situation in the tenancy and both Eddie and Roxy described flats they chose to leave, returning to using homelessness services as a preferred option to the situations they were living in. The

success of the tenancy is influenced and enacted by participants taking control of activities including paying rent and bills, asking for help, managing addictions as well as having roles and routines that they find meaningful. This can be with the support of services, for example tenancy sustainment, housing advice and addiction services. However if a person feels less in control and loses their sense of mastery on the daily activities connected to **Making a Home**, the stage of hanging on - unmaking may result in losing or giving up their tenancy and returning to using homelessness services. Conversely, developing a sense of taking control facilitated participants to feel at home and enabled tenancy sustainment.

The majority of research on place attachment tends to concentrate only on the positive effect towards the residence (Manzo, 2014), which conceals the critical distinction between house and home (see section 2.6.1). There is, however growing evidence that place attachments are complicated by poverty, stigma and displacement (Manzo, Kleit & Couch, 2008). The availability and mixed standard of accommodation when dependent on state benefits, for example, Housing Benefit (UK) or Rent Supplement/Housing Assistance Payment (Ireland) was a reality for participants:

> I used to have mould on my clothes. You can't live like that, man. That is not right for anybody. (Eddie, 294-295).

> I was looking all the time, like but most of them said they don't accept rent allowance or whatever. (Brian, 694).

In addition, if under 35 in the UK, you tend to be restricted to the shared accommodation rate, regardless of your preference:

> You can’t do it [get private rented alone] until you are 35 now or something, because of the Housing Benefit saying if you get private rented but [pause] I don’t want to move in to where I was before like, sharing with other people

> and the house is a mess and no one cleans up after themselves and that… it's just a grubby house. (Rico, 312-315).

People can feel out of place well before they lose their tenancies as they battle poor housing conditions, social isolation, interpersonal conflict and violence (Burns, 2016). Participants described the process of 'hanging on' as they recalled their days at that time:

> I didn't have no discipline. I had probation but I wasn't even turning up to my probation meetings like, I was just, sleeping—sleeping all day and didn't really care—I was just, didn't care about myself then. (Rico, 262-264).

> I didn't get out of bed… That was generally it. Generally I just made a little fort and that was it. (Celeana, 762-764).

> I could go days without eating because I couldn't be bothered to cook. (Michael, 400-401).

> I could tell by the state of my room, my hygiene, my clothes. I just could spot the signs, like you know. I had been there that many times before, you know. (Roxy, 638-639).

> Having the flat was going well but me being in the flat wasn't because after so long—because I was doing more uppers and I started to do more of it and substitute everything else in my life. I was having parties and I was having a load of boys around and then we were getting wrecked and I was getting noise complaints and shit like that. (Matt, 609-612).

> I was staring at the walls 24 hours a day, nobody to talk to, nobody who I knew in the flats so then, I mean I had money saved… bought all of these flagons of cider, drunk them all, went up to—just left the key through the door. Didn't have no rent, just went back on the streets again. (Harold, 431-436).

The change in time use or the lack of engagement in occupations indicated that the tenancy was at risk, creating a sense of 'hanging-on', as identified in the theory. Awareness of these early signs is central to early intervention for tenancy sustainment

(Distasio & McCullough, 2016; Schout, de Jong & van Laere, 2015). Whilst staying in tenancies, some participants continued to use services such as food centres and soup runs to help makes ends meet:

> The majority of people that go down to the soup room are not homeless they are the sort of guys that are just hanging on by the skin of their teeth, like do I pay a bill or do I eat well? Actually I'll go to the soup run and then I have got a little more cash. (Aidan, staff member, 359-362).

> You got to rely on soup runs (Daniel, 128). It's impossible. I was getting £146 when I was up in ___ living in the shared house, I had to pay £30 a week–fortnight top up so I had to pay that out so that left me with £110 to last me through the fortnight. That's to get my food, do what I got to do, pay for a phone. (Daniel, 134-137).

This reality of limited money and the resulting influence on how one spends their time is an example of occupational deprivation—it limits the person's choice of and possibilities for occupation (Laliberte Rudman, 2010) as illustrated by Daniel's comment:

> Bored, going around–walking around town. Just [pause] just [sighs] hanging around with… there was nothing else to do. (Daniel, 150-151).

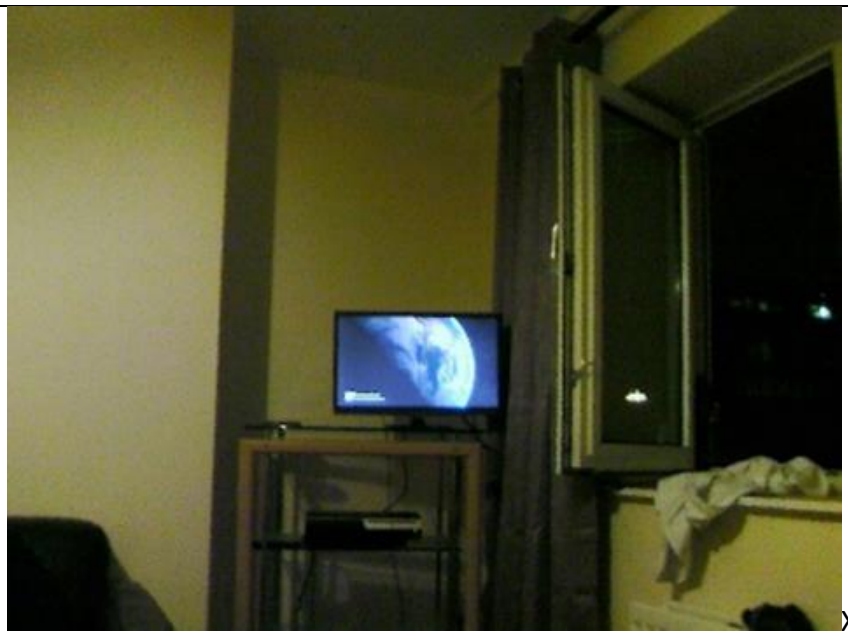
This is more akin to surviving than the traditional 'doing and being' (Wilcock, 2006) concept within occupational science. Drawing on the 'capabilities approach' of Sen (1999), Pereira (2013) cautioned that 'surviving' can have a profound effect on a person's expectation of living a life of meaning and purpose. This can negatively influence an individual's belief in their ability to take control and sustain a tenancy. Food centres are a place of refuge and resource (Cloke, May & Johnsen, 2010) and as Sandra indicated in her comment, an opportunity to be with others with similar experiences:

> It started about being about food and that was also helpful but what really draws me now is that lots of people I know are there. We all go there so. (Sandra 1681-1682). I mean the people I know tend to be also struggling with money [laughs] so we are all in it together, in that sense. (Sandra, 1687-1688).

The experience of being housed but unable to establish a 'normal' home can reinforce a person's sense of social isolation and 'abnormality' (Robinson, 2011). Therefore, one can understand the appeal beyond food alone as Sandra felt a sense of 'belonging' within the food centre community.

Loneliness and a limited sense of belonging has been recognised as being part of the lives of many people who are homeless (Rokach, 2005). Being in one's own flat, away from the communal environment of a hostel setting, may reinforce a sense of isolation, as described by Roxy, and Xenophon in figure 6.18.

> Well, [pause] I get a bit lonely, you see and I do, like you know. And I am not embarrassed to admit that like. When I am by myself I do get a bit lonely like. (Roxy, 273-274).



Xenophon, Image 9

> Night-time but again loneliness, you know what I mean, which is—this place has pros and cons and one of the cons is loneliness, so... (Xenophon, 1627-1628).

Figure 6.18. The loneliness of being in a flat

Manzo (2014) used the term 'ambivalence' to describe the situation when place attachments were characterised by mixed emotions, and it captured Xenophon's

sentiment. It referred to the experience of feeling torn between being satisfied but yet having a desire to leave and therefore struggling to make a life for themselves in places. For some, additional pressure was felt when staff had sourced funding and held expectations for the tenant, as Harold explained, when he felt he would rather the freedom he associated with rough sleeping:

> The flat was funded through the night shelter and yeah, I gave up that flat. I gave up everything, I just gave up everything and I just wanted to go back on the streets. (Harold, 165-166).

In keeping with findings that the majority of evictions are a result of rent arrears (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2017; Stenberg, van Doorn & Gerull, 2011) the process of 'hanging on' tended to continue until landlords intervened because of unpaid rent:

> But the reason I lost my home was because my daughter was removed from me so the irony is that's what—that's what created it because I got behind in rent. (Sandra, 687-689).

> I was on a good litre and a half of whiskey a week and it wouldn't last me a week. I used to really hammer it and they'd be sending me letters saying you haven't paid your council—bedroom tax—you haven't paid your bedroom tax. Ah, it will sort itself out. (Garfield, 417-419).

> I didn't realise that the rent arrears had got as far as they did. Until I knew that, it was such a state that it was a lot of money. (Ivor, 286-288).

As noted by Van Laere, De Wit and Klazinga (2009) inability to pay rent is often the result of a complex combination of financial, social, relational and health factors—not financial problems alone—as illuminated by the participants' comments. As well as the impact of these stressors, the experience of an eviction itself is a traumatic experience for those involved (Holl, Dries & Wolf, 2016). Following this, it is understandable why, for some of the participants, having the responsibility removed from them and accessing the

support offered by homelessness services was a relief:

> Like the way he evicted us—telling us in the middle of the street 'you're gone' and that's it, you know yeah. Now that was probably a good thing in a sick way because that was a wakeup call that I needed, do you know what I mean. But I ended up back in here [hostel] but never mind, you know, what can you do? (Roxy, 658-662).

This acceptance of using homelessness services may also explain why some people exercise a degree of control in returning to services. A sense of appreciation was explored in more detail in the category of the process called navigating the homeless system in chapter 5. However, returning to homelessness may be a more agreeable option than remaining in the living situation a tenant is in. For example, Xenophon described how he was the victim of antisocial behaviour in a previous flat and as a result gave up that tenancy:

> It became a game with incredibly cruel children, you know, with stones thrown. Like Frankenstein, you know [laughs]. Stones thrown, calling names and burning fucking whatever. (Xenophon 1045-1048). The lock on the door was broken, the windows had been smashed, the graffiti was just [pause]. It was—I had given up. I didn't do anything. (Xenophon, 1125-1126).

This happened around the same time that his mother died and he found himself 'hating people and hating himself' (Xenophon, 1060). He recalled how he gave up the security work he was doing and lost contact with family. Over time he stopped maintaining the flat; 'I had destroyed the house and I abandoned it basically' (Xenophon, 1071-1072). He moved to a private rented bedsit but 'didn't cope well' (Xenophon, 737) and was evicted due to non-payment of rent. He returned to the hostel he had stayed in 12 years earlier.

Tenants in situations of housing instability are unlikely to seek help until late in the process (Acacia Consulting & Research, 2006) and may not know where to source help

(Pleace & Culhane, 2016). When reflecting their experiences, a shared opinion among the participants in this study was the need to take more timely action and not to allow potential risk situations to continue:

> Nip it in the bud—any problems, don't string it out, nip it in the bud. Whether it be a problem you have in the area, go to the area manager, go to the guards (police), go to whoever but do it from the word go. (Xenophon, follow up, 779-780).

> Accept any help that's given. Don't be proud—that's it—don't be proud. (Garfield, 1317-1318).

> All I can say is I—the reasons I have got myself into such a mess in the past because I haven't faced up to the fact—faced up to the fact and gone and done something about it. That's basically what it is. (Ivor, 875-877).

> Some people it's just a mountain and they will bury their head in the sand for as long as they can get away with it. (Maud, staff member, 422-423).

Similar to findings in a study investigating tenancy sustainment by Gabrielian *et al.* (2017), staff described the importance of addressing unmet needs for example health, substance use, as well as personal motivation:

> I think addictions is probably the biggest issue and the low level of mental health is another massive issue because what happens when you have got that sort of stuff is that everything shuts down and you don't pay your bills, you don't want to go out, you don't respond to anything and that's when all your accommodation and everything else just comes crashing in and so you are then evicted. (Aidan, 467-470).

> I think in the end its down to mental health or depression and anxieties, loneliness which also causes depression, lack of support before they make new friendships, new circles. (Carol, 909-911).

Numerous studies have shown an association between addictions and poor tenancy

sustainment (Aubry *et al.*, 2016a; Roy *et al.*, 2016; Spicer *et al.*, 2015). Previous meaningful occupations can be lost or given up as the focus of 'doing' shifts to maintaining the addiction. Indeed addiction provides meaning, structures time and behaviour, shapes the environment, and has an impact on health and well-being supporting the proposition that addictions stand alone as occupations (Kiepek & Magalhães, 2011). Narratives within this study revealed the impact of alcohol and substance misuse from an occupational perspective:

> If I had not got sorted out some drugs or anything, then Maths and English [classes] would come last, do you know what I mean. So that I would end up either turning up late or not turning up. (Michael, 163-164).

> I end up owing money and I have borrowed and I haven't paid it back and then go down the slippery slope. (Roxy, 597-598).

> On illegal highs and drink and, I was walking … and I was just going through a spree of, like, going into cars, breaking into them and just robbing stupid things. I robbed a £2 phone cradle, off my head and that. And I, got caught. (Rico, 147-150).

> Had a job, had a car, had a flat [pause] And then came the drugs and I went just—just to relapse big time man, when I broke up with my missus. (Islam, 350-351).

However to successfully transition out of homelessness, Heuchemer and Josephsson (2006) identified that participants needed to develop and live a new life plot away from the addiction. Living this new life plot was evidenced by Harold, who completely changed his daily routine by incorporating volunteering. The significance of taking control over addictions (Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999) to facilitate the successful movement between <u>hanging on - unmaking</u> and f<u>eeling at home</u> was demonstrated by several of the participants in this study, for example, Harold, Brian, Joe. Others activities

to be in control of, to successfully sustain a tenancy, included paying rent, asking for help, as well as roles and routines that are of meaning to the person.

6.4.1 Taking control over activities

Having a space that is yours, i.e. own tenancy, enables a person to exercise some control over one's life (Parsell, 2012). People feel at home when they have control over their lives (Kellett & Moore, 2003; Padgett, 2007). In a study exploring the experience of people with severe mental illness moving on from homelessness, having control over physical space was a central finding in maintaining permanent housing (Kirkpatrick & Byrne, 2009).

There are many concepts associated with taking control. Self-efficacy is 'one's belief in one's ability to perform specific actions' (Baum, Bass & Christiansen, 2015, p.32). It is a key component in Bandura's social cognitive theory—people with high self-efficacy generally believe they are in control of their own lives. Volition, which has long been part of occupational therapy discourse, is the 'process which motivates choices and actions' (Baum, Bass & Christiansen, 2015, p.35). Agency, a sociological term, is the capacity of an individual to make choices and act independently within the context of the relationship between the agent and social structure (Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2014). Therefore, drawing on these concepts, 'taking control over activities' has both internal and external directed processes. Internally the person must initiate action and externally, the context influences the doing process (Reed, 2015). This interaction between the positive agency of individuals and structural constraints is crucial for the empowerment of persons to leave homelessness (Gosme & Anderson, 2015). Limited social and economic resources, the instability experienced by individuals, as well as inequitable opportunities for engaging in occupations, may make it more difficult for

people at the 'hanging on - unmaking' stage to take control (Anker, 2009; Whiteford & Townsend, 2011). This is illustrated by the following comments about money management and practical household management tasks:

> I needed help with financial side of things, money, do you know what I mean. Even when my benefits come, it is spent within seconds and I have nothing to show for it. (Michael, 374-375).

> My Mum never taught me about money, she never taught me about household appliances so I was in the situation where I was in bedsit and I was like 'what does that do over there' and when the box fused, I was sitting there in the dark and I was like 'what do I do?' (Celeana, 416-418).

Consistent with other studies, this study identified that taking control of budgeting and home management tasks is important to tenancy sustainment (Gabrielian *et al.*, 2017; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015; Stewart, 2013). Harold, who has maintained his current tenancy for over six years, recognised the difference in terms of his money management:

> I get my pension now and before if I had a bad day with that much money I would have been back on the streets. (Harold, 1060-1061).

Brian who, in the past, 'has lost everything, a few times' due to gambling in late night casinos, identified his motivation for controlling his money:

> Just people in doorways at night time or something. Just reminds me of where I have come from... (Brian, 784-785). Just keep working and when I get my bills, just pay them. (Brian, 791).

The positive association between the use of formal and informal supports and tenancy sustainment is well recognised in the literature (Aubry *et al.*, 2016a; Gabrielian *et al.*, 2016; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012; Pickett-Schenk *et al.*, 2007). These supports include housing and other community support services, as well as family and friends.

Participants in this study also valued ‘having that person to fall back on’ (Harold, 470).

Reflecting on why past tenancies had broken down, both Roxy and Ivor observed how they had concealed difficulties from people who supported them:

> Every time they asked me, I said 'Ah, I am fine yeah' when things aren't, so it’s down to me, it’s my fault. (Ivor, 546-547).

When Roxy was asked if there were others who could have noticed signs that things were not good for him, he replied:

> Not really because I tend to play my cards very close to my chest, like you know. (Roxy 642-644).

Similarly, Islam didn’t seek help in relation to his drug taking:

> It’s the little lies become big lies, then you are lying to yourself, you know which some people—I did it—I have done it. I have lied to myself when I thought I never needed any help. I thought 'nah, I could handle it, I don't need the help'. (Islam, 384-386).

Asking for help, or being open about difficulties, are key elements to taking control of a tenancy. As Nguyen *et al.* (2012) advised in their study, factors that enhance help-seeking behaviour among homeless men would be beneficial toward a successful transition out of homelessness. Maud, in her role as support worker, emphasised that people should ‘know where to go if they are struggling’ (Maud, 543). Interestingly, Michael felt that being a user of a service removed the personal responsibility for help seeking. Although he recalled that things ‘just gradually kept going downhill and downhill’ (Michael, 362), he had not approached staff for help:

> No, I thought that was—that should be down to them. (Michael, 369-370).

Interdependence was a concept raised by a number of staff members in the interviews. They cautioned that too heavy a focus can be placed on ‘independent’ living whereas needing help from time to time, and doing with others, is more representative of

everyday life and their own personal experiences. Interdependence is founded on mutual respect, acknowledgement and cooperation that 'both connects people and provides them with independence' (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010, p.145-146). Engaging in occupations and doing with other people is a means of facilitating interdependence.

The power and positive effects of occupation are greatest when choice and control is exercised and accomplishment attained (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013). Roles from an occupational perspective are 'culturally defined patterns of occupation that reflects particular routines and habits' (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013, p.381). Similar to other studies (Patterson & Tweed, 2009; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015), participants who gained or exercised control over roles that were personally important felt most at home in their tenancies. If opportunities to establish a place and purpose in society are not created, people will cycle back into homelessness (Bell & Walsh, 2015). Bernice maintained control over her role as volunteer during her transition and developed a new student role. A tenancy enabled Timothy to gain control over his role as father. Brian reflected that he took control over both his job and tenancy:

> Yeah, yeah so I am a lot more responsible now [at work], you know…It's the experience of not having anything at all like, you know, so... (Brian, 825-827).

> If you get a place, you can't bring anyone who is homeless. You are going to end up bringing them home and they will end up wrecking it and getting you thrown out really. (Brian, 1045-1048).

Staff supported the value of regaining old, or developing new roles in helping people transition from homelessness and encouraged engagement in classes and courses provided by the service:

> [Speaking of a new course] That is why we are excited because it's this stepping stone. 'I did really well in that course in [housing provider], maybe I could try

something a bit more challenging somewhere else'. (Maud, 347-349).

They also recommended the use of, and supported people, to attend external training providers and employment centres. Both Ozzric and Ivor commented on their limited success with employment services that assumed taken for granted computer skills to investigate their options. Whether it is to attend appointments, or get to work, taking control of time use is a basic requirement. A routine is a 'regular or customary pattern of time use through activity or occupation' (Christiansen & Townsend, 2010, p.422). Having a routine to enable participation and 'taking control' of time was an important element in tenancy sustainment:

> When I wake up and I do look out the window and say do something during the day. Do something good, do something active, you know. I just wake up with a different motive every day I suppose, I am more motivated rather than before. (Timothy, 621-623).

> [sighs] I am going to have to start setting my alarm I think and just being more disciplined really. (Sandra, 1730). Yeah, it's something I struggle with. (Sandra, 1776).

It must be acknowledged that routines can also include activities that may be risky to tenancy sustainment, highlighting the need to take control and manage habits:

> I would be up there [casino] every day like. From time to time, at least maybe once or twice a day if I thought I would be lucky. To get out of the flat as well like. (Tony, 83-84).

Similar to the concept of self-reliance, proposed by Kunnen and Martin (2004), to enable people to move on from homelessness, taking control and gaining mastery of daily activities is fundamental to tenancy sustainment to enable participants feel at home.

6.5 Conclusion

This chapter discussed the core process of **Making a Home**, for people leaving homelessness, which was revealed in this constructivist grounded theory study. The

three strategies that underpin the process—***putting your stamp on it, seeing a new self and living the life—***were elaborated on. Feeling at home equated to tenancy sustainment and consisted of two sub-categories 'belonging' and ''having connections'. 'Belonging' is the sense of conncection to place and 'having connections' to others. Tenancies at risk are represented in the category hanging on - unmaking. Taking control over activites was identified as key to sucessful tenancy sustainment. However, if this is unsuccessful it may result in an individual losing or giving up their tenancy and returning to using homelessness services. The experience of using services was explored in the previous chapter. The next chapter (chapter seven) will present the findings from the second strand of this thesis—a systematic review on tenancy sustainment following homelessness.

CHAPTER 7
FINDINGS III. SYSTEMATIC REVIEW FINDINGS AND DISCUSSION

This thesis holds a convergent mixed methods study design as outlined in the methodology chapter (chapter 3). A systematic review and a constructivist grounded theory study were conducted concurrently. This chapter will present and discuss the findings of the systematic review study. The aim of the systematic review was to identify and synthesise the best available evidence on the phenomenon of leaving homelessness and sustaining a tenancy. It addresses the second research question about what enables successful tenancy sustainment following homelessness (see section 3.3.1).

7.1 Description of studies

As described in section 3.3.2, the search initially identified 12,518 citations but, following screening and quality checks, 38 studies (reported in 41 papers) and two literature reviews met the criteria for inclusion in the review. As illustrated in the PRISMA diagram (figure 3.3) on page 83**,** the study types included: one randomised

controlled trial (RCT), seven quasi-experimental study designs, seven cohort studies, five studies presenting secondary analysis. Of the seven cohort studies, four were prospective and one was retrospective while the remaining two reported both prospective and retrospective data. The majority of these were from the USA, two from Canada and the remaining one from Australia. Of the five papers describing secondary analysis, three used data from prospective cohort studies and the two from quasi-experimental studies. Fifteen studies (in 17 papers) reporting qualitative data were identified, with no predominant methodology. The remaining study designs included one survey and two mixed methods studies, reported in three articles. Geographically, twenty-two of the studies were conducted in the USA, ten in Canada, five in the UK and one in Australia. A range of study designs originated from both the USA and Canada; studies based in the UK were qualitative in the main and the Australian study was a cohort study. The majority (n=38) were published in peer review journals, three were grey literature reports and two were PhD theses. The articles were published between 1994 and 2016—the majority (n=25) in the last six years (see table 7.1).

Year of publication	*Number (%)*
2010-2016	25 (58%)
2000-2009	14 (33%)
1994-2000	4 (9%)
Form of publication	*Number (%)*
Peer review journal	38 (88%)
Report	3 (7%)
Thesis	2 (5%)
Country of study	*Number (%)*
United States	22 (58%)
Canada	10 (23%)
UK	5 (13%)
Australia	1 (2%)

Table 7.1. Details of included studies

7.1.1 Study populations

In relation to populations within the studies, 20 studies recruited adults with mental illness and/or substance misuse. The literature reviews, included in the systematic review, also focused on the same population. Two studies included adults with problematic substance use or severe alcohol problems (Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Davidson *et al.*, 2014). Three studies recruited young adults only—two focused on those aged 16-25 years (Kidd *et al.*, 2016; Stewart, 2013) and one recruited young adults aged between 18 and 25 years (Roy *et al.*, 2016). Another study included those aged 16-19 years in addition to adults (Aubry *et al.*, 2016a). One study, reported in two papers, focused only on adults aged 50 years and over (Crane & Warnes, 2002; Crane & Warnes, 2007). Participants were exclusively recruited from the veteran population in one American study (O'Connell, Kasprow & Rosenheck, 2008). The sample sizes within the included studies ranged from four to 4,478.

Only one study, reported in two papers, explored staff perspectives (Chen, 2014; Chen & Ogden, 2012). It was with practitioners in a community intervention, Critical Time Intervention (CTI), designed to enhance housing stability by supporting people during the transition from institutional to community living. Every other study recruited participants with experience of homelessness, including those involved in housing programmes and interventions, as well as those who were formerly homeless and residing in tenancies at the time of the study. Selected study characteristics of the 43 articles in the analysis, as well as the QualSyst scores (see section 3.3.2.5), are described in table 7.2. The reported QualSyst score is the mean score of the assessments made by the reviewers.

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Aubry *et al.* (2016a)	Canada	Prospective cohort study	To test a model based on resilience theory in a single city on emergency shelter users, as well as, investigate the association of housing stability and housing quality to mental health functioning	Single individuals using emergency shelters (N=329) Follow up interviews conducted with 197 (59.9% follow up)	HIST Dichotomous variable 'housed' for a period of at least 90 days or 'homeless'	0.83
Aubry *et al.* (2016b)	Canada	Randomised controlled trial	To examine the effectiveness of Housing First with assertive community treatment (ACT) versus treatment as usual (TAU)	950 participants, aged 18 or older, with SMI who were absolutely homeless or precariously housed. Randomly assigned to either Housing First with ACT (n=469) or TAU (n=481)	RTLFB Percentage of days housed over the study period	0.93
Bybee, Mowbray and Cohen (1994)	USA	Quasi- experimental study	To examine residential status and community functioning from an outreach intervention at 12 month follow up and contrast with results obtained at 4 months	Homeless with SMI (N=163) Follow up at 4 months (N=139) and 12 months (N=132)	Data from records 'Homeless/correctional settings', 'treatment settings', 'permanent settings' or 'supervised dependent settings'	0.655
Chen and Ogden (2012)	USA	Qualitative – grounded theory	To explore Critical Time Intervention (CTI) workers perspectives on practice experiences	Critical Time Intervention staff (N=12)	Semi structured interview	0.75
Chen (2014)	USA	Qualitative – grounded theory	To explore CTI workers perspectives on practice experiences	Critical Time Intervention staff (N=12)	Semi structured interview	0.725

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	USA	Secondary analysis Quasi-experimental RCT	To examine housing retention and its predictors in the context of a single-site Housing First approach	Housing First residents who were chronically homeless with severe alcohol problems (N=111)	Data from housing agency records Number of days continuously housed	0.86
Crane and Warnes (2002)*	UK	Qualitative Longitudinal	To identify factors that contribute to tenancy sustainment. To examine resettlement outcomes among older homeless people	Homeless people aged 50 or over who were resettled by the participating organisations in independent, shared or supported housing (N=64)	Semi structured interviews Dichotomous variable 'housed' or 'tenancy ended'	0.765
Crane and Warnes (2007)*	UK	Qualitative Longitudinal	To evaluate the rehousing of older homeless people and to identify the factors that contributed to tenancy sustainment and failure	Homeless people aged 50 or more rehoused into independent or supported housing (N=64)	Semi structured interview Dichotomous variable 'housed' or 'tenancy ended'	0.76
Crane, Warnes and Coward (2012)+	UK	Mixed method Longitudinal	To explore the association between the preparation for independent living that homeless people receive and resettlement outcomes (FOR-HOME study)	Single homeless aged 16 and over who were resettled (N=400)	Interview Dichotomous variable 'housed' or 'no tenancy'	0.81
Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016)	UK	Qualitative Longitudinal	To follow up formerly homeless people five years after their resettlement, and to examine their longer term outcomes and support needs	The FOR-HOME participants five years after they were resettled (N=297)	Interview Dichotomous variable 'housed' or 'not housed'	0.765
Davidson *et al.* (2014)	USA	Prospective cohort study	To examine if those in Housing First programs would experience longer housing retention and less substance use	Individuals with histories of chronic homelessness and problematic substance use (N=358)	Data from housing program Number of days in housing	0.725

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Fotheringham, Walsh and Burrowes (2014)	Canada	Qualitative Participatory research	To determine role of transitional housing in ending homelessness for women and how gender specific experiences may inform housing service delivery models	Women in transitional and permanent housing programme (N=9)	Photovoice	0.65
Gabrielian *et al.* (2015)	USA	Retrospective cohort study	To understand housing trajectories and identify factors that best predict successful exit from homelessness	Individuals who were admitted to a Veteran Association residential rehab program for homeless adults with SMI and substance use disorder over 3 year period (N=36)	RTLFB % of days in stable housing ('stable' versus 'unstable' settings)	0.825
Gabrielian *et al.* (2016)	USA	Qualitative Ground theory approach	To examine ways and identify the junctures in which consumers' skills and deficits in accessing and mobilising social supports influence their longitudinal housing status	Consumers of Veteran Affairs with serious mental illness, substance use disorders, and a history of homelessness (N=19)	Semi structured interviews	0.675
Goering *et al.* (1997)	Canada	Quasi- experimental study	To assess outcomes of clients of Hostel Outreach Program (HOP) and their relationship to program	Clients admitted to HOP program during 6-month period (N=55). Homeless with SMI	HSSI Weeks in 'shelters' versus 'weeks in permanent residence'	0.715
Henwood *et al.* (2013)	USA	Qualitative	How participants view the transition from being homeless to housed in permanent supportive housing?	Individuals who were homeless but were moving into permanent housing in the near future (N=30)	Semi structured interviews	0.725
Jost, Levitt and Porcu (2011)	USA	Qualitative	To provide a better understanding of clients' perceptions of Street to Home operations	Homeless adults who had been placed into permanent housing by S2H during previous six months (N=20)	Interviews	0.7

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Kidd *et al.* (2016)	Canada	Mixed methods study	To examine the process of establishing post homeless lives among recently homeless youths	Youth aged 16 to 25 who reported a history of at least 6 months of past homelessness and criteria of 'stability' since (N=51)	Stability = maintained housing with no substantial period of homelessness (> a few days)	0.785
Kirkpatrick and Byrne (2009)	Canada	Qualitative Narrative inquiry	To explore the experience of 'moving on' from homelessness for individuals with SMI, when in supportive permanent housing	Tenants of HOMES (housing with support), SMI and previously homeless (N=12)	Interview	0.675
McNaughton (2007)	UK	Qualitative Longitudinal	To examine homelessness agency, structure, identity, risk and governance and how these interacted to impact upon the transitions the participants made	People experiencing, or at risk of homelessness, in transition through homelessness accessing service in Glasgow (N=28)	Interview 'Living in their own tenancies' or 'without own housing'	0.775
Nelson, Aubry and Lafrance (2007)		Literature review	To review literature on housing and support, ACT, ICM interventions	People with mental illness who have been homeless		0.86
O'Connell, Kasprow and Rosenheck (2008)	USA	Secondary analysis of quasi-experimental study	To examine risk of returning to homelessness after successful housing	Formerly homeless veterans in an experimental trial of case management plus rent subsidy vouchers, case management only or standard care (N=392)	Interview Number nights homeless in last 90 nights. 'Continuously housed' or 'discontinuous housing'	0.835
Padgett (2007)	USA	Qualitative Life history interviews	To explore the subjective meaning of home for homeless mentally ill in housing	Persons with SMI who participated in NYHS - 'housing first' group (n=21) and 'treatment first' group (n=18)	Life history interviews	0.775

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Patterson and Tweed (2009)	Canada	Quantitative Survey	To identify factors that facilitate escape from homelessness and to rate factors that would have helped them become more independent and self-sufficient	Two groups. People who were homeless (n=58) and people who had successfully escaped homelessness (n=80)	Successful escape = previously homeless for at least one month and in stable housing for at least six months	0.725
Patterson *et al.* (2013)	Canada	Qualitative Narrative analysis	To identify trajectories of recovery of homeless adults with mental illness, alongside the factors that contribute to positive, negative, mixed or neutral trajectories over time	Absolutely homeless or precariously housed with current mental disorder (N=43). Random assignment to Housing First or TAU	Housing stability as one of 22 domains to categorise trajectories Stable housing = typically 6-12 months but not defined	0.75
Peterson, Antony and Thomas (2012)	USA	Qualitative CBPR and photovoice method	To explore what helps and the challenges to stable housing	Individuals who had graduated housing transition program and remained successfully housed for at least six months (N=15 completed at least one group interview)	Photovoice	0.75
Pickett-Schenk *et al.* (2007)	USA	Secondary analysis of prospective cohort study	To examine associations between family contact and housing stability	Homeless adults with SMI from ACCESS project (outreach and case management to over 7,000 at 18 sites) (N= 4,778)	Interview Housing stability = number of days in past 60 living in one's own or another's house or rooming house	0.78
Raphael-Greenfield and Gutman (2015)	USA	Qualitative Phenomenology	To explore the experience of housing transition and housing maintenance	Housing First residents (formerly homeless) with substance abuse history (N=4)	Interview	0.675

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Rog *et al.* (2014)		Literature review	To describe and review permanent supportive housing research	Homeless people with mental disorders or co-occurring mental and substance use disorders		0.87
Roy *et al.* (2016)	Canada	Prospective cohort study	To estimate the probability of reaching residential stability over time and to identify predictors of residential stability among homeless young adults aged 18 to 25 years	Street youth (18-25 years) who had experienced at least one 24 hour episode of homelessness in the previous 30 days (N=359)	Questionnaire based on RFBC. Days = 'homeless' or 'housed' Residential stability = period of 90 consecutive housed days	0.9
Siegel *et al.* (2006)	USA	Quasi-experimental study	To examine if outcomes in housing, clinical status and well-being of people with SMI and a history of homelessness differ between supported housing and community residences	Tenants with SMI who had newly entered supported housing and community residences (N= 157)	Self-report residential history instrument - previous 6 months True-stayer = in study for at least 365 days and at least 180 were spent in housing initially placed	0.93
Spicer et al. (2015)	Australia	Prospective cohort study	To describe mental illness profile of a sample of homeless men and examine the factors associated with better housing outcome at 12 months follow up	Clients of Michael Project accessing accommodation and outreach services (N=253) (n=107, 12 months later)	Interview questions Housing collapsed into binary variable - housed or not housed in stable, long term housing	0.83
Stergiopoulos *et al.* (2015)	Canada	Quasi- experimental- Unblinded randomised trial	To examine the effect of scattered site housing with ICM on housing stability and generic quality of life	Homeless or precariously housed with mental illness with/out concurrent substance use disorder (N=1198) Allocated to intervention (n=689) or usual care (n=509)	RTLFB Stable housing defined as living in one's own room, apartment or house, or with family for 6 months or more.	0.915

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Stahl *et al.* (2016)	USA	Qualitative Grounded theory methods	To learn about factors that may enhance or endanger housing stability	Residents in a single site Housing First project (severe alcohol problems and chronically homeless) (N=11)	Semi structured interview	0.675
Stewart (2013)	UK	Qualitative Longitudinal	To explore how young people experience tenancy sustainment or where they move onto after terminating a tenancy	Young people, 16-25, who had previously been recognised as statutorily homeless and were currently in their own independent tenancy (N=25)	Semi structured interview	0.725
Tsai and Rosenheck (2012)	USA	Secondary analysis of prospective cohort study	To examine the association between consumer choice and satisfaction, and housing and mental health outcomes, in supported housing	Chronically homeless (>1 year or four episodes in past three years) enrolled in an 11- site supported housing initiative called CICH (N=534)	Interview Number of nights in previous 3 months categorised as 'in own place', 'in someone else's place', 'in a hotel/boarding home', 'in an institution' or 'homeless'	0.77
Tsemberis and Eisenberg (2000)	USA	Quasi-experimental	To examine the effectiveness of Pathways to Housing over five year period	Homeless adults with SMI (n=242) in Pathways to Housing project compared to homeless with SMI (n=1600) in other housing projects	Administrative data Tenure = number of days continuously housed (in the years 1993 to 1997). Categorised 'continuous' or 'discontinuous'	0.795
Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae (2004)	USA	Quasi-experimental	To examine effects of Housing First on housing stability, consumer choice, substance use, treatment utilisation and psychiatric symptoms	Adults with history of homelessness over past 6 months and Axis 1 diagnosis of SMI, 15/30 days on street or in public places (n=157) and psychiatric hospitals (n=68)). Randomised into control and Housing First for 24 months (N=225)	Day by day residential status with 6 month RFBC Proportion of time homeless = number of days 'homeless' or 'stably housed' was summed and divided by total days of residency	0.725

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013)[+]	UK	Mixed methods Longitudinal	To examine the influences of biographical, behavioural, housing and neighbourhood attributes on housing satisfaction, settledness and tenancy sustainment	Single homeless aged 16 and over who were resettled by organisations into independent accommodation (N=400). (used data from FOR-HOME study)	Interview 'Housed in original tenancy', 'holds another tenancy' or 'no tenancy'	0.77
Wong et al. (2006)	USA	Cohort study Retrospective and prospective	To examine factors associated with leaving permanent supported housing and what happens to persons	Retrospective sample of persons in permanent supported housing programs for people with SMI, 2001-2004 (N=943) Prospective tracking of leavers (n=100) from 2003-2004 and matched sample of stayers as of 2005 (n=96)	Housing retention = dates of admission to discharge/end of study date - 'stayer' or 'leaver' Three types of exits 'independent'; 'dependent' or 'unknown'	0.95
Wong et al. (2008)	USA	Cohort study Retrospective and prospective	To examine outcomes of supported independent living programs for persons with serious mental illness	Residents of supported independent living with SMI (N=452) (database; 1999-2002) and people who had left supported independent living (n=46)(interviews)	Housing retention = dates of admission to discharge/end of study date - 'stayer' or 'leaver'. Three types of exits: 'independent'; 'dependent' or 'unknown'	0.74

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

Study	*Location*	*Design*	*Aim of study*	*Sample*	*Data collection* *Tenancy sustainment measure and how operationalised*	*QualSyst score*
Wood *et al.* (1998)	USA	Quasi-experimental study	To examine longitudinal patterns in family support among homeless mentally ill participants in a long-term study of supported housing	Those homeless or at severe risk of homelessness with SMI (N=316). Random allocation to 4 groups (section 8 cert and comprehensive case management; section 8 cert and traditional case management; comprehensive case management without section 8 or traditional without section 8)	Monthly housing information by case managers and 60-day calendar self-report data in interviews. 'Stable housing'; 'variable housing with family supports' or 'unstable housing'.	0.83
Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	USA	Secondary analysis of data from a prospective cohort	To examine if temporary or permanent housing is associated with human capital, disaffiliation, cultural identification or economic resources	Adults who spent the previous night 'homeless' in 80 Alameda County sites that provided free meals (N=397)	Residential history during the 15 month follow up period. Residential exit = minimum 30 consecutive days in same house, apartment or room.	0.68

#*+ = same study

Shaded rows = qualitative studies

ACCESS = Access to Community Care and Effective Supports and Services; ACT = assertive community treatment; CBPR = Community-Based Participatory Research; CICH = Collaborative Initiative to Help End Chronic Homelessness; HIST = Housing Income and Services Timeline (Toro et al, 1997); HSSI =Housing subscale of social interview (Clare and Cairns, 1978); ICM = intensive case management; NYHS = New York Housing Study; RFBC= residential follow back calendar; RTLFB Residential Time-Line Follow-Back Inventory (Tsemberis S, McHugh G, Williams V, et al, 2007); SMI = Severe mental illness; TAU = treatment as usual

Table 7.2. Characteristics of included studies in systematic review (continued)

7.1.2 Tenancy sustainment

The primary outcome of interest in this review was tenancy sustainment. As a result all of the included studies used at least one outcome to measure tenancy sustainment or housing stability but how they measured this varied widely (see table 7.3 below).

Tenancy sustainment outcome	*Number of studies*
Variables: 'housed' or 'not housed'	6
Variables: 'housed', 'not housed' or 'variable housing'	1
Variables: 'housed', 'not housed', 'variable housing' or 'treatment setting'	1
Number of days housed over study period	5
Percentage of days housed over study period	4

Table 7.3. Tenancy sustainment outcomes used in the included studies

Six studies based the outcome on a single dichotomous variable: 'housed' or 'not housed' (Aubry *et al*., 2016a; Crane, 2012; Crane & Warnes, 2002; Patterson & Tweed, 2009; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012; Spicer *et al*., 2015). One study included 'variable housing' as a third classification (Wood *et al*., 1998) and another used a fourth variable to categorise 'treatment setting' at the time of data collection (Bybee, Mowbray & Cohen, 1994). Five studies counted the number of days housed (Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Davidson *et al*., 2014; Pickett-Schenk *et al*., 2007; Siegel *et al*., 2006; Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000), whereas four used the percentage of days housed over the study period as the housing stability outcome (Aubry *et al*., 2016b; Gabrielian *et al*., 2015; Stergiopoulos *et al*., 2015; Tsemberis, Gulcur & Nakae, 2004). The Residential Time Line Follow Back Inventory (RTLFB) (Tsemberis *et al*., 2007) was used to record residential status in three studies (Aubry *et al*., 2016b; Gabrielian *et al*., 2015; Stergiopoulos *et al*., 2015). It uses prompts to collect information about housing history and has high test-retest reliability and good concurrent reliability in homeless populations (Tsemberis *et al*., 2007). Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae (2004) used its

precursor, a six-month residential follow back calendar, in an earlier study. Interestingly, the duration of residence required to be judged stably housed varied between articles. One study specified 30 days (Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999); one 60 days (Pickett-Schenk *et al*., 2007); two required at least 6 months (Crane, Joly & Manthorpe, 2016; Stergiopoulos *et al*., 2015) and another 9 months (Goering *et al*., 1997). The most frequently occurring duration was 90 days, reported in three studies (Aubry *et al*., 2016a; O'Connell, Kasprow & Rosenheck, 2008; Roy *et al*., 2016). This will be considered further in the discussion (section 7.3.2).

7.1.3 Methodological quality

As outlined in section 3.3.2.5, a validated quality appraisal tool, QualSyst (Kmet, Lee & Cook, 2004) was used. The maximum score is 1 and all articles that scored in excess of the designated QualSyst threshold of 0.65 were deemed to be of adequate quality for inclusion. The quality scores ranged from 0.65 (Fotheringham, Walsh & Burrowes, 2014) to 0.95 (Wong *et al*., 2006). The overall scores are shown in table 7.2 and the score for each criteria can be found in appendix 29 for quantitative studies and appendix 30 for qualitative studies. The main area of weakness of the included quantitative studies was the reporting of the results—the incomplete estimates of variance and controlling for confounding factors. For qualitative studies, the areas of weaknesses included a lack of evidence of reflexivity and of verification procedures to establish credibility. The included studies in this review were methodologically diverse. The quantitative study designs, as well as the samples and outcome measures, were too heterogeneous to be combined in statistical meta-analysis. Therefore, a narrative overview of included studies was conducted and all studies were included in the results.

7.2 Findings from the studies

The aim of this systematic review was to identify and synthesise the best available evidence on the phenomenon of leaving homelessness and sustaining a tenancy. The original objectives (see section 3.3.1) were to address the following:

- What is the range of issues perceived and encountered by individuals, supporters and service providers in relation to leaving homelessness?
- What supports and service models (e.g. 'staircase' approach/ 'Housing First' model) are most effective in enabling people to leave homelessness?
- What are the enablers and barriers experienced by formerly homeless individuals in sustaining tenancies away from homelessness?
- What are the supports and barriers identified by supporters and service providers in enabling people leave homelessness?

The objectives were comprehensive and resulted in the breadth of articles included in the review. On further consideration of the articles and their heterogeneity, it was decided that answering each objective would not present the literature in the most meaningful way for this thesis. To address the aim of the review—to synthesise the best available evidence on the phenomenon of leaving homelessness and sustaining a tenancy—it was determined that presentation of the results as a whole, focussing on the determinants of tenancy sustainment, would be more constructive. To represent the interactive and multifaceted effects of individual and contextual factors on tenancy sustainment, determinants were categorised at levels adapted from the framework of the Social Ecological Model (Centers for Disease Control and Prevention (CDC), 2009). Presentation of the determinants of tenancy sustainment at the nested levels—individual, interpersonal, community and structural/system—was more meaningful to the study than addressing each objective separately.

Tables of detailed results for all studies are available in appendices 31, 32, 33 and 34 (according to level) but the narrative overview is presented in the following sections. It will conclude (section 7.2.5) with a model of the positive determinants of tenancy sustainment.

7.2.1 Level 1: Individual determinants

Determinants at an individual level include personal characteristics and behaviours. Age and its relationship to tenancy sustainment was reported in six studies (Bybee, Mowbray & Cohen, 1994; Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Spicer I., 2015; Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013; Wong *et al*., 2006; Wong *et al*., 2008). While one study found no significant difference in regard to demographics (Spicer *et al*., 2015), five studies showed a positive relationship between tenure in housing and greater age (Bybee, Mowbray & Cohen, 1994; Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013; Wong *et al*., 2008). Being older was associated with a lower risk and increased tenure in supported independent living (Wong et al., 2008), in a Housing First project (Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013) and in various independent accommodation settings (Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013). As regards gender, there were discordant findings related to tenancy sustainment. Of the four studies that reported gender, two found it was not a significant predictor (Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013). One US based study found female gender predicted unstable housing (Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999) whereas being a young adult male was associated with a decreased prospect of housing stability in another study (Roy *et al*., 2016).

The duration of time (over six months) spent in previous temporary accommodation immediately before resettlement was found to be positively associated with tenancy

sustainment in two UK based studies (Crane, 2012; Crane, Joly & Manthorpe, 2016), however this was not supported by a US study (Wong *et al*., 2006). The influence of the length of time spent homeless was also inconclusive (Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999) although one study identified positive association between housing stability and a previous stable accommodation history, i.e. having held a tenancy for at least 15 years before becoming homeless (Crane & Warnes, 2007).

While mental illness is often cited as a cause of homelessness, four of the seven studies that examined mental health as a variable, found that adults with mental illness were no less likely to maintain stable housing (Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Crane, Joly & Manthorpe, 2016; Spicer *et al*., 2015; Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999). Indeed, having a mood disorder (Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000) or schizophrenia (Wong *et al*., 2006) were positively associated with increased tenure. One study pointed towards a negative association between interpersonal difficulties and tenancy sustainment, and found that individuals with fewer mental health symptoms influencing interpersonal difficulties were more likely to achieve housing stability (Gabrielian *et al*., 2015). Duration of involvement with mainstream community mental health services for people with mental illness was a significant predictor of being in a permanent setting at twelve months (Bybee, Mowbray & Cohen, 1994). In contrast to the mixed findings concerning mental health problems, studies consistently identified a negative relationship between substance misuse and tenancy sustainment (Aubry *et al*., 2016a; Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; O'Connell, Kasprow & Rosenheck, 2008; Roy *et al*., 2016; Spicer *et al*., 2015; Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000).

Personal/psychological factors appeared to be associated with better outcomes as discussed in eight of the included studies. These were predominantly identified by

qualitative studies and themes included a personal readiness to leave the street and wanting change (Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011; Patterson & Tweed, 2009; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012) as well as a desire for home maintenance (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015). Similarly, making changes (Patterson *et al*., 2013), 'repairing identities' (Padgett, 2007) and 'making gains with life goals' (Kidd *et al*., 2016) were all associated with tenancy sustainment. 'Dealing with the past' (Patterson & Tweed, 2009) was perceived to facilitate an escape from homelessness and those who sought psychological help were more likely to reach housing stability (Roy *et al*., 2016). In addition, having a sense of control was identified by two studies as important in housing stability (Kirkpatrick & Byrne, 2009; Padgett, 2007). In one study, which evaluated the relationship between consumer choice over living environment and case management in supported housing and housing outcomes, no significant association was found at six or twelve months (Tsai & Rosenheck, 2012). Educational history was only identified in one study as a predictor of stability (Roy *et al*., 2016) and only two included studies examined employment—one found a positive association with tenancy sustainment and having had over twenty years employment before homelessness (Crane & Warnes, 2002) and one with having an income from current employment (Roy *et al*., 2016). Results suggest that being involved in the informal sector, for example begging or stealing, predicted unstable housing (Roy *et al*., 2016; Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999). Two studies associated engagement in daytime activities and the routines of daily life as positive determinants of tenancy sustainment (Crane & Warnes, 2007; Padgett, 2007).

7.2.2 Level 2: Interpersonal determinants

Interpersonal factors refers to relationships with other people. There were a number of interpersonal determinants that were positively associated with tenancy sustainment,

in particular, social contact with other housed individuals. Social support, especially from family, was explored in nine studies with a mix of study designs. Having regular contact with relatives or housed friends was significantly associated with tenancy sustainment (Aubry *et al*., 2016a; Patterson & Tweed, 2009; Pickett-Schenk *et al*., 2007; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013) and those in stable housing had increased interaction with families (Pickett-Schenk *et al*., 2007; Wood *et al*., 1998). Personal support systems were perceived as a key influence (Gabrielian *et al*., 2016; McNaughton, 2007; Patterson & Tweed, 2009; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012). In contrast, in one UK study a negative association between continued socialising with homeless people and remaining resettled was found (Crane & Warnes, 2002). Equally, having relationships described as superficial or of negative valence, e.g. those that encouraged risky behaviour, was associated with unstable housing (Gabrielian *et al*., 2016). The experience of feeling isolated was reported as having a negative influence on tenancy sustainment (Crane & Warnes, 2002; Fotheringham, Walsh & Burrowes, 2014; Patterson *et al*., 2013).

Four studies investigated the role of support workers in tenancy sustainment and all reported positive associations. When tenancy workers supported people into permanent accommodation, the variable that was associated with tenancy sustainment was at least fortnightly contact in the first three to six months (Crane & Warnes, 2002; Crane & Warnes, 2007). The importance of rapport and a strong working relationship between the case manager and client was identified in other studies (Chen, 2014; Chen & Ogden, 2012; Goering *et al*., 1997; Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011). This was highlighted in studies of specific programmes—the CTI, a nine month intervention to facilitate the transition to community living (Chen, 2014; Chen & Ogden, 2012); the Hostel Outreach

Programme (HOP), an assertive case management service for homeless mentally ill (Goering *et al*., 1997); and Street to Home (S2H), a housing focused outreach programme with no specific timeframe for the transition (Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011).

The remaining factors fitted into levels that had either a local focus (community level) or a wider systemic focus (structural level).

7.2.3 Level 3: Community determinants

Four qualitative studies identified integrating or reengaging with 'housed' society as a key theme contributing to tenancy sustainment (Patterson *et al*., 2013; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015; Stewart, 2013). More specifically this theme included realising independence (Stewart, 2013), the expression of a positive identity independent of homelessness (Patterson & Tweed, 2009), and transforming occupational roles through housing (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015). Neighbourhood was also identified as a determinant by three qualitative studies (Henwood *et al*., 2013; Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013). In a mixed methods study of 400 single homeless people resettled into independent accommodation, neighbourhood attributes, such as being close to shops and good transport links, had a strong influence on tenancy sustainment outcomes (Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013). However, a tension associated with being off the streets and adapting to unfamiliar neighbourhoods away from previous environments, was a theme in two qualitative studies from the USA (Henwood *et al*., 2013; Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011).

A sense of community and consumer participation are two principles of the Housing First model that have been associated with tenancy sustainment. Higher consumer participation in permanent housing programmes, i.e. client centred services and open

discussion of substance use behaviours, indicated participants with problematic substance misuse were more likely to maintain their tenancies (Davidson *et al*., 2014). In addition, for individuals with severe alcohol problems, the community environment offered by single-site Housing First (individual units with access to shared spaces and on-site services) as well as the provision of adequate privacy enhanced resident's ability to remain stably housed (Stahl *et al*., 2016).

7.2.4 Level 4: Structural/system factors

Even though the extent of state support varies across countries, it was found to be associated with housing stability in four studies (McNaughton, 2007; Roy *et al*., 2016; Wood *et al*., 1998; Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999). This included social welfare supports in the UK (McNaughton, 2008); Section 8 housing certificates in the USA, which allow access to a rental unit for which 70% of rent is subsidised (Wood *et al*., 1998) as well as entitlement-benefit income in Canada and the USA (Roy *et al*., 2016; Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999).

The remaining studies examined housing models and interventions that supported tenancy sustainment. One model of housing is permanent supported housing, which provides stable housing and individualised flexible supports for people who are homeless with mental illness and substance use disorders. A literature review graded the level of evidence for permanent supportive housing as moderate (Rog *et al*., 2014). They reported that substantial literature, including seven RCTs, demonstrated that components of the model of permanent supported housing reduced homelessness and increased housing tenure but methodological flaws limited the authors' ability to draw firm conclusions. Another review (Nelson, Aubry & Lafrance, 2007) on interventions for people with mental illness who have been homeless concluded that the best outcomes

for housing stability were found in programmes that offered combined housing and support (effect size=0.67). This was followed by assertive community treatment (ACT) alone (effect size=0.47), while the weakest outcomes were found for intensive case management (ICM) programs alone (effect size=0.28). Similar to the literature review by Rog *et al*. (2014), the provision of permanent housing in addition to support is the most successful approach for homeless persons with mental illness.

Within this systematic review, the most common model of intervention was Housing First (HF), specified in ten of the studies (Aubry *et a*l., 2016b; Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Davidson *et al*., 2014; Henwood *et al*., 2013; Patterson *et al*., 2013; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015; Stahl *et al*., 2016; Stergiopoulos *et al*., 2015; Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000; Tsemberis, Gulcur & Nakae, 2004). HF originated in New York City in 1992, developed by an organisation called Pathways to Housing for homeless individuals with mental illness (Woodhall-Melnik & Dunn, 2016). HF is an intervention that has three major components: philosophy and practice values; permanent independent housing; and community-based, mobile support services (Tsemberis, 2012). The core HF values are an immediate access to housing with a commitment to consumer choice, recovery orientation, community integration, and the separation of treatment and housing (Tsemberis & Henwood, 2013). Of the ten studies included in this systematic review, four were qualitative studies who recruited individuals using HF services (Henwood *et al*., 2013; Patterson *et al*., 2013; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015; Stahl *et al*., 2016). The study by Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013) examined predictors of housing retention in the context of HF. The remaining five studies were evaluations of HF as an intervention (Aubry *et al*., 2016b; Davidson *et al*., 2014; Stergiopoulos *et al*., 2015; Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000; Tsemberis, Gulcur & Nakae, 2004). Four other evaluation

studies that had tenancy sustainment as a primary outcome were included. These were an Outreach Intervention Project (Bybee, Mowbray & Cohen, 1994); a Hostel Outreach Project (HOP) (Goering *et al*., 1997); and a Housing and Urban Development - Veterans Affairs Supported Housing (HUD-VASH) initiative which provided access to housing through rent subsidy vouchers (Section 8) as well as case management support (O'Connell, Kasprow & Rosenheck, 2008). A further study compared supported housing against community residences in New York (Siegel *et al*., 2006). See table 7.4 for key features of the intervention studies.

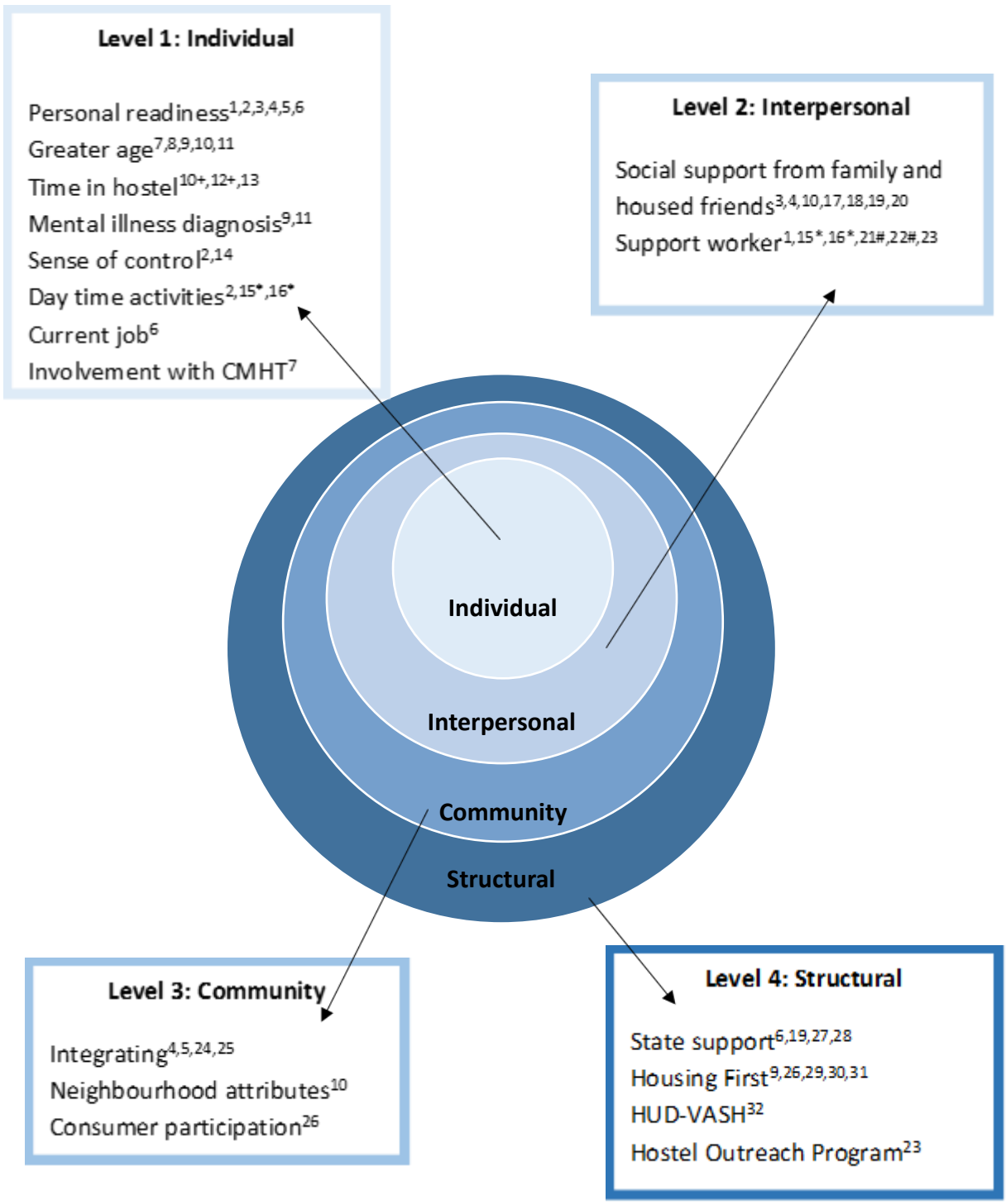
Intervention	HF Aubry *et al.*(2016b)	**HF** Davidson *et al.* (2014)	**HF** Stergiopoulos *et al.* (2015)	**HF** Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae (2004)	**HF (Pathways to Housing)** Tsemberis and Eisenberg (2000)	**Outreach Intervention Project** Bybee, Mowbray and Cohen (1994)	**Hostel Outreach Project** Goering *et al.* (1997)	**HUD-VASH initiative** O'Connell, Kasprow and Rosenheck (2008)
Country	Canada	USA	Canada	USA	USA	USA	Canada	USA
Target population	Homeless with SMI	Homeless and problematic substance use	Homeless with SMI with/out substance	Homeless with SMI	Homeless with SMI	Homeless with SMI	Homeless with SMI	Homeless veterans
Key Features *Housing* *Model* *Staff/ support*	Private-market scattered site units Good fidelity with HF Model At least 1 weekly visit by ACT staff	Scattered site supportive housing with 9 housing providers Providers expected to follow HF approach 5 of the 9 providers showed consistent fidelity	Scattered-site supported housing Mobile off site ICM services Fidelity to HF Model Weekly contact with case manager. Caseload max 16 to 18	Independent apartments HF model ACT team available 24/7 (incl. housing specialist) Meet with staff minimum of twice monthly	Independent scattered-site apartment Pathways to Housing (HF model) Harm reduction approach Meet with staff minimum of twice monthly Participate in money management	Independent residences in community Mental Health Linkage model (Mowbray *et al.*, 1992) Mental health workers. Joint planning with client Support in flat & community transition	Private rooms & independent apartments ICM of approx. 15 clients (biweekly to daily contact). Strengths model of case management (Rapp, 1993) Long term Involvement. Support level as necessary. Based on clients self determination	Independent apartments (Section 8) Modified assertive treatment model Caseload of max 25. Weekly contact Link to services including work and substance counselling

Table 7.4. Key features of intervention studies included in systematic review

Housing First led to greater tenancy sustainment in the five included studies. Two studies found that participants with severe mental illness in HF spent more time in stable housing compared to participants in treatment as usual (Aubry *et al*., 2016b; Tsemberis, Gulcur & Nakae, 2004). There were also findings of housing stability for persons with histories of chronic homelessness and problematic substance misuse in HF programs (Davidson *et al*., 2014) and a Pathways program (Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000). One study reported the HF scattered site housing with ICM services resulted in housing stability over 24 months compared with usual access to existing housing and community services (Stergiopoulos *et al*., 2015). In addition, the HUD-VASH initiative (housing with ICM) found that veterans had a lower risk of returning to homelessness over five years compared to ICM only or standard care (O'Connell, Kasprow & Rosenheck, 2008). Another intervention reporting housing stability was the Housing Outreach Program (Goering *et al*., 1997). Outreach workers supported individuals with mental illness from six homeless hostels in a Canadian city during the 1990s to access and maintain accommodation. A different outreach intervention project, attached similarly to hostels and in the same decade, identified that a significant predictor of tenancy sustainment was the duration of involvement with the project (Bybee, Mowbray & Cohen, 1994). Statistically, tenure did not differ by housing type in a comparison of two types of supported housing and community residences operated by agencies with intensive support services in New York (Siegel *et al.*, 2006).

7.2.5 Model of positive determinants of tenancy sustainment

The following model (figure 7.1) illustrates the determinants that have a positive effect on tenancy sustainment, at the various levels. These levels operate as an interdependent system and tenancy sustainment is effected through the interplay of positive determinants.



* + = same study

[1]Jost, Levitt and Porcu (2011); [2]Padgett (2007); [3]Patterson and Tweed (2009); [4]Peterson, Antony and Thomas (2012); [5]Raphael-Greenfield and Gutman (2015); [6]Roy *et al.*(2016); [7]Bybee, Mowbray and Cohen (1994); [8]Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013); [9]Tsemberis and Eisenberg (2000); [10+]Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013); [11]Wong *et al.*(2008); [12+]Crane, Warnes and Coward (2012); [13]Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016); [14]Kirkpatrick and Byrne (2009); [15+]Crane and Warnes (2002); [16*]Crane and Warnes (2007); [17]Aubry *et al.* (2016a); [18]Pickett-Schenk *et al.* (2007); [19]McNaughton (2007); [20]Gabrielian *et al.*(2016); [21#]Chen and Ogden (2012); [22#]Chen (2014); [23]Goering *et al.*(1997); [24]Stewart (2013); [25]Patterson *et al.* (2013); [26]Davidson *et al.* (2014); [27]Wood *et al.* (1998); [28]Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999); [29]Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae (2004); [30]Aubry *et al.* (2016b); [31]Stergiopoulos *et al.*(2015); [32]O'Connell, Kasprow and Rosenheck (2008)

Figure 7.1. Positive determinants of tenancy sustainment

7.3 Discussion

Tenancy sustainment, although fundamental to the resolution and prevention of homelessness, is poorly conceptualised in research (Frederick *et al.*, 2014). This systematic review, which is the first to focus solely on tenancy sustainment as a primary outcome, addresses this knowledge gap. A comprehensive search strategy identified 38 studies, with a diversity of study designs as well as populations, settings and interventions. The determinants were grouped at personal, interpersonal, community and structural levels to provide an understanding of the current research on tenancy sustainment for people who are leaving homelessness. Tenancy sustainment is effected through the interplay of determinants in the interrelated levels but unfortunately, the existing evidence does not provide conclusive information about the relationships. Strong conclusions on the influence of each determinant on tenancy sustainment cannot be drawn due to the diversity of research designs, range of populations and inconsistent definition of outcomes. This heterogeneity is in keeping with other systematic reviews in the area of homelessness (de Vet *et al.*, 2013; Fitzpatrick-Lewis *et al.*, 2011). Overall, the review identified participation in specific programmes, for example Housing First, receiving social support from family as well as support workers, and being of an older age as the most probable determinants of tenancy sustainment. The role of family support as a facilitator to leaving homelessness has been getting increased attention in the literature (Johnstone *et al.*, 2016b; Mayock, Corr & O'Sullivan, 2011). Therefore, an element of rebuilding or enhancing family relationships should be incorporated as a core component into tenancy sustainment. Qualitative evidence highlighted the importance of psychological determinants, for example 'wanting to change', with successful tenancy sustainment. This identification of personal factors is an important consideration when

considering tenancy sustainment as it is helpful in gaining insights into what works (Richards, 2015).

7.3.1 Housing First

The results indicate Housing First (HF) is the most promising intervention for tenancy sustainment. As HF was implemented worldwide, research was embedded in the implementation (Greenwood, Stefancic & Tsemberis, 2013), which may account, in part, for why it is the most common intervention in the review. The highest quality evidence came from well-conducted evaluations of Housing First interventions compared to treatment as usual. These included a randomised control trial (Aubry *et al*., 2016b) as well as a quasi-experimental study (unblinded randomised trial) (Stergiopoulos *et al*., 2015) examining scattered site housing with intensive case management. A recent systematic review also reported that HF appeared better than usual services at improving housing stability (Munthe-Kass, Berg & Blaasvaer, 2016). The authors found other interventions, for example abstinence-contingent housing or housing vouchers, may also have beneficial effects but the evidence is less clear. Key elements of the HF model include consumer choice, the separation of housing and treatment, staff enabling participants to pursue personal goals related to health, family and community integration and meaningful activities (Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000). These core elements address a combination of the positive determinants of tenancy sustainment identified in this review and may explain the promising results of HF as an intervention for tenancy sustainment (see table 7.5).

HF core principles	*Description of princip les*	*Link to positive determinants identified in this systematic review (see sections 7.2.1 to 7.2.4)*
Housing is a human right	Housing provided without the expectation to earn it. There is regular contact between people and support worker.	At least fortnightly contact with support worker (Crane & Warnes, 2002; Crane & Warnes, 2007).
Choice and control for service users	Person using service is listened to and opinions should be respected. Focus on strengths and individual needs. Self-determination is the starting point.	Sense of control (Kirkpatrick & Byrne, 2009; Padgett, 2007). Personal readiness to leave the street and wanting change (Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011; Patterson & Tweed, 2009; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012).
Separation of housing and treatment	The offer of a home by HF is not conditional on accepting treatment. Eviction should only be as a result of lease or tenancy violations and HF services remain in contact.	
Recovery orientation	Focus on overall well-being of person, includes physical and mental health, level of social support (from partner, family or friends) and level of social integration i.e. being part of a community and regaining a meaningful and hopeful life.	Personal readiness 'repairing identities' (Padgett, 2007) and 'making gains with life goals' (Kidd *et al.*, 2016). Daytime activities (Crane & Warnes, 2007; Padgett, 2007). Regular contact with family or housed friends (Aubry *et al.*, 2016a; Patterson & Tweed, 2009; Pickett-Schenk *et al.*, 2007; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013). Integrating or reengaging with 'housed' society (Patterson *et al.*, 2013; Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015; Stewart, 2013).
Harm reduction	Offers support, help and treatment to modify drug and alcohol use, but does not require abstinence from drugs and alcohol.	Open discussion of substance use behaviours (Davidson *et al.*, 2014)
Active engagement	Assertive way of working with HF service users. No threatening with sanctions. Engaging in a positive way so people believe recovery is possible.	Rapport and a strong working relationship with support worker (Chen, 2014; Chen & Ogden, 2012; Goering *et al.*, 1997; Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011)
Person centred planning	Organisation of support and treatment around person and their needs. Understand all aspects that brings meaning to a person's life, community involvement & support for maintaining home	Sense of control and personal readiness e.g. making changes (Patterson *et al.*, 2013), desire for home maintenance (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015)
Flexible support for as long as is required	Remaining in contact with person using HF, if evicted or if the person abandons the home. Support intensity changes with the needs of the individual over time, but support is provided as long as necessary.	The importance of rapport and a strong working relationship between the support worker and client (Chen, 2014; Chen & Ogden, 2012; Goering *et al.*, 1997; Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2011)

Table 7.5. Housing First principles (Pleace, 2016a) mapped to positive determinants of tenancy sustainment.

Housing First studies, in the main, specifically recruited adults with mental illness, which is to be expected as it was developed initially for this population. One study attempted to identify the characteristics of participants who experienced housing instability after entering HF but was unable to predict this with confidence (Volk *et al.*, 2016). Consequently, because of this lack of evidence, the authors proposed the programme should be broadened to all eligible. Included studies in this review consistently reported an association between substance misuse and housing instability. HF demonstrated some promise for those with problematic substance misuse and severe alcohol problems (Collins, Malone & Clifasefi, 2013; Davidson *et al.,* 2014) but more research is needed to reach a more certain conclusion. Indeed the potential suitability of HF for other groups such as younger adults, women, or those with repeated offending histories has been raised (Bretherton & Pleace, 2015). Future evaluation studies could help address this evidence gap. However, if HF is to be applied to other groups, research should inform how best to adapt the model to meet the needs of these individuals within local contexts (Woodhall-Melnik & Dunn, 2016). Understandably, there are challenges of blinding within intervention studies but more detailed reporting of comparison groups and interventions would increase the quality of studies.

Variability in the implementation of the principles of HF has been noted. A recent study observed that the setting of personalised goals was more of a formality than goals being used to truly guide interactions (Kertesz *et al.*, 2017). There was an assertion, at several sites in a study, that housing maintenance was the primary goal and clinical recovery had less of a focus, except when clinical matters threatened tenancy. Criticisms have also been made of HF for its poor effectiveness in promoting social and community integration (Pleace & Bretherton, 2013; Tsai, Mares & Rosenheck, 2012; Yanos *et al.*, 2007). Roy *et al.* (2017) proposed that occupational therapists could work collaboratively and creatively within HF

teams to promote sustainable community integration outcomes. This will be explored in more detail in chapter nine.

7.3.2 Tenancy sustainment as a concept

This review highlighted the lack of consistency in how tenancy sustainment is defined and measured as a concept. The use of terms such as housing stability or housing retention [also noted by Woodhall-Melnik and Dunn (2016)] appeared to depend on the context and discipline of researchers but they were often not defined well enough to ascertain if they refer to the same concept. Some studies used a dichotomous variable 'housed' or 'not housed' whereas others counted the number of days housed. The Residential Time-Line Follow-Back Inventory (Tsemberis *et al.*, 2007) was used in three HF studies, not surprisingly, as it shares its origins with the model. There is diversity amongst studies in the agreed duration of days to constitute tenancy sustainment, although the most frequently agreed duration was 90 days. Although 90 days is a positive start in a tenancy, it is for many, only the beginning of becoming settled in the accommodation and local community. The emphasis on the number of days in a tenancy can overlook the subjective experience of being housed, the feeling of being settled and part of the community. As this review demonstrated, there is evidence that community integration and a supportive social network are positive determinants of tenancy sustainment (see sections 7.3.2 and 7.3.3). Consequently, there is a need for research in homelessness to come to a consensus about the term and how it is measured.

Future research should explore:

a. personal psychological factors such as readiness for tenancy sustainment and how this can be influenced;
b. family support as a facilitator to tenancy sustainment and what are the most effective factors/interventions to enable it;

c. community integration when in a tenancy following homelessness, and what factors/interventions enable it;

d. the elements of a person centred, intensive, flexible support to best enable tenancy sustainment.

It is fundamental to build on these understandings to design and evaluate interventions to ensure tenancy sustainment is a reality for all who have previously experienced homelessness.

7.3.3 Positive determinants of tenancy sustainment intervention

This thesis aimed to inform a potential occupational therapy intervention to support the transition of individuals from homelessness to tenancy sustainment. A key component in developing and evaluating complex interventions is describing the active ingredients—how an intervention works and why is it expected to be effective (Medical Research Council, 2008). Active ingredients may include specific treatment parameters or more general elements, such as the therapeutic relationship (Levac, Rivard & Missiuna, 2012). Positive determinants identified in this systematic review are the potential active ingredients of an intervention for tenancy sustainment following homelessness. They are listed in table 7.6 below.

Level	*Positive determinants of a tenancy sustainment intervention*
Individual level	Personal readiness
	Sense of control
	Day time activities
Interpersonal level	Social support from family and housed friends
	Relationship with support worker
Community level	Integrating into community
Structural level	Housing First model

Table 7.6. Positive determinants of a tenancy sustainment intervention

These positive determinants from the systematic review will be merged with the findings from

the constructivist grounded theory study in next chapter (chapter 7). The synthesised findings (section 8.3) will serve as a foundation for the development of an occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment. Although it is acknowledged that occupational therapists may have been part of the teams within the included studies, no occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment was found.

7.3.4 Limitations

The results of this systematic review should be interpreted in the context of several limitations. The search strategy was designed to be highly sensitive as the aim of the review was to identify and synthesise the best available evidence. As a consequence there was a natural trade off with specificity and therefore a large number of studies not relevant to the review were excluded at the screening stage. Relevant studies published in languages other than English were overlooked as this review exclusively included English language publications.

While QualSyst was a useful tool for providing a standard measure of research quality, the use of summary scores (rather than individual components of methodological quality) can introduce a bias (Kmet, Lee & Cook, 2004). All the studies were included equally in the analysis. Although quality scores are included in the description of the studies, they are not explicitly stated in formulating the findings. The heterogeneity of the studies made it difficult to draw firm conclusions. The findings were presented narratively, and as such, are open to bias in how they were presented. The categorisation at the four levels provided a structure, but a replication study may not arrive at the same overall thematic structure. This review focused exclusively on tenancy sustainment as an outcome, although it was only one of many outcomes reported in studies. No economic evaluation data was extracted, therefore overlooking any cost benefit analysis in this review.

7.4 Summary and conclusions

This review synthesised a broad range of studies examining tenancy sustainment following homelessness. Participation in specific programmes, for example Housing First, receiving social support from family as well as support workers and being of an older age were identified as the most possible determinants of tenancy sustainment. There was consistent reporting of the association between substance misuse and housing instability. An important finding of this review is the lack of consistency in how tenancy sustainment is defined and measured as a concept in research and the need for it to become more standardised in future research. The determinants of tenancy sustainment identified in this review of tenancy sustainment can inform interventions to support people leaving homelessness. The following chapter will consider the systematic review findings together with the findings of the constructivist grounded theory study.

CHAPTER 8
FINDINGS IV.
SYNTHESISED FINDINGS

As planned in the methodology chapter (chapter 3) both strands of this mixed method study were conducted concurrently and held a 'complementary strengths' stance (Creswell, 2014). This ensured the integrity of each study was maintained as they were kept independent during the data collection and data analysis stages. This convergent mixed design study is illustrated in figure 3.2. In this chapter the findings from the constructivist grounded theory study (chapters five and six) and the systematic review (chapter seven) will be briefly revisited before they are merged.

8.1 Summary of systematic review findings

The systematic review synthesised the evidence on tenancy sustainment following homelessness, from a broad range of studies. The positive determinants were grouped at individual, interpersonal, community and structural levels (see section 7.2.5). Tenancy sustainment was the result of the interplay of determinants at the various levels but the evidence did not provide conclusive relationships about the levels of association between the determinants. At an individual level, the positive determinants were personal readiness,

having a sense of control and involvement in day time activities (see section 7.2.1). Social support from family and housed friends, as well as the support worker relationship were key components at the interpersonal level (see section 7.2.2). Integration into the community was also found to be a determinant of tenancy sustainment (see section 7.2.3). At a structural level Housing First was the most promising intervention (see section 7.2.4) identified by the systematic review for tenancy sustainment.

8.2 Summary of constructivist grounded theory study findings

The constructivist grounded theory study revealed a theory about the process of tenancy sustainment following homelessness. The core process was conceptualised as **Making a Home** (see section 6.2), which was enacted through the strategies of ***putting your stamp on it*** (see section 6.2.1), ***seeing a new self*** (see section 6.2.2), and ***living the life*** (see section 6.2.3). Tenancy sustainment was experienced as feeling at home (see section 6.3), which had two sub-categories: 'belonging' (see section 6.3.1) and 'having connections' (see section 6.3.2). The key mediating factor to enable tenancy sustainment was taking control over activities (see section 6.4.1). Activities included practical household management tasks, health and/or addiction management, volunteering, seeking and/or using supports. Taking control required both internal and external resources; for example, a person required a sense of agency to initiate action in addition to appropriate structural resources and opportunities to facilitate it.

8.3 Synthesis of findings

The convergent mixed methods design of the thesis held the integrity of each study until the stage of synthesis (section 3.2.1). The challenge of this design is the merging of the data

(Creswell, 2014). The procedure selected as most appropriate for this study, of two stands, is a joint display of data (Creswell, 2014). This is when both forms of results are displayed jointly but merged in a single visual, for example in a table.

8.3.1 Joint display of findings

I considered both sets of findings against each other to identify any commonalities and differences. The categorisation which had already been used for the presentation of the systematic review results (see section 7.2) — individual, interpersonal, community and structural levels—proved beneficial for the visual presentation of both forms of findings. I mapped the categories and strategies revealed in constructivist grounded theory onto the positive determinants identified in the systematic review (see section 7.3.3). For example, tenancy sustainment or housing stability from the systematic review mapped to the category feeling at home in the grounded theory study. Notably, feeling at home was not conceptualised by participants as a duration of time but as having a sense of belonging to the place, in which they could relax, make choices, have privacy and feel connected to others (see section 6.3). This challenged the applicability of the measurement of tenancy sustainment most commonly found in the systematic review, which was 90 days (see section 7.3.2). It supported the critique that housing stability should measure more than structural factors by the inclusion of subjective factors of stability and satisfaction (Frederick *et al.*, 2014).

I continued the mapping process until all findings were compared. An overview of the mapping of the findings of the grounded theory against the positive determinants from the systematic review findings is presented in table 8.1, at the level of the individual, interpersonal, community and structural.

Level	*Positive determinant from systematic review*	*Findings from grounded theory study*
Individual	Personal readiness	Seeing a new self
	Sense of control	Taking control over activities
	Day time activities	Living the life
		Putting your stamp on physical environment
Interpersonal	Social support from family and housed friends	Having connections
	Relationship with support worker	
Community	Integrating into community	Belonging
Structural	Housing First model	

Table 8.1. Positive determinants from systematic review mapped against key findings from grounded theory.

More detail is provided in appendix 35 to explicate the mapping of the findings. Quotations from the grounded theory study are presented against systematic review findings. As can be seen from the table 8.1, one finding from the systematic review that did not map clearly onto the grounded theory was the support worker relationship. However, the role of the worker and the importance of this relationship was acknowledged throughout the interviews as important. The support worker relationship was a facilitator to the core process of **Making a Home** and its strategies (section 6.1). The nature of tenancy support changed over the time, especially after the initial period of moving in. Having the connection of a key person, for example support worker (past or present), to reach out to was recognised as vital. The relationship was a key facilitator in the accessing of timely support, important in the prevention of potential risk situations (as discussed in hanging on - unmaking, section 6.4). A relationship, based on respectful engagement, effective listening and trust, enabled

participants to feel empowered to take control by either accepting the support given at the time or asking for additional help.

The systematic review synthesised evidence on the effectiveness of interventions and identified Housing First as the most promising model for tenancy sustainment (see section 7.2.4). However, no Housing First services were included in the recruitment for the grounded theory study (see section 3.6.1)—one service providing Housing First was approached but was unable to facilitate the research at that time. Therefore, all participants had experienced the staircase model of service provision, which uses a series of steps to help homeless people leave homelessness (see section 1.3.4.1). This is unsurprisingly because, until recently, the staircase model has been the predominant approach to homeless service provision in the UK and Ireland. As a result of the challenges faced by homeless people with complex needs in accessing and maintaining accommodation, as well as successfully negotiating the 'steps of the staircase', alternative and innovative models, for example Housing First (see section 1.3.4.2), had to be considered. The implementation of the model of Housing First is in development. Within Ireland, there are commitments to increase Housing First tenancies and to extend tenancy sustainment teams across the country but this is constrained by the context of a housing crisis (see section 1.3.5). There is a commitment to Housing First among services throughout England although at a policy level, the Communities and Local Government (CLG) Select Committee cautioned against investment in it as a model in favour of more mainstream efforts (Fitzpatrick *et al.*, 2017) (see section 1.3.5).

The use of a qualitative methodology, the grounded theory, provided a deeper understanding about the determinants of tenancy sustainment detected in the systematic review. In addition, holding an occupational perspective added an insight into the activities people do

everyday and their impact on tenancy sustainment. For example, the systematic review identified that integration into the community was a determinant of tenancy sustainment. The grounded theory added a richer, more detailed picture of how this is achieved as participants described having connections with neighbours, family and friends because of the tenancy. This also included the outside space attached to the tenancy, as in the example of Joe and his flowers (see section 6.3.2). The use of local facilities, for example shops, health centres as well as involvement with social groups, work, education, and volunteering opportunities facilitated integration into the local community. The value of starting new activities or being involved in groups, for example adult education classes or volunteering, whilst using homelessness services, was recognised, because the role of student or volunteer could be integrated into the 'new' identity of a tenant. In addition, the grounded theory demonstrated the importance of making the physical environment of the tenancy feel more personal by ***putting your stamp on it*** (section 6.1.2). Whilst this could have been inferred in some of the studies included in the systematic review, personalising the physical environment was identified as a fundamental strategy in the grounded theory of making a home to ensure tenancy sustainment.

8.3.2 Synthesised findings

A key part of developing a complex intervention (section 3.2.1), in addition to identifying the evidence base, is to develop theory about its specific components, i.e. 'active ingredients' as well as mechanisms of change, and how they may be related to tenancy sustainment (Medical Research Council, 2008). This provides an understanding of how the intervention might work, what aspects should be implemented, how and in which circumstances. As outlined in table 8.1 and appendix 35, I merged the findings from both studies, to capture all of the components of tenancy sustainment. This triangulation of methods strengthens the

components and enhances the rigour and credibility of the study.

The components, i.e. 'active ingredients' of tenancy sustainment are presented in table 8.2, with a brief description. The categorisation at the levels of the individual, interpersonal, community and structural remained useful. Guided by the Medical Research Council (2008) the mechanism of change and the outcome related to tenancy sustainment are also included in table 8.2.

Level	*Components of tenancy sustainment*	*Brief description*
Individual	Seeing self as a tenant	Constructing (creating or restoring) identity fitting that of a tenant
	Living the life	Having a routine of doing that supports identity of tenant
	Personalising physical environment	Putting your stamp on the space by decorating, personal possessions
Interpersonal	Having connections	Having any/all of the following to access for social support—family, friends, neighbours, peers in social groups, co-workers, fellow students or support workers/ services
	Relationship with support worker	Based on respectful engagement, active listening and trust
Community	Sense of belonging	Having a sense of connection to the physical tenancy and/or the wider neighbourhood
Structural	Housing First model	Intervention with core principles as described in section 7.3.1
Mechanism	Taking control over doing	Making own decisions to carry out activities—includes accepting given support or seeking support
Outcome	Feeling at home	Sense of belonging to the place, in which tenants could relax, make choices, have privacy and feel connected to others

Table 8.2. Components of tenancy sustainment/'feeling at home'

These components—active ingredients, mechanism of change and outcome—provide a basis on which to develop an intervention (see section 3.2.1). A framework is included in the next section to further illustrate the factors of successful tenancy sustainment.

8.3.3 Framework of the factors of successful tenancy sustainment

Access to housing, of a decent standard, is a basic requirement of tenancy sustainment. Its affordability and availability has become more restricted as a result of recent changes to welfare benefits, especially universal credit and the cap on single, under 35 year old households in social housing (as discussed in section 1.3.5). Based on the synthesised findings of the systematic review and the grounded theory (table 8.2), the factors that contribute to successful tenancy sustainment are illustrated in figure 8.1 below.

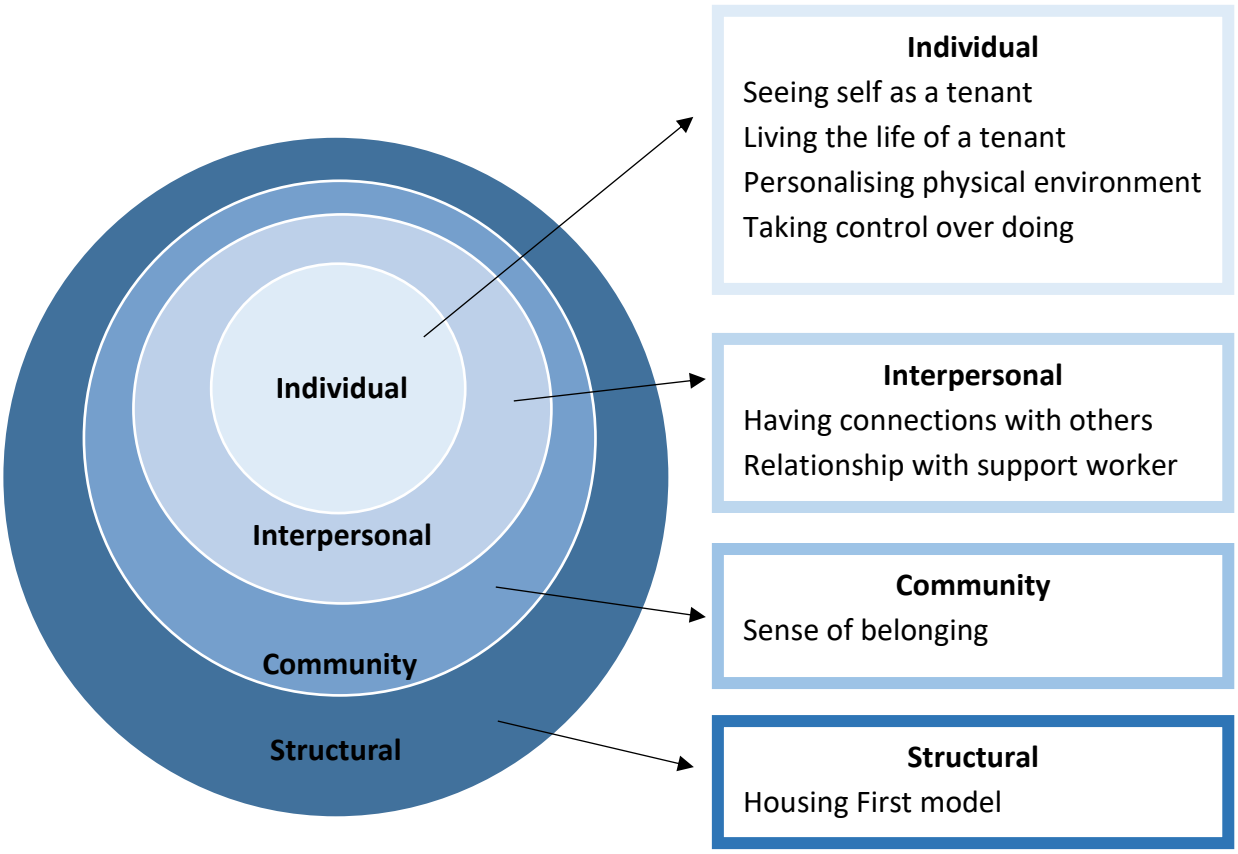


Figure 8.1. Framework of the factors that contribute to successful tenancy sustainment

The factors that influence successful tenancy sustainment are structured at four levels—individual, interpersonal, community and structural:

– Level 1. Individual

The framework acknowledges that people move into new accommodation with a wide range of personal experiences including past tenancies and homelessness, varying physical and mental health needs as well as other support needs. At the individual level, the factors that influence tenancy sustainment are: 'seeing self as a tenant' which involves the construction (creation or restoration) of an identity fitting that of a tenant; a routine that supports this identity (i.e. living the life); and the personalisation of the tenancy with personal possessions or by decoration. In combination with the above, the factor of taking personal control heavily influences tenancy sustainment. Taking control can include taking action to deal with the practical aspects of household management, health or addiction management as well as asking for help or accepting support. Taking control requires both internal and external resources—a sense of agency to initiate and carry out action as well as appropriate resources and opportunities to facilitate it.

– Level 2. Interpersonal

Interpersonal relationships influence tenancy sustainment. Having connections, whether through family, friends, neighbours, peers in social groups, co-workers or fellow students is the influencing factor. The perception of the quality of the social support matters more than quantity. In addition, a relationship with a support worker that is based on respectful engagement, active listening and trust influences tenancy sustainment.

– Level 3. Community

At a community level, having a sense of belonging to the accommodation and/or the wider neighbourhood influences tenancy sustainment. How belonging was described and experienced varied between individuals so needs to be personally determined.

– Level 4. Structural

The model of Housing First, at a structural level, showed most promise to influence tenancy sustainment. Its key elements include consumer choice, the separation of housing and treatment, staff to enable tenants pursue personal goals related to health, family and community integration and meaningful activities (Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000).

The framework assumes the factors at all levels are interrelated and interdependent. A factor, such as having connections with others, for example neighbours or friends, is related to and can have an effect on developing a sense of belonging in the community; which in turn can be related to identity as a tenant. For example, Lily, who got her pet dog Ruby to initially help her structure her day (section 6.2.3), described taking Ruby for walks which has enabled her to build contacts with her neighbours and explore the locality (she did not know the area when she moved into it). Other factors are interdependent, for example, a tenant would receive a support worker within a Housing First project. Housing First emerged, from the findings of the systematic review, as the model with the most promising evidence as an intervention for tenancy sustainment. However, this is not to propose it is the only type of housing model in which individuals can achieve tenancy sustainment. Within the grounded theory study, a number of participants were sustaining their tenancies. These were accessed through the staircase model, with a variation of support models, including tenancy support workers.

The framework presents tenancy sustainment as an interaction of factors at different levels. It suggests the factors that should inform the basis of interventions for tenancy sustainment. McNaughton Nicholls and Atherton (2011) caution that too much of a focus placed on housing stability alone could result in the recovery of the person being overlooked. This study was designed to explore the process of transition from using homelessness services to a sustained tenancy for people who experience multiple exclusion homelessness. With the complex needs experienced by individuals within this group, an individualised approach with a focus on recovery would enhance tenancy sustainment.

8.4 Conclusion

This chapter presented the process of mapping the findings of the systematic review and the constructivist grounded theory study. A framework was created from the synthesised findings which indicates the factors that influence successful tenancy sustainment. These include, at the level of the individual, seeing a new self, living the life and personalising the tenancy as well as factor of taking personal control. At the interpersonal level, having connections with others, including a support worker influences tenancy sustainment. At a community level, having a sense of belonging to the accommodation and/or the wider neighbourhood is important. The model of Housing First, at a structural level, showed most evidence to influence tenancy sustainment. The following chapter (chapter nine) will discuss the findings in relation to the research questions. Finally, consideration will be given to the study limitations.

CHAPTER 9
DISCUSSION

The overall aim of this thesis was to increase the understanding of the role of occupation in making the transition from homelessness to sustaining a tenancy. This chapter discusses the findings (presented in chapters five to eight) with reference to the research questions. Four research questions informed the thesis:

1. How do people who experience multiple exclusion homelessness make the transition from using homelessness services to a sustained tenancy?
2. What enables successful tenancy sustainment following homelessness?
3. What is the role of occupation in facilitating this transition?
4. How can occupational therapy practice be informed by an understanding of this transition?

Finally, in this chapter, the limitations of the study will be considered.

9.1 The process of transition from using homelessness services to a sustained tenancy for people who experience multiple exclusion homelessness

The first research question to increase the understanding of the transition from homelessness to sustaining a tenancy is particularly pertinent as the housing led approach (Pleace &

Bretherton, 2013) or rapid re-housing (Berg, 2013) has been adopted as the strategic response to homelessness internationally. These approaches share the principle of immediate access to permanent housing, in addition to the provision of flexible support services. In spite of this, there is limited research on the establishment of a settled home following homelessness (Sabatelli Iaquinta, 2016). This study explored the transition from homelessness for individuals with experience of multiple exclusion homelessness. This group, for whom leaving homelessness can be more difficult and prolonged, are at risk of 'falling through the cracks of services provision' (McDonagh, 2011, p.1) because of their range of support needs. To address this, a more integrated response across health, housing and social care is required. Occupational therapists have expertise across health, housing and social care and are well placed to address the needs of people experiencing multiple exclusion homelessness. However, in reality, occupational therapists tend only to work with individuals with complex needs and experience of homelessness who use statutory health and social care services. This study, by exploring of the process of transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy from an occupational perspective, suggests that the traditional boundaries of occupational therapy should be extended.

In line with earlier multiple exclusion homelessness research (Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & White, 2011; McDonagh, 2011), participants in this study were predominantly male, aged between 20 and 49, and had a range of experiences associated with social exclusion, for example substance misuse, mental ill health, institutional care, and street drinking. The majority of individuals, who were using hostel accommodation at the time of interview, were on a return visit after the breakdown of various living situations, including tenancies. This reinforced how difficult it can be for some individuals to successfully transition from homelessness, and

highlighted the need for tenancies to be more sustainable (Johnson *et al.*, 2015). Moving into a place does not guarantee tenancy sustainment. The stage of 'hanging on - unmaking' in the substantive theory (section 6.4) deepens our understanding of the experience for individuals when their tenancy is at risk of breaking down. It revealed the impact on their daily lives, for example, not getting out of bed, avoiding meetings, feeling isolated, ignoring bills. All of these experiences, in turn, can negatively affect a person's agency at a time when a sense of mastery is critical to address the issues that are putting the tenancy at risk. To effectively manage and take control, a tenant could be expected to consult with a landlord, housing advice services, the council homeless unit, the benefits system, health and social care services, addiction services and the criminal justice system. Compounding the complexity of taking control of the many tasks that may need to be tackled, is the power imbalance of being a tenant or service recipient. In addition, there is the reality of the outcome, which could be a return to homelessness. Several participants recalled that they ignored the warning signs, including eviction notices, and focused their attention on the immediate instead. This is similar to the placing of focus on the short term, which has been suggested as a strategy to manage daily life in homelessness services (Van Doorn, 2010). Procrastination dominates activity and fewer plans are realised, putting a tenancy in danger. At an individual level, a person has to take control to proactively seek advice or support when a tenancy is at risk. However it is also important to consider structural supports, as services must be accessible to enable tenants to seek help in a timely manner. Effective preventative measures could avoid the trauma of eviction for individuals and the worsening of pre-existing support needs as a result of the eviction process (Campbell *et al.*, 2016). In an examination of the interplay between individual and structural factors, Johnson *et al.* (2015) acknowledged that getting the balance between services that support tenancies that are at risk, and services that assist

people to exit homelessness more rapidly, is a significant and ongoing challenge for policy makers.

The following section will initially examine the interplay of structural and individual factors and their influence on the transition from homelessness (section 9.1.1). The occupational perspective of the process from using homelessness services to a sustained tenancy is discussed in section 9.1.2 and the role of homelessness services in section 9.1.3.

9.1.1 Interplay between structural and individual factors

It is well recognised that homelessness and ill health are intrinsically linked (Henwood *et al.*, 2017; Hwang & Burns, 2014) and ill health can add to the challenge of leaving homelessness. Interestingly the systematic review findings indicated that, once in housing, formerly homeless adults with mental illness were no less likely than others to maintain stable housing. The review clearly found that substance misuse was associated with tenancy instability (see section 7.2.1). The negative influence of alcohol and substance misuse on the process of transition was outlined by several participants in this study. The category navigating the homeless system in the grounded theory revealed a sense of 'getting stuck' (section 5.3) and 'resisting' as rules were perceived to discriminate against them (see section 5.2). Alcohol and substance misuse was critical in the stage of hanging on - unmaking; it caused tenancies to become more unstable and often resulted in a return to using homelessness services. Taking control of addictions, amongst other activities, was identified in this thesis as the means to facilitate the process from hanging on - unmaking to feeling at home in tenancies. This supports the wider literature that indicates the importance of control over addictions (Zlotnick, Robertson & Lahiff, 1999); budgeting and household management (Gabrielian *et al.*, 2017; Stewart, 2013) and occupational roles (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015) for

tenancy sustainment. A finding in this study, not commonly reported in other studies, is that several participants recalled concealing difficulties when they were in tenancies (see section 6.4). Therefore taking control of asking for help and being open about difficulties is important in the process of transition from homelessness. Moreover, this study indicated that taking control includes engagement in occupations and routines to enable a sense of belonging and connections as this leads to feeling at home.

Individuals who experience multiple exclusion homelessness live with a range of physical and mental health difficulties which impact on their ability to carry out occupations—on their occupational performance (see section 1.1)—when transitioning from homelessness. This complexity reinforces the need for, and importance of, accessible health and addiction services that are co-ordinated with homelessness services to best support people transition from homelessness. Examples of accessible healthcare include a multi-agency team for people who are homeless working within healthcare in London (Dorney-Smith *et al.*, 2016) and a primary care team for people who are homeless in Dublin (Keogh *et al.*, 2015). In addition, as tenancy sustainment (feeling at home) can take longer than a specific duration, for example 90 days, health and addiction services for the homeless and local services must liaise comprehensively as they transfer responsibility to assertively support people through this process of transition.

There is an assumption within the theoretical foundations of occupational therapy and occupational science that people choose occupations and participate in what is meaningful for them (Kielhofner, 2008; Yerxa *et al.*, 1990). The individualised underpinnings of this assumption can present challenges when considering the agency of people who are using homelessness services. Agency, understood as an individualistic concept, is too simplistic

when the choice is between spending the night rough sleeping, where you feel you have some power to control your surroundings, or staying at a hostel in which you feel threatened. Agency is better understood to be contextually situated. In other words, opportunities to enact agency are socially and culturally constructed. For example, when staying in some hostel accommodations, there can be few opportunities to enact agency. In spite of this participants recalled how they made choices to avoid scheduled meetings with staff, despite an earlier commitment and an awareness of their value (see section 5.2). This added a degree of complication to working relationships and affected the expectations of staff and service users. The complexity of agency was also discussed by Johansson *et al.* (2013) in their study about migration. They proposed a need to attend to the processes by which people create a sense of place in their new country, as this is contextualised and enacted, in relation to resources and capabilities. This thesis demonstrated the importance of personalising the tenancy as a strategy for tenancy sustainment. Although this finding was not identified in the systematic review, it is supported by a study of young people leaving homelessness (Brueckner, Green & Saggers, 2011) and by the wider literature (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Tran Smith *et al.*, 2015). Personalising the tenancy was enacted through decorating, displaying personal possessions as well as carrying out everyday occupations, for example preparing food, watching television and having people to visit. The process of place making within the transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy is contextualised and dependent on resources. Participants demonstrated varying levels of ability to source items and were also supported to different degrees by friends or family members. Also, as acknowledged by Roxy (see section 5.1.2), the freedom to personalise space can be restricted, especially in private rented tenancies.

The finding in this study that the process of moving into a tenancy did not automatically lead to it becoming a home or the tenant feeling socially included is in keeping with other studies (Anucha, 2005; Busch-Geertsema *et al.*, 2010; Johnson *et al.*, 2014). Many participants had experiences of social exclusion that preceded their homelessness, and intensified as a result of homelessness. Structural factors, including poverty (Bramley & Fitzpatrick, 2017), unemployment (Burke *et al.*, 2013), and lack of affordable housing (Stephens & Fitzpatrick, 2007) are well recognised causes of homelessness. These structural factors also restrict a person's occupational opportunities. For many participants, in the lead up to becoming homeless (over months or indeed years) their occupational possibilities (Laliberte Rudman, 2010) and opportunities to engage in activities were being eroded. Factors such as limited financial resources or debts, loss of social supports, physical and mental health difficulties, as well as an unstable home environment, all contributed to occupational deprivation, which accumulated over time. The lifelong experience of occupational deprivation for women in a homeless shelter in the US was also recognised by Fisher and Hotchkiss (2008). Participants described engagement in occupations such as substance misuse or criminal activities, which dominated their daily lives creating an occupational imbalance. Drawing on Galvaan's (2015) construct of occupational choice, as people transition into and through homelessness, I would argue their occupational choices are not solely the result of individual agency. Choices are inextricably linked to their context—a transactional act between person and the environment. Individuals appeared to make choices to get involved, or 'resist' groups in the hostel based on contextual factors (see section 5.2). This revealed that occupational choices are constrained by the social and cultural environment of the hostel setting, not just the physical environment. This study adds to the growing literature base within occupational science exploring how occupation is enacted through an interplay of agency and structural

factors.

9.1.2 An occupational perspective of the transition

The application of an occupational perspective to the transition process from homelessness to tenancy sustainment is one of the unique theoretical contributions of this study. As the core process **Making a Home** is the means by which individuals leave homelessness, create and sustain tenancies. It revealed that this process is beyond that of moving in and is enacted by three strategies to develop a feeling at home, which equated to tenancy sustainment in this study. Each of the strategies, ***putting your stamp on it, seeing a new self*** and ***living the life,*** were achieved by and reflected in the performance of everyday occupations. Other studies within homelessness have recognised identity (Patterson *et al.*, 2013; Tran Smith *et al.*, 2015) and engaging in day time activities (Brown & Amundson, 2010; Crane & Warnes, 2007) as important to tenancy sustainment following homelessness. However, holding an occupational perspective, this study foregrounds what people were doing, how and why they did it during the process of transition. An occupational identity is intimately intertwined with 'doing' (Wilcock, 2006). Occupations, used effectively, are a constructive means to modify, construct or maintain identities, through re-engaging with previously enjoyed occupations or developing new ones. Occupations included volunteering (Harold, section 6.2.2), working (Stephen, section 6.2.3), parenting (Matt, section 6.2.2) and gardening (Rico, section 5.4). Participation in occupations that hold meaning enhances an individual's well-being and in turn, I propose, tenancy sustainment. As meaning is unique to each person, and informed by the individual's values and experiences (Hasselkus, 2011), potential activity opportunities, as well as the person's ability to engage must be considered on a case by case basis. An occupational perspective allowed for a more nuanced understanding of activities. For example, cooking for Bernice in her tenancy (section 6.2.3) enhanced her sense of self,

provided a routine that included shopping for favourite ingredients and was associated, for her, with living the life of a tenant and, in turn, feeling at home. This supports the suggestion by Marshall and Rosenberg (2014) that once housed, a person's ability to engage in meaningful occupations improves due to increased opportunities, place and sense of control. In contrast, household tasks, for example, shopping and cooking, were viewed by Xenophon (section 6.2.3), in his tenancy, as a hassle compared to the lack of responsibilities when in a hostel setting. However as described in box 4.4, Xenophon took part in other activities that were meaningful to him, for example comedy workshops and gigs, which enabled the process of transition to a sustained tenancy. Comparable to previous research by Heuchemer & Josephson (2006), he engaged new possibilities for himself in keeping with a housed identity.

9.1.3 Homelessness services as part of the transition process

This study has shown the impact service use and hostel living can have on individuals in the process of transition. Although power has been widely discussed in the homelessness literature (Bogard, 1998; Marvasti, 2002; Meanwell, 2013), this study placed a spotlight on the impact of power on occupational choices available to service recipients, and the resulting effect on agency (see section 5.3). In keeping with other studies, boredom was a feature of everyday life (Bell & Walsh, 2015; Marshall, Lysaght & Krupa, 2017) and was connected, in this thesis, with 'getting stuck' in the homelessness system. Many homelessness services provide a range of activities facilitated by enthusiastic staff, volunteers and students. As identified in this study these are valued by those who participate as a means to develop a sense of achievement and confidence (section 5.4) but nonetheless, the uptake of activities fluctuated. Non-attendance can be interpreted solely as a personal choice related to poor motivation. However, it has also been suggested that there is an element of distancing in relation to programmes or groups in hostels (Rayburn & Guittar, 2013)—people stay away for

fear of being taunted for attending. The influence of the social context of the hostel had a greater influence on some individual's participation than personal motivation, for example, Amy played pool several times a day to fit in (section 5.1). This finding mirrors a study from South Africa which showed how the social environment as well as collective and contextual histories influenced occupational choices (Galvaan, 2015). As a result, provision of activities alone, in homelessness settings, without considering the nuanced process of engagement will not enhance participation or alleviate a sense of boredom. How individuals with their unique socio-cultural backgrounds and experiences, view the activities must be considered. The meaning of the occupation to the individual is critical to its potential as an agent of change (Wilcock, 2006). Meaning is personal. For example, some people find meaning by doing activities alone, whereas others may rather the social context of a group. Furthermore, as a result of occupational deprivation over time and past life experiences, identifying meaningful activities can be challenging for people who use homelessness services. Therefore to enhance participation in doing, time spent creatively exploring meaning is beneficial. This can be through the trying of new or past enjoyed activities, with a degree of support, and at a level that provides enough challenge to enable a sense of competence. Drawing on the strategies fundamental to **Making a Home** in the transition from homelessness revealed in this study, occupational opportunities or experiences that enable individuals to 'see a new self' and 'live the life' are central. I propose this would initiate and enable the process of transition to tenancy sustainment from homelessness services.

Hostels provide a range of services to many people with diverse needs, who are at different stages in the transition from homelessness. They function as a sanctuary and place of care for some, solely as an accommodation setting for a number of people and a rehabilitative space

for others. This complexity is reflected in the views of participants about provision of food in one hostel—it was appreciated by some participants, accepted by others because it was available but also lamented by a number who wanted the independence to cook their own. Hostels accommodate people with complex needs and tend to be reactive in nature. As a result, rules, regulations, policies and structures are put in place to create a safe living and working environment. Ironically, it is this structure, set up to provide safety that imposes upon the everyday occupations, habits and choices of many participants creating occupational deprivation. This is well recognised in the literature (Chard, Faulkner & Chugg, 2009; Cunningham and Slade, 2017; Illman *et al*., 2013). The structures of hostels can embed occupational injustices by the routines, environments and expectations which have the potential to create a sense of reliance, making the transition from it more difficult (see section 5.3). This can also provide a challenge for staff working to support people transition, as service provision and service expectation can appear mismatched. In other words, some hostel settings provide meals, access to phone calls, health care, advice and information but at the same time, a person is expected to prepare for and move onto less supportive environments. The challenge to strike a balance between provision of supports, which are initially needed and appreciated by individuals who require hostel accommodation, and enablement is difficult, considering the varied and complex needs. I propose that an occupational enhanced environment would alleviate some of this challenge. Occupations can provide a sense of well-being, connectedness and enable a sense of control for people who are homeless.

Drawing on the Participatory Occupational Justice Framework (POJF, 2010) (Whiteford & Townsend, 2011), I propose the principles of occupationally enhanced environments within homelessness services are:

– People have access to a range of opportunities and resources to engage in personally meaningful and diverse occupations, at times of their choice.
– Participation in everyday occupations is valued for its benefit in enhancing well-being, sense of control and connectedness.
– People have the right to exert autonomy through choice of occupations.
– There is an awareness of the importance of context—in other words, where occupations take place matter to how people experience them.

An occupational justice perspective would enable services to attend critically to the context of the setting and the available occupational opportunities to raise awareness of occupational injustices. It would facilitate more awareness of what people do, what influences their doing and promote more availability of meaningful opportunities to do.

The process of transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy for people who experience multiple exclusion homelessness is dynamic as they navigate services, move into a flat and negotiate, in most cases with support, being a tenant. The anticipated outcome of the process is tenancy sustainment. The second research question asked what factors enable successful tenancy sustainment and will be discussed in the next section.

9.2 Factors that enable successful tenancy sustainment following homelessness

The findings of the systematic review and the constructivist grounded theory study were synthesised to describe the factors that enable tenancy sustainment following homelessness (see section 8.3). The factors are illustrated in the framework, in figure 8.1, at four levels—individual, interpersonal, community and structural—which are interrelated and interdependent. This framework presented a clear summary of the factors related to tenancy

sustainment following homelessness, drawing on a range of empirical evidence.

At the level of the individual, the importance of identity, that is, seeing self as a tenant has been well supported by other studies (Patterson *et* al., 2013; Tran Smith *et* al., 2015). This thesis observed this included the restoration of a previously held identity as well as the creation of a new identity for the individual in a tenancy (see section 6.2.2). Roles and meaningful occupations can help shape a new identity, in particular for individuals post addiction (Heuchemer & Josephsson, 2006). Although the importance of routine has been recognised in homelessness research in relation to work (Crane, Joly & Manthorpe, 2016; Yanos *et al*., 2007), this study proposed its value in supporting the routine of a tenant. Another factor important in enabling tenancy sustainment was the personalisation of the physical environment with possessions or by decoration (section 6.2.1). This is in keeping with place making research (Holton & Riley, 2016; Rowles, 2008) but its importance in making a home following homelessness was indicated by this study. The final factor at the level of the individual was taking control over doing, which included household management, health or addiction management as well as asking for help or accepting support. The importance of taking control is consistent with other studies (Gabrielian *et al*., 2017; Nguyen *et* al., 2012; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015; Stewart, 2013) and this thesis adds to this literature by showing the link between tenancies at risk and sustained tenancies (section 6.4.1).

Interpersonal connections, whether through family, friends, neighbours, peers in social groups, co-workers or fellow students, is an influencing factor for tenancy sustainment (Cone and Artinian, 2009; Kirkpatrick & Byrne, 2009; Tran Smith *et al.,* 2015). In keeping with other studies the perception of, rather than quantity of, support held the positive impact (Johnstone *et* al., 2016; Roy *et* al., 2016). This study pointed out the value of social media for

making and keeping connections (section 6.3.2). A support worker relationship based on respectful engagement, active listening and trust is a factor in tenancy sustainment (Chen, 2014; Chen & Ogden, 2012; Jost, Levitt & Porcu, 2012). As noted by Bowpitt *et al*. (2011), the role of a tenancy support worker ought to enable people to rebuild their lives, make connections, and feel part of their community to best facilitate tenancy sustainment. However more research is needed to demonstrate how this can be most effectively enabled.

A factor to enable tenancy sustainment at a community level is the establishing of a sense of belonging to the tenancy and/or the wider neighbourhood. This is consistent with other studies (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015; Warnes, Crane & Coward, 2013) but how belonging was described and experienced varied between individuals in the constructivist grounded theory study in this thesis (section 6.3.1). This indicated the need for 'sense of belonging' to be personally determined in relation to tenancy sustainment.

The Housing First model showed most evidence to influence tenancy sustainment at a structural level. This is in keeping with a recent systematic review (Munthe-Kass, Berg & Blaasvaer, 2016) which reported Housing First appeared better than traditional services at improving housing stability (Munthe-Kass, Berg & Blaasvaer, 2016). The authors found other interventions, for example abstinence-contingent housing or housing vouchers, may also have beneficial effects but the evidence is less clear. Indeed this is supported by the grounded theory study, in which a number of participants were sustaining their tenancies which were accessed through various intervention models, including tenancy support workers. However consideration of the key principles of Housing First –consumer choice, the separation of housing and treatment, staff to enable tenants pursue personal goals related to health, family

and community integration, and meaningful activities (Tsemberis & Eisenberg, 2000)—may enhance successful tenancy sustainment.

Understanding the factors of tenancy sustainment has the potential to positively influence how interventions are designed and evaluated. However it is difficult to assess the relative importance of the identified factors because of the heterogeneity of studies. Future research, with more rigorous study designs, would benefit from assessing the factors for relative strength and for relevant populations.

9.3 The role of occupation in facilitating the transition

To consider engagement in occupations during the process of transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy is to consider 'all the things people need to, want to and are expected to do' (World Federation of Occupational Therapists, 2006, p.2). As a visual method to capture what people did and where they passed the time, the provision of cameras to participants was effective, as suggested by other studies with people who are homeless (Johnsen, May & Cloke, 2008; Padgett *et al*., 2013). In addition to capturing types of activities, it enabled the participants to reflect on the meaning behind them and what helped or hindered their occupational engagement (Hartman *et al.*, 2011). The experience of using homelessness services can be cyclical and episodic (Clapham *et al.*, 2014) and as people moved between accommodation services, sofa surfing, rough sleeping and into their own tenancies, an interplay of social, economic, cultural and political factors influenced their expectations and possibilities for occupation (Laliberte Rudman, 2013). This thesis illustrated the role of occupation in the process of transitioning from homelessness, acknowledging that the study of occupation is inseparable from context. A transactionalist perspective on occupation asserts that individuals constantly construct what they do and are constituted by their

transactions with the world around them (Cutchin & Dickie, 2012). This was observed throughout the study in how places influenced what people did and in turn affect how they viewed themselves. Similar to findings on transitions within the occupational literature (Crider *et al.*, 2015), and in keeping with other studies with people who were homeless (Chard, Faulkner & Chugg, 2009; Marshall, Lysaght & Krupa, 2017), the occupations of the participants were disrupted and impacted. The physical and socio-cultural environment of homeless settings influenced what people did as they fitted in, for example playing pool, or resisted, for example eating alone. The transience of homelessness resulted in a lack of resources and a challenge of holding onto personal possessions (McCarthy, 2015; Robinson, 2011), which in turn affected occupations.

The paradox of routines was observed in some hostel settings. The structure of the day—mealtimes, the availability of staff, and the communal areas for socialising—provided for many people a sense of relief and refuge, especially on entering the service. However, it was this same structure that imposed on the everyday occupations, habits, and choices of many participants creating occupational deprivation. Hostels can embed occupational injustices by its routines, environments and expectations, for example in relation to meal choices. In addition, there was a clear sense from those interviewed that their occupations had been disrupted and slowly eroded before they came into homelessness services due to socio-economic and socio-cultural factors. Furthermore circumstances, whilst at the 'hanging on - unmaking' stage in a tenancy, restricted opportunities to carry out occupations of choice. These circumstances included growing financial difficulties, loss of contact with supportive persons, dependence on others for shelter or increased use of substances. I argue occupational deprivation needs to be considered over time, with a life course perspective, to

fully understand its impact on individuals in the context of homelessness. A deeper understanding will provide additional insight as to why some people have lost a sense of what is meaningful to them, what they are skilled at and why they can appear to have limited knowledge of how to make and implement plans for the future. A life course perspective views individuals as capable of making choices and constructing their own life journeys within systems of opportunities and constraints (Hutchison, 2015). As a perspective it has been applied in work with older people about place making (Rowles, 2008) and migrants (Gong *et al.*, 2011) and scholarship within occupational science would benefit from further use of the life course perspective to understand occupational deprivation.

9.3.1 Occupations for well-being

It has been recognised that people who experience homelessness engage in a diversity of occupations to achieve and sustain well-being (Thomas, Gray & McGinty, 2017). Wilcock (2006) recognised the importance of occupations for well-being and despite the challenges of using homelessness services, individuals strove to hold on to personally meaningful occupations. For example, Celeana, a book lover, described reading for its ability to make her happy and how she re-bought her favourite books as she had lost them when she was evicted (see section 5.1 and figure 5.6). Michael explained how his much valued guitar was in and out of the pawn shop because of financial difficulties but that it was always a priority to get it back because of the importance of playing (see section 5.2). Within the service settings, activities delivered different experiences depending on the personal meaning they held. For example, playing pool was simultaneously a means of fitting in with others, an activity to alleviate boredom, and also so strongly connected to identity that it was boycotted because of the substandard table in the hostel (section 5.1). When individuals had transitioned into their own tenancies, the meanings of some occupations changed for them, demonstrating

the significance of place (Huot & Rudman, 2010). For example occupational well-being was gained from watching television and putting the kettle on when in one's own tenancy, where as previously this was associated with boredom and occupational alienation (section 5.1).

9.3.2 Occupations to gain a sense of control

During the transition experience, occupational engagement enables a person to gain a sense of control over doing (Crider *et al.*, 2015; Jonsson, Josephsson & Kielhofner, 2001). Engagement in activities provides a sense of competence—concrete feedback that one is able to succeed (Wilcock, 2006). In the process of making a home, these activities include cooking for oneself, shopping, managing budget, gardening and decorating the physical environment (section 6.2). One participant, Lily, became a dog owner to support her daily routine and as a result felt more in control (figure 6.13). Participation in occupations can serve as a protective factor during transition (Blair, 2000; Paul-Ward, 2009). The role of volunteer, which for Bernice was a constant throughout her transition, provided a sense of self-worth and respect. Brian continued to work during his move into a tenancy and valued the job for its motivating factor (section 6.2.3). These were similar to 'anchoring occupations' identified by Peters, Galvaan and Kathard (2016) as they held a central and stabilising role in participants' lives. Further research into how anchoring occupations support the transition from homelessness to a tenancy would be recommended. For participants in this study, who valued activities within hostel settings, engagement provided a stabilising effect in addition to the development of a sense of achievement and confidence. The value of engaging in activities to support a move on from homelessness has been recognised (Seal, Hudson & Campbell, 2010). This is supported by studies within occupational science that show a sense of control and agency is developed through engagement in occupations (Clark & Jackson, 1990; Lindstrom, Sjostrom & Lindberg, 2013).

9.3.3 Occupations for social connection

Occupation can be a conduit to social connectedness (Eakman, 2015), which has been recognised as a need for people within the homeless community (Thomas, Gray & McGinty, 2017). Some participants described how attendance at food or day centres was initially to meet their basic needs, but continued throughout their transition to a tenancy because of the social support gained by attending (section 6.4). For participants in tenancies, connections in the community were facilitated by the use of local shops, pharmacy and post office as well as involvement in volunteering, adult education and social groups (see section 6.3.2). Johnstone *et* al. (2016a) suggested both formal and informal links improved community connections. This is consistent with occupational science research that purports a sense of connection is gained by engagement in occupations with others (Blank, Harries & Reynolds, 2015; Reed, Hocking & Smythe, 2010).

Feeling at home, as a category in the constructivist grounded theory study, equated to tenancy sustainment and comprised the sub-categories 'belonging' and 'having connections'. Belonging is a sense of connectedness to other people, places, cultures, communities and the context within which occupations occur (Hitch, Pépin & Stagnitti, 2014). As discussed in section 5.1, using homelessness services can provide a sense of connectedness. As suggested by Farrell (2010) this can lead to a conflict about leaving homelessness services. In addition, a tenancy has the potential for a heightened sense of isolation as reported by participants and illustrated by Xenophon in figure 6.1. To help address this, the value of doing with others (family, friends, neighbours, fellow students and workers) to build connections is advocated by this study. This can be any activity that is personally and socially meaningful, perhaps one that had been engaged in previously or something new. Of course, the availability of occupational opportunities in which to get involved or even to spark an individual's interest

is necessary. Considering the impact of occupational deprivation on a person's sense of self-worth (Wilcock, 2006), participation can be challenging but doing with others can alleviate some fears and foster connections. Drawing on work by Peters, Galvaan and Kathard (2016), consideration should be given to 'champions'—people who facilitate participation in the available occupational opportunities. In the process of sustaining a tenancy following homelessness, this 'champion' could be a supportive family member, friend, support worker or peer support worker, depending on circumstances. Further exploration of the role of 'champions' to facilitate participation for individuals transitioning from homelessness would be worthwhile.

9.3.4 Occupational choices

Occupational choices are made when individuals apply agency to occupational engagement and are inextricably shaped by context (Galvaan, 2012). It can appear that choices between available resources are made at the level of the individual alone. However within homelessness services, the physical environments and institutional regulations limit the choices available to people. In addition, this study highlighted that the social context of the hostel had power over occupational choices. For example, social distancing influenced attendance at groups and non-attendance was also used as a means of exerting agency (section 5.2). It appeared individuals developed routines or habits that were not based on personal choice alone and participated in activities that were unsanctioned, for example smoking in bedrooms. This is supported by other studies which reported the influence of socio-cultural and political contexts on daily life choices in disadvantaged communities (Gallagher, Pettigrew & Muldoon, 2015; Galvaan, 2015). Occupational choices and opportunities are also situated within a larger structure which includes the benefits, employment, health and justice systems (see section 6.4). Sandra, in this thesis, illustrated

the reality of minimal income and its impact on her occupational participation possibilities and choices (Laliberte Rudman, 2010). She based her daily routine around lunch at a food centre, used the free computers in the library and described having to decline family social events as she did not want to be dependent on them for money to attend.

9.3.5 Complex relationship between occupation and well-being

The relationship between occupational engagement and well-being is complex (Kiepek, Phelan & Magalhães, 2014). Occupations described by the participants in this study included those harmful to health and well-being, for example the misuse of alcohol and substances; those harmful to others for example assault and injury, as well as unlawful occupations such as robbery and drug dealing. These occupations meet the concept of dark occupation proposed by Twinley (2017) (section 2.2.2). As with all occupations, socio-cultural and socio-economic factors influence a person's occupational choices and opportunities. The association between addictions and housing instability is well recognised and was identified in the systematic review (section 7.2.1). A number of interviewees in this study described how addiction negatively affected their everyday lives and relationships with loved ones (section 6.4). The experience of using addictive substances provided a strong sense of purpose and led to activities that dominated all others, for example sourcing drugs. However, most respondents reported a goal to overcome the addiction and a number attended support services with varying degrees of impact on their daily lives. Engagement in positive occupations, away from substances, has been proposed to support the transition from homelessness and addiction (Heuchemer & Josephsson, 2006; Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015) but more research is required.

In summary, occupations provide a sense of well-being, protection, and enable a sense of

control in transitioning from homelessness. Participation in activities that hold personal meaning can help maintain an occupational identity during the transition. In addition, occupational engagement can build social connections and help develop a sense of belonging. It is acknowledged that not all occupations are health promoting and occupational opportunities and choices are influenced by socio-cultural and socio-economic factors. The following section will explore how this increased understanding can inform occupational therapy practice.

9.4 How this increased understanding of transition will inform occupational therapy practice

A small number of occupational therapists work in services for people who are homeless, predominantly in health care settings. It is a growing area of practice, evidenced by the developing literature base. For occupational therapists, this study reinforces the interplay between structural and individual factors that influence occupational opportunities and occupational choices for people who experience homelessness. Therefore occupational therapy practice, in addition to attending to the individual, with the traditional focus on occupational performance, needs to also be critically aware of the structural factors, for example socio-political factors that can have a large impact on the lives of people. These can include welfare, employment and housing policies in addition to socio-economic and socio-cultural backgrounds. As occupational therapists we need to avoid reproducing occupational inequities and despite the restraints of health and social care systems attempt to address some of the structural inequalities. This can be facilitated by holding an occupational justice perspective. Working collaboratively with communities or other groups, occupational therapists can enable and advocate for opportunities for people to reach their occupational

potential. To fully attend to occupational justice, therapists need to advocate for occupationally enhanced environments within service settings (see 9.1.3). In a study that investigated the practice of occupational therapists in socially and economically marginalised settings, five shared characteristics were identified that enabled interviewees (occupational therapists) to practise effectively in settings that lacked the structure and resources of mainstream services. Occupational therapists who displayed agency, commitment, responsiveness, openness and resourcefulness most effectively worked with people in this area (Creek & Cook, 2017).

As individuals transition from homelessness to sustained tenancies, many utilise and benefit from the support of tenancy sustainment workers, homelessness services staff and volunteers. In addition, some people may be involved with more formal models, for example Housing First. The complex needs of people with multiple exclusion homelessness and the compounding occupational deprivation they experience can impact on occupational performance, their motivation to problem solve, make decisions or take control in the transition from homelessness. Occupational therapists have skills in assessing occupational performance and addressing elements of person, environment and occupation. They work with the person to goal set and carry out the occupations they want to, need to or are expected to do. The primary goal of occupational therapy is to enable people to participate in the activities of everyday life (section 1.1). I propose occupationally enhanced support provided by occupational therapists would enhance the work of existing teams within homelessness services. This could be with Housing First teams, which have a growing evidence base supporting their effectiveness, or other teams that work to support individuals sustain tenancies following homelessness. Roy *et al.* (2017) in their scoping review of

occupation based practice, also recommended that occupational therapists, as experts in enabling occupation, work creatively and collaboratively within existing teams. Although resources may not be readily available to support occupational therapists within homelessness services, it is worth exploring innovative ways to create opportunities and use ongoing education and research to evidence their value.

As revealed in this thesis, all the strategies to enable the transition from using homelessness services had an occupational 'doing' aspect to them. Occupation is significant to the process of successfully sustaining a tenancy—participation in meaningful activities is part of process of making a home. In addition, having a tenancy does not automatically lead to a support network or participation in the community but yet having a sense of belonging and connections are important to longer term tenancy sustainment. This indicates a need to develop an occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment, as informed by the MRC framework (Medical Research Council, 2008). A key part of developing an intervention (section 3.2.1), in addition to identifying the evidence base, is to develop theory about its specific components/'active ingredients' and mechanisms of change and how they may be related to tenancy sustainment (Medical Research Council, 2008). This provides an understanding of how the intervention might work, what aspects should be implemented, how and in which circumstances. As identified in the literature review (section 2.4.1; table 2.2), there are a number of occupational therapy interventions for people leaving homelessness (Gutman & Raphael-Greenfield, 2017; Gutman, Raphael-Greenfield & Simon, 2015; Helfrich *et al.*, 2006). However, their objectives primarily focus on skill building, in particular independent living skills. Although I acknowledge these skills have a role in maintaining tenancies, the emphasis on building skills alone does not address the categories

raised in the theory 'making a home'. For example, the existing interventions do not fully attend to the strategies of personalising the place or developing an identity as a tenant. They also fail to address the importance of having a sense of belonging or connections to enable tenancy sustainment. Another shortcoming is their lack of attention to wider structural issues beyond that of the individual. As guided by the development stage of the Medical Research Council (2008), the synthesised findings identified in this study (section 8.3.2) inform the 'active ingredients' of an occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment following homelessness. This will form the basis of future post-doctoral work.

9.5 Conclusion

The four research questions of this thesis were discussed sequentially in this chapter. The process of transition from using homelessness services to a sustained tenancy for people with experience of multiple exclusion homelessness was initially elaborated upon. Particular attention was drawn to the interplay between structural and individual factors, an occupational perspective of the transition as well as the role of homelessness services in the transition. Discussion of the factors that enable successful tenancy sustainment followed. The third research question explored the role of occupations in the transition. It found that engaging in occupations provided a sense of well-being, a sense of control as well as social connections. The context of occupational choices and complexity of the relationship between occupation and well-being were both considered. The final research question addressed how this increased understanding of transition will inform occupational therapy practice. A discussion of the limitations of this thesis closed this chapter. The next chapter, chapter 10, concludes this thesis by presenting the key contributions and implications of this study.

CHAPTER 10
CONCLUSION

This chapter concludes the thesis by outlining the principal findings, and considering their contribution and implications within occupational science, occupational therapy and the wider services who work to meet the needs of persons who experience homelessness. The limitations of this research are presented before concluding with future directions of the research.

10.1 Principal findings

The original findings of the research are summarised under three sub headings. The first is the knowledge gained by viewing the transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy from an occupational perspective. The factors proposed to enable tenancy sustainment, as identified in the synthesised findings, will be discussed second. The final sub-section will summarise the findings in relation to tenancy sustainment as a concept and outcome.

10.1.1 Occupational perspective of the transition to a sustained tenancy

The overall aim of the research was to increase the understanding of the role of occupation in making the transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy. Although grounded in

occupational science, literature from other disciplines was drawn upon to guide and deepen the author's critical analysis of the process of transition. An increased understanding of, and emphasis on the space of a tenancy and place within homelessness was garnered from human geography literature. Reading within sociology deepened awareness of wider structures in which to consider occupation and their effects on occupational possibilities and choices. An occupational perspective provides a deeper understanding about human doing as well as its meaning and purpose for individuals within their context. This study contributes an understanding of transition within and from homelessness to the growing literature on transitions in occupational science.

As presented in chapters five and six, the findings of the constructive grounded theory study revealed a core process named **Making a Home** which enabled a successful tenancy. It was enacted though three strategies: ***putting your stamp on it, seeing a new self*** and ***living the life.*** The strategy of **putting your stamp on it** has been considered in the context of home and place making (Blunt & Dowling, 2006; Rowles, 2008) but this study has highlighted its importance for people transitioning from homelessness. A personalised home can reinforce a sense of connection to place and support the identity of being a tenant. ***Seeing a new self*** as a tenant is the second strategy, and occupations, used effectively, are a constructive means to modify, construct or maintain identities. Identities can be enabled through re-engaging with previously enjoyed occupations or developing new ones. As patterns of everyday occupations, routines are an important dimension of lifestyle and although the importance of routine has been recognised in homelessness research in relation to work, this study highlights the value of routine in ***living the life*** of a tenant. Occupational engagement is fundamental to the strategies which enable tenancy sustainment following homelessness—

the feeling of home was enacted through doing.

Feeling at home, in this study, equated to tenancy sustainment and comprised the sub-categories 'belonging' and 'having connections'. 'Belonging' is a sense of connection to place and 'having connections' is to people. This study adds to the literature that emphasises how occupations are a means through which people interact with spaces and each other (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013; Wilcock, 2006). It is through the performance of everyday occupations that people derive a meaning of place and a sense of connectedness to others when in tenancies. Taking control over activities was identified as key to successful tenancy sustainment. Although agency is at the level of the person, it is set within the wider context of homelessness. The findings highlighted the transactional nature of occupation—occupations and their meaning were shaped by context and by the relationships with others in their lives. The stage of 'hanging on - unmaking' in the substantive theory develops the understanding of individuals' daily life when tenancies are at risk and reveals that occupational engagement changed during this process. This contributes to the occupational injustice scholarship about occupational deprivation which will be discussed in more depth in section 10.2.1, later in this chapter.

10.1.2 Tenancy sustainment as an outcome

The systematic review, presented in chapter seven, highlighted the lack of consistency by which tenancy sustainment was defined and measured within homelessness research. Studies tended to rate the success of a tenancy by its duration i.e. number of days housed. However, there was a diversity in the agreed time that constituted successful tenancy sustainment which resulted in a difficulty in comparing studies. As outlined in the review findings (see section 7.3.2), 90 days was the most frequently occurring duration by which the

outcome of tenancy sustainment was measured. While this is acknowledged as a positive start within a tenancy, it is, for many, only the beginning of becoming settled in their accommodation and the local community. Furthermore, tenancies at risk may, in practice, be sustained for a period of 90 days before proceedings are put in place to remove the tenant. Tenancy sustainment within the constructivist grounded theory study—feeling at home—was not conceptualised by participants as a duration of time but as having a sense of belonging to the place, in which they could relax, make choices, have privacy and feel connected to others. This contribution to knowledge challenges the applicability of measuring tenancy sustainment by duration of time, for example 90 days. It supports the critique that housing stability should measure more than structural factors and proposes the need to include subjective factors of stability, belonging, satisfaction and participation in occupations to portray meaningful tenancy sustainment.

10.1.3 Framework of the factors of successful tenancy sustainment

The originality of the systematic review within homelessness research was its focus on tenancy sustainment as the primary outcome. Tenancy sustainment is fundamental to the prevention and resolution of homelessness. The findings, described in chapter seven, synthesise a broad range of heterogeneous studies and present the positive determinants of tenancy sustainment from the existing literature. The findings of the constructivist grounded theory were synthesised with the systematic review findings in chapter eight to create a framework of factors that influence successful tenancy sustainment. The presentation of the factors in this framework is an original contribution of this thesis. At the level of the individual, the factors were 'seeing a new self', 'living the life', 'personalising the tenancy' as well as 'taking personal control'. At the interpersonal level, having connections with others, including

a support worker, influenced tenancy sustainment. Having a sense of belonging to the tenancy and/or the wider neighbourhood was important at the community level. The model of Housing First, at a structural level, showed most evidence to influence tenancy sustainment. This research proposes that the increased understanding of successful tenancy sustainment, as informed by this framework of factors, has the potential to positively influence how interventions are designed and evaluated. As guided by the development stage of the Medical Research Council (2008), the framework of factors will inform the 'active ingredients' of an occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment following homelessness. This will be elaborated upon in section 10.2.2. In addition, the framework of factors, with its occupational perspective, can influence tenancy support models and housing polices by its nuanced understanding of tenancy sustainment and the importance of meaningful occupational engagement to support it. Housing First has been criticised for its poor promotion of social and community integration (Pleace & Bretherton, 2013; Tsai, Mares & Rosenheck, 2012). The provision of an occupation based approach to facilitate a sense of belonging to the community and others could combat this critique and enhance the experience of tenancy sustainment for individuals.

10.2 Implications of the findings

The implications of the original findings, as described in the preceding section, are presented initially for occupational science, followed by occupational therapy. This section is concluded by considering the implications of the findings for the wider services who work to meet the needs of people who are homeless.

10.2.1 Occupational science

This study adds to the growing body of knowledge within occupational science by furthering

the understanding of everyday occupations for individuals who use homelessness services. In keeping with other studies (Cunningham and Slade, 2017; Marshall, Lysaght & Krupa, 2017) the experience of using services impacted on the participants as occupational beings. Within hostels, the physical and institutional setting influenced their opportunities and constrained participation in occupations, creating occupational deprivation. However, this study highlighted that the social and cultural environment further constrained choices and engagement as people 'distanced' themselves. The inseparable relationship between occupational choices and social group participation has been acknowledged in research with young people (Gallagher, Pettigrew & Muldoon, 2015; Galvaan, 2015) but this research extends it to homeless contexts. Therefore the provision of a greater range of occupational opportunities within homelessness settings may not result in increased engagement, without attending to the socio-cultural environment and the process of engagement. Studies within occupational science would benefit from a more critical exploration about why and how individuals get involved in occupations within homelessness services to deepen the understanding of what supports or hinders engagement. This has important implications for any service or setting that provides activities and wishes to support people who experience homelessness to engage in occupations.

Occupational deprivation is the by-product of social exclusion (Whiteford, 2011). The individuals recruited in this study experienced deep rooted social exclusion, by the nature of their multiple exclusion homelessness. In addition to experiencing the impact of occupational deprivation when using homelessness services, this study contends that participants had been occupationally deprived over a sustained period of time, prior to the actual event of using homelessness services. Opportunities and choices to participate in meaningful

occupations had been eroded and restricted as a result of tenancies at risk and breaking down, the loss of support networks or daily lives dominated by substance misuse. Furthermore, lives are situated within the wider context of poverty (Sofo & Wicks, 2017) as well as social policies, which also affect occupational opportunities, choices and possibilities (Laliberte Rudman, 2010). Therefore, this research asserts that to fully understand occupational deprivation for people who are experiencing homelessness, it must be considered over time, for example with a life course perspective. A deeper understanding will provide insight as to why some individuals can appear to have lost a sense of what is meaningful to them, what they are skilled at and why they can appear to have limited knowledge of how to make and implement plans for the future. Occupational deprivation has been recognised as a complex situated process as well as an outcome. Scholarship within occupational science would benefit from further exploration of occupational deprivation over time to fully understand its impact on individuals in the context of homelessness.

The complexity of routine, within some hostel settings, was identified in this research. The structure of mealtimes, availability of staff and communal areas, which initially provided a sense of sanctuary and relief for many individuals was the same structure and routine that created occupational deprivation by imposing on the habits, choices and occupational opportunities of service users. This contributed to a sense of 'getting stuck', as identified in this study, which in turn, had implications for a person's transition to their own tenancy. Further exploration of the influence of routine within homelessness settings, from an occupational perspective, would deepen the understanding of its significant influence on occupation and occupational engagement. This would inform services on how best to structure their environments and routines to support the occupational participation of

individuals as they transitioned from homelessness.

The social and cultural environment of the hostel, with its regulations, communal living and staffing, provided numerous situations in which individuals demonstrated a sense of agency by 'fighting against'. Participants engaged in occupations seen as negative within the setting (Kiepek, Phelan & Magalhães, 2014) for example, rule breaking and avoiding getting caught. In addition, participants resisted by 'not doing', for example by not attending planned groups or by choosing not to engage with their keyworker. Within homelessness settings, 'not doing' or 'not engaging' was a powerful and meaningful means of demonstrating agency and identity. This thesis contends that 'non engagement' and resistance needs to be explored in more depth and with a critical perspective within occupational science.

This study corroborates existing literature that proposes occupational engagement enhances the well-being of persons who have experience of homelessness (Thomas, Gray & Ginty, 2017), both within service settings and in tenancies. In addition, it endorses that occupations provide a social connection (Chard, Faulkner & Chugg, 2009). However, it also identified that within a hostel setting, connections were provided by activities that didn't hold personal meaning, but were a means to 'fit in', for example, playing pool. This raises the complexity of 'meaningful' occupations within homelessness. Activities may be meaningful merely for a period of time as they fulfil a specific purpose in context. Examples in this study include activities to pass the time, enhance identity or support survival, for example, attending food centres. This research, however, questions the impact of this on persons who spend extended periods of time using homelessness services—does this contribute to occupational alienation as individuals may lose a sense of what is personally meaningful, or develop a modified sense

of identity, which negatively influences their transition from homelessness? For participants who were in their own tenancies, this study drew attention to the range of occupations that facilitated social connections. These not only included the obvious involvement with others in social groups or voluntary work but also social media, putting a neighbour's bin out, gardening where strangers pass by, and taking a dog for a walk. This indicates the importance, well-recognised within occupational science, of occupations for social connection following homelessness. However it further reinforces that to support tenancy sustainment, occupations must be considered on an individual basis. Although, this research identified occupations and strategies which make and sustain a tenancy following homelessness, it does not stipulate particular ones because of the subjective nature of occupation. Instead, this research proposes tenancy sustainment will enacted by participating in occupations that provide a tenant with a sense of belonging to place and to others.

The findings of this thesis adds to the occupational justice discourse within homelessness and expanded it by considering the transition from homelessness to tenancies. As identified by Pereira (2013) there is a paucity of research which has explored the realities of persons living with entrenched disadvantage characterised by poverty. This study demonstrated the day to day realities of being a recipient of homelessness services; the process of making and sustaining a home following homelessness; and tenancies breaking down. This research advocates for occupational justice as people transition from homelessness so that opportunities and choices are available to support individuals participate in occupations, as central to the process of making a home and tenancy sustainment. To facilitate this, service delivery approaches and environments need to value and encourage meaningful participation in occupation-focused, innovative and proactive ways. Occupational scientists can add value

by providing insights into the practical nature of how this would work and advocate for occupational justice at a policy and structural level. For example, this thesis proposes the concept of an occupational enhanced environment. This is guided by the principle of occupational rights and can lay foundations for enabling occupational opportunities and sustainable participation for people who experience homelessness. This will be expanded upon further in section 10.2.4, which discusses the implications for services and staff within homelessness. The implications of the research findings for occupational therapy will be outlined in the following section.

10.2.2 Occupational therapy

The role of occupational therapy with people who experience homelessness has been supported for over twenty years (for example, Davis & Kutter, 1998; Grandisson *et al*., 2009; Thomas, Gray and McGinty, 2011). Occupational science literature indicates that occupation has value and occupational engagement is meaningful, albeit restricted, for people who are experiencing homelessness (Cunningham and Slade, 2017; Marshall, Lysaght and Krupa, 2017; Thomas, Gray and McGinty, 2017). Despite this, the number of occupational therapists working in the area remains limited and a recent scoping review reported a lack of high quality research to support the effectiveness of occupation based practices (Roy *et al*., 2017). Two interventions to support people transition from homelessness (Helfrich & Fogg, 2007; Gutman & Raphael-Greenfield, 2017) emphasise skill building, taking a bottom up approach, and do not appear to address occupational engagement in a more meaningful way. As critiqued by Hammell and Iwama (2012), occupational therapy practices that focus solely on enhancing individuals abilities are inadequate and naïve. This is particularly pertinent for occupational therapy practice within homelessness, as the constraints imposed by systems and structural conditions impacting on people's lives and occupational opportunities must be

acknowledged and addressed.

As summarised in section 10.1.3, this research identified a framework of factors for successful tenancy sustainment, which provides a foundation for the development of an occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment following homelessness. Most occupational therapy interventions descriptions are not based on clear descriptions of theory (Armitage, Swallow & Kolehmainen, 2017). Instead they are often guided by conceptual practice models or frameworks, for example Model of Human Occupation (Kielhofner, 2008) or Canadian Model of Occupational Performance and Engagement (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013). While conceptual models guide practice and support professional reasoning, they do not specify causal theories and hypotheses which makes it more difficult to evaluate interventions robustly (Armitage, Swallow & Kolehmainen, 2017). In addition, as a drawback for working with people who have experienced homelessness, conceptual practice models have been criticised for not attending to social justice issues and focusing too heavily on an individualistic perspective (Bailliard & Aldrich, 2016; Gerlach *et al.*, 2017).

The synthesised findings of this study revealed six categories of 'active ingredients' which enable tenancy sustainment: seeing self as a tenant, living the life, personalising the physical environment, having connections, relationship with support worker and belonging (see section 8.3.2 for a more detailed description). The process, through which change occurs, is seen in the relationship between the active ingredients and tenancy sustainment as the outcome. This core process of change, one of the principal findings of this research, was taking control, which was enacted by engaging in occupations in the tenancy and in the community. Taking control of occupations facilitated tenancy sustainment. For example, taking control of time use and engaging in a local community workshop related to a meaningful activity

(example, bicycle repair) would support making connections with other people. It could act as a conduit for developing a sense of belonging in the community and perhaps develop/regain an identity of a tenant.

In partnership, the individual who is transitioning from homelessness and the occupational therapist set goals and make plans to enable occupation. These goals would be determined by occupational performance, a person's interests and values, as well as the occupational opportunities available. Occupational therapy enablement skills include adapting, coaching, engaging, advocating, collaborating, designing and educating (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013). To address the occupational opportunities available within communities, as guided by the Participatory Occupational Justice Framework (POJF, 2010) occupational therapists should raise consciousness, engage collaboratively, mediate agreement, strategize resources, support implementation and inspire advocacy (Townsend & Polatajko, 2013). The findings of this thesis provide further evidence to demonstrate the value of the framework to apply the concept of occupational justice.

To further elucidate the importance of occupation for tenancy sustainment, I have developed a conceptual model, as illustrated in figure 10.1 overleaf.

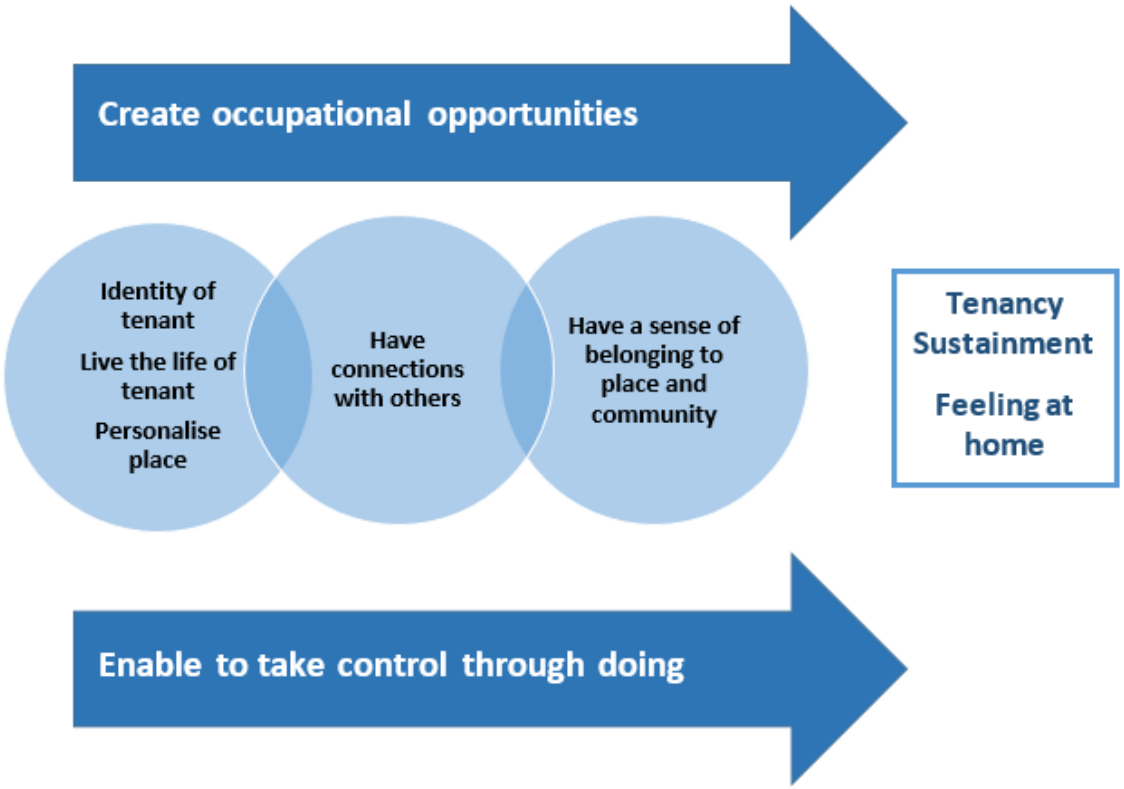


Figure 10.1. Conceptual model of occupation for tenancy sustainment

Grounded in the research findings, this conceptual model presents the occupational framing of the transition from homelessness to tenancy sustainment and the dynamic role of occupation. Transition would be supported by an occupational therapist enabling the individual take control through doing, as well as, creating occupational opportunities at a more structural level. The 'active ingredients' of tenancy sustainment which need to be included in an intervention are represented in the circles. At the level of the individual, the areas/active ingredients are: identity, living the life of a tenant as well as personalising the place. Connections with others is the ingredient at the interpersonal level and the final aspect is having a sense of connection to the place and community.

Occupational therapists are skilled in enabling or empowering individuals to take control through occupational engagement but this conceptual model extends the responsibility of

the occupational therapist to the wider context. This may be within a particular service, a homeless system within a geographical area as well as negotiating and advocating for occupational opportunities within the wider community for people who experience disadvantage. This conceptual model is preliminary and requires further evaluation to establish if it is a valid representation of the process of tenancy sustainment but its value is to present the findings visually to further inform research and practice. As a model to potentially inform practice within homelessness, it enacts the calls by Angell (2014) and Farias *et al.* (2017) to attend to wider socio-political influences. In addition, it advocates for occupation as a means for social transformation by explicitly naming occupation and occupational opportunities as fundamental parts of the process of occupational therapy.

Occupational therapy uses occupation/doing as the agent of change. Meaningful occupation enables skills and develops abilities necessary for participation in life. The meaning of the occupation to the individual is critical to the occupation's potential as an agent of change (Wilcock, 2006). For each of the 'active ingredients' of tenancy sustainment identified in this study, supporting evidence for occupation is presented in table 10.1.

Active ingredients	*Evidence for occupation*
Developing identity of a tenant/ seeing self as a tenant	Occupation provided a means to actively carry out place negotiations in ways that can support identity (Huot & Rudman, 2010). Modifying occupations helped recreate a sense of self in a new context (Gupta & Sullivan, 2013). Community gardening challenged negative stereotypes by developing roles that lead to positive identity formation (Mason & Conneeley, 2012).
Living the life of a tenant	Occupations, such as, shopping, cooking favourite dishes and transferring existing capabilities into a new context can facilitate the re-development of life skills that enable the transition (Suleman & Whiteford, 2013). Routines provide stability and continuity at times of stress (Koome, Hocking & Sutton, 2012).
Personalising place	Place centred occupations, for example decorating and rearranging furniture generated meaning and influenced the relationship to place (Shank & Cutchin, 2010). Activities performed in the home contribute to 'being' in the home (Rowles, 2008). Doing occupations with others provides a sense of connection (Reed, Hocking & Smythe, 2010). Occupations facilitate a sense of self and a sense of being included in the world (Blank, Harries & Reynolds, 2015).
Having a sense of belonging to the community	Making music with others generated a sense of social and community connectedness (Roberts & Farrugia, 2013). Being involved in community gardening can establish and maintain links with the wider community (York & Wiseman, 2012).
Taking control over doing/ agency	A sense of agency was developed through engagement in occupations (Lindstrom, Sjostrom & Lindberg, 2013). People gain a sense of control by choosing, shaping and managing their daily occupations (Clark & Jackson, 1990).

Table 10.1. Supporting evidence for occupation as the agent of change for the 'active ingredients'.

It is important to note that occupations may impact on more than one active ingredient, as they are interrelated. Getting involved in an allotment, for example, may develop a sense of belonging to the community as well as developing connections to others. Occupational therapists, by understanding individuals as occupational beings within context, can provide a unique perspective to support persons, especially those with more complex needs, to engage in occupations to support the transition from homelessness. Although this research is proposing a role for occupational therapists in tenancy sustainment, individuals leaving homelessness are supported, in the main, by workers and volunteers from a range of services. The implications of the research findings for wider homelessness services will be explored in the next section.

10.2.3 Homelessness services

In practice, homelessness services include numerous voluntary organisations, charities and statutory services, which differ in purpose and size. Within these, individuals work, in both paid and voluntary capacities, to support people who are experiencing homelessness. Participants in this study took various pathways to tenancies from homelessness—some utilised a staircase approach, moving between services whereas others moved directly into tenancies. Some tenants had the support of a member of a tenancy sustainment team, whereas others continued to access support from hostel or day service staff and/or volunteers, especially when relationships had already been established. This research emphasised that the process of tenancy sustainment goes beyond the moving in stage and this is recognised by many support services. The framework of factors of successful tenancy sustainment, identified by holding an occupational perspective, highlighted the value of occupational engagement and how strategies with an occupational focus, for example 'doing' to personalise the physical environment, enact tenancy sustainment. Crucially the

significance of personal values and meaning when identifying individualised strategies is reinforced, for example, cooking may reinforce the identity of tenant and provide social connection for one person but may be viewed as meaningless and an unnecessary chore to another. Individualising support must be a core value in tenancy sustainment. Furthermore, the importance of empowering tenants to develop a sense of control over activities is fundamental to tenancy sustainment. This research has highlighted that as well as taking control over living skills such as paying rent and bills and having a routine to support this, being able to ask for help, in a timely and meaningful way, is crucial when tenancies are at risk. Further research is needed to explore how best to empower individuals who transition from homelessness to seek support.

The value of occupational strategies to enact tenancy sustainment is a core finding in this study. Therefore as people transition through homelessness it is important for services critically reflect on the practical opportunities and choices provided to people to develop a 'sense of mastery' through doing. Workshops and groups are provided within many homelessness services and there are many excellent examples of participatory occupation-based activities. However as this research demonstrated, some individuals exert agency and experience control by resisting involvement. As a result, attending to the impact of the wider social context on the process of engagement, for example the influence of peers as well as the types of activities themselves is important to enhance meaningful occupational engagement.

This study indicates a need for a balance between giving, and enabling, to best empower individuals develop a sense of agency in their transition from homelessness. The impact of getting stuck was recognised as a block to leaving homelessness services. Strategies that were

identified as supporting the process of transition had an occupational focus, and therefore the opportunities for individuals to meaningfully engage in occupations within the current structure of service provision should be critically reflected upon. Services can provide a valued place of sanctuary and many are founded on an ethos of charitable provision, which by its nature, supports giving. This study proposes an occupational justice perspective—equal opportunities to engage in varied and meaningful occupations to meet based needs and maximise potential through participation in doing (Townsend & Wilcock, 2004b)—would enhance service provision in homelessness settings. This is explored in the following section.

10.2.4 Occupationally enhanced environments

Although this research did not specifically set out to explore the experiences of being a service user within homelessness, it emerged from the data as an important part of the transition from homelessness. Everyday activities, time use, opportunities, choices and decisions were enacted in the context of service settings. The thesis purports that an occupational justice perspective within homelessness services would support the transition from homelessness. To provide a framework for enabling this within services, this research proposes the concept of an occupationally enhanced environment. An occupationally enhanced environment recognises occupational needs and enables individuals to have access to a range of opportunities and resources to engage in personally meaningful and diverse occupations, at times of their choice. Everyday occupations would be valued for their benefit in enhancing well-being, sense of control and connectedness. This concept is grounded in doing, being, becoming and belonging (Wilcock, 2006)—the four dimensions of occupation—and occupational engagement being fundamental to the well-being of all people (Hammell, 2017). It has been inspired by *Psychologically Informed Services for homeless people* (Keats *et al.*, 2012), a good practice guide and *Enabling Environments Standards* (Royal College of

Psychiatrists, 2013). Both documents recognise the value of 'doing' within environments and refer to purposeful activity (Royal College of Psychiatrists, 2013) and meaningful occupation (Keats, 2012) but omit to develop this further. An occupational perspective would contribute a deeper understanding of the form, function and meaning of occupations as well as the relationship of occupation to health and well-being.

It is well recognised that the physical and institutional environments within homelessness settings can limit the opportunities and constrain the participation of service users in occupations, creating occupational deprivation (Chard, Faulkner & Chugg, 2009; Marshall, Lysaght and Krupa, 2017). To mitigate against this, occupationally enhanced environments would provide opportunities and support the rights of individuals to participate in desired occupations (Whiteford & Townsend, 2011). They would advocate the value of doing for well-being and that individuals develop potential through participation. Combined with support from all staff, occupational enhanced service settings will attempt to break the cycle in which some persons appear to have moved through services without any sense of empowerment or mastery, which has a negative impact on tenancy sustainment. Services would recognise the impact of occupational deprivation over time and have the insight that experiences of exclusion and lack of opportunities have impacted on a person, their views of themselves and their sense of likelihood for change before entering their services. This further reinforces the importance of providing choices and chances within services to engage in doing as a means to recognise capabilities.

Drawing on the human development approach for creating capabilities (Nussbaum, 2011), a service would critically reflect on what are individuals using their services actually able to do? This will draw attention to the impact of rules, policies, and environmental structures on day

to day activities, for example, daily living tasks or choosing how to spend free time. This importantly places a spotlight on contextual issues in addition to individual abilities. As Hammell (2016) noted, choices are constrained by structural barriers as well as cultural norms and expectations. Many services, both residential as well as day services, provide activities and group programmes, which enable participation and a sense of well-being when they meet the needs of the individuals attending (as discussed in section 9.3). The challenge can be to provide groups that match the interests and skills of many individuals with complex needs who use homelessness services. Interests can be garnered by the establishment of good quality relationships and rapport that are based on an expectation of meaningful engagement, linked to a personal goal, rather than involvement for the sake of involvement.

Choice is an essential element and would be advocated for in occupational enhanced environments. As outlined by Nussbaum (2011) and Sen (1999) in the capabilities approach, once opportunities are provided, it is the choice of individuals to take them up or not. This allows for dignified participation, which has implications for shaping occupational identity (Phelan and Kinsella, 2009). Non-engagement by individuals is recognised as meaningful within occupationally enhanced environments—it should not be judged negatively, but respected as a decision. However, individuals would be encouraged to reflect on the meaning of non-engagement in interactions with staff and offered opportunities to develop skills to take part. In keeping with psychologically informed environments (Keats, 2012), all staff would hold a greater awareness of the meaning and value of meaningful engagement and be supported in how to respond to non-engagement. Occupational therapists, working alongside other staff within services, would provide this expertise.

Within homelessness settings, meaningful occupations can also include those that do not

enhance personal health and well-being and may cause harm to others. Naturally the safety of other service users and staff is paramount in any environment. However, collaboration with service users to agree on and be aware of the rules for health and safety, as well as the implications for breaking them, is important. In addition environments can be designed creatively to provide opportunities for service users to engage in meaningful occupation that do not impact on the safety of others.

The purpose of an occupational enhanced environment is to enable people make changes and develop potential through meaningful engagement in occupation, to support their transition from homelessness to sustained tenancies. In practice, the physical, institutional and cultural environments tend to constrain the opportunities available to services users. An occupational therapist, as an expert in enabling occupation and occupational performance, working in consultation with service providers, could support the development and maintenance of an occupational enhanced environment. However further development of the concept in practice and its potential influence on individuals transitioning from homelessness is required. Occupationally enhanced environments are focussed at an organisational level but this thesis also supports the proposition that occupational justice should be advocated at a policy level (Hocking, 2017, Gerlach *et al.*, 2017). Occupational rights should be reflected in homelessness policy and standards at a local and national level to ensure that participation in everyday occupations is valued for its benefit in enhancing well-being, sense of control and connectedness.

Supporting other research (Cox *et al.*, 2017; Frederick *et al.*, 2014) the systematic review in this thesis highlighted the need for a more consistent measurement of tenancy sustainment within homelessness research. The constructivist grounded theory study reinforced that

tenancy sustainment measured in duration of time alone, for example 90 days, is not a meaningful outcome. In keeping with Frederick *et al*. (2014), these findings indicate that subjective factors, for example satisfaction, should be included in tenancy sustainment measures to reflect the complexity and multidimensional nature of home as a concept. However, this thesis extends that by revealing the need for subjective measures of connectedness and belonging to place. It is acknowledged that concepts such as belonging or connectedness can be difficult to define and therefore challenging to measure. However, objective measures alone do not represent meaningful tenancy sustainment. Therefore, there is a need to advance the development of a psychometric measure that reflects the subjective experience of tenancy sustainment to provide meaningful insights into the experience and influence housing and homelessness research.

The following section will include a discussion of the limitations of the thesis as a whole.

10.3 Research limitations

In addition to the critical reflections on the research study design discussed in the methodology chapter (see section 3.6.7) and limitations specific to the systematic review in chapter seven (see section 7.3.4), this section articulates the limitations of the research and how they have imposed on the outcomes.

This study adopted a mixed methods design which was guided by the MRC guidance on the development, evaluation and implementation of complex interventions. The epistemological challenges of the combination of a constructivist grounded study with a systematic review were overcome by holding a pragmatic complementary strengths approach (see section 3.2.1). This design ensured the integrity of each paradigm was maintained during the data

collection and analysis stages and only the conclusions were mixed. Positioning the study in this manner, situated it within traditional health services research. The concept of evidence based practice underpins health services research, which has relied on a hierarchy of evidence, in which exploratory and subjective research is considered less than more objectives methods. Within this context the systematic review added value as it brings together the potential learning from completed research. The combination of the findings with those of the grounded theory study, provide an enhanced foundation for the development of a theory based complex intervention for tenancy sustainment following homelessness. As occupational therapy responds to the call to extend its role beyond mainstream health and social care and be a more socially and politically engaged profession, there is a responsibility to further articulate the role of qualitative and more participatory research methodologies.

A limitation of situating the study within health services research was the risk of not attending fully to the wider structural factors that influence homelessness as well as occupational injustices. However, this was mitigated against by drawing on literature from other disciplines. In holding a pragmatic approach—valuing both worldviews—the potential of occupation within homelessness may not have been explicated in as much depth compared to holding an interpretivist position alone. This said, the interviews using reflexive photography produced rich meaningful data, which attended to the role of place, possessions and occupations. The outcome of the process of synthesising the findings, as guided by the MRC framework lost some of the richness of this data. Although succinct, the process of synthesis was transparent and robust. However, the synthesised findings might have been enhanced by taking a more collaborative approach, beyond that of the supervisory team.

There would have been value in discussing, more formally, the credibility of the findings and my interpretations with people with personal experience of homelessness, staff and volunteers in the service settings as well as occupational therapists interested in the area. This consultation will be included in my post-doctoral research as the proposed intervention is modelled to describe how and where an intervention would be delivered, by whom, as well as the pathways into and out of it. This will complete the development phase of the MRC framework for complex interventions.

Due to the number of interviews completed for the constructivist grounded theory study, a large volume of data was recorded. In keeping with the method of developing and saturating theoretical categories, the methodology explicated the process of making a home following homelessness. As a consequence, other insights shared by the participants were not presented in depth in the findings, for example being a parent when homeless. Indeed there are other aspects which could be developed further, for example the experience of living in tenancies at risk.

Even though all staff within organisations facilitating the study were invited to participate, no staff members with recent experience working on tenancy support teams participated in interviews. In addition, although an organisation providing Housing First was approached, they were unable to host this study and no participants who accessed a Housing First service were included. As Housing First shows promising evidence as an intervention for tenancy sustainment it is a limitation of this study that the findings do not fully encompass their perspective.

The aim of a constructivist grounded theory is to develop an understanding of the studied phenomenon that accounts for context (Charmaz, 2008). It does not assume that the theories

it constructs have overarching generalisability or applicability (Mills, Bonner & Francis, 2006) but proposed the findings provide a way of describing and explaining the social processes for particular people, at a particular time, in a particular culture. The aim of this study was to gain an understanding of the process for individuals facing multiple exclusion homelessness as they transition to sustained tenancies. The research was situated in cities within England and Ireland and although some differences in policy between the countries were outlined in chapter one, there are also similarities in services types. The aim of the study was not to compare experiences between service settings or countries but to explicate the role of occupation in process of the transition to a sustained tenancy from homelessness. The findings are most appropriately interpreted in an Irish or English context but it is hoped that the research has relevance for other countries in which individuals transition from using homelessness services to their own tenancies.

10.4 Future research directions

In addressing the research questions, this thesis has increased the understanding of the role of occupation in making the transition from homelessness to a sustained tenancy. Future research directions include the development of an occupational therapy intervention for tenancy sustainment following homelessness. As guided by the Medical Research Council (2008) framework for complex interventions this will form the basis of post-doctoral research. The research findings will be disseminated as part of a consultation process in which stakeholders, experts by experience, staff in the area of homelessness and occupational therapists will be invited.

Future research might explore:

– further development of the concept of occupationally enhanced environments, their

implementation and influence on the transition from homelessness,

- the concept of occupational deprivation over time,
- the process of sustaining a tenancy from an occupational perspective with service users and staff in Housing First services to develop a greater insight within that model,
- the development of a psychometric measure that reflects the subjective experience of tenancy sustainment,
- the need for a more consistent measurement of tenancy sustainment within research in homelessness.

10.5 Closing remarks

For individuals who experience multiple exclusion homelessness, leaving homelessness is recognised as a dynamic and complex process. Once in housing, the establishment of a home and maintenance of a tenure is fundamental. This research identified occupational strategies that enabled the process of making a home. Tenancy sustainment was conceptualised as feeling at home, which included having a sense of belonging to place and connections to others. Taking control over doing was identified as key to tenancy sustainment.

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APPENDICES

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Appendix 1. PROSPERO systematic review protocol

UNIVERSITY of York
Centre for Reviews and Dissemination

NHS
National Institute for Health Research

PROSPERO International prospective register of systematic reviews

Leaving homelessness: a narrative synthesis

Leonie Boland, Anita Slade, Katrina Bannigan

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Review question(s)
To explore the current knowledge about the phenomenon of leaving homelessness

What are the issues perceived, and encountered, by individuals, supporters and service providers in relation to leaving homelessness?

What supports and/or service models (e.g. 'staircase' approach/ 'Housing First' model) are most effective in enabling people to leave homelessness?

What are the enablers and barriers experienced by formerly homeless individuals in sustaining tenancies away from homelessness?

What are the supports and barriers identified by supporters and service providers in enabling people leaving homelessness?

Searches
The search strategy aims to find both published and unpublished studies.

Each database will be searched using keywords and modified in line with each database and provider's indexing system.

Reference lists of all identified articles and reports will be searched for additional studies.

Forward and backward citation searching will also be carried out.

The databases to be searched are:

1. Cochrane Library

2. Campbell Library

3. Joanna Briggs Institute

4. AMED (EBSCO)

5. CINAHL (EBSCO)

6. EMBASE (OVID)

7. MEDLINE (OVID)

8. OTseeker

9. PsycINFO (OVID)

10. Social Care Online

11. SocIndex

12. Web of Science Social Sciences Citation Index

The search for unpublished studies will include screening of references in identified studies, unpublished studies and grey literature. It will be undertaken using:

1. Relevant third sector websites including Broadway, Brighter Futures, Crisis, Groundswell, Homeless Link, Homeless Pages, Joseph Rowntree Foundation, Revolving Doors Agency, Salvation Army, Shelter, St Mungos.

2. Government websites including Department of Communities and Local Government

3. EThOS

4. ProQuest Thesis index

5. ProQuest Conference Papers Index

6. Web of Science Conference Proceedings Citation Index

7. Google scholar

8. Google

Studies published in English will be considered for inclusion in this review. There will be no restriction of dates as it is unclear as to when the earliest research is available.The searches will be re-run just before the final analyses.

The search terms are "homelessness", "leaving" and "tenancy sustainment"; including their synonyms. An information specialist has been consulted and the strategy will be adapted to transfer across all search platforms.

Types of study to be included
All study designs will be included to get a comprehensive understanding of the current status of the literature in this field.

Condition or domain being studied
The move from homelessness into one's own accommodation with a tenancy agreement and the sustaining of this tenancy.

Participants/ population
Individuals (aged 16 and over) who were sleeping rough; using homeless service accommodation or formerly homeless in their own tenancy (regardless of how long this is sustained for). Supporters and/ or homeless service staff of these participants will also be included.

Studies focussing on homeless families only will be excluded.

Intervention(s), exposure(s)
All interventions that support individuals to leave homelessness and sustain a tenancy will be included.

All interventions related to families only will be excluded.

Comparator(s)/ control
Homeless people will be the comparators for the people leaving homelessness. The general population, when possible, will be the comparators for formerly homeless people sustaining tenancies. Understanding of comparator(s) will be increased through the review.

Context

Any study that considers a move made by a person from homeless accommodation into their own tenancy will be included.

Studies in which a person only moves between emergency homeless accommodations will be excluded.

Outcome(s)

Primary outcomes

Tenancy sustainment following homelessness. Since these concepts differ between studies, we will use the definitions from the individual studies.

Secondary outcomes

None

Data extraction, (selection and coding)

All citations and abstracts will be entered into ENDNOTE reference manager. Duplicates will be removed. In line with the PRISMA statement a PRISMA flow diagram will document the study selection process.

All titles and abstracts will be screened initially against the inclusion criteria by the principal review author and one other review author independently to identify potentially relevant studies. The reason for rejection of abstracts will be noted and recorded in the PRISMA flow diagram. Any disagreement will be resolved through discussion with the third reviewer.

The full text of the potentially eligible studies will be retrieved and independently assessed by two review team members. Any disagreement will be resolved through discussion with the third reviewer.

Studies identified though grey literature will be assessed following the same methods.

A data extraction form will be used to extract data from the included studies for assessment of study quality and evidence synthesis. Extracted information will include: study purpose, research questions, study design, sampling strategy, participant characteristics, intervention and setting, outcomes and other findings.

Risk of bias (quality) assessment

Two authors will independently assess each study using the Kmet et al (2004) Quality Assessment Criteria tools. Any disagreement will be resolved through discussion with the third reviewer.

No study will be excluded due to poor methodological quality as the review aims to give an overview of the current knowledge about leaving homelessness but results will be interpreted with caution.

Strategy for data synthesis

A narrative synthesis of the studies is planned.This will follow the framework stages proposed by Popay et al (2006):

1. Developing theoretical model of how interventions work, why and for whom

2. Developing a preliminary synthesis

3. Exploring relationships in the data

4. Assessing the robustness of the synthesis product.

The exact choice of methods will be developed through the synthesis process and the reasons for choices recorded and reported.

If it is appropriate, a meta analysis may be used to analyse and summarise results of any rigorous effectiveness studies. The preliminary search of the literature suggests this is unlikely.

Analysis of subgroups or subsets
Subgroup analyses may be undertaken to look at groups who sustain tenancies and those who do not. It is not possible, however, to specify the groups in advance due to current state of the literature.

Dissemination plans
Findings will be contribute to a PhD thesis; be published in a peer reviewed journal and presented at conferences as appropriate.

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Anticipated completion date
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None known

Language
English

Country
England

Subject index terms status
Subject indexing assigned by CRD

Subject index terms
Homeless Persons; Humans; Social Problems

Stage of review
Ongoing

Date of registration in PROSPERO
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Stage of review at time of this submission	Started	Completed
Preliminary searches	Yes	No
Piloting of the study selection process	No	No
Formal screening of search results against eligibility criteria	No	No
Data extraction	No	No
Risk of bias (quality) assessment	No	No
Data analysis	No	No

PROSPERO
International prospective register of systematic reviews
The information in this record has been provided by the named contact for this review. CRD has accepted this information in good faith and registered the review in PROSPERO. CRD bears no responsibility or liability for the content of this registration record, any associated files or external websites.

Appendix 2. Third sector and government websites searched in systematic review

Websites	Strategy
Broadway www.broadwaylondon.org	Section labelled ' research' scanned in detail
Brighter futures www.brighter-futures.org.uk	Section labelled ' publications' scanned in detail
Crisis www.crisis.org.uk	Section labelled 'policy/ research' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for leaving & tenancy sustainment
Groundswell www.groundswell.org.uk	Website searched in detail
Homeless link www.homeless.org.uk	Section labelled 'all our research' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for leaving & tenancy sustainment
Homeless Pages www.homelesspages.org.uk	Onsite search facility for resettlement & floating support
Joseph Rowntree Foundation www.jrf.org.uk	Onsite search facility for support & homeless
Revolving Doors www.revolving-doors.org.uk	Section labelled 'policy & research' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for leaving & tenancy sustainment
Salvation Army www.salvationarmy.org.uk	Section labelled 'research & policy' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for leaving & tenancy
Shelter www.shelter.org.uk	Section labelled 'research & policy' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for resettlement & tenancy
St Mungo's Broadway www.mungosbroadway.org.uk	Section labelled 'our publications & research' scanned. Onsite search facility for resettlement & tenancy
Centrepoint www.centrepoint.org.uk	Section labelled 'research & policy' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for resettlement & tenancy
Pathway www.pathway.org.uk	Section labelled 'publications' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for resettlement & tenancy
Depaul UK www.depauluk.org	Section labelled 'research &publications' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for resettlement & tenancy
Simon Community www.simon.ie	Section labelled 'research' scanned in detail. Onsite search facility for resettlement & tenancy
www.ethos.bl.uk	Advanced search homeless & leaving & tenancy sustainment
Focus Ireland www.focusireland.ie	Section labelled 'publications' scanned in detail.
Google Scholar	Search for homeless & leaving & tenancy
Google	Search for homeless & leaving & tenancy
www.gov.uk	Onsite search facility for homeless, resettlement & tenancy

Appendix 3. Electronic search strategies

AMED (EBSCO), CINAHL Plus with Full Text (EBSCO)

S44
S6 AND S22 AND S43

☐ S43
S23 OR S24 OR S25 OR S26 OR S27 OR S28 OR S29 OR S30 OR S31 OR S32 OR S33 OR S34 OR S35 OR S36 OR S37 OR S38 OR S39 OR S40 OR S41 OR S42

☐ S42
reintegrat*

☐ S41
permanent

☐ S40
'independent living'

☐ S39
model*

☐ S38
staircase

☐ S37
'housing first'

☐ S36
barrier*

☐ S35
facilitat*

☐ S34
process

☐ S33
strategy

☐ S32
housing

☐ S31
lease

☐ S30
intervention

☐ S29
resettl*

☐ S28
stability

☐ S27
housed

☐ S26
rehoused

☐ S25
support*

☐ S24
maintain*

☐ S23
tenan*

☐ S22
S7 OR S8 OR S9 OR S10 OR S11 OR S12 OR S13 OR S14 OR S15 OR S16 OR S17 OR S18 OR S19 OR S20 OR S21

☐ S21
tenancy

☐ S20
housing

☐ S19
resettl*

☐ S18
rehoused

☐ S17
'pathway* from'

☐ S16
off

☐ S15
'get off'

☐ S14
'get out'

☐ S13
progress*

☐ S12
escap*

☐ S11
ending

☐ S10
transition*

☐ S9
mov*

☐ S8
exit*

☐ S7
leav*

☐ S6
S1 OR S2 OR S3 OR S4 OR S5

☐ S5
'living on the street*'

☐ S4
shelter

☐ S3
'housing lack'

☐ S2
'street li*'

☐ S1
homeless*

EMBASE (OVID), MEDLINE (OVID)

LEAVING HOMELESSNESS
for SR
1. homeless*.ti,ab.
2. street life.ti,ab.
3. street living.ti,ab.
4. "living on the street".ti,ab.
5. housing lack.ti,ab.
6. shelter.ti,ab.
7. 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 or 6
8. leav*.ti,ab.
9. exit*.ti,ab.
10. mov*.ti,ab.
11. transition*.ti,ab.
12. ending.ti,ab.
13. escap*.ti,ab.
14. progress*.ti,ab.
15. housing first.ti,ab.
16. staircase.ti,ab.
17. model*.ti,ab.
18. pathway* from.ti,ab.
19. rehous*.ti,ab.
20. hous*.ti,ab.
21. resettl*.ti,ab.
22. interven*.ti,ab.
23. 8 or 9 or 10 or 11 or 12 or 13 or 14 or 15 or 16 or 17 or 18 or 19 or 20 or 21 or 22
24. tenan*.ti,ab.
25. maintain*.ti,ab.
26. support*.ti,ab.
27. sustain*.ti,ab.
28. stability.ti,ab.
29. success*.ti,ab.
30. reintegrat*.ti,ab.
31. lease.ti,ab.
32. (independent* adj5 living).ti,ab.
33. (permanent adj5 housing).ti,ab.
34. 24 or 25 or 26 or 27 or 28 or 29 or 30 or 31 or 32 or 33
35. 7 and 23 and 34

OTseeker

8/05/2015 9:24:02 AM	[Title/Abstract] like 'homeless* OR "street life" OR "street living" OR "living on the street" OR "housing lack" OR shelter' AND [Title/Abstract] like 'leav* OR exit* OR mov* OR transition* OR ending OR escap* OR progress* OR "housing first" OR staircase OR model* OR "pathway* from" OR rehous* OR hous* OR resettl* OR interven*' AND [Title/Abstract] like 'tenan* OR maintain* OR support* OR sustain* OR stability OR resettl* OR success* OR reintegrat* OR lease OR independent* living OR permanent housing'	1	Select

PsycINFO (ProQuest)

S1 ab(homeless*) OR
ti(homeless*)
PsycINFO 7743*
S2 ab("street life") OR ti("street
life")
PsycINFO 155°
S3 ab("street living") OR ti("street
living")
PsycINFO 17°
S4 ab("living on the street") OR
ti("living on the street")
PsycINFO 53°
S5 ab("housing lack") OR
ti("housing lack")
PsycINFO 11°
S6 ab(shelter) OR ti(shelter) PsycINFO 4243*
S7 (ab(homeless*) OR
ti(homeless*)) OR (ab("street
life") OR ti("street life")) OR
(ab("street living") OR ti("street
living")) OR (ab("living on the
street") OR ti("living on the
street")) OR (ab("housing lack")
OR ti("housing lack")) OR
(ab(shelter) OR ti(shelter))
PsycINFO 10816*
S8 ti(leav*) OR ab(leav*) PsycINFO 29554*
S9 ti(exit*) OR ab(exit*) PsycINFO 5176*
S10 ti(mov*) OR ab(mov*) PsycINFO 169111*
S11 ti(transition*) OR ab(transition*) PsycINFO 50889*
S12 ti(ending) OR ab(ending) PsycINFO 6915*
S13 ti(escap*) OR ab(escap*) PsycINFO 13574*
S14 ti(progress*) OR ab(progress*) PsycINFO 109105*
S15 ti("housing first") OR
ab(progress*)
PsycINFO 104610*
S16 ti(staircase) OR ab(staircase) PsycINFO 723°
S17 ti(model*) OR ab(model*) PsycINFO 513997*

S18 ti("pathway* from") OR
ab("pathway* from")
PsycINFO 1515°
S19 ti(rehous*) OR ab(rehous*) PsycINFO 70°
S20 ti(hous*) OR ab(hous*) PsycINFO 52702*
S21 ti(resettl*) OR ab(resettl*) PsycINFO 1181°
S22 ti(interven*) OR ab(interven*) PsycINFO 263301*
S23 (ti(leav*) OR ab(leav*)) OR
(ti(exit*) OR ab(exit*)) OR
(ti(mov*) OR ab(mov*)) OR
PsycINFO 1047684*

(ti(transition*) OR
ab(transition*)) OR (ti(ending)
OR ab(ending)) OR (ti(escap*)
OR ab(escap*)) OR
(ti(progress*) OR
ab(progress*)) OR (ti("housing
first") OR ab(progress*)) OR
(ti(staircase) OR ab(staircase))
OR (ti(model*) OR ab(model*))
OR (ti("pathway* from") OR
ab("pathway* from")) OR
(ti(rehous*) OR ab(rehous*))
OR (ti(hous*) OR ab(hous*))
OR (ti(resettl*) OR ab(resettl*))
OR (ti(interven*) OR
ab(interven*))
S24 ti(tenanc*) OR ab(tenanc*) PsycINFO 64°
S25 ti(maintain*) OR ab(maintain*) PsycINFO 101445*
S26 ti(support*) OR ab(support*) PsycINFO 472022*
S27 ti(sustain*) OR ab(sustain*) PsycINFO 51511*
S28 ti(stability) OR ab(stability) PsycINFO 34137*
S29 ti(resettl*) OR ab(resettl*) PsycINFO 1181°
S30 ti(success*) OR ab(success*) PsycINFO 200430*
S31 ti(reintegrat*) OR
ab(reintegrat*)
PsycINFO 3088°
S32 ti(lease) OR ab(lease) PsycINFO 164°
S33 ti(independent* n/5 living) OR
ab(independent* n/5 living)
PsycINFO 3115°
S34 ti(permanent n/5 housing) OR
ab(permanent n/5 housing)
PsycINFO 177°
S35 (ti(tenanc*) OR ab(tenanc*))
OR (ti(maintain*) OR
ab(maintain*)) OR (ti(support*)
OR ab(support*)) OR
(ti(sustain*) OR ab(sustain*))
OR (ti(stability) OR
ab(stability)) OR (ti(resettl*) OR
ab(resettl*)) OR (ti(success*)
OR ab(success*)) OR
(ti(reintegrat*) OR
ab(reintegrat*)) OR (ti(lease)
OR ab(lease)) OR
(ti(independent* NEAR/5 living)
OR ab(independent* NEAR/5
living)) OR (ti(permanent

NEAR/5 housing) OR
PsycINFO 778728*
06 May 2015 Page 3 of 6 ProQuest
ab(permanent NEAR/5
housing))
S36 ((ab(homeless*) OR
ti(homeless*)) OR (ab("street
life") OR ti("street life")) OR
(ab("street living") OR ti("street
living")) OR (ab("living on the
street") OR ti("living on the
street")) OR (ab("housing lack")
OR ti("housing lack")) OR
(ab(shelter) OR ti(shelter)))
AND ((ti(leav*) OR ab(leav*))
OR (ti(exit*) OR ab(exit*)) OR
(ti(mov*) OR ab(mov*)) OR
(ti(transition*) OR
ab(transition*)) OR (ti(ending)
OR ab(ending)) OR (ti(escap*)
OR ab(escap*)) OR
(ti(progress*) OR
ab(progress*)) OR (ti("housing
first") OR ab(progress*)) OR
(ti(staircase) OR ab(staircase))
OR (ti(model*) OR ab(model*))
OR (ti("pathway* from") OR
ab("pathway* from")) OR
(ti(rehous*) OR ab(rehous*))
OR (ti(hous*) OR ab(hous*))
OR (ti(resettl*) OR ab(resettl*))
OR (ti(interven*) OR
ab(interven*))) AND
((ti(tenanc*) OR ab(tenanc*))
OR (ti(maintain*) OR
ab(maintain*)) OR (ti(support*)
OR ab(support*)) OR
(ti(sustain*) OR ab(sustain*))
OR (ti(stability) OR
ab(stability)) OR (ti(resettl*) OR
ab(resettl*)) OR (ti(success*)
OR ab(success*)) OR
(ti(reintegrat*) OR
ab(reintegrat*)) OR (ti(lease)
OR ab(lease)) OR
(ti(independent* NEAR/5 living)
OR ab(independent* NEAR/5
living)) OR (ti(permanent
NEAR/5 housing) OR
ab(permanent NEAR/5
housing)))

Social Care Online

homeless
street life
street living
living on the street
shelter
Combined homeless
leave
exit
move
transition
ending
escap*
progress*
housing first
staircase
model*
pathway from
rehous*
resettl*
hous*
interven
combined leaving
tenan
maintain*
support*
sustain*
stability
resettl*
success*
reintegration
lease
independent n5 living
permanent n5 housing
combined sustainment
leaving homelessness

Current search (with results shown below)

(leaving homelessness:
(Combined homeless:
homeless [
- PublicationTitle:'homeless*'
- AND AbstractOmitNorms:'homeless*'
]
OR
street life [
- PublicationTitle:"'street life"'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:"'street life"'
]
OR
street living [
- PublicationTitle:"'street living"'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:"'street living"'
]
OR
living on the street [
- PublicationTitle:"'living on the street"'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:"'living on the street"'
]
OR
shelter [
- PublicationTitle:'shelter'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'shelter'
]
AND
(combined leaving:
leave [
- PublicationTitle:'leav*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'leav*'
]
OR
exit [
- PublicationTitle:'exit*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'exit*'
]
OR
move [
- PublicationTitle:'mov*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'mov*'

]
OR
transition [
- PublicationTitle:'transition*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'transition*'
]
OR
ending [
- PublicationTitle:'ending'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'ending'
]
OR
escap* [
- PublicationTitle:'escap*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'escap*'
]
OR
progress* [
- PublicationTitle:'progress*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'progress*'
]
OR
housing first [
- PublicationTitle:'"housing first"'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'"housing first"'
]
OR
staircase [
- PublicationTitle:'staircase'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'staircase'
]
OR
model* [
- PublicationTitle:'model*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'model*'
]
OR
pathway from [
- PublicationTitle:'"pathway* from"'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'"pathway* from"'
]
OR
rehous* [
- PublicationTitle:'rehous*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'rehous*'
]
OR
resettl* [
- PublicationTitle:'resettl*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'resettl*'
]
OR
hous* [
- PublicationTitle:'hous*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'hous*'
]
OR
interven [
- PublicationTitle:'interven*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'interven*'
]
AND
(combined sustainment:
tenan [
- PublicationTitle:'tenan*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'tenan*'
]
OR
maintain* [
- PublicationTitle:'maintain*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'maintain*'
]
OR
support* [
- PublicationTitle:'support*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'support*'
]
OR
sustain* [
- PublicationTitle:'Sustain*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'Sustain*'
]
OR
stability [
- PublicationTitle:'stability'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'stability'
]
OR
resettl* [
- PublicationTitle:'resettl*'
- OR AbstractOmitNorms:'resettl*'
]
OR
success* [
- PublicationTitle:'success*'
- AND AbstractOmitNorms:'success*'
]
OR
reintegration [
- PublicationTitle:'reintegration'
- AND AbstractOmitNorms:'reintegration'
]
OR
lease [
- PublicationTitle:'lease'
- AND AbstractOmitNorms:'lease'
]
OR
independent n5 living [
- PublicationTitle:'independent n5 living'
- AND AbstractOmitNorms:'independent n5 living'
]
OR
permanent n5 housing [
- PublicationTitle:'permanent n5 housing'
- AND AbstractOmitNorms:'permanent n5 housing'
]

Web of Science Social Sciences Citation Index

Set	
# 37	#35 AND #23 AND #7 *Indexes=SSCI Timespan=All years*
# 36	#35 AND #23 AND #7 *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 35	#34 OR #33 OR #32 OR #31 OR #30 OR #29 OR #28 OR #27 OR #26 OR #25 OR #24 *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 34	**TOPIC:** (permanent near/5 housing) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 33	**TOPIC:** (independent* near/5 living) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 32	**TOPIC:** (lease) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 31	**TOPIC:** (reintegrat*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 30	**TOPIC:** (success*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 29	**TOPIC:** (resettl*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 28	**TOPIC:** (stability) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 27	**TOPIC:** (sustain*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 26	**TOPIC:** (support*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 25	**TOPIC:** (maintain*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 24	**TOPIC:** (tenan*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 23	#22 OR #21 OR #20 OR #19 OR #18 OR #17 OR #16 OR #15 OR #14 OR #13 OR #12 OR #11 OR #10 OR #9 OR #8 *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 22	**TOPIC:** (interven*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 21	**TOPIC:** (resettl*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 20	**TOPIC:** (hous*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 19	**TOPIC:** (rehous*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 18	**TOPIC:** ("pathway* from") *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 17	**TOPIC:** (model*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 16	**TOPIC:** (staircase) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 15	**TOPIC:** ("housing first") *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*

# 14	**TOPIC:** (progress*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 13	**TOPIC:** (escap*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 12	**TOPIC:** (ending) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 11	**TOPIC:** (transition*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 10	**TOPIC:** (mov*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 9	**TOPIC:** (exit*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 8	**TOPIC:** (leav*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 7	#6 OR #5 OR #4 OR #3 OR #2 OR #1 *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 6	**TOPIC:** (shelter) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 5	**TOPIC:** ("housing lack") *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 4	**TOPIC:** ("living on the street") *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 3	**TOPIC:** ("street living") *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 2	**TOPIC:** ("street life") *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*
# 1	**TOPIC:** (homeless*) *Indexes=SCI-EXPANDED, SSCI, A&HCI, CPCI-S, CPCI-SSH Timespan=All years*

Cochrane Library

ID	Search Hits	
#1	homeless*:ti,ab	392
#2	"street life":ti,ab	0
#3	"street living":ti,ab	2
#4	"living on the street":ti,ab	0
#5	"housing lack" ;ti.ab	0
#6	shelter	120
#7	{or #1-#6}	469
#8	leav*:ti,ab	3138
#9	exit*:ti,ab	883
#10	mov*:ti,ab	13836
#11	transition*:ti,ab	2807
#12	ending:ti,ab	480
#13	escap*:ti,ab	647

#14 progress*:ti,ab 30931
#15 "housing first":ti,ab 24
#16 staircase:ti,ab 113
#17 model*:ti,ab 43719
#18 "pathway* from":ti,ab 48
#19 rehous*:ti,ab 2
#20 hous*:ti,ab 4204
#21 resettl*:ti,ab 10
#22 interven*:ti,ab 102135
#23 {or #8-#22} 177652
#24 tenan*:ti,ab 50
#25 maintain*:ti,ab 28858
#26 support*:ti,ab 47833
#27 sustain*:ti,ab 17614
#28 stability:ti,ab 5718
#29 resettl*:ti,ab 10
#30 success*:ti,ab 32326
#31 reintegrat*:ti,ab 117
#32 lease:ti,ab 5
#33 independent* near/3 living:ti,ab 267
#34 permanent near/3 housing:ti,ab 5
#35 {or #24-#34} 120095
#36 {and #7, #23, #35} 154

Campbell Library

ID	Search
0	title is homeless* or homeless* in all text
1	title is "street life" or "street life" in all text
2	title is "street living" or "street living" in all text
3	title is "housing lack" or "housing lack" in all text
4	title is "living on the street" or "living on the street" in all text
5	title is shelter or shelter in all text
6	title is homeless* or homeless* in all text or title is "street life" or "street life" in all text or title is "street living" or "street living" in all text or title is "housing lack" or "housing lack" in all text or title is "living on the street" or "living on the street" in all text or title is shelter or shelter in all text
7	title is leav* or leav* in all text
8	title is exit* or exit* in all text
9	title is mov* or mov* in all text
10	title is transition* or transition* in all text
11	title is ending or ending in all text
12	title is escap* or escap* in all text
13	title is progress* or progress* in all text
14	title is "housing first" or "housing first" in all text
15	title is staircase or staircase in all text
16	title is model* or model* in all text
17	title is "pathway* from" or "pathway* from" in all text
18	title is rehous* or rehous* in all text
19	title is hous* or hous* in all text
20	title is resettl* or resettl* in all text
21	title is interven* or interven* in all text
22	title is leav* or leav* in all text or title is exit* or exit* in all text or title is mov* or mov* in all text or title is transition* or transition* in all text or title is ending or ending in all text or title is escap* or escap* in all text or title is progress* or progress* in all text or title is "housing first" or "housing first" in all text or title is staircase or staircase in all text or title is model* or model* in all text or title is "pathway* from" or "pathway* from" in all text or title is rehous* or rehous* in all text or title is hous* or hous* in all text or title is resettl* or resettl* in all text or title is interven* or interven* in all text
23	title is tenanc* or tenanc* in all text

24	title is maintain* or maintain* in all text
25	title is support* or support* in all text
26	title is sustain* or sustain* in all text
27	title is stability or stability in all text
28	title is resettl* or resettl* in all text
29	title is success* or success* in all text
30	title is reintegrat* or reintegrat* in all text
31	title is lease or lease in all text
32	title is independent* AND living or independent* AND living in all text
33	title is permanent AND housing or permanent AND housing in all text
34	title is tenanc* or tenanc* in all text or title is maintain* or maintain* in all text or title is support* or support* in all text or title is sustain* or sustain* in all text or title is stability or stability in all text or title is resettl* or resettl* in all text or title is success* or success* in all text or title is reintegrat* or reintegrat* in all text or title is lease or lease in all text or title is independent* AND living or independent* AND living in all text or title is permanent AND housing or permanent AND housing in all text
35	title is homeless* or homeless* in all text or title is "street life" or "street life" in all text or title is "street living" or "street living" in all text or title is "housing lack" or "housing lack" in all text or title is "living on the street" or "living on the street" in all text or title is shelter or shelter in all text and title is leav* or leav* in all text or title is exit* or exit* in all text or title is mov* or mov* in all text or title is transition* or transition* in all text or title is ending or ending in all text or title is escap* or escap* in all text or title is progress* or progress* in all text or title is "housing first" or "housing first" in all text or title is staircase or staircase in all text or title is model* or model* in all text or title is "pathway* from" or "pathway* from" in all text or title is rehous* or rehous* in all text or title is hous* or hous* in all text or title is resettl* or resettl* in all text or title is interven* or interven* in all text and title is tenanc* or tenanc* in all text or title is maintain* or maintain* in all text or title is support* or support* in all text or title is sustain* or sustain* in all text or title is stability or stability in all text or title is resettl* or resettl* in all text or title is success* or success* in all text or title is reintegrat* or reintegrat* in all text or title is lease or lease in all text or title is independent* AND living or independent* AND living in all text or title is permanent AND housing or permanent AND housing in all text

1. homeless$.ti. or homeless$.ov.
2. street life.ti. or street life.ov.
3. street living.ti. or street living.ov.
4. "living on the street".ti. or "living on the street".ov.
5. housing lack.ti. or housing lack.ov.
6. shelter.ti. or shelter.ov.
7. 1 or 2 or 3 or 4 or 5 or 6
8. leav$.ti. or leav$.ov.
9. exit$.ti. or exit$.ov.
10. mov$.ti. or mov$.ov.
11. transition$.ti. or transition$.ov.
12. ending.ti. or ending.ov.
13. escap$.ti. or escap$.ov.
14. progress$.ti. or progress$.ov.
15. housing first.ti. or housing first.ov.
16. staircase.ti. or staircase.ov.
17. model$.ti. or model$.ov.
18. pathway$ from.ti. or pathway$ from.ov.
19. rehous$.ti. or rehous$.ov.
20. hous$.ti. or hous$.ov.
21. resettl$.ti. or resettl$.ov.
22. interven$.ti. or interven$.ov.
23. 8 or 9 or 10 or 11 or 12 or 13 or 14 or 15 or 16 or 17 or 18 or 19 or 20 or 21 or 22
24. tenan$.ti. or tenan$.ov.
25. maintain$.ti. or maintain$.ov.
26. support$.ti. or support$.ov.
27. sustain$.ti. or sustain$.ov.
28. stability.ti. or stability.ov.
29. resettl$.ti. or resettl$.ov.
30. success$.ti. or success$.ov.
31. reintegrat$.ti. or reintegrat$.ov.
32. lease.ti. or lease.ov.
33. ((independent$ adj5 living).ti. or independent$.mp.) adj5 living.ov. [mp=text, heading word, subject area node, title]
34. ((permanent adj5 living).ti. or permanent.mp.) adj5 living.ov. [mp=text, heading word, subject area node, title]
35. 24 or 25 or 26 or 27 or 28 or 29 or 30 or 31 or 32 or 33 or 34
36. 7 and 23 and 35

Appendix 4. QualSyst checklists for quantitative and qualitative studies

QualSyst checklist for assessing the quality of quantitative studies (Kmet et al, 2004)

Criteria		Yes (2)	Partial (1)	No (0)	N/A
1	Question/ objective sufficiently described?				
2	Study design evident and appropriate?				
3	Method of subject/comparison group selection or source of information/input variables described and appropriate?				
4	Subject characteristics sufficiently described?				
5	If interventional and random allocation was possible, was it reported?				
6	If interventional and blinding of investigators was possible, was it described?				
7	If interventional and blinding of subjects was possible, was it described?				
8	Outcome and exposure measure well defined and robust to measurement/ misclassification bias? Means of assessment reported?				
9	Sample size appropriate?				
10	Analytic methods described/ justified and appropriate?				
11	Some estimate of variance is reported for the main results?				
12	Controlled for confounding?				
13	Results reported in sufficient detail?				
14	Conclusions supported by the results?				
	Total score				
	Total possible 28- (number of n/a x2)				
	Summary score (Total divided by total possible)				

QualSyst checklist for assessing the quality of qualitative studies (Kmet et al, 2004)

Criteria		Yes (2)	Partial (1)	No (0)
1	Question/ objective sufficiently described?			
2	Study design evident and appropriate?			
3	Context for the study clear?			
4	Connection to a theoretical framework/wider body of knowledge?			
5	Sampling strategy described, relevant and justified?			
6	Data collection methods clearly described and systematic?			
7	Data analysis clearly described and systematic?			
8	Use of verification procedure to establish credibility?			
9	Conclusions supported by results?			
10	Reflexivity of the account			
	Total score			
	Total possible 20- (number of n/a x2)			
	Summary score (Total divided by total possible)			

Appendix 5. Data extraction sheet

Excel worksheet

Bibliographic details					Quality checking				Methods					Findings/ Results	
Authors	Year	Title	Journal	Country	QualSyst 1	QualSyst 2	Avg QualSyst	Notes	Aim	Study design	Sample	Data collection	Tenancy sustainment	Findings	Notes

Appendix 6. Example of a critical reflective note

Reflective diary note. August 24th 2016

Post interview with Timothy

Well, that challenged my preconceptions nicely! I wrongly assumed Timothy, because he had seemed bit reluctant about confirming a time for the interview and being one of the younger people I interviewed, that he wasn't going to be as chatty as he was. Well, how I was wrong… Even when there was an opportunity for him to finish the interview—a man arrived to connect the television—Timothy asked me to wait while the man finished the job.

He was so very engaged in telling his story and reflecting on the process of becoming and being homeless and what it was like for him to move into his flat, get to enjoy having his own space, be a Dad in his own home by having his son to stay and his changing relationship with his mother, who can now visit him and most importantly, ask favours off him. It was a pleasure to listen to his story

Timothy spoke lots about the importance about getting the place looking nice but also how it costs so much and when you get paid weekly, that is a challenge. On one hand, so lucky to get a spacious place but that means it is more costly to make right.

He valued the support of his keyworker in getting the practical things done and now spoke about how she was encouraging to think plans for the future. He just not wanting to rush into deciding – maybe work, maybe a course. That, of course, was interesting for me, holding a value of doing, he valued 'not doing' at the moment– he loved all the time he had for doing nothing in his own flat and wasn't sure what he wanted to do. Where does this fit in with meaningful engagement? Am I assuming that the role of student or worker should be important to him – thinking his age etc?

Appendix *7*. Interview guide for people with experience of homelessness

The interview will be conducted with reference to the participants' photographs e.g. Tell me about this photograph. It will be influenced by the current situation of the interviewee i.e. about to leave homeless services; in own tenancy etc.

Initial questions about homelessness/ move

Can you tell me how you came to be staying/ living here?

Can you describe the events that led up to being here?

Who, if anyone, influenced your move? How were they involved? When was that?

Can you tell about where you stayed before here?

What was it like? Could you describe it?

When did you move from there? How did the move happen? What happened next?

As you look back on your move, which events stand out for you?

When did you first use homeless services?

What was that like? Can you remember what you were thinking then?

What was going on in your life then?

How would you describe the person you were then?

Initial occupation questions

What is your life like now? Can you tell me about your (living situation)?

Can you describe a day for me now?

Tell me how you go about passing the time/ keeping the flat? What do you do?

Who do you spend time with? What do you most value now? What is your favourite thing to do?

What helps you to manage? How has your experiences affected how you manage in the flat?

What problems do/did you face? Could you tell me the reason for those problems?

Who has been most helpful to you during this time? How has he/she been helpful?

Where do you see yourself in 6 months/2 years time? Describe the person you hope to be then? How would you compare that person with who you are now?

Now tell me about a typical day when you were (where previous)?

Who did you spend time with? How did you pass the time? What did you value most?

As you look back on being (where previous), are there other things that stand out in your mind? Could you describe them? How did you respond?

What do you think are the most important ways to…….?

Have you changed as a person since….? Tell me about that?

After having these experiences, what advice would you give to someone who….?

Is there anything that you haven't taken a photograph of that is important to you?

Is there something that you might not have thought about before that occurred to you during this interview?

Is there something else you think I should know to understand …. Better?

Is there anything you would like to ask me?

General prompts:

Could you describe_____ further?

You mentioned_____, can you tell me more about that?

That's interesting, can you tell me more?

Reference:

Charmaz, K. (2014) *Constructing Grounded Theory* (2nd Ed.). Los Angeles: SAGE.

Appendix 8. Interview guide for staff

Working in homelessness

Can you tell me how about your experience working in homelessness?

Can you describe working with someone as they move into a tenancy?

What, if anything, influenced the move? How was the person themselves involved? When was that? Can you tell me about what you did - your role? Which events stand out for you?

Initial occupation/ tenancy sustainment questions

What is the tenant's life like now in his or her own place? Can you describe how they might spend the day?

Tell me how you go about supporting the person? What do you do?

What helps the tenant to manage? What problems do/did they face? Could you tell me what you think the reason for those problems?

What has been most helpful to the tenant during this time? Who has been most helpful?

Describe the tenant now? How would you compare that person with the person who was in homeless services? How does their use of time differ?

What do you think are the most important ways to help people successfully sustain tenancies after homelessness?

What factors do you think lead to a return to homeless services?

Overall

How has your experiences affected how what you work within homelessness/ tenancy sustainment?

What do you think are the most important ways to motivate people to transition from

services into own flat? How to empower people to make changes?

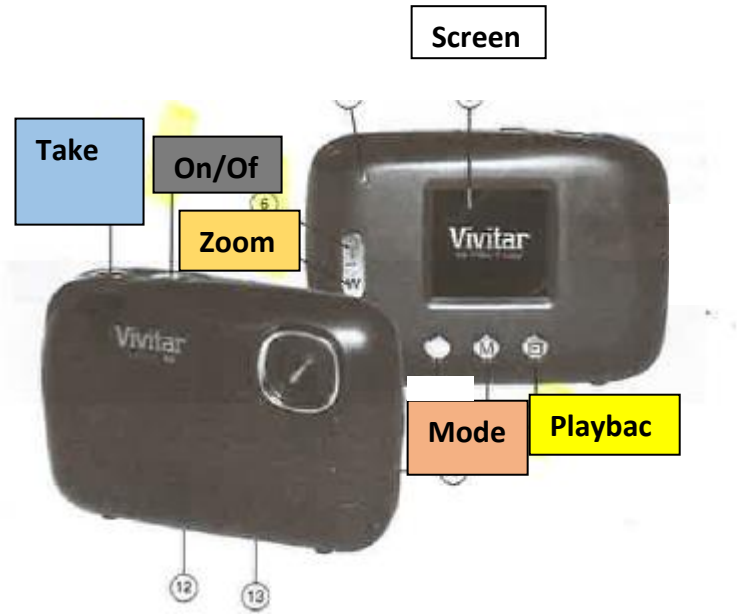
With your experiences, would you change anything about the structure of the services, hostels?

With your experiences, what advice would you give to someone who was leaving homelessness?

Is there something else you think I should understand?

Is there anything you would like to ask me?

Appendix 9. Camera instruction sheet



To turn on On/Off	Press smaller button on top of camera
To take photo Take photo	Aim camera - look at picture on screen Hold camera steady Press bigger button on top of camera
To take close up Zoom	Press T (top) on zoom button to get closer Press W (bottom) to zoom back
To look at photo Playback	To look at photo taken, press playback button (red triangle at top left side of screen) Press 'take photo' button to go back to take another shot
To delete a photo Mode	Look at photo on screen (playback) Press mode button Press 'take photo' button twice to delete
To turn off On/Off	Press smaller button on top of camera Camera will automatically switch off after few seconds

Full battery power *Medium battery power* *Low battery power*

Appendix 10. Photo information sheet

Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Photo Information

Thank you for agreeing to take part.

I would like you to take photographs that show the things you do during the day - where do you spend your time; what do you do; what is important to you?

The photos can show the good and bad bits of your day.

Please return the camera to _____ by _____

The photos will be developed and we will talk about them when we meet for the interview.

There will be a copy of the photos for you to keep and a copy for the research project to use. They may be used for presentations or publications but not using your real name.

PLEASE NOTE:

When taking shots, please do not photograph faces of other people

Please ask permission if taking photos in a private place

Please avoid taking pictures of things/places that may put you at risk

Thank you, I hope you enjoy taking the photos, Leonie

Any questions, please contact me

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, 07470 418635, leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk

Appendix 11. Consent form

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Consent Form

Please read the statements below and if you agree with them, please put your initials in the boxes. If you do not agree, just leave blank.

Statements	Please initial box
I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I understand my photos will be printed and we will talk about them in the interview. I will get a copy and the researcher will keep a copy. (separate photo consent sheet will be used)	
I am happy to be interviewed and understand the interview will be recorded.	
I understand I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason and it will have no impact on the service I receive.	
I understand that my data will be kept confidential and anonymous for a period of 10 years.	
I give permission to be contacted again within a year to be invited to meet the researcher again. I understand it will be my choice whether or not to take part at this later time.	

Name of participant	Date	Signature
Name of researcher	Date	Signature

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, 07470 418635, leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk

Dr Katrina Bannigan, 01752 58750, katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk

Appendix 12. Summary of project advisory group discussions

Project

Spoke about the project and what the role of this group is – everyone happy to be involved at this stage. Group agreed that cameras to take photographs were good idea and made sense.

Explained about two different aspects–group meets to give advice on things related to research and other aspect is people will be interviewed on their own

Issues

Group gave ideas about what can affect moving on from homelessness - landlords not accepting pets, money, unemployment, no jobs, lack of confidence, addiction, quality of accommodation; drug using neighbours; loneliness; lack of work; never lived anywhere for longer than 7 months since age 14.

Issue of institutional hostel living e.g. being 'compliant' and getting things done for you doesn't prepare you for living successfully away from the homeless setting.

Camera

Provided cameras and draft instruction sheet. Everyone was able to follow them & took sample photos in meeting – positive feedback about getting cameras and explained would give box and cables etc. when interview completed.

Discussed length of time to hold onto camera before interview – agreed about two week ideal but would be could be agreed individually.

Discussed how to explain what to photo – focus on things they do – the good and bad, no photos with people's faces. Explained that will meet people with information sheets/ consent form before giving camera out.

Information sheets

Looked through information and consent sheets – all agreed they made sense but good suggestion to have option of bigger font (even though it goes beyond 1 page) as people may not have glasses.

Interviews

Discussion if people would expect interview to be recorded. Some expected notes would be taken as recorded interviews remind them of the police. However agreement that use of recorder would be ok if reasons explained why and what will happen to the recordings.

Contact information

Explained that would hope to keep in touch with people to see how their move going. General agreement that this is fine but mixed opinion on what contact information they would be happy to share – some reservation to give out friends/ family contacts. Some people don't have mobiles/ lose phones but would be happy to use hostel reception or email address - to ask individually about this. Discussed Facebook page as a method of keeping in touch – could keep it private.

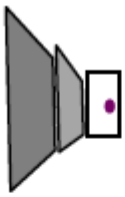
Recruitment

Discussed how many interviews so far and how many cameras given out. Group members aware of who said they were interested – to let the gatekeeper know. Also advised that to drop me/gatekeeper a message if someone wanted to do interview even if they had not showed up for first planned time. Happy to reschedule interviews.

Meeting frequency

Leonie suggested every 3 months but group decided more frequent would be better – every couple of months agreed on. Talked about how to let people know about meeting – all bar one person happy to be informed via posters in the hostel. Contact details taken from person taken who was happy to be contacted by email.

Sample of poster used to advertise meeting



Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

'Moving On' is a research project that wants to learn more about your experience of leaving homelessness services

It plans to start in October and before then I want to get some advice about it .....

I want to hear ***YOUR*** opinion...

Come along to find out more about this new research project

Wednesday 12th August

12.30pm

In the Dining Room

ALL WELCOME

Looking forward to seeing you there, ***Leonie***

leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk

Appendix 13. Information provided to gatekeepers

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, Plymouth University

Thank you for agreeing to being involved in my project and helping me recruit participants. I want to understand the experience of people when moving from homeless services to their own accommodation and the experience of managing in their own place. I particularly want to understand what everyday life is like for people and how they spend their time. As an occupational therapist I believe that what you do (your occupations) affects your health and wellbeing.

What is the role of gatekeeper?

To liaise with me as researcher and invite people, who meet the inclusion criteria, to take part in the study. I will provide information sheets and be available to answer any questions.

Inclusion criteria

Individuals (over 18 years) who have experience of multiple exclusion homelessness* and:

a) are in the process** of moving from homelessness into their own tenancy

OR

b) have secured and are in their own tenancy

OR

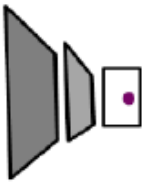
c) have had experience of their own tenancy but are currently re-using services.

Exclusion criteria

- Individuals who have experience of homelessness as part of a family
- Individuals under the influence of substances or experiencing psychosis at the time of recruitment
- Individuals under the age of 18.

*A person who experiences multiple exclusion homelessness is an individual who has recent experience of homelessness (within the last 6 months) combined with chronic physical or mental ill health, problematic substance misuse or institutional care (Fitzpatrick, Johnsen & White, 2011).

**For the purpose of this study 'in the process' will mean having a goal towards getting one's own accommodation and working with support worker to realise this.



Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Data collection process

Step 1	As gatekeeper you invite individuals to take part in study and arrange time with Leonie to meet the interested person/persons (information sheets are provided)
Step 2	Leonie to visit to meet person, explain study using information sheet, provide camera with instructions and agree date/location for camera collection.
Step 3	Person holds onto camera for agreed time (e.g. 1 week) to take photos.
Step 3	Leonie collects camera and develop photos using portable digital printer. Agree interview date/location (could be same or different day)
Step 4	Interview carried out using photos as prompts. It will last about an hour and will be recorded using digital recorder.
Step 5	Perhaps arrange a follow up interview in several month's time if person agrees to give contact details.

What you can expect from me as researcher?

To be available to answer any questions and be flexible in arranging times to meet people. To conduct the research in a responsible manner; being open and honest, respecting the dignity of all participants as well as the working practices within services.

All the information gathered will be kept strictly confidential and will only be shared with my supervisors. I will also make sure the data are stored securely and anonymously at the university. However I will inform people prior to interview that if I am told something that concerns their safety or safety of others I would have to share this with the relevant people.

As the study progresses and in keeping with the research methodology I will continue to liaise with you regarding ongoing recruitment.

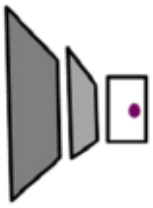
Who do I contact for more information?

Please contact me, Leonie, on +44 7908 459805 or +353 86 3217824 or leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk.

If you have any issues or complaints about the study, please contact my Director of Studies, Dr Katrina Bannigan, Plymouth University, katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk, phone + 44 1752 587550.

Thank you for your time, Leonie

Appendix 14. Study information sheet



Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Study Information Leaflet

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, Plymouth University

Thank you for taking the time to read this leaflet. It tells you about a research study that is trying to understand the experience of leaving homelessness and settling into your own accommodation.

Why am I being asked to take part in the study?

You are being asked because you are experiencing or have, in the past, experienced homelessness. Before you decide if you would like to be involved, please read this leaflet to understand what the study involves.

What is the purpose of the study?

We want to understand what it is like to move from being homeless to living in your own accommodation. We want to understand what everyday life is like for you and how you spend your time. Does it change when you are living in your own place? Is there anything that makes being in your own accommodation easy or hard?

Why do you want to know about my experiences?

Occupational therapists believe that what you do can affect your health and wellbeing. By talking with you and others we hope to get a better understanding of what it is like to leave homelessness and live in your own place. From this we hope to learn what sorts of things help people live successfully in their own accommodation and whether an occupational therapist could help.

What happens if I agree to take part?

There are two parts to the study.

Part 1 – You will be asked to take some photographs on a disposable camera

You will be given a camera to take photographs to show your everyday life. Where do you spend your time? What things are important to you? You can hold onto the camera for several days and take as many photos as you like.

Part 2- You will be asked to take part in an interview.

When you are ready we will meet for an interview lasting about 45 minutes to 1 hour. This will be at a time that suits you. Your photographs will be developed and we will be able to talk about your reasons for taking them. Sometimes people find the photographs make it easier to talk in an interview. The interview will be recorded on a digital recorder. This is used to make a written version of what we talked about.

We would really like you to take part in both stages of the study but we can just do the interview on its own it you rather not to take any photographs.

Please turn page over

What if I don't want to take part?
We hope that you will feel able to share your story but you don't have to take part if you don't want to. You can pull out of the study at any time and any information or photographs that you give us will be destroyed. Deciding not to continue or take part will have no effect on any of the services you receive.

What are the possible benefits?
Although there are no direct personal benefits you will get to talk about your experiences in moving from homeless services. This will be really useful in helping us understand how an occupational therapist can make this move easier and more successful for people.

What are the possible risks of taking part?
Taking part is unlikely to have risks but talking about your experiences may be upsetting or make you angry. If this happens, the researcher will talk with you and also link you with your keyworker. Not taking part will have no impact on any service you currently receive. You can stop the interview at any time.

Keeping in touch?
We would like the chance to invite you for another interview in a few months time. This would help us understand how your move is going and whether there have been any changes. This will be completely your choice. If you are happy for this to happen, you will be asked to give contact details for yourself or a friend/family/ staff member in case it is not possible to reach you. This information will be stored securely, not shared with anyone and will be destroyed at the end of the project.

Who will see my information?
All the information you share, interview and photos, will be kept strictly confidential and will only be shared with research staff. It will be stored securely and anonymously (without a name) at the university. However, we have to let you know, that if you say anything that that raises concern about your safety or the safety of others we would have to tell the relevant people.

What will happen to the results of the study?
Information you give us will be written up as part of a PhD study. We may use short quotes and some of your photographs in presentations or publications. No one will be able to recognise you from this information and we will only use this information if you agree. This may be shared with other occupational therapists and staff in homeless services. You are welcome to see a summary of the results when the study is finished.

Who is organising and funding the study?
The study is being carried out and funded by the Cathie Mounter Scholarship Fund, Plymouth University. It has been approved by the Faculty of Health and Human Sciences Research Ethics Committee.

Who do I contact for more information?
If you have any questions please ask the person who gave you the leaflet to contact me, Leonie, or get in touch with me directly on 07470 418635 or by email leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk.
If you have any concerns or complaints about the study, please contact my Director of Studies, Dr Katrina Bannigan, Plymouth University, 01752 587550 or by email katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information leaflet. If you are happy to take part in this study you will be asked to sign a consent form. Thank you again, Leonie

Appendix 15. Photo consent form

Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Photo Consent Form

This form is about the photographs you have taken. As well as talk about them in the interview, the researcher would like to use some of them (in print or electronic form) in reports, presentations, publications, websites and exhibitions arising from the project.

Could you please sign one of the boxes below to tell me if you are happy with this. We will number the photos to help us. **Please sign either box 1, 2 or 3.**

1. I give consent for these photos to be used for educational and/or non-commercial purposes in reports, presentations, publications, websites and exhibitions connected with the research project. I understand that real names will NOT be used with the photos.

   Signed:..... Date:.....

2. If you would like to give permission for me to use some, but not all, of the photos please list the numbers you will allow me to use.
   I give consent for photo/s number/s .....
   to be used for educational and/or non-commercial purposes in reports, presentations, publications, websites and exhibitions connected with the research project. I understand that real names will NOT be used with the photos.

   Signed:..... Date:.....

3. I do not want any of my photos to be used in connection with the project.

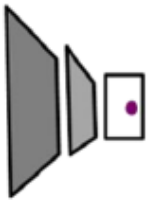
   Signed:..... Date:.....

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, 07470 418635, leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk

Dr Katrina Bannigan, 01752 587550, katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk

Appendix 16. Information sheet for staff



Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Study Information Leaflet

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, Plymouth University

You are invited to take part in this study about leaving homelessness. Before you decide if you would like to be involved, please read this information leaflet carefully as it is important you understand why the study is being done and what it involves.

If you have any questions please talk to Leonie Boland on the details overleaf. Before the interview you will be asked to sign a consent form to show you agree to take part.

What is the purpose of the study?

We want to understand the experience of people as they move from homeless services to their own accommodation and how they manage in their own place. We particularly want to understand what everyday life is like for people and how they spend their time as occupational therapists believe that what you do affects your health and wellbeing. By talking with you and others we hope to get a better understanding of what it is like for people to sustain their own tenancies after being homeless. As part of the project we are also interviewing individuals who use homeless services. From all this information we hope to learn what helps people live successfully in their own flats. This will be of interest to those working in services and may influence service provision and development.

Why have I been invited?

You are being invited because you have had experience working with people as they leave homelessness and sustain an independent tenancy. It is up to you whether or not you would like to take part and not taking part will have no impact on your position as a staff member.

What happens if I agree to take part?

You will be invited to meet for an interview lasting approximately 45 minutes to 1 hour. The interviews will be recorded on a digital recorder and used to make a written version of what we talked about. You can pull out of the interview process at any time, without any impact and the information that you gave will be destroyed.

1

What are the possible benefits?

You will have the opportunity to talk about your experiences working with people moving from homeless services to their own accommodation and sustaining this tenancy. This will be really useful in helping us understand what can make this process easier for people and how occupational therapy may contribute.

What are the possible risks of taking part?

Taking part is unlikely to present risks but talking about your experiences may be upsetting. If this happens, the researcher will talk with you and also link you with appropriate support services.

What about confidentiality?

All the information you share will be kept strictly confidential and will only be shared with the research team for the purposes of the study. All the data will be stored securely and anonymously at the university. However if you say something that raises concerns about your safety or the safety of others the researcher would have to tell the relevant people.

What will happen to the results of the study?

The final results will be written up as part of a PhD study. Short quotes may be used in presentations or publications but will be anonymised so they cannot be traced to you. They will be shared with other occupational therapists and staff in homeless services. You are welcome to see a summary of the results when it is finished and we would hope to present the findings to your organisation.

Who is organising and funding the study?

The study is being carried out and funded by the Cathie Mounter Scholarship Fund, Plymouth University. The researcher is working with the support of an experienced supervisory team. It has been approved by the Faculty Research Ethics Committee, Plymouth University.

Who do I contact for more information?

If you have any questions please contact me directly, Leonie, 07470 418635 or leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the study, please contact my Director of Studies, Dr Katrina Bannigan, Plymouth University, 01752 587550 or by email katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk.

Thank you for taking the time to read this information leaflet. If you are happy to take part in this study, please sign the consent form, Leonie

Appendix 17. Consent form for staff

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Consent Form

Please read the statements below and if you agree with them, please put your initials in the boxes.

Statements	Please initial box
I have read and understood the information sheet and have had the opportunity to ask questions.	
I am happy to be interviewed and understand the interview will be recorded.	
I understand I can withdraw from the study at any time without giving a reason.	
I understand that my data will be kept confidential and anonymous for a period of 10 years.	

Name of participant	Date	Signature
Name of researcher	Date	Signature

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, 07470 418635, leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk

Dr Katrina Bannigan, 01752 587550, katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk

Appendix 18. Ethics approval from Plymouth University

5th November 2015

CONFIDENTIAL

Leonie Boland

Dear Leonie

Application for Approval by Faculty Research Ethics Committee

Reference Number: 15/16-480
Application Title: **Moving On. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

I am pleased to inform you that the Committee has granted approval to you to conduct this research.

Please note that this approval is for three years, after which you will be required to seek extension of existing approval.

Please note that should any MAJOR changes to your research design occur which effect the ethics of procedures involved you must inform the Committee. Please contact Sarah Jones (email sarah.c.jones@plymouth.ac.uk).

Yours sincerely

Professor Michael Sheppard, PhD, FAcSS
Chair, Research Ethics Committee -
Faculty of Health & Human Sciences and
Peninsula Schools of Medicine & Dentistry

Appendix 19. Ethics approval from third sector service

From: [redacted]
Sent: 08 September 2015 11:17
To: Leonie Boland
Cc: [redacted]
Subject: Re: Ethics application for Transitioning from Homelessness project

Dear Leonie,

Further to your research proposal submitted to [redacted] last month, I am pleased to inform you that the ethics committee has endorsed your proposal.

I wish you well with your research.

We would be grateful if you could keep us updated as your research progresses and let us know of any findings/outputs.

All the best,

[redacted].

Dr [redacted]
Research Manager

[redacted]

Appendix 20. Support leaflet (UK city)

Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Support services

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, Plymouth University

Thank you for agreeing to meet me and help with my study. Your welfare is a high priority for me and I am aware that sometimes taking part in an interview and talking about upsetting or difficult things can affect how we feel afterwards.

If you are worried about how you feel please speak with your support worker, another staff member, a supportive friend/ family member or contact your GP.

You may also find it helpful to contact some of the organisations below. They may be able to offer support themselves or advise on who else to contact.

Type of agency	Name	Number	Opening times
General support	Samaritans	01752 221666	24 hours
Housing	Plymouth City Council, 1st Stop, 71 New George St	01752 668000	Mon – Sat 8.30-5pm
	HISS, Harwell Centre	01752 293716	Drop in Mon & Fri 9.30-12.30
Alcohol & drugs	Harbour	01752 434343	Mon –Fri 10 – 4.30pm
Mental Health	MIND	01752 513694	Mon – Wed 10-4; Fri 10-2pm
	Gateway to Mental Health	01752 668709	
Veteran support	Veterans UK	0808 1914218	Mon – Thurs 7.30-6.30pm Fri 7.30-5pm
Sexual assault	Sexual Assault Referral Centre	03458 121212	Mon – Fri 9-5pm
Domestic violence	National Women's Aid	0808 2000247	24 hours
	Men's Advice Line	0808 8010327	10-5pm Mon - Wed
Debt/benefits advice	Citizens Advice Bureau	03444 111444	Mon – Fri 9-6.30 Sat9-1
	Money Advice Plymouth	01752 208126	24 hr answer machine
Crime	Police non-emergency number	101	

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. If you have any questions or worries about the interview please contact me, Leonie, on 07470 418635 or leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the study, please contact my Director of Studies, Dr. Katrina Bannigan Plymouth University, 01752 587550 or by email Katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk.

My support worker	
Supportive friend/ family member	
My GP	
Persons in other services	

Appendix 21. Support leaflet (Irish city 1)

Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Support services

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, Plymouth University

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If you are worried about how you feel please speak with your support worker, another staff member, a supportive friend/ family member or contact your GP.

You may also find it helpful to contact some of the organisations below. They may be able to offer support themselves or advise on who else to contact.

Type of agency	Name	Number	Opening times
General support	Samaritans	116 123 (free)	24 hours
Housing	Central Placement Service	1800 707707	24 hours
	Housing First Office	01 6712555	Mon – Fri
Alcohol & drugs	HSE National Drug & Alcohol Helpline	1800 459459	Mon –Fri 9.30 – 5.30pm
Mental Health	Aware	1890 303302	Mon – Sun 10-10pm
	Shine	1890 621621	Mon – Fri 9-4pm
Social Welfare	Homeless Persons Unit	1800 724724	Mon – Fri 10-12; 2-3.30
Sexual assault	Rape Crisis Centre	1800 778888	24 hours
Domestic violence	Women's Aid	1800 341900	Mon – Sun 10-10pm
	AMEN	046 9023718	Mon – Fri 9-5pm
Debt advice	MABS	0761 072000	Mon – Fri 9-8pm
	Citizens Information	0761 074000	Mon – Fri 9-8pm
Crime	Non-emergency number	Local Garda station	

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. If you have any questions or worries about the interview please contact me, Leonie, on 086 3218724 or leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the study, please contact my Director of Studies, Dr Katrina Bannigan, Plymouth University, + 44 1752 587550 or by email katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk.

My support worker	
Supportive friend/ family member	
My GP	
Persons in other services	

Appendix 22. Support leaflet (Irish city 2)

Moving On

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Support services

***Moving On*. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

Leonie Boland, PhD Student, Plymouth University

Thank you for agreeing to meet me and help with my study. Your welfare is a high priority for me and I am aware that sometimes taking part in an interview and talking about upsetting or difficult things can affect how we feel afterwards.

If you are worried about how you feel please speak with your support worker, another staff member, a supportive friend/ family member or contact your GP.

You may also find it helpful to contact some of the organisations below. They may be able to offer support themselves or advise on who else to contact.

Type of agency	Name	Number	Opening times
General support	Samaritans	116 123 (free)	24 hours
Housing	Homeless Action Team	1800 606060 061 481212	24 hours Mon – Fri
Alcohol & drugs	HSE National Drug & Alcohol Helpline	1800 459459	Mon –Fri 9.30 – 5.30pm
Mental Health	Aware Shine	1890 303302 1890 621621	Mon – Sun 10-10pm Mon – Fri 9-4pm
Sexual assault	Rape Crisis Centre	1800 778888	24 hours
Domestic violence	Women's Aid AMEN	1800 341900 046 9023718	Mon – Sun 10-10pm Mon – Fri 9-5pm
Debt advice	MABS Citizens Information	0761 072000 0761 074000	Mon – Fri 9-8pm Mon – Fri 9-8pm
Crime	Non-emergency number	Local Garda station	

Thank you for taking the time to meet with me today. If you have any questions or worries about the interview please contact me, Leonie, on 086 3218724 or leonie.boland@plymouth.ac.uk.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the study, please contact my Director of Studies, Dr Katrina Bannigan, Plymouth University, + 44 1752 587550 or by email katrina.bannigan@plymouth.ac.uk.

My support worker	
Supportive friend/ family member	
My GP	
Persons in other services	

Appendix 23. Credit card size versions of support leaflets

Plymouth City Council: 71 New George St HISS: 01752 293716 Gateway to Mental Health: 01752 668709 Veterans UK: 0808 19143218 Sexual Assault Referral Centre: 03458 121212 National Women's Aid: 0808 2000247 Men's Advice Line: 0808 8010327 Citizens Advice Bureau: 03444 111444 Money Advice Plymouth: 01752 208126 Police non-emergency: 101	Moving On Support services If you are worried about how you feel, please remember to speak with your support worker, another staff member, a supportive friend/ family member or your GP. Samaritans (24 hrs): 116 123 MIND: 01752 513694 Harbour: 01752 434343

Aware: 1890 303302 Shine: 1890 621621 Rape Crisis Centre: 1800 778888 Women's Aid: 1800 341900 AMEN: 046 9023718 MABS: 0761 072000 Citizens Information: 0761 074000 Garda: Local station	Moving On Support services If you are worried about how you feel, please remember to speak with your support worker, another staff member, a supportive friend/ family member or your GP. Samaritans (24 hrs): 116 123 Homeless Action Team: 1800 606060 National Drug & Alcohol Helpline: 1800 459459

Housing First Office: 01 6712555 Homeless Persons Unit: 1800 724724 Aware: 1890 303302 Shine: 1890 621621 Rape Crisis Centre: 1800 778888 Women's Aid: 1800 341900 AMEN: 046 9023718 MABS: 0761 072000 Citizens Information: 0761 074000 Garda: Local station	Moving On Support services If you are worried about how you feel, please remember to speak with your support worker, another staff member, a supportive friend/ family member or your GP. Samaritans (24 hrs): 116 123 Central Placement Service: 1800 707070 National Drug & Alcohol Helpline: 1800 459459

Appendix 24. Plymouth University amendment of ethics approval

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

23rd August 2016

CONFIDENTIAL
Leonie Boland
Plymouth University
School of Health Professions
Peninsula Allied Health Centre
Derriford Road
Plymouth
Devon
PL6 8BH

Dear Leonie

Amendment to Approved Application

Amendment Reference Number: 15/16-634
Original application Reference Number: 15/16-480
Application Title: **Moving On. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?**

I am pleased to inform you that the Committee has granted approval to you for your amendment to the application approved on 5th November 2015.

Please note that this approval is for three years, after which you will be required to seek extension of existing approval.

Please note that should any MAJOR changes to your research design occur which effect the ethics of procedures involved you must inform the Committee. Please contact Sarah Jones (email sarah.c.jones@plymouth.ac.uk).

Yours sincerely

Professor Michael Sheppard, PhD, FAcSS
Chair, Research Ethics Committee -
Faculty of Health & Human Sciences and
Peninsula Schools of Medicine & Dentistry

Faculty of Health & Human Sciences
Plymouth University
Drake Circus
Plymouth PL4 8AA

T +44 (0)1752 585339
F +44 (0)1752 585328
E sarah.c.jones@plymouth.ac.uk
W www.plymouth.ac.uk

Professor Michael Sheppard
CQSW BSc MA PhD AcSS
Chair, Faculty Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 25. Plymouth University amendment of ethics (new recruitment site)

RESEARCH WITH PLYMOUTH UNIVERSITY

Friday 25th November 2016

CONFIDENTIAL

Leonie Boland
GF15, PAHC,
Derriford Road,
Plymouth,
Devon,
PL6 8BH

Dear Leonie,
/
Amendment to Approved Application

Amendment Reference Number: (16/17)-690
Original application Reference Number: (15/16) - 480
Application Title: Moving On. Transitioning from homelessness into a sustained tenancy: What enables a successful transition?

I am pleased to inform you that the Committee has granted approval to you for your amendment to the application approved on 05/11/2015.

Please note that this approval is for three years, after which you will be required to seek extension of existing approval.

Please note that should any MAJOR changes to your research design occur which effect the ethics of procedures involved you must inform the Committee. Please contact Sarah Jones (email sarah.c.jones@plymouth.ac.uk).

Yours sincerely

Professor Michael Sheppard, PhD, FAcSS
Chair, Research Ethics Committee -
Faculty of Health & Human Sciences and
Peninsula Schools of Medicine & Dentistry

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Professor Michael Sheppard
CQSW BSc MA PhD AcSS
Chair, Faculty Research Ethics Committee

Appendix 26. Sample of interview transcript

Moving on: Interview

[redacted]

Interview date: August 24th, 2016

Location: [redacted] flat. Two bed apartment in purpose built complex.

I: Thank you so much for taking the photos and your time. What we will probably do is if you want to pick a photo, tell me about it, why you took it and what it means to you. It is about that experience of moving on into your own place

P: [looking through photos]

I: So whichever one you want to start with

P: I want to start with [selecting photo]

Image 1

So that’s probably the one, really to me, is just I waited two years for him to be able to run around like, do you know what I mean. And now he running around my house, happy and I don't know, now he looks free and happy in his pyjamas and all, after a sleepover. Picture says a few stories, that’s all

I: And what age is he now

P: He's [redacted] next month, so [pause] he's a big boss...

I: And how often can he come stay with you

P: Really, like him and his ma stay like from like Thursday to like I think Monday. So sometimes they just stay for a few days but sometimes I do be—she wants to go out and I get him dropped him down then and I have him for a couple of hours. Some nights I take him, some nights the three of us be here. Its grand, pretty handy. So because we are so young, all that pressure is not like on us to like move in straight and stuff, you know what I mean

I: When—when Neil was coming

P: No, like I knew what I had to do, I just didn't want her going through like, you know, the hostels and stuff. So I just went through with it, you know

and plus like I wasn't getting along with my parents *anyway*, like I never—I just never really—I was always being kicked out and a few weeks later I'd be back, you know

I: Ok

P: I was childish, and that is all that it is. Like I wouldn't be like that now, you know. I am close to my parents again

I: Are you

P: It's just because I matured but I wasn't mature then. I had no one to care about, so selfish and I only had to thought about myself. I had mad times and that, you know all that stuff. But now I am a bit more aware like

I: So Neil around, that has made a difference to you?

P: Ah yeah, he changed my life like completely. Totally different, like, yeah

I: Tell me a bit more, in what ways

P: Like, just in a lot of ways, like, I do like if I was to do bad stuff like I think about my son. Like if something I know I would get in trouble for, I think about him first of all and my time, every time I feel down, I just pop down to him, all happy and all recharged by the time I go back out, you know. Like, I don't know, he just teaches me patience as well. I never had patience you know, since I was a kid. I was always reacting to the first incident but now I can [pause] really I can step back and you know what I never had that and he taught me that which is brilliant

I: Ok. So then you were saying having him being able to come and visit you here is important to you

P: Ahh, it's like it just makes me so much happier. Sometimes I am just like right, just me and him here but he will have his bag and reading stories, it's just great, like watching him grow, I swear to God, its brilliant, it really is, you know

I: And how much has having your own place mattered in that

P: Having my own place mattered in that so much to me, I feel so close to it, I feel I want the day. I feel like, do you know, I am like engaging a lot more with him, I feel I am—I am just not—I don't feel like I am leaving every couple of days because I seem to have often. Sometimes I might not seen him then his Ma might have called 'do you want to come to the park—to the park'. I would just pop up and we would go to the park. Sometimes he didn't want to come near us and sometimes he wanted to go back to his house. She only lives not too far from here

I: Ok

P: So its grand like, it's very handy for me. It makes me happy because I used to live out in town, like it was very hard

I: In town

P: Yeah. And I rarely always get sleep. I stayed there so many times, you know I just felt weird and all that sort of stuff. Do you know I was in a load of places and that I just felt down and all, I didn't—I wasn't myself like, you know? I feel like I am a lot more myself now, you know, that's all

I: And where were you before this place then

P: I was living in town, in ___. It's kind of like a [pause] semi residential accommodation because I wasn't in my house and I had nowhere to stay really so it took me like a whole year nearly to get that place

I: To get ___

P: And then I had to pay rent and stuff. That's where I had to learn how to be independent

I: Ok

P: And I lived there for a year and a half, got on with the staff, they loved me and I got help with this place

I: And what sort of stuff did you learn in ___

P: I learned [pause] I learned—I got back like into education in ___ . Like I feel like, yeah, I know what I want to do now and I learned cooking skills, life skills, just getting on with people skills, you know. The neighbours because there were bad head cases of neighbours so and plenty of head cases of neighbours but I know they wouldn't be head cases because everyone is just trying to get on with their lives but just places like that, they have to be head ca—like different challenges I learned to overcome them, you know

I: And what sort of relationship was there with the staff, how much involvement did they have with you?

P: All the really—you link in with your keyworker once a week and they get you through all the modules towards getting your own accommodation

I: So you—you had modules

P: Yeah, like they—they have plans and stuff, like because they just don't allow you to live there if you have no plans. If you want to be there—to live there, so yeah you have to go to college for a whole year. And it's funny because I didn't intend to get what I wanted out of that college because I got this place but I have always said once I get this place I am going for a job but I just couldn't because I had no hope

I: Ok

P: I just had to do something to do because there was nothing there for me, no options like but at least if I go back to school, push my luck for a year and see where that gets me

I: So you had hope to work

P: Yeah, so now like all I want is just work. But obviously I am going to take the first few months off, chill out and settle in, you know. And not to have pressures at the moment but September—I am getting bored really and I am real active—like I am a real active lad. If get bored I used to— if none of the lads were about or if they were at work or whatever, I used to 'ah, come on we'll do something', real active

I: You want to keep really busy

P: Or else just kind of messing and just doing stuff you are not supposed to be doing it, you know. That's all it is especially in [redacted]—in [redacted]

I: I am interested you said you got on really well with the keyworkers, what was it is about then, like how did it work well

P: Well I think ours were very—they were used to people being like [pause] just people—just— I don't know, they were used to different types of people. They were used to adults like and they always said to me most adults wouldn't even be as polite and open minded and ready to learn like you were, you were real humble. And I just felt like I was liked because I looked up to them like because I didn't really have anyone like. So I went in there and done what I was supposed to do and...

I: Ok

P: And I was nice to the staff, never gave them grief and never came in and never acted stupid. Went on nights out, walked back in 'oh, howiya', got my key, do you know. They could see I was able to live like

I: And did you feel they responded to you differently then because you were...

P: Oh, yeah, at the start like there were real different—they treated me real different and then when I was about to leave, like, it was just a whole different case like

I: Ok

P: I was like a different person, they leaved me alone. They were like 'you've achieved all this, this that and that in a whole year' because of [redacted] and all like. Before I went back to college but with [redacted] I got a few certificates and I just didn't even know what to do with them, like. I was just real confused at this stage, you know what I mean. My child was growing, I didn't know where I was going to be living next year, it was very...

I: Did you feel really confused

P: Oh, I was depressed, I was very depressed. I lost weight and all, like loads of weight and it was just horrible times, I mean like, really horrible time

I: And was that when you were in ___ [redacted], that depression

P: You see that was before going to ___because I was staying in friends' houses and stuff for depression. Like just—just before I went to ___ yeah I was all depressed. Then when I got into ___for the first month or two I was still kind of depressed but getting over it like. That was when I was learning to do a life then, I had a steady bed for six months. So I was, for the next six months, I am going to do what I can to get out of here. But I didn't get out of it in that six months. They renewed my yoke but they don't renew everyones, do you know what I mean, so they gave me another chance. That year came as well, they renewed it again. They go 'to be honest with you, you don't give us any trouble, you pay your rent when you are supposed to and everything is grand' so like, I don't know, they try and fix something for us so I got a year out of it. So then I got *another* six months

I: Ok

P: I—I had to sign that these were the final six months so I was on a mission for that six months that I would find a place and I was going to twenty—loads of viewings, man, loads of viewings and I couldn't get anywhere. I was going to get kicked out of ___. Well, I wasn't going to get kicked out but it's either I go there or go backwards down the ladder and go a place where I end up paying more money and I may not get another place like this and stuff [pause]. Yeah, eventually, a few weeks before I was going to be evicted I got a letter from the council 'we have a place for you' and all. Normally they give you an option and they were like, well we don't think we can give you an option, I think you just have to take it. I was like do you know what, I probably will and then I got here

I: And this was the option that you were given

P: I swear to God I nearly started crying. It was a few days after my birthday and all that week I had just been crying, I was going towards depression again, do you know, I was starting to think 'where is this going to...'. Aagh, it was just horrible. I prayed so many times, I think God just felt so sorry for me, like, you know what, we are going to help. Nobody understands things like, I don't—I wouldn't speak to anyone about things like that. Not even my missus really because that like to me that [pause] some people just don't get it, like especially people my age, they just don't get it, you know. They never had it hard, well, they do but mostly by their own and if you get me—if you get me, their parents would never be like 'out there on

your own'. I have been doing it since I was a baby, no help so I tell you [redacted] like, they need a—if we think we have it bad here, at least we can eat three meals without thinking a day. They can't eat one without working hard so its—its—so my parents just laughed at me when I was thinking I was—I was all cool and do you know. They just laughed [laughs] 'look at him' do you know what I mean but I appreciate that now. I appreciate that, like I rather—I know who I am at twenty years old rather than being real old and still trying to figure it out myself

I: And that's really interesting [redacted], about having that feeling so

P: Aware

I: Yeah

P: Like my parents, all the time, if you—if you rob you are going to jail. No, they used to say you will get killed so that was like a fear to me. That was a no go and I never robbed anything. But these were things I grew up on and I would never do, do you know what I mean. That was just there but obviously then I got to know you don't get killed if you rob but it's not in me to rob, it's not me, do you know what I mean. By the time I learned it was too late. I know it's a bad thing anyway so I am going to start scaring Neil like that. Do you know, just I'll be real—he's just real cuddly and all but his manners and all like, so he'll say thank you and all like

I: Manners are important to you

P: That's the real things I want him to learn. I don't care if he's bold and bit hyperactive and all. As long as he knows what's bad, that's important to me because I wouldn't like him, even if he in a nightclub and stuff like when he older. I think I will have a drink or two with him when he is 17 or 18, he's going to do it anyway at that age and I would like to know is he ok on his own, really. Come on Neil, do you know, but if he's a fucking idiot, like see you 'you are never going, you are not getting the keys' but if I can trust him, I will trust him

I: That relationship is important to you

P: I know, it's very important. Like I didn't maintain that. Now I know where it went wrong

I: With your Dad

P: I know how they went wrong, how hard they were on me. Even today they will say ‘we know *we* were a bit hard on you but you went wrong, you went too far'. I'm like, yeah, that’s totally understandable so I am just trying to keep that balance and encourage it as well. I wouldn't force all the African culture on him like they done to me

I: Ok

P: I will ease him into it because realistically when we go over there, he will really want to know about culture anyway. But they were trying to force me at an age I didn't really care. I was in a different country anyway; I don't need our culture.

I: Were you born here [redacted]

P: I wasn't born here, no. I just I woke up here. Like when I was younger I just remember being in [redacted] and then literally I remember growing up here. That’s literally when

I: So what age were you when you moved here

P: I was little, five or six, yeah. So like it would have been, ah, a few months of blur, do you know what I mean. Just being here and do you know what I mean, moving here, settling in and going to primary school and all. That’s all I can remember really, do you know what I mean. But I wouldn't like to have a long memory of [redacted], what it was like. I can remember a few bits, like, where we lived and stuff. I couldn't tell you anything else

I: Ok. And just going back to what you said, that it’s hard when you were feeling so down and there wasn't really anyone to talk to, was there anyone you did turn to at that time that was a support.

P: Not really, actually. Do you know what, I smoked weed a lot more, like I didn't want to be around anyone so like, I felt if I was feeling down I would just get a bag of weed and literally I'd smoke it and have a few games of FIFA because other than that I would be out taking tablets, robbing, trying to

get money, do you know when it's not there, you are forcing it. Loads of lads I went homeless with are locked up or dead even, stabbed to death. Robbie got stabbed to death, like. I remember he used to walk into my room and like 'have you got any rollies man, have you got any rollies?' But he's *gone* now and you know, it's weird to think about things like that, it fucking is, it really is weird but anyway...

I: So you kept yourself to yourself

P: To myself, yeah. That was the time I knew man, these people don't really love you, man. Look all those people you have been there for all these years, where are they now, like? Do you know, things hit me hard, like. That was just it, so I was kept to myself

I: What led then to you getting out of that routine

P: How I got out of that is I smoked certain amount of weed, I looked at myself in the mirror like 'is this really you?' Is this what all the dreams—all the everything you had, is this how like?' I don't know, that used to depress me, that I felt so guilty when I smoked the joint I made sure—before I smoked the joint I made sure everything else was done

I: Ok

P: So honestly really was my little addiction but it now—even now sometimes I don't even think about it but yeah sometimes if I feel like, ah, I am a bit stressed tonight, I need a bag but don't get me wrong because I am not depressed anymore. I know I don't go out but I have a ball if I go up to my mates or to my brothers but back then I was in town, I didn't know anyone. I couldn't do anything and I was just surrounded by junkies, you know but I was been offered gear, tablets and stuff

I: Was that within hostels

P: Yeah and that was not me, do you know what I mean. The only time before I went into town, like I used to just smoke a few joints at parties, that was it, do you get me

I: Yeah

P: But I know I don't really want to be—I know I don't want to be drooling at bus stops. I know that's not what I want, do you know what I mean so I would never even—people used to 'just be careful, you never know'. I was like 'trust me, I know, I don't want to be, do you know what I mean

I: So you say yourself in the mirror and thought this isn't me and then what was the next bit

P: The next bit was honestly, the next day was I woke up 'stop feeling sorry for yourself, start banging on doors'. Literally I started banging on doors, I was stressed and all the stress I used in just going around, to the right places getting plans, you know. I was smoking less, I was getting strategy together and I think I was growing as a person as well, getting more confident and all. I was like 'it is what it is man'. So locking yourself in that room, you are not going to do anything.

I: And who were the key people at that time that helped

P: My girlfriend probably would have been a key role in my life, yeah. She is the one—she was always there for me like. We have been on and off for three or four years but I always say to her even if we are not to be, I don't think I could be [pause]. Like I just don't want— I wouldn't have that time for any, do you know because I know—I don't know, it's just too much history or something

I: And what was that key bit that she supported you to make a change

P: On days—on days that I am feeling really low, she would say 'do you want me and the baby to get the bus out to you or we come into town to you?' On some days I wouldn't even have money to get out to them but when I did it was always with nappies and stuff. I used to get vouchers from the [redacted] and that's how I used to get stuff to pay rent but I just felt so bad, like that's my son, I can't—so I used to always with my vouchers—I used to always get milk and nappies with it and three of my money and that was a standard thing every week. And people were like 'ah man, you are doing well like'. That's the food I am supposed to eat, do you know but in my own way it pays me because I know I can look at him and like, now that I can buy him tracksuits and stuff, its, do you know what I mean, everyone look at him and like 'ah, he's so cute, well looked after' and all. Then I remember that time that I couldn't even afford nappies for my own child, you know. There is all stories to tell so when he gets out of line, I will tell

him a few stories and sit his ass back down [laughs]

I: [laughs] How long were you—so you were in ___for that length of time

P: Yeah

I: That was like over a year

P: A year and six months, yeah

I: And what was—you said you went in for six months, that was to do with the expectation but what was making it difficult to get out within that first six months

P: First of all, the first six months I was just settling in. Practically it was like this all over again and I had to find my footsteps —how to get on there, how to—you know all that and literally your payday comes around once a week so after a day or two, when you don't get things you are supposed to do, then you are waiting until next week, practically

I: That is moneywise

P: Yeah, moneywise, you have to be real smart with your budget and stuff. It's really hard. Anyways I couldn't really get much, you know, I wasn't going out to viewings at the start. I wasn't really alert to it really, I didn't know what was going on. I just hadn't looked there so then that six months was the first six months, I was exposed to different things, you know. That was the wise six months but I was feeling sorry for myself sometimes. Then the other six months, I spent the other six months being a better me, do you know. Neil had a good Christmas, last Christmas, you know. I was like, on time, waiting for Christmas so I never have to feel that horrible about myself again, do you know. I was all scared, that's all it is. I get triggered and I get scared, what happens—other people say 'what happens if you don't do that', you know. 'How would your son feel though, how would you feel if your parents ever done that to you'. Just thinking like that. I just—I just can't—that thoughts, aghhh [higher pitch]... Just get up and do it. So anyways, then the second six months, that was the six months I was spending and going and running. Then the third six months, that was

the six months at the start of the year, that was the six months I was *fed up*

I: Fed up

P: Yeah, like I was like right, this is—'ah, this is the most annoying thing ever'. A few months into the year I got the news that I was getting evicted in a few weeks so [pause] that then that was the most stressful time in my life then. I have never been that stressed in my life, up, down, seeing the flat, had exams and all. I didn't even finish my exams. I ended up doing two exams because the day I was doing one of the exams I was getting the keys for this place at a certain time so that was it. I just said to myself [redacted], this is what you have wanted for a long time, I think that can wait for now' do you know what I mean. And it wasn't like I was going for a degree or something like that. Like for me, it was when I got this place I could relax for the rest of the year, do you know, just getting my life together, you know. Everything is on my terms now

I: You say, as you said there was a good six months and a bad six months, what would a day look like when it was a bad six months

P: A bad day—a bad day would be literally sitting in my room, nothing on the telly, just feeling all depressed, bored out of my head. Sometimes I would go to sleep. That was the only bit of sunshine I had in my life, the only bit and then because when I go to bed that would be my time out, you know. That would be helpful to me as well, it was nice

I: So that was spending time on your own

P: Yeah, on my own

I: Did you say not watching telly

P: Not even watching telly, like I got—I got so like—I started doing all the tactical stuff I needed to do in my life, like the shit I really need. Not, like I got—like I got because I got a job and all in there like, do you know what I mean, I got a job out of it. I was in [redacted] and I was getting better payments and stuff, do you know what I mean and that's where it made me tactically. That's the way I see it because all of this was mixed emotion, I didn't know what was going on. There was so much going on but I didn't know how to face it, I didn't know. Now I know I can look back and be like, ah, I

was depressed, that's why I didn't want to do anything, that's why I just, do you know what I mean. But I didn't know that when it was going on so I just took every day as it came. Some days would be hard though, you know

I: And then a good day, how would a good day look

P: A good day, honestly, a good day sometimes— for me there is fun on a good day. A good day would be a day out with Neil, go to the park, have a picnic, that's a good day out for me. A fun day out would probably just the lads after working hard and meeting me in town. A night out in town, I enjoy town for that. I could actually go out on the weekends and I can do this, that and that this week but next week I want to lighten up a bit, you know, have a few drinks and there are pubs everywhere in town

I: Yeah

P: And literally after, you could walk home, so I don't need taxi money and all that expenses that come with nights out. So that—that made me see there is more to life than you sitting in a hostel and being all depressed simply because you are passing the time by wasting your life. So I just knew if I worked, things wouldn't be as bad so I had a little part time. Didn't last long though

I: What sort of work was it

P: It was just maintenance in a hotel

I: Ok [pause]

P: [pause] Anyway that didn't last but to be honest with you, I had an idea it wasn't going to last because it was only for three months contract

I: Ok

P: So I was told like so but anyway, while I was there I did a few bits and bobs. I was just doing what I was supposed to do, bringing things around

I: When you said it didn't last, what were the reasons for it finishing

P: Ah because to be honest I hated it. There was mad shit happening when I was in college and it just didn't last. I don't know, it just wasn't my thing at all like

I: Yeah, and was mad shit related to drug stuff

P: No, I was doing mad shit like related to working in the hotel, coming home at mad hours and not having time for me—not having time for me. Having to get off school early and all because remember at that time because I didn't have this place in mind at the time so like, I was like, ah I just have to stick here at college or whatever. Then I got this place and I was like, wait, I knew I had the option to go back as a mature student at 23 but I think I am going to just make the best out of my life for another year because I have never been happier, never really felt happy like this. I felt child love and tough— hardship but I never felt happy, I just, you know. I wake up in the morning and what do I want to do today, I never really have had that. When I was at home I was like, obviously I had friends, I had gangs of mates like but when you woke up you didn't have an option, you were out with your friends even if it was your sister's birthday. Everyone's birthday, you missed it because you were out with the boys

I: That was the—you felt you had to do that

P: That was home life and I feel like my parents—they did the right thing by sending me out of the house. Like my mam wasn't there that day that that happened and my Dad had to be because she could not—she couldn't face me then and my dad wouldn't let me see her for like six months afterwards

I: So they—they said to you, you are leaving

P: Yeah

I: Ok

P: But my like mam couldn't say it [laughs] so she was never—I wasn't allowed get in contact with her and all so when she did ring me though and then oh, I swear to God that shit there like, that should remind me to stop messing, man. I love my Mam to bits, like I am a real Mammy's boy

I: And can you remember the stuff that was leading up to when they finally said you are out [redacted]

P: I was getting in trouble, I was—I was out like joyriding cars. Meeting the lads, breaking into cars, I was getting trouble with the police. Never got into really serious trouble though but it would have led up to that, I would have been comfortable getting into trouble you know

I: So that time then when they said you were out, where did you go?

P: Ah, I was like 'fuck you, I am going to my friends'. I had loads of friends then, do you know what I mean. I was always with older people, that's probably why I am so mature, I was always with people that were slightly older than me so like I was always like, ah yeah, grand. I stayed with my friends for like two months and I was getting sick of her and she was calling me 'sissy, like what are you doing?' ' Are you not going to go home at some stage'? So she just thought like I was probably just having a fall out but it got to the stage I tried to go home but my Ma was like 'no, you have been out of here two months, we are making a bit of progress'. It was hard, they were making me feel very bad about myself and then I couldn't get back in. Then one night I went home, trying to force my way back in and I got arrested and ah, it was just... that's it

I: After that, did you end up, as you said, in the city centre

P: Yeah, I had to because everyone I thought didn't want to know me so I was homeless

I: Can you remember what that was like the first time

P: I felt worthless, agghh. I never felt so worthless in my life during that time, I swear to God. Like I was such a strong character, being homeless broke me, do you know what I mean like it broke me

I: How does it do that [redacted], what's the

P: Because you just—you just feel that small you do, I swear to God. You don't understand but I don't know—I just—I think it's the whole thoughts about it to be honest because if I—if I was to go out all day, yeah, and nobody told me I was homeless I would be having fun. If I was homeless and asked to go out all day, woo, you would scare me, do you know what I mean

I: So you feel because you are homeless, other people see something different

P: Because I was homeless I couldn't—I could engage when people were talking which was weird. My mind was gone—where are you going to sleep tomorrow night? Why are you going to do that? How are you going to do? Boom—boom, it just hit and just how are you going to get a shower? Where are you going to change your…?

I: So that

P Agghh, that and more. Where are you going to go to the toilet? Like, unless you ask someone. You have to keep *asking*—asking, asking until you feel that—and asking, even if—even if I had to ask—even if I had to ask someone to close the door ten times, I would feel like oh, you are a bit much, aren't you? You reckon someone is out at that door—why don't you get up and get it. I would feel some way about it, never mind asking someone. I remember one time I had to get a hostel, like I didn't get a hostel one night and I needed six euro for a hostel. Now like, it was a lot more but I needed six euro more. It was raining and stuff and I was on the phone and my battery was going and I had a bag on my back and I was trying to get into the hostel in X and no one would give me—aghhh, I don't know why because I think because I was soaking and I had a bag on me and I just looked homeless, like probably looked homeless and no one would give me the six euro. I was trying— going around asking for two euros to make up the six and I just sat on the Luas stop and I just cried for ages, I bawled my eyes out, I did. Too many times, like, do you know what I mean. I've often cried like too many times. So like now, honestly if like people say 'ah yeah you got landed nice in one ' Yeah I was fucking ready for it, come on man', do you know what I mean. I never— That doesn't— Man, I know thirty year olds that happened to and it breaks them straight away, straight away, do you know what I mean. I used always say to myself '[redacted], you have to have resilience. Do you know what you need to do? You need to—if you got—you just need to get your head right, sit—sit down and know what you want to do with your life, you know'. I honestly feel like if I do end up getting like a career choice or—I would be feeling very delicate in a way, you know. You don't get—you don't look for a job and stuff that much and because the phase, like you know, even if I got a job in the past year I'd say it would be hard for me, you know. I wouldn't be able to live in ___

because ah, it'd just be weird [pause]

I: [pause]

P: Anyways [sighs]

I: So that bit, as you said, you felt so small

P: I felt so small because I had to had to ask for everything, everything

I: And then were you in some of the homeless hostels

P: I was in some of the homeless hostels, yeah

I: And then the move was inspired by

P: Ehmm, I spent six—six, seven months in the hostels and just sleeping on couches—on my mates' couches and stayed in parks and all, underground car parks and stuff, you know. Simply because I just —and I was very—when I said that I had very much pride like, my parents were like—growing up I was always that real like the cool kid. My parents were *always* like—we always threw parties, trampo—do you know when trampolines came out, we were literally one of the first to get one. You know people were always in my house, my Ma is well known, I was well known, do you know what I mean and [pause] that for me, that was a bit extra hard on me because I was just a normal everyday kid because everybody knew me. In a way I think that fucked up my head a bit more because I was—I was definitely self-esteem trained then. Like fair enough you can have low self-esteem but when you, like, when you know a lot of people

I: So you noticed a big difference

P: Yeah, so like that was gone. I had no more confidence, like. I didn't feel I could talk to people the same way I could, even when I had talked to them at home, because I just shrank, do you know what I mean, I was just— ah man

I: And did you—have you continued contact with friends

P: Yeah, I still have a few friends that are there when I was homeless, stayed out with me or let me stay in their house. I have those friends, yeah

I: And what sort of level of contact have you with your family now, [redacted]

P: Ehmm, my family is—my Mam is planning on like—she is planning on retiring and stuff in the next year or so. She is flat out working now since the past year or two because they are planning on going back home, like when they retire and stuff like so they are just flat out working so I pop up every weekend really. She pops up on Sundays sometimes

I: Does she pop up here

P: Yeah

I: Ok

P: Or I pop up to the house

I: And has your relationship changed since you got here

P: Yeah, they treat me like real different, just like an adult like. Even my Mam asks *me* to do her favours and stuff now, do you know what I mean. She would never ask me to do her favours. She would never ask me for anything. All she ever asked me is like 'did you get in trouble? Are you ok?' and all like 'what's wrong?' Because I used to just wake up, eat, never done chores or nothing. Asked for money, that's all I done and she didn't give me money I would go, I don't know, take a bike or something and get me own money. They just—I was always that tad advanced but just I didn't know the way to use it. I thought like, I used it so many evil ways and my friends, they were like 'ah, come on [redacted]. Ah come on and we will get [redacted]. They were real smart, like, I was real 'come on and we do this boys' and all but really, like, I could have used that to my own advantage but really I rathered, you know, to be out with the boys and stuff. But then I just realised, you know, I can point out eighty—eighty lads that used to kick

with me with, you know, now I can really point out 5-10 real ones, you know that I can even stand being around. Some of them are just—you are dead to me, man, do you know what I mean, like you just be around them because you screw up together sometimes at parties and stuff but really. They don't even know—they are not aware of that place in life but I am, which is weird

I: Ok, what has made the difference

P: I believe they just—I just had to learn life real quicker than they did. I had to learn life—that's it, *learn* life, that's literally what I know, that's what's is in my head, like, do you know what I mean, which is horrible

I: And [redacted], for some—I just wanted to ask do you have siblings, brothers and sisters

P: Yeah, two little sisters and a twenty five year old brother. He's still at home, do you know what I mean, like. It wasn't because like I was not—it wasn't because I was like I was —it wasn't because I was getting old that's why I wasn't in the house because he is still over 25 and he is still at home, do you know and does his thing, like. I was like a very bold kid like, you know, I was just real like hyperactive and all. I was a little clown, like you know

I: And do you have any contact with them now, your sisters and brother

P: Yeah, still call to them. My sister Mandy, like you know, she is like my best friend. She is like my twin, she is only a year younger than me

I: Ok

P: She is like my twin, though, I love her to bits [pause] Yeah, I do. I just—I am just a real like family guy nowadays while I used to be just all about the boys. But it's working out better for me though because all the effort I am putting into my son and stuff like, that's all the effort I used to put on people who used to not waste their breath on me. So like it's *so* much better just being your own self, no bullshit, you know. No people being sly, no fakeness. no [pause] its life, you know. And people wondering ah, how come you are cutting them off. It's not that, it's just I know they have nothing else to offer me but trouble, you know. A lot of fellas don't know that, like. I know that, even seeing someone, saying hello to someone, I can—

already I can see through

I: And [redacted], how—this is the bit I am interested in—how do you know what, how have you come to realise that

P: Because, to be honest, I have been around a lot—like I have been around a lot of people different ages that I have just—I have to screen their behaviour. Like I will always—if I am in a room with a few people I will always know—want to know who is the dangerous one? Who is the one that will make me feel—do you know what I mean. And if I feel like wrong there, I will shy away and I will shy away in a natural way that you wouldn't even realise because that's just the way I am. I don't want—I don't want to be standing there conflicting with someone, that's not my thing. So my—my guards are always up

I: So you are always aware

P: Yeah

I: Ok, the other bit I am interested in is some people, like you, go in, use the services, you know, have that experience in them but then find it hard to move on because they sort of get stuck in the system

P: Yeah but [pause] I—I didn't— I didn't find it hard because I didn't even know what like the system was or anything. Like down in my house, with my ma, always believed—I always believed if I didn't go to school I was going to end up beat...So like, to me they system is not—not—I don't really care about it but when I knew like I could get—I could get—this place wasn't even an option, I was looking for private rented like, do you know what I mean but then I got handed me this but well that was because of Neil so this has nothing to do with me really, personally but [pause] I don't know, I am grand like really, I feel like I was ready, I could live with it, do you know

I: You felt ready

P: Yeah, like I suppose you have to feel ready like. If I was taking tablets and doing drugs and things and I wasn't ready they wouldn't give me the place, you know. They have to see you doing stuff you know, advancing and I don't know—in the homeless services as well they take like drug tests

and stuff

I: Do they

P: Yeah but I was like in a one that was prestigious enough that they don't even care, like drugs are used but I was talking to people that were stabbed. Listen I smoke weed but weed doesn't define me, it's what you do that defines you, do you know what I mean. I mean loads of millionaires smoke weed, you know. Loads of people that go home, smoke a joint and you wouldn't even know because they don't let it define them, do you know because it's just an everyday thing so yeah

I: So it was that

P: It was that state of mind that just 'and what if, you want to smoke a bit of weed'. Do you know, on your own comfort then but don't ever let it be *you*, don't ever let it be 'ah, I can't be happy without it'. Don't let it get that far, do you know what I mean. Well it really was that bad, at one stage when I was depressed but now I just say 'ahh' do you know what I mean. Now it's just, other than that, I don't know, it's—its—I just don't think about things like that anymore, you know because I have to think about so many other things.

I: And when you look back when you were depressed, did you get any help at the time

P: Ehmm [pause]

I: Any medical help

P: No, I didn't really know what was going on. I was just always upset and even if wasn't upset like, I used to think that my friends take it every day. I would wake up, go and take loads and it was just my body—just my body left there, my soul was wherever it was

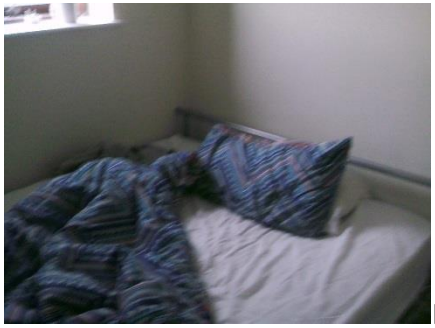
I: Ok [pause]

P: Sometimes I would just sit there and daydream, you know. Some days I would be in tears and some days I just want to do fun things and go out

and have a bit of a laugh [pause]. I don't know, it was hard

I: [redacted], do you want to pick another photo there actually and tell me

P: [looks through photos] [pause]

 Image 2

Ah yeah, by the way I have never had a double bed and I have never had like that much space to myself really. Yeah, I have never picked out my own shit for my own room really, to be honest. I just had do with whatever my Ma like, do you know what I mean

I: Say that again, sorry

P: I had to just live with whatever my Ma gave me or whatever was in the rooms that I rented out

I: So what's it's like then having your own space

P: I think—I just—I just feel like I can be me (italic) now or something like that. I feel like, I don't know, like I can buy whatever colour I want

I: Whatever colour?

P Yeah, whatever, whatever, yeah and I feel like that's just—that's all I ever really wanted, you know. I never really wanted—like I was very good at football. Like none of my family were footballers like but I was very good at football. Like I was, now, you know but I didn't want to be all that fancy stuff and all. I just want to be—like I want to be rich and silent. I want a load of money but I don't want to be famous. I want to work hard, have loads of money and be able to do whatever I want like that [snaps fingers] but I don't want to be like, ah yeah, look at me and take pictures. No, I don't want that—that's not

I: That's not important to you

P: No that's not important to me but which it used to be. I was always the real party animal, even before we were allowed in nightclubs, we used to get into nightclubs, you know. That was our thing, like that's all we grew up doing and then just years just go by, different phases [pause] you know, madness

I: So what have you done in the flat, actually, from some of those photos

P: Ehmm, some of those photos in the flat I done my room really

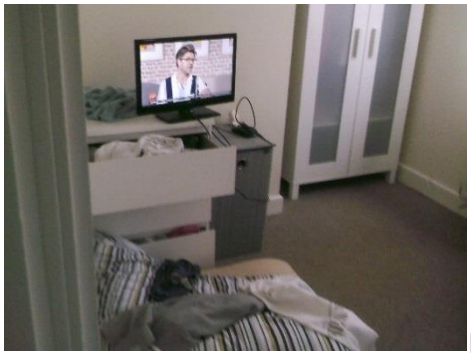


Image 3

That's about it. The toilet got done a bit. I put—I think you seen that, I put that yoke up when you were here,

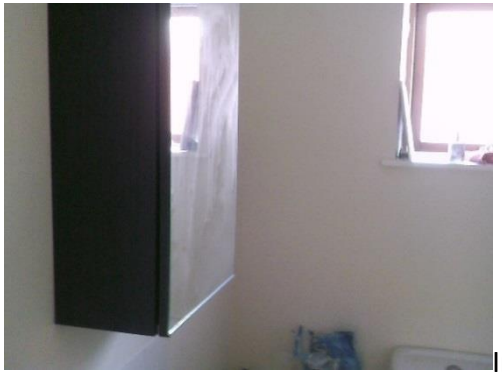


Image 4

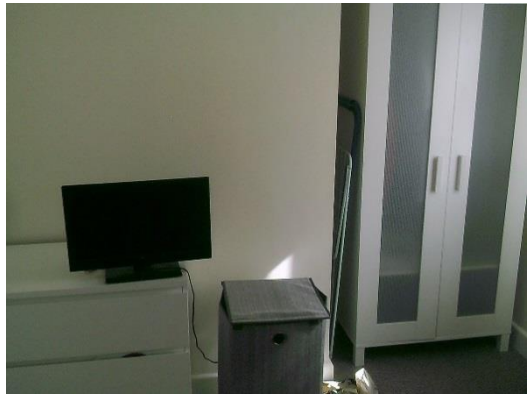
that was in there as the toilet was very bare

I: Ok

P: And I done the floor

Image 5

and I have the wardrobe in

 Image 6

I have had that in since the last day. [pause] Not too much now Leonie but there was not much else that I could take a picture of, if you get me

I: And why that one

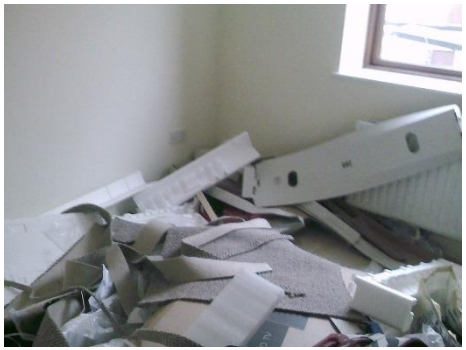


Image 7

P: I took a picture of that one just to let you know that the house is still in progress, it's not finished yet and there is still bits and bobs to be done. That's practically it and it will take time, it's a matter of process so...

I: And are you getting any support with that, getting things done

P: Not really—I am not really getting any support at the moment, that's why I am probably running slow as such. I will do more really when I have the few quid. Which is grand I am getting bits done every week, you know

I: When you get your money

P: Yeah, because you know the bills are always there. That's not an option anymore, like at all. I can't afford (inaudible) or nothing like that

I: You can't afford? Sorry I missed that bit [redacted]

P: I don't have to get takeaway anymore—I can't afford that. I can just fix up whatever, you know and manage just what I can, and you got something good today, you got paint or whatever you know

I: So are you using the kitchen then

P: I use the kitchen a lot and the fridge and my washing machine and my cooker in there. I have a radio and a microwave so that's all I need yeah, the kettle. So yeah it's just I need blinds for the whole house and just get them in a month but that means 150 euros and the blinds are 120 euro each but it will come. I will have it done by Christmas, the way *I* want it because that's the goal. My room is ready, you know, ready for me anyway

I: And is Christmas important to you

P: yeah it is, it will be his first Christmas in my place, like you know what I mean. It will be his [redacted]—it will be his [redacted] Christmas, yeah but he was a baby in his very first one, then he was just getting there his [redacted] one and his [redacted] one will be more like what Christmas is. Santa and all, so he will be excited

I: Anything else from the photos that we need to look at

P: This one

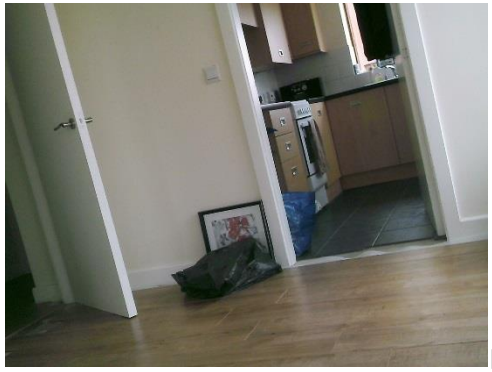


Image 8

I took this picture just because like to get the whole size of it because my whole room was like probably the size of that room and probably had a

little tiny bathroom so I had a very small space. The side of the wall would have been where the kitchen was fitted so I would have everything in one room

I: And that was in ___

P: That was in ___. So now I just have my telly up and I have a room for sleeping alone and a room for chilling out, you know, and that's—that's all, like, all things you cherish, you know. You get depressed from sitting in a room where boom, boom, boom, boom but I didn't' know that and I was just doing it for days and days and days and I didn't know that—I didn't know that that would get me down spiritually and mentally and all. Anyways I got to know that and I stopped. Started having like, right, I have got to get out of here for two hours a day, come back and watch telly for some time. Probably have a smoke before I go to bed and chill out. You know, I was able to plan stuff and all

I: Yeah, and was that just you coming to that realisation or did you get advice from somebody

P: No, not really. I just came to the realisation—I just came to the realisation that I just—all the look around and like that's not the way you are supposed to be. I always feel guilty, I just had this mad guilt and I think it's because like naturally religious. My parents brought me up in a religious way so even if I am doing something I would be thug life about it like deep down, I know, do you know what I mean

I: And how does that influence what you are doing

P: That's like boom, that's like [snaps fingers], that's like that so that's why I am trying to put it into Neil's heart. So if I have that in his heart, the fear of God, I never have to worry about—I'll never have to worry about if he'll kill someone or anything like that because he won't. He will have the fear of God, do you know what I mean so you just can't. Like I have often been in fights and like brawl and I would be pulling like—this is when they scare and hit me, they has often hit me. When I am getting the better, do you know there is something called the fear of God, I literally am not joking I would just like—it's not about me hitting you, just there's no point because you are just going to cry, or you are going to bleed, I am going to bleed so give it over, yeah. I have often been in brawls like that but and sometimes I have to do stuff I didn't want to do, don't get me wrong but as I was saying I would defer to God. I would not go up to a man and start trying to fight him, the fear of God. I like—I like to be treated the way I want to treat people, that's very important and when you have the fear of God in you, you'll—I don't think you can—some people stop believing in God

which is alright but the way I think that if you have the fear of God in you, you are a better person. You won't do things that's—even if you do it wouldn't be like someone that does knives and stuff, do you know what I mean, yeah, that's the difference. That got me through life

I: Have we covered all of them [redacted], do you think then

P: That's all them

I: What's that one

Image 9

P: That's Neil's room, that's in the process at the moment [laughs] actually it's a state

I: And this place is through what organisation?

P: [redacted]

I: Ok

P: Yeah

I: And the links with Marianne, when did that happen

P: The links with Marianne happened when I was assigned the place. Marianne is a tenancy worker, she works with people who are moving into their new place so she always has certain people on a schedule so yeah

I: What sort of support has that been for you

P: Yeah, Marianne has been a great help. She just help me sort out things, she has even made a few phone calls for me, you know when I should have been doing them, you know, she helped me out really but without her I would probably have been a lot lost. I wouldn't have settled in as quick anyways

I: Ok

P: But she was always kept me aware and I would get those things done then. She was thinking I wonder did he get those things done

I: What sort of things

P: Just —just getting my address changed. Getting my payments changed. I qualified for a different sort of payment and getting cheques and stuff, letters, getting post. Setting up the electricity, setting up loads of things you know. Getting advice about— like, do you know and she does plans with me as well, like. She just scheduled the—there are three sections, moving in, settling and moving on. That's what she has to do with me the last now

I: And can you remember your first night here then, what did that feel like

P: My first night here was a bit weird because there was no blinds there and I had to stay there [pointing to the sofa I was sitting on] because that is a pull out bed and had no bed in the room and I didn't have a bed in the house at all. So my first night—my first night was—I should have been happy but [pause] I was more, like worried. I couldn't really sleep properly and I just had so much to do. My head just kept—every time I tried to relax I was like 'ah, don't forget you have to do this'. Then I would lie there 'no, come here, you have to do that as well'. I am like, ahh, do I have to do that at the

same time as that? What time will I do it? Will I do that in the evening? That was my constant thought and that fucked up my head, I don't care what anyone says. You are always thinking about, you can't focus then, you know. Even if you managed to get your pizza, you can't—you are there thinking about—its not—it's just the stress. You are thinking *too* much into it. Like I know I have to do it now, do you know what I mean. I just wake up in the morning and do what I have to do. Put it down as a reminder, you know. But back then I didn't have all this experience—I wasn't—I didn't know how to program myself

I: And then you said that you should be happy, what was that

P: I should—I should be happy. Ahh, a new night, staying in a new house, I should have been doing moonwalks up and down but I wasn't, I was just more worried than anything, you know. Will you be able—are you ready for this and all? Then I was worrying about—then I was worrying about my relationship wise as well. Like getting very—then I am like 'man, don't rush yourself, this is all rushing you are doing'. Even this though [pointing to wooden floors] I could have waited. See the edges, they could have been done properly but no, I rushed into it, threw money into it. Anyways a proper carpenter will fix it and I will get them done. I just want to get that room done and finish the edges

I: And how long do you think it took to settle in

P: Well it has took me two months to get this far, like fully two months, a whole two months to get this far.

I: And you are in here two months

P: Yeah and don't forget it just the money. I am only on 100 euro as well, which is very little

I: On how much

P: 100 euros

I: A week

P: Yeah, which is very hard and yeah, so [pause]

I: [pause]

P: But my rent and stuff gets taken away directly. But I get a travel allowance for Neil, twenty quid so that's—they take my rent through that so that's what I sacrifice out of my rent

I: Ok

P: Then I pay my own, like, electricity bill, my own sky bill myself I am down nearly 100 euro a week, you know

I: And how—are you still getting used to that

P: Yeah, I am still getting used to it, it's just—it's just [pause] like the first few months, I had that feeling more so like to be honest I haven't really wasted money on food so like any money I have I was spending on something for the house

I: Ok

P: That's all so that's- but really the place is coming together and we got a sum, as well when I was moving in, just of the washing machine and all that obviously. But this telly I had to get this myself and I had to take a loan as well, like. Well obviously I have all those options as well but then again, all those options you have, you also have to pay the bills. Do you really want to take a loan out and have to be paying for it?

I: And [redacted] had you lived in a private rented place before

P: Yeah, in ___. It would have been like private rented but it was semi-independent so it was private rented for people who really needed it because they have their own rules in the building, do you know what I mean

I: And was money different there

P: Ah yeah I had to pay 50 euros out of 100 euros every week and I was in a room with an en-suite so I had to pay 60 euros. So I was living on 40 euro a week for a year—so I had to like—yeah went I had [redacted] I got a bit more payment, that got me through. I just could manage really, time flew like—time flew in, you could say that

I: Any other photos that we should

Image 10

P: My bathroom, I have never had a bath, put it that way. I never had, like, a bath. Obviously I had a bath in my other house but like, to just have a bath. It's great, really is

I: Because

P: Just because—just because I can—just happiness—it just brings the happiness on your terms, not other peoples terms, you know. It's like being in a prison, you have to ask, that's what I was saying to you, asking people. And prisoners, what asking does to them, makes them angry and frustrated, very frustrated. And to me having to ask people would make me feel 'why don't you have your own, is there something wrong with you?' do you know what I mean? [laughs] And I do think of things like that, like. You look at me and you think he's a big man, he doesn't think like that but yeah, I do, I really do

I: So have we covered them [redacted] all do you think

Image 11

P Ah yeah, that's my sheets at the moment, blinds

I: That's waiting for the blinds

P: Yeah, that's waiting for the blinds. I will have to do something about it

I: Did you get—did you get a moving in allowance

P: Yeah, I got a moving in allowance, yeah but then again, that's only for—you don't get that for telly or anything. You get a—you get a thousand—you get a thousand and you have got to get your washing machine and all that out of it as well so they all take up the thousand. I had to do the floor myself, the blinds myself, the telly myself, chairs myself, both chairs so everything else but see that kitchen there [pointing towards kitchen] they helped me and that was the most important thing for me because that's what I done first

I: The kitchen

P: Yeah

I: Why did you do that first

P: Like that's where I eat and I do my laundry and stuff, the important things—the real things

I: Ok

P: Got a warranty and all on them so it they break I will bring them back, straight back 'here you go' [laughs]

I: Anything [redacted] that you, talking now or during the week, you thought 'I should have taken a photo of that' but you didn't

P: [pause] See not really because I have just been very busy Leonie. I have been very busy. That day—like the other day I just sat here and I was going through that and was trying to get everything sorted and I was just thinking there is not much more to take a picture of, you know. I just don't—like I don't know [pause] like I feel I should probably have took more but

I: No, no there isn't—you don't—there is no number that you have to take. It was just about representing the good bits and the bad bits of your day

P: Yeah, I'm still—they still are not dry really, the walls so I haven't got more pictures on the walls

I: Ok, that's a plan?

P: I will though, I will. I am still taking it easy

I: Does it feel like home

P: It's starting to feel like home, yeah, a lot more like home. I know where everything is now, while I didn't. Even to find my keys I would always go in and out, in and out to find my keys for like a month. I didn't know where everything was meant to be, like, in my own house, can you believe that?

I: So when it's starting to feel like home, what will home feel like do you think

P: Home feels like I can walk into the sitting room now, turn on the telly and lie there, then look at my phone. Like hats—that's—that's the real me like I remember. Things being done on my terms but then the last two years have been a blur. Just having to do a load of things that I didn't even sign up for. Some I did, like having the baby, visiting the hospitals and stuff, obviously I signed up for all of that but I mean, like the real life stuff as well, I didn't sign up for like having to move on to look for places and all, do you know.

I: That was the system within ___

P: No it wasn't just ___, it was just about me in general. I feel like [pause] I feel like trying not to get hit by a car looking the other way and then a big aeroplane just boom. Like troubles just gets dropped your way and I feel the past two years, trouble has just been my way. Now I have just got out of trouble, that's how I feel

I: Yeah

P: I feel like that now, yeah. Just feel a bit happy, freer and happier and I haven't felt like this in two years. I can feel that, like you know what I mean, it's physical to me. Some people are like 'ah I haven't been happy in ages'. Like I think you have, I have seen you laughing your head off the other week, you know one of them, ha, ha, ha

I: Proper laughs

P: Like I didn't have one of them in a long time and I was doing one the other day and I was like 'man, when was the last time you genuinely felt this happy'. Not like having to worry about [pause]—that's happiness, man. People think—people think going places and doing things is happiness. Happiness is in here [banging chest] happiness and once are happy—sometimes I would be doing moonwalks in here and I never used to be happy on my own. I needed the boys to be around, to do stuff, do you know what I mean. But now, just, I enjoy my own company, you know. It's very important

I: I am just checking [looking at questions]. So with the bits, what helping you stay happy here, stay on top of things

P: [pause] I suppose, just literally looking out the window I am always at it, when I wake up and I do look out the window and say do something during the day. Do something good, do something active, you know. I just wake up with a different motive every day I suppose, I am more motivated rather than before

I: And what sort of things do you love to do

P: I love to go around and play football and stuff, being with Neil and his cars, football with the lads. I love football as I said. And drives, go somewhere

I: And would you see the lads everyday

P: We used to see each other every day, it's just we are all realising that there is no point hanging around in estates and all in big groups and gangs, do you know what I mean. A lot of people starting to have kids and stuff, you know, everyone is just finding their feet. Yeah but like there are some still pop up for a drink or two, you know. Things like that, its handier, you know. That's all really

I: And are you involved in any more formal football with a club or anything

P: No but I have been talking to Marianne in the past few weeks about that but I will be soon enough because I have found teams around here but whether how good—I just couldn't even think about football for two years and football was the only thing that made me feel happy but how could I get to training if I didn't have somewhere to live? How could I have a shower? I couldn't. I felt even embarrassed going out like, you know at certain times I should say

I: So now you have a plan

P: Yeah, I know that time is waiting for nobody. I am going to go for it—go for it. Do what I am supposed to do and enjoy life, yeah

I: And you have mentioned education and work as well, Timothy, what's your plans for that

P: I am going to leave education for the next year or two I think because I simply can't focus right now and I don't know, still so many distractions I can't focus, do you know. And I don't feel if I don't focus I can do a year in college, even. And work, yeah, I have my internet now. Just start applying

I: What sort of work would you be looking for

P: Honestly I would take any type of work - retail, phone jobs, any. I would take any.

I: What has your experience been in

P: I have sales experiences and maintenance. A lot of maintenance is cleaning so I would be alright at cleaning and stuff as well. Yeah I have good communication skills I think, I like to think anyway so I would fit into customer service and stuff. I like to help people

I: What's been your longest job

P: My longest job was probably [pause] probably that maintenance one now. I wasn't—I didn't—I didn't really like it because they just rang me when they wanted me. It was really annoying. They would ring me at mad times, you know, when no one wants to work [laughs]. But I had to go in, they knew I was desperate for it

I: Are you a different person when you are working

P: Yeah, I feel like I am a different person. I really more focussed. I am like 'what's your name?' Like I am always real eager to learn and something and I never want them to feel like I am not working so I am always like—whatever I have to do—energy drink to make sure I am alright, you know, I will do it, yeah. That's just what I am like when I am working

I: And I think we sort of alluded to this but six months' time, I guess that brings us to just after Christmas, the new year. What do you hope life to be like then?

P: I hope I will just be able to wake up in the morning and drive down to my work. I will have my licence then, in the next week or two as well. Drive

down to work, come back home, spend some time with my son, my girlfriend. Go out for something to eat, that's—just the easy life. That's all I really ever wanted—like, nothing—nothing too—mainstream you know. Just easy going, have a few digits in my bank account to back it up, you know, and need a holiday, back it up and be able to go, you know

I: And you are applying for a licence

P: Yeah, I am applying for my licence.

I: Ok

P: Doing the theory test

I: Have you driven before

P: Yeah, I have had six cars and I just never had a licence [looks bit ashamed-laughs] I know

I: [laughs]

P: That's what I mean, like growing up you don't think about these things. Now I would be like 'why the hell would you even be on the road without a licence?'

I: Yeah

P: Do you know. Ah yeah, my six—my fifteenth birthday I had a car and my sixteenth, as well and a few weeks after my seventeenth I bought a car and when I moved here actually I bought another car but it hasn't lasted very long. So I am just like, right, do you know what 'don't be real childish about it, I am sick of you buying cars, rallying them and that's it, the car is gone. I ended up selling most of it but no, I just want to feel safe when I am driving now, you know. I haven't drove in like—well, that Micra I had, I had it for two weeks and it was just getting too hot, I had to get rid of it. Like I am so aware now because if you planning on doing this, you can't do jack shit if you are locked up, can you. Or even if I smacked into someone by

accident, I hear—even if I wasn't getting locked up I am actually risking it, you know. There are things—I am more aware like, I am just like, no

I: And in terms of, you have mentioned a couple of things with the law there, have you outstanding warrants or anything affecting your life now

P: When it comes to the law?

I: Yeah

P: No, I have actually—I have never—I have actually never been convicted so that is a very good thing compared to where I am from, like do you know what I mean. But it's funny that—I have been a victim, a witness and just— but as I said to you, fear of God once you have that, you will be alright. I was. Loads of my friends are locked up right now. I know, like, what I say, the top, top in the country, lads who shot people and all and didn't think nothing of it, just a lot of fun and games to us back then. Its fucking serious shit, like, that's a life. But anyway, yeah, a well-known lad that I grew up with like, he doing life now, he killed some traveller, he shot her in the head and he wasn't supposed to. It was just to get her fella because he was a big bully but now he's so sorry, like. He's so—he didn't even want to do it. I'd say he got made to do it but it was that was back then. Now I thank God I am away from all that, do you know, I can be me

I: I guess [redacted], your life could have—have gone two ways

P: It could have gone two ways easily

I: And can you describe or tell me the events that led you down the path you are on now

P: When she told me she was pregnant, first of all I didn't know what way to take that so like that softened me up, like straight away as in like I was more—I became more that I wanted to hear from her more than anyone else coming out or coming drinking or coming out for a few drinks. Like I wanted to be—I was actually caring for other people so sit down and listening and get those changes bit by bit. Then I didn't want to be out all the time, all times, with the lads and doing all them sort of things anymore. I was just getting a bit embarrassed really and look at you, is your son going to grow up. Things like that

I: So that was a key event

P: That was key. I believe that if I didn't have him like, I would have been locked up, dead, I don't know but locked up 100%, you know what I mean. I was a real mad child, very mad. I think—I don't know, I give out different vibes and stuff now and I love it because I—I don't really—I wouldn't pretend to know the whole thing. I was not a nice person but I was just a child though, that's the way I see it. I believe I didn't learn anything then because I didn't know anything. I thought I did but I didn't have a clue [laughs]

I: So what advice would you give to someone in the same position that you were in

P: Keep your head down, you don't have to do what everyone else does, no matter where you are from. Everyone else is doing something what they want to do, let them do it and just know who your mates are as well, in a way. Some people are just there for the good times really and waste of time over the years. Yeah, little things like that and stay out of trouble, it's not worth it

I: It's not worth it

P: No. I mean, like, in a couple of years now I can just, I don't know, get a degree, a fu—even a qualification and get out of here, go to Australia or wherever. A lot of lads can't do that

I: What would you like to do your degree in

P: I would love to have a degree in literally mechanical engineering. That—I always wanted that but like I know now that I probably won't have that until I 26 or 27 but I am willing to go in the next year or two, start, go in as a mature student, get focus. But that's what I mean like. I will have a car by then, I can just go straight to lectures. I don't have the boys hanging around 'are you coming for a smoke?'. Things like that, I can't focus. Like I was—I pointed out all the things why I do bad things and I pointed out why I do good things and that's what getting me through life, yeah, yeah. Really, I swear to God and as I said to you, I have so much time being alone that so no one can judge me so and its working out. I believe when I am alone and doing my own things that why I am getting the best out of me. But when I am with other people I don't get the best out of me, other people get the best out of me

I: And that learning came from

P: That learning came from just being disappointed so many times, being hurt. Like why does he still keep talking to me, like, because you are giving him more than you should, you know. You are giving a lot more than you should but now I have somebody who actually cares about me and looks up to me. I can give all that up and just going for it

I: And you don't get lonely, all the time on your own now

P: Ah, no I don't, I actually don't. I am a very—as I said I am very bubbly and I cherish my lonely time now. I actually do, I cherish my lonely time

I: And is that something that is different

P: That's different. I used to hate being alone. Now I know I can just put my feet up, watch telly for a bit. Because I know—that's gone now, other people's terms. I just happily engage with other people, you know but yeah, I do love my own time. Actually most twenty year olds can't say that—getting boring. It not about being bored, it's just about—I learnt—I know life, do you know what I mean. But then sometimes I try not to be so—so—so like—I try not to be so aware

I: Ok, what do you mean by that

P: As in, that's what I say. Sometimes I just be like 'this is my night out, no need to worry, no need to be an adult'

I: So enjoy stuff as well

P: That's what I am trying to—stabilise my life now. Because if know that if I am all about work, work and doing good things, that makes me unhappy in certain ways because that's not naturally what I grew up doing. I need that fun to feel alive but I know five days a week count but what you do on the weekend is your fault but make those five days a week count.

I: And [redacted], when you think back then, when you were using the homeless services, so when you were using the night to night ones, any advice

you would give to someone to help them move on from them

P: From the night to night one

I: Yeah

P: Honestly, don't make friends in there—don't make friends in there. Different people, different backgrounds. Don't make friends. Like you might go in thinking, ah yeah, they will be your family now. It doesn't work like that. People are twisted in hostels, they are not themselves. Everyone had this thing in town, in the hostels, they are not themselves. They are doing whatever they have to do to get by and if you think they will be a mate, then you will get left behind. Your own mate could rob your runners and stuff. I have seen people getting robbed in there and all like. There would be someone they're best buddy with, smoking a joint and they could then rob them

I: And how do you, not making mates, how do you survive with in that

P: Because I have another side to me as well, a real street side, like. When it comes to all that petty shit on the streets, fighting and I can handle myself very well from a young fella. I bullied all my life so I am 21 now and lived there all my life. My father didn't get a word in, I would have twenty in, do you know what I mean. I just learned—I learned how to deal with this and as I said to you, I am not violent so I will always talk my way out of it, even if someone is starting on me like, I guarantee you—you are starting something you can't finish but you are going to start on me now and we can have a knock and you are not to get anybody involved, just physically me and you. He's then isolated then, 'I don't want to fight you, I was just saying that'. Do you know, things like that? I always put them on the spot, I know what to do with young fellas but that not what that is about. That was about avoiding it in the first place, do you know what I mean. Never getting that far so I never get that far. I have made mates with junkies, they have told me their life stories. I have had 16-17 junkies crying to me and that. I don't know, they all just said to me that I was very nice or something. Do you know, saying how bad their lives were? Like I don't—I never want to look down on them for that. I would sit there and chat with them and sometimes they would say 'do you want a few?' No that's not my scene, man, that's your scene, you do what you do, I do what I do

I: So that advice to someone in a hostel is don't make mates, stay away from friends

P: Be aware, they are not really mates. You can have conversation but doesn't mean you have to be best buddy with them but a lot of young people don't understand that. Once we meet someone we feel like we need to be

I: And then [redacted] when you in ___, what advice would you give to moving there

P: That place either makes you or breaks you. You can have bad days in there, get up the next day, be more get up and deal with it. If you don't you just keep letting that place get you down. There's an easier life in the hostel, there is an escape life

I: In the hostels

P: Yeah, there are a lot of people who take a lot of tablets and then you don't have to nothing, you can just sit there all day.

I: So you could stay in the easier place

P: Ah yeah, I know people that are doing that fifteen years and stuff, do you know what I mean. It's just the more you get, the more the demise, just the choices they make but they haven't really been doing anything but going out and buying zimmos and trying to rob and stuff like that

I: So then ___ is harder

P: Yeah, can get knocked by it do you know what I mean—that's the

I: But on a bad day

P: On a bad day, I knew how to use the town. I knew all the nice parts, all the nice fancy places, if I was to meet up with someone, I'd go 'yeah, grand'. Do my thing, get dressed. I wasn't looking at myself as homeless. I was looking at myself as a young child who has no one to look after him and have to survive. And as I said to you, I was always able to go out nightclubbing and all so I never—well I used to but I got to the stage where I was using different services. I know nice spots to get nice cheap food and all but I—you know, you have to learn different things and I am real—my memory is like—my brain is like a sponge, like a child really at heart. I am still real open to learning, like I love learning new things. Other people

don't like it but if I don't know how to do something, teach me how to do it so yeah

I: And is there anything you would change about____

P: Probably the rent [laughs]I probably would have been a bit better off if the rent wasn't so high. The rent fucked me and then I was on a very old budget. I couldn't buy whatever I wanted—like I literally I would have to be willing to sacrifice to pay my rent. It's funny they just put the 50 quid on top of the arrears you already owe so you have to pay it either way and they didn't let me out until I had paid them

I: Ok, so rent was a hard bit

P: It was the hardest bit because I was living there for a year and a half and I had to pay—I was living on 50 euro a week

I: And that's out of 100 euro, is that job seekers

P: Job seekers yeah so picture that for a year. I wouldn't say a year and a half because I was rent free for a while and I was getting 160, which was—and I was flying on 160 like.

I: What did you miss most, being stuck on money, what were you dying to spend things on

P: Ah, just—just—just little things like x-box and just having money to buy anything that I—my phone, do you know, just to have that luxury, you know. But then I got to the stage where I got an Xbox and all them be around and all. I made a little couch and all so I was making the best out of the situation I was in and time just flew by—make the best out of it

I: I am nearly coming to the end now [redacted], I am interested in the relationship with keyworkers and what makes it work for people, have you any thoughts on that

P: Personally I was in the—where a lot of people thought they knew more than their keyworker and they were always fighting their keyworker, slagging them 'ah, you don't know—you don't know your job and all'. ' Your job is to get me a place and all' but I was far from that. I was always like

the anyone I was always more [pause] like I used—I didn't go in there thinking 'ah yeah, I am entitled to this, that and that'. I went in there humble as pie. I would do anything I can you know, literally I went in there and done everything I was supposed to do, do you know. I played tournaments for the charities, I helped out and all when the lads were getting cheeky with staff. I guarantee you if it was someone else you wouldn't do that. I guarantee if it was boy staff, you wouldn't do that, do you know. I helped the staff—I always stuck up for the staff because I know that feeling, so you know what I mean. I always stuck up for the staff

I: And did you have an experience with a staff member that you didn't work so well with, was there anyone

P: No, they all—they all, what did I say, they were all real interested in what they do. Then we had this tournament and they were like 'oh my fucking God, you're unbelievable at football'. Ah yeah, that was kind of like my kind of thing and they were just having a chat about—about, do you know, about laying off the weed and that's when I getting control of the weed and all like, that's when I joined the gym and all, started getting active and all. Do you know, I started to see there was actually other fun things other than sitting in your room, thinking it's a shit day; this is shit, that is shit, smoking weed

I: So getting the chance to do things

P: Do things—when you do things you are happier, even if it's a small thing

I: And yet though for some people it can be difficult for them to be motivated to do the good things

P: A lot of people just can't think alone. A lot of people need to be told to do something

I: Ok

P: There's—oh yeah—there's leaders and there is people who needs to be told. Like I wouldn't feel comfortable if someone was telling us because I already have all my life planned out in my own head, do you know what I mean. My parents were distractions so they were best off pushing me out on my own because I get on with—I survive on my own. My Ma cleaned my room until 17 years of age. Now when she gets here the whole house is

scrubbed and she goes 'how do you do it?', do you know what I mean. Because [pause] I don't know, there are people that doubt to let you, I am telling you, but you do and that's with boys because we wait—like a lot of boys just think—like a lot of boys—like we just don't it unless we are told 'do them dishes', ahh, we just don't do it unless we are told but girls seem to have that bit more, like self-awareness from an earlier age. I would say that about girls as well like my sisters always had that but I never knew why she was so clever. Because she was a girl she was more and more aware of her self-worth quicker than I was, do you know what I mean so, yeah. That's why she always had money left over and all, while I would spend all my money and be asking for more, do you know [laughs]

I: [redacted]

P: It's funny, it's funny, when I think of it, it's just funny

I: Anything else you want to tell me about the experience or anything I should understand better

P: [pause] No, just it's very hard, you just have to keep [pause] motivated, I suppose. You can't let things get on top of you because even things like cleaning up, it gets very messy and you just have to keep on top of things

I: What helps you keep on top of it

P: Staying in good humour, you can't be unhappy and you can't think too much into everything. You just have to go, get on with things as they come. Deal with them as they come, don't leave it because they just get piled up—deal with things as they come

I: And let me see, anything you want to ask me

P: Not really, not really. I felt like it was just a chilled out interview

I: Well listen thank you so much

Chatted on tape for a while but turned tape on again with permission to capture the following

I: So how then were you using the services for, was that two years

P: I used the services for—it would have been two years and a half. I was using them for a year before getting into P_____, well eight or nine months. When I got into P_____ I was using it for another year and a half so altogether two years and a half

I: And now you are 21

P: Still 20, but I will be 21. I like to feel a lot older, I talk so much older so when I tell people I am only 20, they are like really?

I: Listen thanks a million

After tape off, [redacted] commented 'All these expectations on you to get a job, to you know amaze, I just feel even more shit'

Appendix 27. Reflective journal entry on people not turning up.

February 2nd, 2016
Is not turning up a choice not to participate in the interview or busy lives interrupting? Happy to re-offer another time but I have to think about how often I will do this for? Are people just agreeing because I am there, in front of them, asking or the gatekeeper is asking? Are they really trying to say no by not showing up? Although a bit frustrating for me, I would rather people make the choice to take part of their own accord. Is this similar to agreeing to take part in things organised by services when asked but not showing up when they on? Is it enacting a sense of agency? Staff helpful and suggesting ways to make the meeting happen but I just wasn't comfortable in staying around until dinner time to catch the person when they came for their meal – feels like not respecting their decision. I wonder about scheduling times – do I need to give a longer window of time to meet (although I have been waiting ages and am flexible if people late)? I knew this giving the camera out and need to make a second time would have this practical issue but still, feels like it is worth it. The use of the camera - giving the choice to the participants to take their own images- feels more empowering for those taking part and worth the time for me. I just need to continue to be mindful about the right for people not to take part.

Appendix 28. Pen portraits of participants with experience of homelessness

Rico first used homelessness services at age 18—he had been in foster care from 13 to 18. This was a return visit to the hostel due to the breakdown of a bedsit tenancy. He asked probation to place him somewhere else. His last hostel stay had been two years previously. In the interim he been to prison for burglary. He spoke about the impact of alcohol and drug use, including legal highs, on his life. Rico had no contact with his family at the interview time. He was proud of the numerous certificates he earned for courses.

This was **Amy's** third stay in the hostel in two years. In the interim, she has stayed with her mother and various ex-boyfriends. She left with one boyfriend to go to another city where she increased her drug use and started taking crack cocaine. She had to leave this living situation and returned to city of the interview. She has interim contact with family and enjoys being an aunt to her cousin's son. She was in a relationship with someone she met in the hostel.

At the time of interview, **Sandra** was living in a supported housing project. She had become aware of the study when in the hostel and expressed an interest to take part. She was using homelessness services following an eviction from her flat. This occurred while she was involved in an ongoing court case over custody of her daughter. Sandra had one previous experience of homelessness over ten years ago. She has a work history and describes a strong work ethic.

Roxy initially became homeless on the breakup of his marriage over five years ago. He had stayed in the hostel previously but had moved onto to a private rented flat. He described unsuccessful stays with friends and flats from which he had been evicted or left of his own accord. He had one daughter, with whom he had little contact. He described depression and past alcohol and drug misuse. He had a mild stroke in the past. He loved trash metal.

At the time of interview, **Richard** was moving from the hostel to a shared house. This had been his second stay in the hostel. On the last occasion, eighteen months previous, he moved onto a supported housing project but was evicted from it so returned to using homelessness services. He reported a hatred of being around people who were using drugs. He has no family contact and lives with a chronic heart condition. He had a job in the area of customer services for five years.

Daniel became homeless on this occasion as a result of a relationship breakdown and losing his job. He reported a previous occasion when he had to use homeless services, but got out of it quickly at that time. He worked as a fisherman, both in the UK and overseas. He described depression and increased drinking when sleeping rough and using hostels. He sourced his own deposit for a shared house and was living there at the time of the interview.

At the time of the interview, **Xenophon** was living in a one bedroom flat after spending over four years in a hostel. Before this, he had a flat but had to move out because of antisocial behaviour and he had stopped paying rent. He had used homelessness services before this tenancy also. He described having a flat but lost it due to partying. He had previously worked in the area of security. He lives with depression, arthritis and asthma. He reported he broke ties with his family and enjoys creative writing.

Brian was living in a bedsit in the basement of an old house. He had a fifteen-year history before this of rough sleeping, squatting and using hostels. He explained the loss of previous flats as a result of not paying bills. He described using alcohol and drugs in the past and still enjoyed gambling although was trying to monitor it. He was working as a kitchen porter in a hotel for the past year. In his spare time at home, he loved to watch DVDs.

Garfield was also in a bedsit and had moved here from B&B accommodation. He had complex physical needs at the time of the interview, which restricted his mobility. He became homeless when he was evicted for not paying bedroom tax. He described a long history of alcohol use. Garfield has a son with whom he describes a somewhat complicated relationship. He liked nothing more than a coffee and cigarette.

I met **Harold** for the interview at the food café at which he volunteers on a regular basis and was instrumental in setting up. He described being involved with homelessness services for years, both as a recipient of services and a representative (expenses paid) for people who are homeless travelling around the UK on behalf of an organisation. He reported he felt hypocritical in this position and returned to rough sleeping. At the time of the interview he had his own flat for over 6 years and acknowledged that stopping his alcohol misuse and being open to support was key in this.

Bernice became homeless when she was evicted by her landlady from her rented room, following an operation for a brain clot. She had stayed in the same accommodation for years and described her landlady accusing her of things she had not done. She was originally from Africa and has no family in the country. She moved to a friend's house but this was not feasible in the longer term. She had worked in catering for years but was unable to work because of her illness. Bernice stayed in a B&B for homeless women before moving to her bedsit. She greatly values the voluntary work she has continued throughout these transitions.

Timothy moved with his family from Africa when he was four years old. He described being put out of the family home because of his behaviour and initially stayed with friends but this wasn't a long term option for him. Over 18 months he rough slept, used homeless hostels and transitional accommodation. He described being depressed and smoking a lot of weed. At the time of interview, he had moved into a two bedroom flat. He is the proud Dad of a two year old boy who can now stay with him. He is thinking about returning to education.

Lily had moved to Ireland, from the UK, two years prior to the interview but had been unable to get accommodation. She stayed with a cousin but this became a very difficult relationship and Lily had to access accommodation through the homelessness services. She lives with schizophrenia. She had recently got a dog and is involved in some music classes. Her daughters live in the UK.

At the time of the interview, **David** was in the hostel after an unsuccessful move to step down accommodation. He recalled that he was drinking too much and having parties so had to move back to the hostel. He had his own flat years ago but lost it due to anti-social behaviour. David had stayed with his mother on and off until she died. He has a mental health diagnosis and has been to prison. He has a grandson and enjoys football.

Snoop became homeless on this occasion when he left prison. He had previously lived with a girlfriend but this relationship ended. He described having his own flat previously, which he sublet and it got boarded up. At the time of the interview, Snoop reported he was drug taking on top of his Subutex as well as drinking too much. He was coping by trying to avoid people as he was getting angry with everyone. He was proud that this stay of three months in the hostel is his longest yet. He likes to play pool.

Celeana had been homeless for three years, since she was put out of home by her mother. She had moved to step down accommodation but was moved back by staff following an overdose incident. In the step down accommodation her mother (alcohol dependent) moved in with her for a place of safety for short periods. She lives with borderline personality disorder, depression and anxiety. Celeana has a very supportive grandmother and is an avid reader.

Michael had previously left the hostel to stay (unofficially) with a friend who had disabilities but was evicted for housing benefit fraud. He reported he had left the hostel off drugs but returned to substance misuse when staying with a friend. Previous accommodation had been a supported housing project but he was evicted from this when caught selling drugs. At the time of interview he was on methadone and dabbling a little. He enjoys busking and would love to stay clean to be able to redevelop his uncle relationship with his nieces.

At the time of the interview, **Ivor** was about to lose his private rented flat. He described letting things go—he didn't sort out benefits and felt ashamed to ask. He previously owned a plumbing business but lost it and his house due to financial difficulties. He lived with his mother until she died. He had previously stayed in the hostel and transitioned to step down accommodation before moving into the private rented flat that he was about to lose. During this time, he came back to the hostel to volunteer several days a week. He described alcohol misuse, depression and anxiety. He loved walking about the city, especially near the sea.

Eddie described himself as having been in all the hostels in the city and not being able to live without alcohol. At the time of the interview he was undergoing medical investigations as he had been ill and lost a lot of weight. The last time he left the hostel he went to stay with a friend in an older person's flat. Eddie stayed about 8 months but the drinking got too much and his friend became unwell. When he recalled past flats, he described them as worse than being on the streets in terms of their physical environment. He had worked overseas but overstayed his visa and was deported.

Ozzric is a father of two children and this role is very important to him. When his relationship broke down, he moved in with his mother but he became homeless when this did not work out. He described himself as alcohol dependent and has diabetes. He has slept rough as well as used hostels. Previous flats were unsuccessful because of his alcohol use. He has worked as a gardener and took photographs for the study with his own digital camera.

William described having his own flat for 11 years as well as a job but lost all this as a result of the drug use which dominated the last seven years of his life. He became homeless after leaving prison and in the six months prior to the interview had a back operation for an abscess on his spine, which leaves him with residual pain. Nonetheless, he recently failed the medical for ESA. He was proud to explain he was drug free for the past 2.5 months and that he is back in contact with his mother, who previously he just stopped ringing one day.

This was **Matt's** third stay at the hostel—he had previously stayed there in 2009 and 2012. He described himself as a recovering drug addict and compared the change in his own actions with his previous stays. He was asked to leave the hostel on his last stay and he went to stay in a flat. From there he went to jail. He went to stay with his aunt after prison for 7.5 months but he described things 'kicked off' and he had to leave. He reported he is most relaxed when he is with his mates outside of the hostel environment. He had worked in painting and decorating.

Stan was staying at a drugs recovery house prior to his coming to the hostel. He reported this was not working out as he had become the shopper of legal highs for the house. He described using drugs and illegal highs since age 15. He has spent some time in prison and has had private rented flats with partners. He lives with Post Traumatic Stress Disorder. He is a Dad of three and uses phone and Skype to keep in contact. He enjoyed a job gardening, in the past, and was trying to set up a football team in the hostel.

At the time of the interview, **Edgar** was staying in the hostel for the second time after returning from a housing support service. He has slept rough and used homelessness services in other UK cities. Edgar describes drug misuse and anxiety as a part of his life for many years, since he was kicked out of home because of drug use. He reported it is difficult to see a life without chemicals but hopes he is not broken forever. He tends to avoid the busier rooms in the hostel, e.g. bringing food to his room to eat. Edgar enjoys books and music and described begging as a good opportunity to chat with people.

This was also a return stay in the hostel for **Harry**. His previous visit was several years ago, following a prison sentence. At that time, he left to live with and care for his brother who had physical health needs but this did not work out and Harry left. He has had rough sleeping experience but most recently had been staying with a friend who subsequently asked him to leave. Harry finds it challenging in the hostel as people borrowed money without giving it back. He has recently received help in the hostel to arrange his Disability Living Allowance as it was stopped. Harry was in foster care as a child and had no family contact at the time of the interview. He enjoys walking and cooking.

Islam was staying in the hostel as he had lost his shared flat in a supported housing project. He had been in the hostel previously and had moved through the various stages until his recent eviction. He had been married, had a job and a car, which he reported he lost as a result of drug taking and dealing over two years ago. Islam's main goal at the time of interview was to build bridges with his family who were unaware of his living situation. Islam reported he had mental health difficulties. He loved playing chess.

Tony was living in a one bedroom flat that he had moved to from a hostel connected with the mental health service. He has a long-term mental health diagnosis and spent many years in hospital. He enjoys going to the casino and shopping. Tony spoke about his everyday struggles with money but said he has 'more now that I ever hoped for'.

Sean moved back to Ireland with his partner at the time, after many years working in a variety of jobs in the UK. After a stay at a detox centre for alcohol issues, he became homeless and accessed homelessness services for accommodation. At the time of the interview, Sean was in his own one bedroom flat. He reflected on how he had changed a lot—become calmer. He now uses the credit union to save.

Joe reported how he lost everything—his family and house because of alcohol. After using homelessness services, he was, at the time of interview, in a one bedroom flat. Attending AA meetings is an important part of this life. He described being a biker and came to the interview in his motorbike clothes. Joe commented about his need to get out of the flat so he can enjoy going home.

Appendix 29. Table of QualSyst scores for quantitative studies in systematic review

SCORING KEY: 2= Criteria met
1= Criteria partially met
0 = Criteria not met
na = Not applicable to study

R1: Reviewer 1 **R2**: Reviewer 2

Summary score = total sum (number of 2s and 1s) divided by total possible sum (28 – number of 'na' multiplied by 2)

	CHECKLIST CRITERIA FOR THE QUALITY ASSESSMENT OF <u>QUANTITATIVE</u> STUDIES (Kmet, Lee & Cook, 2004)															
	Question/objective described sufficiently	Study design evident & appropriate	Subject selection or input variables described	Subject characteristics sufficiently described	Interventional & random allocation reported	Interventional & blinding of investigators described	Interventional & blinding of subjects described	Outcome measure well defined & robust	Sample size appropriate	Analytic methods described & appropriate	Some estimate of variance reported	Controlled for confounding	Results reported in sufficient detail	Conclusions supported by results	QualSyst summary score	**Average QualSyst score**
STUDY	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**R1/R2**	
Aubry *et al.* (2016a)	2/2	2/2	2/na	1/1	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/na	2/2	2/2	2/2	0/1	1/2	1/2	0.77/0.89	**0.83**
Aubry *et al.* (2016b)	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/na	na/na	na/na	1/na	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/1	2/2	2/2	0.92/0.94	**0.93**
Bybee, Mowbray and Cohen (1994)	2/2	1/1	1/1	1/1	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/1	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/1	1/2	1/1	0.63/0.68	**0.655**
Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	2/2	2/2	2/na	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/1	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/2	1/2	0.82/0.9	**0.86**
Crane and Warnes (2002)	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	1/2	1/2	0/0	1/1	1/2	2/2	0.73/0.8	**0.765**

	Question/objective described sufficiently	Study design evident & appropriate	Subject selection or input variables described	Subject characteristics sufficiently described	Interventional & random allocation reported	Interventional & blinding of investigators described	Interventional & blinding of subjects described	Outcome measure well defined & robust	Sample size appropriate	Analytic methods described & appropriate	Some estimate of variance reported	Controlled for confounding	Results reported in sufficient detail	Conclusions supported by results	QualSyst summary score	**Average QualSyst score**
STUDY	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**R1/R2**	
Crane and Warnes (2007)	2/2	1/2	1/na	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	1/1	2/2	1/0	1/1	2/2	2/1	0.77/0.75	**0.76**
Crane (2012)	2/2	1/2	1/na	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/1	2/2	1/0	2/2	2/2	1/2	0.77/0.85	**0.81**
Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016)	2/2	1/0	1/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	1/2	1/na	1/0	2/2	2/2	0.73/0.8	**0.765**
Davidson *et al.* (2014)	2/2	1/2	1/1	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/1	2/2	1/2	2/1	0/0	1/2	2/2	0.68/0.77	**0.725**
Gabrielian *et al.* (2015)	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	1/0	2/2	1/2	na/na	1/2	1/2	0.75/0.9	**0.825**
Goering *et al.* (1997)	1/2	2/2	1/na	1/1	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/1	1/1	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/1	2/2	0.68/0.75	**0.715**
Kidd *et al.* (2016)	2/2	2/2	2/na	1/1	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/2	2/2	0.77/0.8	**0.785**
Nelson, Aubry and Lafrance (2007)	2/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	na/na	1/2	1/1	na/na	2/2	2/2	0.78/.94	**0.86**
O'Connell, Kasprow and Rosenheck (2008)	2/2	1/2	2/1	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/0	2/2	1/2	0.81/0.86	**0.835**

Appendix 29. Table of QualSyst scores for each quantitative study included in systematic review (continued)

	Question/objective described sufficiently	Study design evident & appropriate	Subject selection or input variables described	Subject characteristics sufficiently described	Interventional & random allocation reported	Interventional & blinding of investigators described	Interventional & blinding of subjects described	Outcome measure well defined & robust	Sample size appropriate	Analytic methods described & appropriate	Some estimate of variance reported	Controlled for confounding	Results reported in sufficient detail	Conclusions supported by results	QualSyst summary score	**Average QualSyst score**
STUDY	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**R1/R2**	
Patterson and Tweed (2009)	2/2	1/2	1/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	1/1	2/2	0/0	2/2	1/0	0.68/0.77	**0.725**
Pickett-Schenk *et al.* (2007)	1/2	1/1	2/2	2/2	na/na	na/1	na/na	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/1	2/2	1/2	1/2	0.73/0.83	**0.78**
Rog *et al.* (2014)	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	na/na	1/1	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	0.81/0.93	**0.87**
Roy *et al.* (2016)	2/2	2/2	2/na	1/1	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/1	2/2	0.86/0.94	**0.9**
Siegel *et al.* (2006)	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	1/2	0.86/1	**0.93**
Spicer *et al.* (2015)	2/2	2/1	1/1	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	2/1	1/1	1/2	2/2	1/2	0.77/0.89	**0.83**
Stergiopoulos *et al.* (2015)	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	na/0	na/na	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	0.91/0.92	**0.915**
Tsai and Rosenheck (2012)	1/2	2/2	1/2	0/0	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/1	1/2	1/2	0.68/0.86	**0.77**
Tsemberis and Eisenberg (2000)	2/2	1/1	1/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	2/2	1/0	2/2	1/2	1/2	0.73/0.86	**0.795**
Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae (2004)	2/2	2/2	1/2	1/1	1/1	2/2	na/na	1/2	2/2	2/2	1/0	1/0	1/2	1/2	0.69/0.76	**0.725**
Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013)	2/2	2/2	1/2	1/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/2	1/0	2/2	0/0	2/2	2/2	0.73/0.81	**0.77**
Wong *et al.* (2006)	½	2/2	2/2	1/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	2/2	0.9/1	**0.95**

Appendix 29. Table of QualSyst scores for each quantitative study included in systematic review (continued)

	Question/objective described sufficiently	Study design evident & appropriate	Subject selection or input variables described	Subject characteristics sufficiently described	Interventional & random allocation reported	Interventional & blinding of investigators described	Interventional & blinding of subjects described	Outcome measure well defined & robust	Sample size appropriate	Analytic methods described & appropriate	Some estimate of variance reported	Controlled for confounding	Results reported in sufficient detail	Conclusions supported by results	QualSyst summary score	**Average QualSyst score**
STUDY	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**11**	**12**	**13**	**14**	**R1/R2**	
Wong *et al.* (2008)	2/2	2/1	1/na	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/2	2/1	2/2	1/0	1/2	1/1	1/2	0.73/0.75	**0.74**
Wood *et al.* (1998)	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/1	na/2	na/0	na/na	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/0	2/2	2/2	1/2	0.86/0.8	**0.83**
Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	1/2	1/1	2/2	2/2	na/na	na/na	na/na	1/1	2/2	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/2	0.64/0.72	**0.68**

Appendix 29. Table of QualSyst scores for each quantitative study included in systematic review (continued)

Appendix 30. Table of QualSyst scores for qualitative studies in systematic review

SCORING KEY: 2= Criteria met
1= Criteria partially met
0 = Criteria not met
na = Not applicable to study

R1: Reviewer 1 **R2**: Reviewer 2

Summary score = total sum (number of 2s and 1s) divided by total possible sum (28 – number of 'na' multiplied by 2)

	CHECKLIST CRITERIA FOR THE QUALITY ASSESSMENT OF QUALITATIVE STUDIES (Kmet, Lee & Cook, 2004)											
	Question/objective described sufficiently	Study design evident & appropriate	Context for the study clear	Connection to a wider body of knowledge	Sampling strategy described, relevant & justified	Data collections methods clearly described & systematic	Data analysis clearly described & systematic	Use of verification procedure to establish credibility	Conclusions supported by results	Reflexivity of the account	QualSyst summary score	**Average QualSyst score**
STUDY	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**	**R1/R2**	
Chen and Ogden (2012)	2/2	2/2	1/2	1/1	1/2	1/2	1/1	2/2	1/2	1/1	0.65/0.85	**0.75**
Chen (2014)	1/2	2/2	1/2	1/1	2/2	2/2	1/1	2/0	1/2	1/1	0.7/0.75	**0.725**
Fotheringham, Walsh and Burrowes (2014)	2/2	2/2	2/2	1/1	1/1	1/1	1/1	2/2	1/1	0/0	0.65/0.65	**0.65**
Gabrielian *et al.* (2016)	2/2	1/1	1/2	1/1	2/2	1/1	1/1	2/2	2/2	0/0	0.65/0.7	**0.675**
Henwood *et al.* (2013)	2/1	1/1	2/2	1/1	2/2	1/2	2/1	2/2	1/1	1/1	0.75/0.7	**0.725**

	CHECKLIST CRITERIA FOR THE QUALITY ASSESSMENT OF QUALITATIVE STUDIES (Kmet, Lee & Cook, 2004)											
	Question/objective described sufficiently	Study design evident & appropriate	Context for the study clear	Connection to a wider body of knowledge	Sampling strategy described, relevant & justified	Data collections methods clearly described & systematic	Data analysis clearly described & systematic	Use of verification procedure to establish credibility	Conclusions supported by results	Reflexivity of the account	QualSyst summary score	**Average QualSyst score**
Jost, Levitt and Porcu (2011)	2/2	1/1	2/2	1/1	2/1	1/1	1/1	2/2	2/1	1/1	0.75/0.65	**0.7**
Kirkpatrick and Byrne (2009)	2/2	2/2	1/2	1/1	1/1	2/2	1/1	2/0	1/1	1/1	0.70/0.65	**0.675**
McNaughton (2007)	1/1	1/1	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	1/1	2/2	2/2	1/1	0.75/0.8	**0.775**
Padgett (2007)	2/2	1/2	1/2	2/1	1/1	1/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	1/1	0.7/0.85	**0.775**
Patterson *et al.* (2013)	2/2	1/2	2/2	1/0	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	0/0	0.7/0.8	**0.75**
Peterson, Antony and Thomas (2012)	2/2	1/2	1/2	1/1	1/2	1/2	1/1	2/2	2/2	1/1	0.65/0.85	**0.75**
Raphael-Greenfield and Gutman (2015)	2/2	2/2	1/2	1/2	1/1	1/1	2/2	2/0	1/1	1/0	0.7/0.65	**0.675**
Stahl *et al.* (2016)	2/2	1/1	2/2	1/1	2/1	1/1	1/1	2/2	2/2	0/0	0.7/0.65	**0.675**
Stewart (2013)	2/2	1/2	2/2	2/2	1/2	2/2	1/2	0/0	1/2	1/0	0.65/0.8	**0.725**

Appendix 30. Table of QualSyst scores for each qualitative study included in systematic review (continued)

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1

Level 1: Determinants at an individual level

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Age	Mixed methods Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013) [+]	Greater age associated with remaining in original tenancy - 69% aged 17-24 were still in resettlement accommodation at 15/18 months compared to 87% aged 45+ years (χ^2 =11.0, df 3, p<0.05)	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Bybee, Mowbray and Cohen (1994)	Age a significant predictors of being in permanent setting (compared to temporary) at 12 months for independent alone setting (χ^2 = 2.921, p<0.01) and for supervised dependent setting (χ^2 = 2.514, p<0.05). Each increase in age from young (30 and under), to middle (31 to 40), to older (over 40) nearly tripled the odds of being in an independent alone setting and multiplied by 2.5 the odds of being in supervised dependent setting	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Tsemberis and Eisenberg (2000)	Being older (RR=0.958, p<0.001) increased tenure in housing	Positive
	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	For each 1-year increase in age, participants had 4% lower hazard of leaving the Housing First project (h[t]=0.96; SE=0.02; P=0.03).	Positive
	Cohort Wong *et al.* (2008)	Age (conditional HR=0.975, p<0.001) associated with lower hazard of leaving SIL	Positive
	Cohort Spicer *et al.* (2015)	No significant difference between housed (n=48) & non-housed (n=59) in regard to demographics	No

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Previous use of hostel accommodation	Qualitative Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016)	Strong association between time spent in hostels or temporary supported accommodation immediately before being resettled and subsequent homelessness. Those who had been so housed for more than 12 months before being resettled were less likely to have become homeless during the 5 years (χ^2 = 21.3, df 1, p=0.000)	Positive
	Mixed methods Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013)[+]	Strong (p<0.001) positive association with remaining in resettlement tenancy at 15/18 months with staying in hostel longer than 6 months	Positive
	Mixed methods Crane (2012)[+]	Participants who had been continuously in temporary accommodation for more than 12 months prior to resettlement, and those in semi-independent projects for more than six months immediately before resettlement, were much more likely to still to be in a tenancy after 15/18 months	Positive
	Cohort Wong *et al.* (2006)	Stayers (43.9%) were significantly less likely than leavers (positive leavers 52.1%; non positive leavers 54.3%) to have a shelter stay in both public and mental health shelters before entering permanent housing (p<0.05)	Negative
Shorter homeless history	2nd anal cohort Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	Stable housing associated with shorter history of homelessness (OR=0.10, (0.04-0.23), p<0.001)	Positive
	Qualitative Crane and Warnes (2007)[*]	Previous stable accommodation histories, that is, held tenancy for at least 15 years before becoming homeless (χ^2= 4.77, p<0.05)	Positive

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1 (continued)

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Shorter homeless history	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	History of homelessness was not significant predictor (P>0.07)	Negative
Mental health	Qualitative Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016)	No difference in housing outcomes according to mental health	No
	Cohort Spicer *et al.* (2015)	No significant difference between housed (n=48) & non-housed (n=59) in regard mental illness	No
	Cohort Wong *et al.* (2008)	Schizophrenia (conditional HR= 0.679, p<0.05) associated with lower hazard of leaving SIL.	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Tsemberis and Eisenberg (2000)	Having a mood disorder (RR=0.820, p< =0.038) increased tenure in housing	Positive
	Cohort Gabrielian *et al.* (2015)	Among persons with processing speeds SDMT scores above 32.5 cut off, persons predicted to achieve stable housing had fewer symptoms influencing interpersonal difficulties (BASIS-relationships <0.81)	No
	2nd anal cohort Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	Homeless adults with mental disorders were no less likely than other homeless adults to report stable housing.	No

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1 (continued)

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Mental health	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	Psychiatric symptoms were not significant predictors (P>0.07) of retention in project	No
	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	Experience of psychotic symptoms inversely predicted housing status averaged over a two year period (OR= 0.70 (95% CI 0.53-0.93), SE=0.10, z= -2.47, p=0.01)	No
Involvement with CMH service	Quasi-experimental Bybee, Mowbray and Cohen (1994)	Duration of involvement with mainstream CMH services was significant predictor of being in permanent setting (compared to temporary) at 12 months (χ^2=1.226, p<0.05) for independent with others setting; (χ^2 = 1.312, p<0.01) for supervised dependent setting	Positive
Personal/ psychological	Survey Patterson and Tweed (2009)	Perceived events facilitating escape from homelessness included realizing self worth (M=1.16, SD=0.54) and realising the negatives of the street(M=0.95, SD=0.67), dealing with past and present issues and responsibilities(M=0.87, SD=0.50), spiritual awakening(M=0.74, SD=0.88)	Positive
	Qualitative Peterson, Antony and Thomas (2012)	Wanting change, making a plan and 'following through' - a journey towards home stability	Positive
	Qualitative Raphael-Greenfield and Gutman (2015)	The desire for home maintenance and budgeting occupations. Altruism through occupation	Positive

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1 (continued)

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Personal/ psychological	Qualitative Jost, Levitt and Porcu (2011)	Readiness to leave the street - reached a point in their lives where they were ready to make a change	Positive
	Qualitative Patterson *et al.* (2013)	Key themes contributing to positive trajectories - housing as a secure and stable foundation for change across a variety of domains	Positive
	Qualitative Padgett (2007)	Identity construction (and repair) - repairing identities damaged along the way. The 'what's next' of having a home - emerge from survival mode to having 'luxury' to contemplate a future	Positive
	Mixed methods Kidd *et al.* (2016)	Three major stages in the process of exiting homelessness. These included a period of substantial fluctuation and instability, a period of gaining a basic level of stability but being demoralised due to difficulties making progress with life goals and a period of making some gains with life goals, which cultivated a sense of hope	Positive
	Cohort Roy *et al.* (2016)	Those who had sought psychological help (AHR 1.359 (1.069-1.727)) were more likely to reach residential stability	Positive
Substance abuse	Qualitative Crane, Joly and Manthorpe (2016)	No difference in housing outcomes according to alcohol or drug problems	No
	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	Alcohol use predicted retention. Participants who used alcohol in the past month had a 74% lower hazard of leaving the project (h[t]=0.26; SE=0.13; P=0.01). Alcohol use positively predicted housing status - Alcohol use in past 30 days OR= 2.29 (95% CI 1.04-5.08), SE=0.93, z=2.05, p=0.04	Positive (alcohol)

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1 (continued)

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Substance abuse	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	Drug use was not significant predictors (P>0.07) of retention. Drug use inversely predicted housing status averaged over the two-year period (OR= 0.55 (95% CI 0.36-0.83), SE=0.12, z= -2.85, p=0.004). Only 23% (26 of 111) of participants returned to homelessness during the 2 year period	Negative
	Cohort Spicer *et al.* (2015)	Drug dependent participants were significantly less likely to be housed (p=0.033)	Negative
	2nd anal cohort Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	A certain type of impaired function (i.e. current substance misuse disorder) OR=2.12 (1.08-4.16) p<0.05, predicted unstable housing	Negative
	2nd anal quasi O'Connell, Kasprow and Rosenheck (2008)	Greatest risk factor for discontinuous housing was scores at the time on the drug index subscale of the ASI	Negative
	Cohort Aubry *et al.* (2016a)	The presence of substance use problems was associated with housing instability (β= -.15, 95% CI= -.26; -0.03)	Negative
	Cohort Roy *et al.* (2016)	Injecting substances (AHR 0.692 (0.507-0.944)) was associated with a decreased probability to reach residential stability	Negative
Education	Cohort Roy *et al.* (2016)	Those with a high school degree (AHR 1.470 (1.122-1.926)) were more likely to reach residential stability.	Positive
Employment	Qualitative Crane and Warnes (2002)*	Employed 20+ years (χ^2= 7.69, p=0.006) was a positive associations with remaining resettled after 24 months	Positive
	Cohort Roy *et al.* (2016)	Those with formal sector activity (AHR 1.507 (1.181-1.924)) (one source of income including job) were more likely to reach residential stability.	Positive

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1 (continued)

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Day time occupation	Qualitative Crane and Warnes (2007)*	Engagement in activities (χ^2= 9.59, p<0.01) significantly associated with whether or not respondent was still housed at 24 months	Positive
	Qualitative Padgett (2007)	Routines of daily life 'the simple things' seemingly minor but surprisingly gratifying aspects of having a home	Positive
	Qualitative Crane and Warnes (2002) *	Unoccupied during the day (χ^2 = 9.89, p=0.002) -strongest negative associations with remaining resettled after 24 months	Positive
	2nd anal cohort Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	Disaffiliation (i.e. engaging in informal sector activities e.g. selling cans) OR=0.35 (0.14-0.87) p<0.05 predicted unstable housing	Negative
	Cohort Roy *et al.* (2016)	Having an informal sector activity (incl prostitution, sale of drugs, artistic performances on street, begging, theft) (AHR 0.674 (0.507-0.944)) was associated with a decreased probability to reach residential stability	Negative
Gender	Mixed methods Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013)+	Little difference in gender in tenancy sustainment	No
	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	Gender was not significant predictor (P>0.07)	No
	2nd anal cohort Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	Female gender OR=2.73 (1.17-6.35) p<0.05 predicted unstable housing.	Negative
	Cohort Roy *et al.* (2016)	Being a man (AHR 0.726 (0.545-0.969)) was associated with a decreased probability to reach residential stability	Negative
	Qualitative[64] Fotheringham, Walsh and Burrowes (2014)	Gender specific experiences of homelessness - trauma, stereotypes of homeless women, women's hidden homelessness	

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1 (continued)

Consumer choice	2nd anal cohort Tsai and Rosenheck (2012)	No significant association between choice factor scores and housing outcomes at 6 or 12 months	No
	Qualitative Henwood *et al.* (2013)	Theme 'nowhere to go but up' emerged from data	
Control	Qualitative Kirkpatrick and Byrne (2009)	'Moving on' - from difficult times; to own place gave a sense of control and provided opportunities for reconnecting. 'The door' - control and divider between world outside & world inside	Positive
	Qualitative Padgett (2007)	Control and self-determination - 'freedom from' and 'freedom to' opportunities	Positive

Appendix 31. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 1 (continued)

* + = same study

2nd anal quasi = secondary analysis of quasi-experimental data; 2nd anal cohort – secondary analysis of cohort data; SIL – Supported independent housing; CMH = community mental health, CTI = critical time intervention; ICM = intensive case management

Appendix 32. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 2

Level 2: Determinants at an interpersonal level

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Social support **Family and housed friends**	Mixed methods Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013)[+]	Regular contact with relatives or housed friends after being rehoused (χ^2= 12.45, p<0.001) was significantly associated with whether or not respondent was still housed at 24 months	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Wood *et al.* (1998)	Clients in stable independent housing and stable community housing increased interaction with families - entry of housing status resulted in a 5% increase in R2. Most change took place during the first year, with smaller improvements thereafter. Contact per se was not always generating a subjective feeling of support.	Positive
	2nd anal cohort Pickett-Schenk *et al.* (2007)	Greater increase in satisfaction with family contact over time for the stably housed group compared to those in unstable housing (F=26.58, df= 1,4609, p<0.001) Telephone contact increased for the stably housed group compared to those in unstable housing (F=33.11, df=1,4609, p<0.001). A trend (p=0.51) in which those who saw close family weekly were more likely to have successful housing outcomes than those who saw their close relatives monthly or less often	Positive
	Cohort Aubry *et al.* (2016a)	Having a larger social support network (β=.15, 95% CI=.03; 0.26) was related to housing stability at follow up	Positive
	Qualitative Gabrielian *et al.* (2016)	All participants described social support as important for finding and maintaining housing. Participants in stable housing relied on formal and informal supports to obtain/ maintain housing. Participants in sheltered housing primarily used formal supports, for example, case management staff	Positive

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Social support **Family and housed friends**	Survey Patterson and Tweed (2009)	Social support was a perceived event facilitating escape from homelessness (M=0.88, SD=0.54)	Positive
	Qualitative Peterson, Antony and Thomas (2012)	Getting there: Personal support systems (family and friends)	Positive
	Qualitative McNaughton (2007)	Social networks and relationships were a key factor influencing transitions into and through homelessness	Positive
	Qualitative Crane and Warnes (2002) *	Socialised with homeless people ($\chi^2 = 7.61$, p=0.006) - strongest negative associations with remaining resettled after 24 months	Negative
	Qualitative Gabrielian *et al.* (2016)	Unstably housed participants used formal and informal supports, but some of these relationships were superficial or of negative valence. Interpersonal problems were prevalent across longitudinal housing status categories	Negative
Isolation	Qualitative Crane and Warnes (2002) *	Isolated from relatives and friends ($\chi^2 = 12.45$, p=0.000) - strongest negative associations with remaining resettled after 24 months	Negative
	Quasi-experimental Siegel *et al.* (2006)	Stayers in supported housing reported significantly greater feelings of isolation than those in community residences at 18 months ($p<0.05$). At 12 months they also reported greater feelings of isolation but the difference was not significant ($p<0.06$). Independent of housing type symptoms of depression and anxiety at housing entry increased feelings of isolation	Negative
	Qualitative Fotheringham, Walsh and Burrowes (2014)	Permanent housing negative aspects -loss of connection; isolation; safety concerns	Negative

Appendix 32. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 2 (continued)

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Isolation	Qualitative Patterson *et al.* (2013)	Key themes contributing to negative, neutral and mixed trajectories - loss of one's health and loved ones and socially Isolated and disconnected from the community	Negative
Support worker	Qualitative (Crane & Warnes, 2002); Crane and Warnes (2007) *	Contact at least 2-weekly from housing support workers in first 3 months (χ^2 = 8.98, p=0.003) = Strongest positive associations with remaining resettled after 24 months	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Goering *et al.* (1997)	Repeated ANCOVA models tested the effects of working alliance between case manager and client on social functioning and significant interaction effects were found. Both groups showed improvements but faster rate of improvement for group with stronger alliances between case manager & client	Positive
	Qualitative Peterson, Antony and Thomas (2012)	The next step: Organised assistance	Positive
	Qualitative Jost, Levitt and Porcu (2011)	Rapport and trust with staff important. Importance of knowing supports are in place - being able to count on ongoing support of staff	Positive
	Qualitative Chen (2014) #	CTI workers identifying & developing community supports. Utilising a transient triangular relationship to develop community support	Positive
	Qualitative Chen and Ogden (2012) #	Conceptualising CTI goals, client motivation, and the working relationship; Developing the working relationship; Influence of working relationship on client motivation for housing	Positive
Interpersonal sensitivity	2nd anal quasi-experimental RCT Collins, Malone and Clifasefi (2013)	Interpersonal sensitivity predicted retention. For each 1-point increase on the interpersonal sensitivity scale, participants had a 54% lower hazard of leaving the project (h[t]=0.46; SE=0.14; P=0.01).	Positive

Appendix 32. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 2 (continued)

* + = same study

Appendix 33. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 3

Level 3: Determinants at a community level

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Integrating/ reengagement	Qualitative Peterson, Antony and Thomas (2012)	Integrating into 'normal' (housed) society	Positive
	Qualitative Raphael-Greenfield and Gutman (2015)	Transformation of occupational roles through housing. Reengagement with society through occupations	Positive
	Qualitative Stewart (2013)	Making a home/Entering a tenancy/Furnishing a tenancy/Practical mastery (Gaining independence and control/ The diversity of techniques'/ Techniques with others). Realising Independence - Discourses of Maturity (Levels of Experience/ More Pressures, More Independence/ Maturity as an Extensive Sensitivity) Social Suffering (Education and Employment/ Marginality Folded Within the Tenancy)	Positive
	Qualitative Patterson *et al.* (2013)	Key theme contributing to positive trajectories - the expression of positive identity, independent of homelessness	Positive
Neighbourhood attributes	Mixed methods Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013)[+]	Neighbourhood attributes strong influence on outcomes, in particular good transport links and being near shops	Positive
	Qualitative Henwood *et al.* (2013)	Theme from the data 'neighbourhood matters'. The role of neighbourhood highlights a tension in the pursuit of recovery from homeless between removing people from their neighbourhoods versus keeping them close to their previous and familiar environments	No

	Qualitative Jost, Levitt and Porcu (2011)	Adapting to new surroundings and discovering benefits - mixed feelings being off the street & adapting to new and unfamiliar neighbourhoods	Mixed
Helpful landlord	Mixed methods Warnes, Crane and Coward (2013)[+]	Helpful landlord strong influence on outcomes	Positive
Consumer participation	Cohort Davidson *et al.* (2014)	Clients in programs with higher fidelity to consumer participation were less likely to be discharged (hazard ratio HR=0.35, 95% CI =0.14-0.87, p=0.02) compared with clients in programs that were rated consumer participation inconsistent	Positive

Appendix 33. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 3 (continued)

[# * +] = same study

2nd anal quasi = secondary analysis of quasi-experimental data; 2nd anal cohort – secondary analysis of cohort data; SIL – Supported independent housing; CMH = community mental health, CTI = critical time intervention; ICM = intensive case management

Appendix 34. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 4

Level 4: Determinants at a structural level

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
State support	Quasi-experimental Wood *et al.* (1998)	Those with access to Section 8 certs were more likely to have stable housing (67.3%) at 2 years than those without access to section 8 certificates (53.7%) and those with no access to section 8 certs were more likely to be variably housed with family housing assistance than were clients with access to Section 8 certs (19.7% v 10.7%) , χ^2=7.14, df= 2, p<0.05	Positive
	2nd anal cohort Zlotnick, Robertson and Lahiff (1999)	Stable housing associated with consistent entitlement-benefit income (OR=3.89 (1.35-11.20) p<0.05)	Positive
	Cohort Roy *et al.* (2016)	Those with formal sector activity (AHR 1.507 (1.181-1.924)) (one source of income including welfare) were more likely to reach residential stability	Positive
	Qualitative McNaughton (2007)	Access to different forms of capital (resources) were a key factor influencing transitions into and through homelessness	Positive
Specific model/ program	RCT Aubry *et al.* (2016b)	Housing First participants spent more time in stable housing than participants in treatment as usual (71% versus 29%), adjusted absolute difference (AAD) = 42%, 95% confidence interval [CI]-38%-45%, p<0.01). Compared to treatment-as-usual participants, Housing First participants had longer housing tenure at the end of the study endpoint (280.7 versus 115.3 days, AAD =161.8, CI=82.5-241.1, p<0.01)	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Tsemberis, Gulcur and Nakae (2004)	Participants in Housing First had significantly faster decreases in homeless status and increases in stably housed status relative to those in control group (F4.137= 10.1, p<0.001; F4.137=27.7, p<0.001). Subsequent univariate analyses showed significant differences at 6, 18 and 24 months	Positive

Determinant	Design Study	Results	Direction of association
Specific model/ program	Cohort Davidson *et al.* (2014)	75% (269) of individuals with histories of chronic homelessness and problematic substance misuse were still housed in Housing First programs. Average length of stay 613 +/- 193 days	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Tsemberis and Eisenberg (2000)	88% of Pathways programs tenants remained housed (Housing First approach), whereas only 47% in city's other housing projects. Specifically, the risk of discontinuous housing was approximately four times greater for a person in the linear residential treatment sample than for a person in the Pathways program. Type of program was the second most important predictor of housing tenure (RR=0.235, p<0.001)	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Stergiopoulos *et al.* (2015)	24 months after randomization, adjusted percentage (days stably housed / number of days with housing data) was higher among the intervention group (Housing First scattered-site supported housing with mobile off site ICM services) than the usual care. Mean Difference % (95% CI) City A 33.0 (26.2-39.8); City B 49.5 (41.1-58.0); City C 35.6 (39.4-41.8); City D 45.3 (38.2-52.5)	Positive
	Quasi-experimental Siegel *et al.* (2006)	Tenure did not differ by housing type statistically (log rank test p=0.28, p=0.59, p=0.65) (two types of supported housing and community residences operated by agencies with intensive support services). Substantial proportions of tenants in both models remained housed during the follow up period	No
	Quasi-experimental Bybee, Mowbray and Cohen (1994)	Duration of involvement with Outreach Intervention Project services was significant predictors of being in permanent setting (compared to temporary) at 12 months (χ^2=1.224, p<0.05) for independent alone setting	Positive

Appendix 34. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 4 (continued)

	Literature review Rog *et al.* (2014)	The best outcomes for housing stability were found for programs that combined housing and support (effect size=0.67), followed by ACT alone (effect size=0.47), while the weakest outcomes were found for ICM programs alone (effect size=0.28).	
	Literature review Nelson, Aubry and Lafrance (2007)	Level of evidence for permanent supportive housing was graded as moderate. Substantial literature, including 7 RCTs, demonstrated that components of the model reduced homelessness and increased housing tenure. Results were stronger for studies that compared permanent supportive housing with treatment as usual or no housing rather than other models. Methodological flaws limited the ability to draw firm conclusions	

Appendix 34. Table of detailed results for all studies included at level 4 (continued)

* + = same study

2nd anal quasi = secondary analysis of quasi-experimental data; 2nd anal cohort – secondary analysis of cohort data; SIL – Supported independent housing; CMH = community mental health, CTI = critical time intervention; ICM = intensive case management

Appendix 35. Quotations from the grounded theory study mapped to the positive determinants from the systematic review

Determinant	Source	Examples
Personal readiness	SR	'I've been homeless twice… And the second time, I actually…this time I actually applied the things that I learned to what I was going through instead of just kind of muddling through it, you know. Cause it's a lot of hard work'. (Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012, p.255).
	SR	'It (apartment) simply allowed me to um, re-evaluate things, you know, and just get my life together from there... Direction, just where was I heading… what was my purpose, you know… I've always been a musician, an artist of some sort'. (Padgett, 2007, p.1932).
Seeing a new self	GT	'It took a while. It was slowly changing when I was working with Joe [support worker]…I was petrified when I moved into my flat for the first time…I felt I had to start putting things in place to get—get over that, with the things I do'. (Harold, 1090-1092, 1097).
	GT	'It's about building people up to try and get them out of that negative state of mind, 'it will never happen to me, I can never do that''. (Rita, 408-409).
Sense of control	SR	'And now I'm here I got my space. I got the balls to be like, yo I am not taking that shit no more'. (Padgett, 2007, p.1931).
	SR	'Anybody wants to come in through that door, it's up to me to decide whether they get in or don't get in'. (Kirkpatrick & Byrne, 2009, p.73).

SR = finding from systematic review; GT = finding from grounded theory study

Determinant	Source	Examples
Taking control over activities	GT	'When I wake up and I do look out the window and say do something during the day. So something good, do something active, you know'. (Timothy, 621-622). 'Yeah, yeah so I am alot more responsible now, you know…It's the experience of not having anything at all like, you know so'. (Brian, 825-827).
Day time activities Living the life	SR GT	Engagement in activities after being resettled (χ^2= 9.59, p<0.01)(Crane & Warnes, 2007, p.904). 'If you are engaged in some sort of activity that means you need to be there and all those sort of things, so you have got some sort of network and but also just a positive lifestyle—things to do on a regular basis, then that seems to be the thing'. (Aidan, 54-57). 'For me, I like to have a bit of routine because it keeps me—it keeps me straight'. (William 581-582).
Social support from family and housed friends	SR	'It's the kids and the pets, the living bodies, be they human or feline. That's the stuff that matters… the things that can't be replaced'. (Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012, p.259-260). 'My friend downstairs…he has a vehicle. So, whenever I needed to go to the laundromat, go grocery shopping, or if I need to find someplace that I wasn't familiar with…he's always help me out. He was great'. (Gabrielian *et al.*, 2016, p.4).

SR = finding from systematic review; GT = finding from grounded theory study

Appendix 35. Quotations from the grounded theory study mapped to the positive determinants from the systematic review (continued)

Determinant	Source	Examples
Having connections	GT	'Yeah, they treat me like real different, just like an adult like. Even my Mam asks *me* to do her favours and stuff now, do you know what I mean. She would never ask me to do her favours. She would never ask me for anything. All she ever asked me is like 'did you get in trouble?' (Timothy, 346-348). When you are homeless, you don't make friends, you make acquaintances. Well, you never know whether acquaintances are going to be there the next day… But now with friends, I know I am going to see my friends tomorrow. (Harold, 401-404).
Integrating into community	SR	'There were so many people around me that supported me; I didn't know where these people came from, but they reached out and that's what made me feel special'. (Raphael-Greenfield & Gutman, 2015, p.43). 'And now we are allowed to... be human, be a part of society, figure out who we are and what's going on, you know, so that we can stay stable'. (Peterson, Antony & Thomas, 2012, p.263).
Belonging	GT	It's a view—it's my view and that's what it means to me. It's—it's—it's my, kind of my neighbourhood'. (Xenophon, 616-617). 'First time [college] it was not easy. Three weeks were not easy but then after that I started to enjoy it like…when I went to the class everybody was just easy people to communicate with so I start to make friends like and we are friends even now'. (Bernice, 294-295).

SR = finding from systematic review; GT = finding from grounded theory study

Appendix 35. Quotations from the grounded theory study mapped to the positive determinants from the systematic review (continued)