Managing a Tenancy:

Young people's pathways into and sustaining independent tenancies from homelessness

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Declaration

I declare that none of the work contained within this thesis has been submitted for any other degree at any other university. The contents found within this thesis have been composed by the candidate Alasdair B R Stewart.

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Abstract

Due to their disproportionate risk of tenancy non-sustainment there have been concerns raised for young people making a pathway out of homelessness into independent living. Despite these concerns, there has been limited research looking at how young people experience tenancy sustainment or where they move onto after terminating a tenancy. This thesis, drawing on Bourdieu's (1990a) theory of practice, presents a reconceptualisation of tenancy sustainment as a practice of *sustaining* a tenancy. The theoretical-empirical analysis is based on data collected through longitudinal research involving two waves of semi-structured interviews with 25 young people, aged 16-25, who had recently made a pathway out of homelessness into their own independent tenancies. The interdependency between a tenant and their tenancy presented young people with pressures which they developed techniques of independent living in response to in order to sustain their tenancy and make it a home. Young people not only had a particular housing position of being a tenant, they held family and education-employment positions which took part in the formation and shaping of the pressures they experienced living independently. Tenancies were not seen as an end in themselves by young people who desired, through the experience of sustaining a tenancy, increasingly independent positions within their other social positions as well. An uneven process of actually existing neoliberalism across policy areas through its influence on young people's constellation of interdependent relations also created a dissonance within the positions held by young people fostering social suffering. Young people ending a tenancy viewed this as a 'step backwards' when it meant decreasing independence such as a return to supported accommodation; ambivalence where it arose from the end of a relationship; and as a move forwards, or 'getting on with life', when making a youth transition and housing pathway towards establishing their own family household.

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Chapter One: Introduction

> *"The fundamental scientific act is the construction of the object."* (Bourdieu *et al.* 1991: 248)

Within Scotland there have been significant developments relating to homelessness. Policy and practice, as well as academic study have progressed in the understanding of the causes of homelessness (Scottish Executive 2000; 2002a; Kennedy *et al.* 2001; Rosengard *et al.* 2000). Through this combination of development in policy, practice, and research, attention has been given to supporting those experiencing homelessness out of it and to findings ways to prevent further periods of homelessness (Pawson *et al.* 2007; Scottish Executive 2004). These two concerns meet in seeking to ensure the resettlement of people who have previously experienced homelessness into independent tenancies and research on this has used the notion of 'tenancy sustainment' for examining this (Third *et al.* 2001; Harding 2004; Pawson & Munro 2007; Pawson *et al.* 2006). The literature about tenancy sustainment has shown that young people (aged 16-25) are more likely to not sustain their tenancy compared to other age groups (Harding 2004; Pawson *et al.* 2006).

However, this literature has been informed by an "abstracted empiricism and policy-determined research" that has left it relatively "under-conceptualised" (Kemeny 1992: xvi). This thesis, drawing on Bourdieu's (1990a) theory of practice, presents a reconceptualisation of tenancy sustainment as a practice of *sustaining* a tenancy. The theoretical-empirical analysis is based on data collected through longitudinal research involving two waves of semi-structured interviews with 25 young people, aged 16-25, who had recently made a pathway out of homelessness into their own independent tenancies.

Crucially, tenancy sustainment, in the way it has been operationalized, has been principally concerned with whether a person has left their tenancy within 6 -18 months of entering it (Third *et al.* 2001; Crane *et al.* 2011). Despite the literature on housing pathways (Clapham 2005; Anderson & Tulloch 2000; Mayock *et al.* 2008) exploring the diversity of pathways in, through, and out of different housing positions this operationalization of tenancy sustainment tends only to differentiate between sustained and non-sustained tenancies (Shelter 2009). This imposes upon the conceptualisation what Elias (1978) calls process-reduction, whereby instead of understanding tenancy sustainment as a process, it has been understood as either of these two states. Where different reasons for leaving a tenancy have been examined in depth it has tended to focus only on negative reasons (Pawson *et al.* 2006) with potential positive reasons for leaving, such as to take up employment in another city, remaining relatively unexplored (Pawson & Munro 2010). Therefore, despite much progress being made in uncovering the various factors which are important for tenancy sustainment (Harding 2004; Crane *et al.* 2001) and broadening beyond sustained and non-sustained tenancies into the diversity of pathways for leaving independent tenancies (Pawson *et al.* 2006) a coherent conceptualisation has been lacking.

Kemeny (1992), writing on the epistemological foundations of housing studies, suggests a lack of a clear notion about what makes housing distinct from other disciplines and the influence of funding sources has caused the questions and concepts used for research to be constructed by policy concerns rather than being research-led. Therefore, there is a "strong tendency for housing researchers to bury themselves in their own empirical and policy issues with almost complete disinterest in such [supposedly] 'abstract' questions" (Kemeny 1992: 12) of state power and social change. In order to reconceptualise tenancy sustainment, this thesis follows the modus operandi of Bourdieu that "[t]he fundamental scientific act is the construction of the object" (Bourdieu *et al.* 1991: 248) for researching the practice of sustaining a tenancy by young people who have previously experienced homelessness. Through this the thesis aims

not to undermine previous work but to develop tenancy sustainment into a coherent conceptualisation that places it alongside "the larger debates within sociology" (Kemeny 1992: 13).

The reason for the process-reduction in the tenancy sustainment literature has been making the question of whether tenancies are sustained the primary research question. In constructing a conceptualisation of tenancy sustainment as a practice first, consideration can then return to the events which disrupt or prevent this practice which leads to the ending of a tenancy. Importantly, in dealing with this conceptualisation first, examining the ending of a tenancy can be understood through young people's practice and what influences it.

Researching young people's practice of sustaining a tenancy in particular provides a site where conceptualisation can be developed. Work on youth transitions has emphasised the importance not only of the housing move but also the changing family relations and moves from education to employment (Coles 2000). Relations with family and education, employment and training have been identified as important for tenancy sustainment (Crane *et al.* 2011). However, the inter-weaving of these, and young people's changing interdependencies in moving to independent living (Holdsworth & Morgan 2005), has not been explored as fully; especially in understanding these in relation to social changes which have led to prolonged youth transitions which make finding employment, for example, more difficult for young people (Barry 2001). Additionally, it has not explored as fully how the role of actually existing neoliberalism (Wacquant 2012) in increasing precariousness and punitive forms of welfare offers a means of understanding the way pressures young people face in sustaining independent tenancies have been produced.

There has also been concern expressed by support workers and within the literature on tenancy sustainment, about whether young people are ready to have an independent tenancy and possess the relevant 'independent living skills' (Third *et al.* 2001). While there is evidence

to suggest that staircase models of support might increase tenancy sustainment rates (Harding 2004; Crane *et al.* 2012), through the concern about whether it increases sustainment rates, how this impacts people's pathway through and out of homelessness has remained relatively unexplored (Hennesy & Grant 2004). There is additionally a question of whether support organisations are engaging in a civilizing offensive (Powell & Flint 2009) by managing young people's housing pathways to instil them with certain forms of behaviour.

Harding (2004) and Pawson and Munro (2008) have stated that the way tenancy sustainment in their research was defined reflected the perspective of the landlord and management respectively. This sees tenancy sustainment as a concern about the resulting financial costs of high rates of non-sustainment (Pawson & Munro 2008). Further eroded, therefore, within the conceptualisation of tenancy sustainment is not only the practice of sustaining a tenancy but young people's own view of their tenancy. To provide tenants' perspectives Crane *et al.* (2011) included settledness and housing satisfaction alongside sustainment rates as measurements of resettlement outcomes. This move towards including tenants' perspectives of their tenancy can be further developed through the literature on home (Saunders & Williams 1988; Parsell 2012).

However, sociological research should not limit its concern only to the meaning of home and needs to recognise the relations between people and objects (Latour 1996). This is particularly important to avoid neglecting the practical relation between young people and their tenancies (Clapham 2011; Coolen 2006). There is a question, therefore, of what young people's relation to an independent tenancy is, the pressures they experience trying to sustain it, and how a sense of home is realised. Studying the changing interdependencies in the progression of housing pathways and youth transitions towards more independent positions can help account for the orientations of young people, how these develop when in an independent tenancy, and how this impacts the view they have of their tenancies.

Research Questions

This thesis investigates the principle question of:

- How do young people who have previously experienced homelessness develop a practice of sustaining a tenancy?

Furthermore, this question requires also giving consideration to:

- How do young people's housing pathways and youth transitions interweave to inform their practice of sustaining a tenancy?

- How do interdependencies take part in forming young people's orientations and what influence do they have on the view they take of their tenancies?

- How are young people's tenancies managed directly by support organisations and indirectly through state power?

- What are the events that disrupt or prevent a practice of sustaining a tenancy that lead to the ending of a tenancy and where do young people move to following the ending of a tenancy?

Outline of Chapters

Chapter Two provides an exploration of the literature which has informed the focus on these questions. Firstly, the chapter covers the literature on tenancy sustainment. Through a critical engagement with this literature it shows the lack of conceptualisation. The chapter therefore also includes exploration of housing pathways, youth transitions and actually existing

neoliberalism to begin placing tenancy sustainment within "the larger debates within sociology" (Kemeny 1992: 13).

Chapter Three outlines the main concepts which were developed through theoretical-empirical research. This explains in further detail the importance that the construction of the object (Bourdieu *et al.* 1991: 248) has for research. While some concepts forming the theoretical-frame outlined were a product of the analysis of the interviews with participants, it is presented here in order to sensitise the reader to the concepts developed. Additionally, explanation is given about how the conceptualisation manages to create a perspective of the research which can integrate the concerns discussed in the previous chapter.

The act of research is described in Chapter Four. This explains the abductive approach for the construction of the object, where "theoretical reflections and concept formation are developed continually in relation to empirical materials" (Kilminster 2007: 76). Description is provided for the longitudinal qualitative research design used to produce empirical materials for answering the research questions. This included two waves of semi-structured interviews with young people (aged 16-25) who had previously experienced homelessness and were now in their own tenancy. The first wave consisted of twenty-five interviews and the second wave a further eighteen with participants who were successfully tracked during the research period. Finally, it details the continuous critical reflexivity throughout where the relation of the researcher to the research was controlled.

Chapters Five through to Nine present the theoretical-empirical findings. Chapter Five considers the pathway into independent living of the participants alongside the changes in their youth transitions which accompanied their pathways into, through, and out of homelessness. Chapter Six then focuses on the ways participants made their tenancy a home. This is understood through the techniques of independent living used to meet pressures of the tenancy and the dual processes of participants adapting to the tenancy and adapting it to

reflect their sensitivity. Chapter Seven continues with the techniques of independent living, focusing on the interrelationship between securing and maintaining an income and the way the income is budgeted. Within Chapter Eight, participants' other social positions which influenced their practice are considered. This was highlighted in the positive way participants spoke about becoming more mature and an increased orientation to securing independent housing, employment-education, and family positions. The converse negative of this was the social suffering experienced by participants through a dissonance between the unequal progression of their housing pathway and youth transitions.   Having developed the conceptualisation of the practice of sustaining a tenancy, Chapter Nine uses this to focus upon the events leading to the ending of a tenancy. These events are understood through how they disrupted or prevented the ability to make a tenancy a home.

Finally, Chapter Ten, the conclusion highlights the original contribution of the thesis and draws out the implications. This is achieved around a three-fold metaphor of 'managing a tenancy'. This brings together the significance of how young people manage their tenancies, the management of tenancies by others, and the 'just managing' of social suffering. Furthermore, the findings are brought to bear upon current policy and practice as well as policy developments currently underway. Methods to further conceptualise tenancy sustainment are identified by paying attention to the socio-historical limits of the research. Ultimately, this includes consideration of the continuing importance for research which combines theoretical ambition with empirical modesty. In particular, it considers the vital role of constructing the object of research through giving attention to what is regarded socially as mundane in comparison to that deemed worthy of research by social policy agendas.

This thesis makes two key contributions to original knowledge of tenancy sustainment. Firstly, by recognising the importance of the construction of the object it puts tenancy sustainment back in motion by understanding the practice of sustaining a tenancy by young people who have previously experienced homelessness.   Secondly, through developing this

conceptualisation via theoretical-empirical research it furthers the findings of previous research. This is achieved via the relational approach which enabled an integrative analysis of the techniques of independent living with housing pathways, youth transitions, and actually existing neoliberalism. Understanding the process of sustaining a tenancy, as "[integrated] into the wider social processes of which it is part" (Kemeny 1992: 13).

Chapter Two: Young People and Independent Living

Introduction

This purpose of this chapter is to locate the research questions of this study within the literature on young people and independent living. Firstly, there is an engagement with the tenancy sustainment literature to assess the relative strengths and weakness of previous research. Crucially, research on tenancy sustainment, whilst having detailed factors that contribute to tenancy non-sustainment, has remained within a form of "abstracted empiricism" (Kemeny 1992: xvi). A focus on policy-makers' and landlord organisations' perspectives has dominated analysis. The concern over whether tenancies are sustained or not has also resulted in a process-reduction that has tended to underplay young people's perspectives and their practice of sustaining a tenancy. Furthermore, a questioning of *if* certain behaviour, types of support, and policy affect tenancy sustainment has resulted in a lack of integration of *how* these make different forms of practice possible.

There was a need therefore to open up an understanding of tenancy sustainment to include considerations of the wider sociological literature. This comes from the work on youth transitions that has explored the way young people achieve independence and adult status across different social positions alongside the changing economic and policy context in which this takes place. Finally, Wacquant's (2012) work on actually existing neoliberalism is drawn upon to strengthen the understanding of recent economic and policy development including the divergence between housing and other social policy areas arising from Scottish devolution. This is further developed in the next chapter where Bourdieu's (1990a) theory of practice is outlined alongside the developments on it within this thesis.

Tenancy Sustainment

With the growing body of work exploring routes into, through and out of homelessness, (Fitzpatrick 2000; Anderson & Tulloch 2000; Rosengard *et al.* 2002; Mallett *e. al.* 2010; McNaughton 2008) it becomes imperative to research how this move out of homelessness into permanent accommodation is secured to ensure homeless is "tackled effectively" (Scottish Executive 2002: 1) and prevent any subsequent returns to homelessness. In particular, in relation to young people previous research has shown that they are at a disproportionately higher risk of experiencing homelessness in comparison to older age groups (Anderson *et al.*; 1993). Additionally, there is evidence that young people are also at a disproportionate risk of leaving a tenancy 'early' compared to other tenants (SCSH 2007).

The two main, and overlapping, bodies of literature which have examined the effectiveness of moves out of homelessness into 'independent living'[1] have been research on the resettlement of people experiencing homelessness (Seale 2005; Crane *et al.* 2011; 2012; Hennesy & Grant 2004; Hennessy *et al.* 2005; Harding & Willett 2008; Centre Point 2011) and tenancy sustainment (Third *et al.* 2001; Harding 2004; Harding & Keenan 1998; Pawson & Munro 2007; 2010; Pawson *et al.* 2006) .   Tenancy sustainment rates, the percentage of tenants who remain in their tenancy over a set time-period, have been used as a primary measure of tenancy sustainment. However, while the most common time-period used by local authorities and registered social landlords is 12 months (Shelter 2009: 2) within the research literature time-periods measured have ranged from 6 months (Third *et al.* 2001) to 15/18 months (Crane *et al.* 2011).

Despite this range in measurements, across the literature, the disproportionate risk of tenancy non-sustainment for young people has been highlighted. However, the percentage of young

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[1] While independent living and independent accommodation is not explicitly defined in the literature it is used to denote situations where a person is living in their own tenancy where support is not provided on-site.

people who do not sustain a tenancy has varied across the research, proably due to differences in the time period over which tenancy sustainment has been measured and geographic location. Harding's (2004: 33) study in Newcastle of 16-17 year olds reported that 61.4% had left their tenancy after 12 months. Recent research covering London, Nottingham and Yorkshire found overall tenants "aged 17-29 years were the least likely to have remained in the original accommodation" (Crane *et al.* 2011: 47) after 15-18 months. Within this, 30% of those aged 17-19 and 29% of those aged 20-24 had left their tenancy 15-18 months after allocation. Furthermore, while 36% of all tenants taking part in the research had been threatened with eviction this rose to 53% for 17-24 year-olds (Crane *et al.* 2011: 45).

Within Scotland, Pawson *et al.* (2006: 43) found that for tenancies let by Glasgow Housing Association in 2003, 31% of 16-17 year olds, 30% of 18-20 year olds, and 31% of 21-25 year olds ended a tenancy within 12 months. In comparison, this was a higher percentage than for any other age category with the percentage of tenancies ended within 12 months for the general population of tenants being 20%. Additionally, Homeless Action Scotland[2] (SCSH 2007) received figures for 2005-06 from City of Edinburgh Council showing 37% of 16-17 year olds compared to 19% of the general population ended a tenancy within twelve months. Third *et al.* (2001: 47) reported that "'tenancy failure' among young single people is clearly well above average". Compared to Pawson *et al.* (2006) there was additionally a clearer higher incidence of tenancies being ended before six months by young people aged 16-19 than those aged 20-25. For Inverclyde this was 42% and 21% respectively, and for Renfrewshire 19% and 13% respectively. However, the figures for young single parents aged 16-25 were closer to the average non-sustainment rate for all households (Third *et al.* 2001: 40).

Shelter (2009) notes the need to identify other measures apart from time in tenancy for recording tenancy failure; measures "such as relationship breakdown or loss of employment".

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[2] Formerly the Scottish Council for Single Homeless

Harding (2004) grouped factors by failings of individual, structural and informal support. In terms of individual failings he found young people who had truanted from school and / or been involved in crime, lack of 'independent living skills', and overconfidence in their ability to maintain a tenancy were factors contributing to non-sustainment. In terms of structural failings Harding (2004) found that lone parents entering unfurnished tenancies and young people being allocated tenancies in undesirable neighbourhoods led to higher non-sustainment. However, he found that the financial hardship experienced by young people, while contributing to an increased chance of debt occurring, was not associated with the early ending of a tenancy. With informal support, relationship with friends turned out to be of more importance than with family.

Pawson & Munro (2010) found that 30% of formerly homeless households abandoned their tenancy without notice. Pawson *et al.* (2006) in interviews with ex-tenants found anti-social behaviour in particular to be the reason they left their tenancy. McNaughton (2005) & Crane *et al.* (2011) also found a barrier to resettlement was the feelings of loneliness and isolation felt from a lack of social networks. Additionally Crane *et al.* (2011), who included private lets in their study, found tenants in the private sector had the lowest level of settledness and housing satisfaction. The highest reason however for non-sustainment was rent arrears, with difficulties paying other bills also a predominant reason, and anti-social behaviour by the tenant themselves second.

Shelter (2009: 12) has also noted the "need to distinguish between tenancies that end for positive or natural reasons […] and those which are actual failed tenancies" in order to be able to develop support services for tenants. To achieve this there "needs to be further analysis of why tenancies end" (Shelter 2009: 12). More information is also needed on where tenants move to after ending a tenancy. However, this is an area that has been under researched in the literature. A main reason for this has been the policy-dominated research that has seen

tenancy sustainment defined through the perspective of the landlord (Harding 2004) and management (Pawson and Munro 2008).

Financially, tenancy sustainment is a concern for social landlords in order to "reduce void levels and avoid the associated housing management costs" (Shelter 2009: 4). Homeless Action Scotland calculated the direct costs associated with tenancy failure which were incurred by local authorities. These costs include lost rent / arrears, admin fees, temporary accommodation, support, etc, with the total amount ranging from £15,490.66 to £24,796.08 (SCSH 2011). A similar costing exercise by Kenway and Palmer (2003) also included indirect costs associated with tenancy failure such as health services and police with the total ranging from £15,000 to £83,000 depending on the complexity of the scenario. The landlord's perspective is not necessarily opposed to the tenant's with social landlords seeing high tenancy turnover through the social cost they incur in deteriorating community cohesion and from the cost borne by "individuals and house-holds directly experiencing early tenancy breakdown, particularly to the extent that it is symptomatic of a broader failure to establish a stable, sustainable or secure lifestyle" (Pawson & Munro 2010: 146). For these reasons high tenancy non-sustainment rates are perceived as "excessive" (Pawson & Munro 2010: 145).

There are two related issues though arising from the incorporation of the 'landlord's perspective' as a means for conceptualising tenancy sustainment. The first is what Elias (1978: 112) called "process-reduction" where, instead of a focus on processes, attention is given to "static conditions". While tenancy sustainment being measured over time might initially appear to avoid this the issue comes from tenancy sustainment rates measuring if tenancies are sustained or non-sustained (Harding 2004; Shelter 2009). The process of actively sustaining a tenancy, the pathway through independent living, therefore, is underemphasised within analysis in favour of determining what factors contribute to the potential ending of a tenancy. Secondly, failing to adequately account for reasons to end a tenancy that are positive

for the tenants risks imposing the valuation that all non-sustained tenancies are 'failed' tenancies. In contrast to starting with valuations of what is positive and negative Elias (1956) instead recommends that research takes a "detour via detachment" whereby it is only after adequately researching an issue that value judgements should be made.

Attempts have been made to overcome this in the literature, with mixed success. Third *et al.* (2001: 87) mention that non-sustainment of tenancies by young people might not always be for negative reasons and that it may be "part of the natural process of moving towards full independence". Potential positive reasons for ending a tenancy given included "forming new relationships and moving in with a partner" (Third *et al.* 2001: 87), moving to a new area to be closer to friends or family, or to take up employment / education opportunities. However, these moves were not documented within the research itself nor expanded upon.

For Crane *et al.* (2011: 47) it was found that when considering where tenants moved onto 17-19 year olds and 40+ year olds were the most likely to return to homelessness after their tenancies ended. On ending their tenancy, young people aged 17-19 and 20-24 years, 10% and 17% respectively, were the most likely to have moved to a new tenancy or a partner's tenancy (Crane *et al.* 2011: 47). Reasons for leaving a tenancy given in-depth consideration, however, (Crane *et al.* 2011: 49) only included negative reasons. Although potential positives given by participants of a new tenancy being better value are mentioned, there are no statistics provided to quantify these (Crane *et al.* 2011: 48).

In his statistical analysis Harding (2004: 33) only provides negative reasons for ending a tenancy. However, he provides an overview of the housing situation for nine of the participants who left after the first six months of their tenancy. Three of the participants had moved to another tenancy and six had returned to the family home. Two of those in a new tenancy and four who returned to the family home reported being happier with their new housing situation suggesting potential positive moves (Harding 2004: 33). As Harding (2004:

33) admits these positive views from tenants who had ended their tenancy "illustrate that the definition of success and failure used in the research was based on the perspective of the landlord rather than that of the tenant".

There has been apprehension by many organisations of not "setting [young people] up to fail" (Third *et al.* 2001: 64). Hutson (1999: 216) has previously proposed that homeless 16 and 17 year olds are perceived by services as requiring support due solely to their age. In addition to this, how quickly a young person could be allocated a tenancy *"was part of the problem"* in cases where they were unprepared to live independently (Third *et al.* 2001: 69). Due to the "inexperience or immaturity" (Harding 2004: 108) perceived of young people entering homelessness it has been suggested they require "intensive support to teach them basic living skills such as cooking and cleaning which older groups may have already developed" (Centrepoint 2010: 27-28). The aspects of cooking and cleaning have in previous research been detailed as a list of skills, either as 'life skills' or 'independent living-skills', associated with maintaining a tenancy.

Young people who sought support principally wanted help with budgeting and sorting out benefit claims (Hutson & Jones 1997 as cited in Hutson 1999: 217). Conversely, only 8% desired support for shopping and cooking. Research has also found that the concern over independent living skills has not been shared equally by young people and professionals. Focus groups with young people again found budgeting to be a high priority for them whereas focus groups with professionals highlighted not only budgeting but a "lack of independent living skills" (Third *et al.* 2001: 61) in general.

However, the way 'independent living skills' are carried out has been ambiguously explained. With budgeting skills there has also been debate over whether the level of income received by young people from employment and social security benefits (Campbell 1984) is more important than whether they possess a budgeting skill (Harding 2004). Harding (2004)

approached the question based on the same distinction between individual (spending) and structural explanations (income) of homelessness (Fitzpatrick, Kemp & Klinker 2000: 19). This division has been criticised as simplistic (Neale 1997) particularly whether such clear distinctions can be made between the two. That this reference to budgeting has been trapped in the debate about the need for budgeting skills or larger incomes and whether this can be ascribed as individual or structural has missed an important dimension of study if turning to how people budget. As Franklin (1999: 199) points out some people may require to know, for example, "how a bill is drawn up, how to check readings with the meter, when and where to pay the bill, and which 'bills' are only statements". Lave (1988), in examining Cognition in Practice, found that money management and calculation of costs when shoppers were in a supermarket did not operate according to a rational mathematical process. Rather relations with family members, the situation, and levels of income and its categorisation that created "special purpose monies" (1988: 132) were important. Given the variability of these, references to standardised and universalised money management practices are flawed (Lave 1998: 131).

The provision of furnishing has repeatedly arisen in the literature (Harding & Keenan 1998). Pawson *et al.* (2006: 46) found 15% of tenants entering furnished accommodation ended their tenancy within 12 months compared to 25% for those entering unfurnished accommodation. Harding (2004: 77) found only those receiving fully furnished tenancies felt their tenancy was adequately furnished. In comparison there was little difference for those in part-furnished and unfurnished tenancies with half of tenants in each type of tenancy reporting their tenancy lacked essential items. Despite these benefits from providing furnished tenancies and "[w]hile some authorities and housing associations have second-hand furniture stores, many do not, and new tenants have to rely on charities, community care grants or inadequate social fund loans"(Franklin 1999: 197).

Third *et al.* (2001) recommended the timing of when support should be provided, with some tenants requiring support early on in the tenancy and others on a more long-term basis. This was from their findings showing two different spikes in the timing of tenancy non-sustainment. One spike was at the start of the tenancy and the second was six months into the tenancy. In contrast, to this Pawson *et al.* (2006: 39) found the highest period for tenancies to be ended was "in the fifth month of the letting". However, within this study there may have been more support provided early on. That Pawson *et al.* (2006: 55) also found early tenancy support met with "some positive experiences" might partially explain this difference.

There have, finally, been growing debates within housing over the relative merits of providing support through housing first or staircase models, also known as housing ready (Tsai et al., 2010; Pleace, 2011). The 'Housing First' model "gives homeless people 'housing first' before it does anything else" (Pleace 2013: 3). The provision of secure permanent housing is carried out with no requirement to accept support or abstain from drugs and alcohol. First developed within New York, it has since become popular across America (Pearson et al., 2007; Kertesz et al., 2009).

In contrast, housing ready models require tenants in supported accommodation to prove that they are capable before being allocated an independent tenancy (Teixeria & Johnsen 2010). This has been the dominant model within the UK where homeless people have to move through a series of stages towards independence as they successfully display their competence, thus resembling a staircase (Shelter 2008).

The current Scottish Government (2005a: 60) Code of Guidance on Homelessness states that the ultimate aim for homeless people in temporary accommodation should be to move into permanent accommodation "as quickly as possible". While this appears to outline a housing first approach it is followed by a clarification of a need to ensure "that this is only done at a time when the household is able to sustain permanent accommodation" (Scottish

Government 2005a: 60) which enables a discretion where stair-case models can still comply with the guidance.

Harding (2004: 72) notes that the role of support services in Newcastle had "primarily been advocacy and support based on the needs of the tenant". Due to concerns of young people "who had significant behavioural problems" a new service In Line was set up that "combined support with management, intended to meet the needs of both tenant and landlord" (Harding 2004: 72). In his research it was found that young men who took up this more intense support had higher rates of tenancy sustainment. Crane *et al.* (2012) found that tenants who had been staying in supported accommodation for at least 12 months at the point of being resettled had a higher rate of tenancy sustainment than those who had stayed for shorter periods of time. However, they also found higher housing satisfaction and settledness with open-ended tenancies over fixed-term or probationary tenancies.

For both Harding (2004) and Crane *et al.* (2012) the main consideration given to different forms of support has been if they are effective in increasing tenancy sustainment rates. What has been left unexplored through this is how the combination of support with management, due to concerns with young tenant's behaviour, changes the role of support. As Flint and Powell (2009: 172) note "the introduction of probationary and demoted tenancies in the UK also represents a formalized regulation of conduct whereby tenancy status becomes increasingly dependent upon meeting the required standards of behaviour". Flint and Powell (2009) connect this to Elias' (2000) work on civilizing processes, particularly van Krieken's (1999) notion of civilizing offensives whereby certain groups impose their standards of behaviour upon others.

 Hennessy and Grant's (2004: 8) study of a hostel utilizing a housing ready model provides some information on this. They found for support workers "an important aspect of their role was to keep a young person's motivation to move out of the hostel at an optimum" (Hennessy and Grant 2004: 8). This included ensuring that social activities with other tenants in

supported accommodation were not prioritised over moving into independent accommodation. This "planned process of resettlement" (Hennessy & Grant 2004: 9) created a situation where those who showed evidence of maintaining motivation were then rewarded with "being able to access a property, with relative ease, in an area in which they wanted to live" (Hennessy & Grant 2004: 8). While this seemed beneficial in keeping young people motivated towards independence they also questioned whether tenants "thought to be more risky [would become] liable to wait longer" (Hennessy and Grant 2004: 7) to be allocated a tenancy.

Youth transitions

The term 'youth' has arisen in sociology to describe the prolonged moves from childhood towards establishing an adult identity (Cote & Bynner 2008). The associated literature on youth transitions in exploring these moves offers a means to better understand 'independence' and 'independent living' that have lacked definition in the tenancy sustainment literature. Additionally, in explaining the changes in these transitions in "socio-historical terms" (Bynner 2001: 19) it provides information on the difficulties and challenges young people face when homeless and in establishing independent living. Indeed, young people are not only at a disproportionate risk of not sustaining a tenancy but are additionally disproportionately at risk of experiencing homelessness in the first place (Anderson *et. al,*: 1993; Quilgars *et al.* 2008). The collapse of a distinct youth labour market; changes to social security; and young people's lack of access to housing were seen in varying degrees as being responsible for this (Pleace & Quilgars 1999: 94). These same factors have been explored for explaining changes in youth transitions (cf. Jones, 1995; Furlong & Cartmel 1997).

Coles (1995) summaries three main inter-related transitions from the literature. These are the education-employment transition, the family transition, and the housing transition which cover the move from full-time education to full-time employment, the move from family of origin to family of destination, and the move from the parental home to establishing a home of their own, respectively which young people are culturally expected to make. It is the progression towards the latter social positions that are then seen as establishing independence and forming an adult identity (Henderson *et al.* 2007; Holdsworth & Morgan 2005). An independent tenancy alone is thus not enough to achieve 'independence'. The 'maturity' and 'responsibility' also associated with adulthood also make it a moral identity (Holdsworth & Morgan: 3) conferring social status. Additionally, a sense of being an adult is associated with "competence" (Hendeson *et al.* 2006: 29) and its recognition by others.

Within this thesis the housing transition will be referred to throughout as the housing pathway to keep a conceptual clarity given the similarity of the concepts. However, the main difference introduced in the focus on transitions is the timing and direction towards particular social positions which are culturally expected of young people. Indeed, metaphors given their vernacular meanings are "not necessarily neutral ways of examining" (Fopp 2009: 289) the experience of those leaving homelessness. Talk of housing 'pathways' risks romanticising "options and opportunities" (Fopp 2009: 289) which those undertaking them might not share.

Similarly, transition requires clarification given the impression of its vernacular understanding as being a phasing from one state to another. James and Prout (1997) argue that for young people in contemporary times there is not a one-off transition to adulthood but a series of transitional processes towards greater independence. Additionally, given that achieving independence 'depends' upon employment, social security, and finding independent accommodation it is better to conceptualise transitions as a change "between

interdependencies[3] than a movement from dependency to independence" (Holdsworth & Moran 2005: 152). Therefore, within this thesis dependent and independent are used not to denote states but the cultural status given to certain social positions and relations with 'independence' always being one of degree.

Elias (2000) has argued that the sensitivity of people within a society over time towards increased self-restraint is a result of increasing interdependencies amongst its members. These standards of behaviour and "socially instilled displeasures" towards certain activities then become the "distance in […] behaviour […] between children and adults" (Elias 2000: xi). What is then understood as being "more childlike" or "more grown-up" is "nothing other than the individual civilizing process" that every member goes through, to certain degrees (Elias 2000: xi). This helps explain why young people's perceived lack of the necessary independent living skills to sustain a tenancy has been attributed to their immaturity by support services (Harding 2004). Furthermore, this is a discourse that young people apply to themselves. Ainsely (1991) found that, in adapting to the responsibilities of independent living, young people also felt more mature.

Changes in the youth labour market, education and the provision of social security have contributed to an increased number of young people who are unable to earn an income to be able to live independently. Due to this there is an increasing distance between children and adult where many young people do not make their transitions "in the time scale or order suggested by most models of youth transition" (Barry, 2005: 97). It has become increasingly common for young people to stay in further education and delay entering employment with an increasing number financially dependent on their families for longer than was the case previously (Jones, 1995: 81). Similarly young people's transition from the family home to independent living has become increasingly polarised "between the managed 'extended

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[3] Interdependent relations are explained in more detail in the following chapter.

dependency' of those from well-resourced families and the more difficult transitions of those from families lacking economic and / or social capital" (Elsley *et al.* 2007: 1). These social and policy changes have also been blamed for the increased number of young people who became homeless in the large urban cities during the 1980s (Fitzpatrick, 2004: 184; (Pleace & Quilgars 1999).

Actually Existing Neoliberalism

Actually existing neoliberalism in its focus on the "specific market-enforcing changes in economic and social policy that have unleashed class inequality [and] deepened urban marginality" (Wacquant 2012: 75) adds to this understanding of changing youth transitions. This has built on Bourdieu's (1996; 1998; 2005; Bourdieu & Wacquant 1994; 1999; Wacquant 1993) writings on the state and Wacquant's (2004; 2008a; 2009) own research on advanced marginality. This starts from the premise that the state has developed through the "culmination of a process of concentration of different species of capital" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1994: 4). Capital is the assets, characteristics, or properties of social agents that depending on their relative weight endows them with a social power (Bourdieu 1986). It can exist in a variety of forms such as economic capital, cultural capital, and symbolic capital. (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 19) Cultural capital, for example, can be embodied in dispositional ways of acting, objectified in books, or institutionalized within educational qualifications (Bourdieu 1986: 47).

Alongside economic capital, the state concentrates symbolic capital which is the "categories of perception that recognises" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 119) and gives value to specific properties and characteristics of social agents and the other forms of capital. Through its concentration of capital the state operates as a "holder of a sort of meta-capital granting"

(Bourdieu & Wacquant 1994: 4) it power to influence the configuration of different social fields, "a set of objective, historical relations between positions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 16) and the value of the forms of capital that are at play within them. Thus the state develops alongside a field of power where the possessors of capital struggle for the power of the state (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1994). With the rise of neoliberal ideologies (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1999; Wacquant 1994) these have come to be influential in the field of power and dominate the bureaucratic field (Bourdieu & Bourdieu 1994), "the set of organisations that successfully monopolise the definition and distribution of public goods" (Wacquant 2012: 73), that form part of the state.

Actually existing neoliberalism, therefore, does not refer to neoliberal economics but neoliberalism as a "political project; it entails not the dismantling but the reengineering of the state" (Wacquant 2012: 71) with a "rightward tilting of the bureaucratic field" (Wacquant 2012: 73). This move rightward can be grasped through the movement towards "fiscal constraints and market discipline" (Wacquant 2012: 73) and away from "the social wing that protects and supports" (Wacquant 2012: 73) the marginalised. In this redeployment of the state, actually existing neoliberalism is not only about the rolling-back of the state from the provision of welfare but the rolling-out of the state (Peck & Tickell 2002) through the growth of "disciplinary social policy" (Wacquant 2012: 72). Therefore, moves towards actually existing neoliberalism become "evident in the basic rationale of state welfare provision […] and in the attempts by the state to change the subjectivities of welfare providers, welfare recipients and a broader public" (Cloke *et al.* 2010: 23).

Peck (2001: 6), for example, argues that the shift from a commitment to full employment towards a deterrence of welfare claims are "not about creating jobs for people that don't have them; it is about creating workers for jobs that nobody wants." The political project of neoliberalism seeks to employ the state in order to impose a market logic upon citizens

(Wacquant 2012). This comes through the "trope of individual responsibility as motivating discourse and cultural glue that pastes these various components of state activity together" (Wacquant 2012: 72). Through this it can be seen how the rise of flexible precarious employment and the development of disciplinary social policy from the use of the state "to actively foster and bolster the market" (Wacquant 2012: 72) operate hand in hand due to neoliberal state-crafting.

There is a need, however, in discussing precarious employment to ascertain the extent to which it actually exists. Doogan (2009), for example, has dismantled, theoretically and empirically, a range of theories proclaiming a radical restructuring of the labour market in recent times and a move towards flexible precarious employment. Doogan's (2009) theoretical arguments though share much with those made by Bourdieu (1998) and Wacquant (2012). Bourdieu (1998) and Doogan (2009: 210) make similar points that "the idea of globalization as an exogenous force compelling domestic policy adaptation" is part of an ideological strategy to use the experience of insecurity by some workers to create fear amongst other workers to accept the changes proposed by policy makers and managers. Doogan (2009) also stresses the important role of the state rather than solely economic processes, as does Wacquant (2012). Indeed, both Wacquant (2012) and Doogan (2009: 212) stress that the "one sided view of retrenchment and state withdrawal can be balanced by [looking at] welfare expansion and recommodification".

 Despite agreement on these points, Doogan's (2009) empirical evidence questions the degree to which the actual rise of precariousness is real rather than ideological. Particularly, he charges academics such as Castells (1996) and Beck (2002) with generalizing the "temporary, casual and part-time employment" (Doogan 2009:148) which are experienced only by a minority of the population. Drawing on data from the United States he shows that instead of a radical shift from permanent employment, temporary employment "accounts for a very

small and, in recent years, *declining* [original emphasis] share of employment in the workforce" (Doogan 2009: 152). Additionally, whilst acknowledging the growth of part-time labour within the European Union, Doogan (2009: 191) highlights that part-time is not necessarily unstable and instead "the expansion of part-time employment increases job stability, particularly for women".

Goodwin and O'Connor (2005) likewise criticise work in youth transitions drawing on the work of Beck (1992) which suggests young people now experience complex non-linear transitions from education to employment as opposed to a simple linear move seen in the past. Reflecting on unpublished research by Elias, Goodwin and O'Conner (2005) show that during the apparent simpler times before labour market restructuring there were young people whose transitions were also complex. Therefore, as opposed to the two-step model of a time of guaranteed employment to one of precarious employment that applies to all social groups, it is necessary to consider which social groups have been affected by recent policy changes. As Doogan (2009: 213-4) argues, there needs to be "care not to add to the general mood of precariousness … [that overstates] capital mobility, job instability and powerlessness".

Despite writing in a polemical style that risks masking the subtleties of his work, Wacquant (2008a :246) is more cautious in not ascribing a change towards precariousness across all social groups and locates it instead as impacting "heterogeneous individuals and categories *negatively defined* [original emphasis] by social privation, material need and symbolic deficit". Additionally, recent research by Savage et al. (2013: 243) in the UK that determined class through such measures of social, economic, and cultural / symbolic capital identified a precariat class that was "clearly the most deprived of the classes that [they] have identified, on all measures". While this group did not represent the majority of those in the UK it did account for "15 per cent of the population" (Savage et al. 2013: 243). Indeed, McDowell (2014: 5) while acknowledging the work of Doogan (2009) and the need for "caution in

evaluating the larger scale identification of transformations [… also add that] it is clear that the rise of youth unemployment […] is evidence of growing insecurity among young people currently searching for waged work" . More specifically, research by Biggart et al. (2008: 65) in Scotland found young people "whose transitions are most complex tend to be the least advantaged [...] educationally and socially and are over represented in areas of deprivation". It is this specific group of young people that is addressed in the next section in relation to the implementation of neoliberal policy.

Neoliberalism and the UK Policy Context

Since the 1970s unemployment has been "persistently highest among young people, and among under-25s, highest for the most disadvantaged" (Bottrell & Armstrong 2007: 356) and least educationally qualified. The move towards flexible precarious employment for certain groups has led to the lowering availability of employment for young people on leaving school with traditional youth employment jobs having "been largely replaced by […] sector occupations […] often part-time and on relatively low pay" (Bynner *et al.* 2000: xiii). Additionally, such positions are "much less secure and offer relatively limited opportunities for advancement" (Kemp, 2005: 140). Employers have increasingly sought job applicants with advanced educational qualifications (Cote & Bynner 2008). Emphasis within UK policy has therefore been to encourage young people to stay in education longer in order to improve their employment opportunities (Jones 2002). Due to this there is divergence in the opportunities available on leaving school for those achieving higher valued education qualifications and those who do not (Bynner *et al.* 2000).

Despite their desire and attempts at finding better paid work, Webster *et al.* (2004) found that marginalised young adults remained within low-waged and precarious employment. This was

particularly acute for young mothers who were restricted from employment through their care responsibilities and the difficulty arranging childcare. Few marginalised young people therefore "experience full-time, regular work" (Johnston *et al.* 2000: 31). Despite this, it has also been found that marginal young people have kept traditional aspirations desiring good employment, family life and a nice house (Johnson *et al.* 2000). Unemployment for young people also creates gender differences for when they leave the family home with young women leaving home earlier than men to live with a partner (Hammer 1996).

Compounding this for young homeless people is the difficulty the experience can have "for them to focus on education or work" (Lakey *et al.* 2001). The benefits system currently also provides disincentives to work for homeless people in support accommodation due to a "rapid withdrawal of benefits, particularly housing benefit, as income rises" (Homelessness Monitoring Group 2004: para 103). As a result of this, young homeless people tend to have "longer and more chequered transitions into stable employment" (Lakey *et al.* 2001: v). Young people who have been in care are also disproportionately more likely to be overrepresented amongst the unemployed along with being in low paying jobs and having low levels of educational achievement (Scottish Executive, 2007: 1). Young homeless people and care leavers then are both more likely to not be in education, employment or training, a group that government policy refers to as NEET. Within Scotland, 13% of young people between the ages of 16-19 fall into this category (Scottish Executive, 2005: 1).

With the increase in youth unemployment and homelessness, newspapers taking part in the moral panics around youth (Cohen 1972) began to run stories portraying young people on benefits as 'holidaying' at UK seaside resorts and taking advantage of an apparently overgenerous benefits system (Hutson and Liddiard, 1994, 53). In response to this the Conservative governments (1979-97) undertook a program of welfare reform that discriminated against young people to remove the 'perverse incentives' associated with this

rise in youth unemployment and to increase reliance upon families for support (Hutson & Liddiard 1994). Additionally, conditionality and "individual responsibility became the order of the day" (Ridge & Wright 2008: 288). The premise of conditionality is that "eligibility to certain basic, publicly provided, welfare entitlement should be dependent" on individuals meeting "compulsory duties or patterns of behaviour" (Dwyer 2004: 266). Conditionality has made a discourse of individual responsibility the basis for regarding welfare recipients as citizens (Mead 1997), such as compelling people experiencing unemployment to actively seek work to maintain their benefit claim.

The New Labour government did not seek to reverse the Conservative policies although part of their 'responsibility agenda' set out to increase the levels of young people in education, employment and training. Harding (2004: 15) summarised this responsibility agenda as "individuals have rights to be given opportunities for advancement, but must act responsibly in taking these opportunities", a viewpoint at the heart of the Third Way (Giddens 1999) and continues with the development of welfare conditionality. In terms of getting young people into employment, policy has manifested in a human capital approach seeing "the deficits and failings of unemployed young people" as the cause of unemployment (Kemp, 2005: 139). Policy has then focused on making them more 'employable' through providing "advice, training and other help" (Kemp, 2005: 139; Lindsay *et al.* 2007). Attention is therefore drawn away from the demand for labour in the shape of the type and amount of employment available to instead focus on supply where it is "seen as the deficits and failings of unemployed young people" that is the cause of unemployment (Kemp, 2005: 139). The human capital approach adopted additionally forces young people to internalise the idea that they are at fault which removes focus from the state's role in producing their situations (Barry, 2005: 109). Even if young people comply with the conditionalities, finding work can prove difficult with twenty applicants applying for every job appearing at the JobCentre Plus within Scotland (STUC April 2010). Young people who fail to secure advance qualifications are faced then with

"a mix of training schemes, temporary and part-time jobs, and periods of unemployment" (Kemp, 2005: 142-143).

Conservative policies towards benefits have also created tiers of access based on a person's age, further discriminating against youth. Differences in benefit entitlement affect the level of Jobseekers Allowance and Income Support with young people aged 16-17 having no entitlement except in 'exceptional circumstances'. The New Labour government has included similar differences for entitlement to the minimum wage when it was introduced (Sargeant, 2010). **Figure 1** below shows the combined affect age discrimination in benefits and minimum wage levels can have on income[4]. From the graph it can be seen that young people aged 18-20 only manage to break the poverty threshold when working 48 hours per week at minimum wage. Those under 18 would only be able to do this if working an extraordinary number of hours per week. As Furlong and Cartmel (2007: 43) argue the focus on young people not in education, employment or training ignores the fact that those who enter unstable and low-waged employment may still need help. The problem then is not necessarily a failing of the individual to gain employment, it is instead finding and maintaining meaningful employment over any real length of time (Kemp, 2005: 143).

A report (Quilgars *et al.*, 2008) evaluating the progress on tackling issues around youth homelessness in the UK highlighted other policies which can have a negative effect. An example given in the report was compulsory New Deal courses that those applying for Jobseekers Allowance have to take and which can interfere with other activities the young person is involved in. Furthermore, although an Educational Maintenance Allowance (EMA) has been set up to encourage young people to stay in education, this conflicts with a 16-hour

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[4] *The figure was constructed through creating data tables by entering scenario details into the benefits calculator at www.turn2us.org.uk/benefits_search.aspx then using the formula NET INCOME = [INCOME - TAX] - [HOUSING COST - HOUSING BENEFIT] - [COUNCIL TAX - COUNCIL TAX BENEFIT] for each hour worked for each age group. For the purposes of the figure it was assumed that it was a council tenancy of £65 per week which was a rough average of those available within a large Scottish city in 2011 and the person's wage is the minimum they were legally entitled to.*

rule for those receiving Housing Benefits as it disqualifies those in fulltime further education from receiving it (Quilgars *et al.*, 2008: 89-90). Some courses are then off-limits to young people as EMA does not make up for the short-fall in Housing Benefit. The navigation of these employment and benefit issues then has serious implications for the young people's transition to independent living.

Figure 1: Net Income After Housing Cost Per Week by Hours Worked
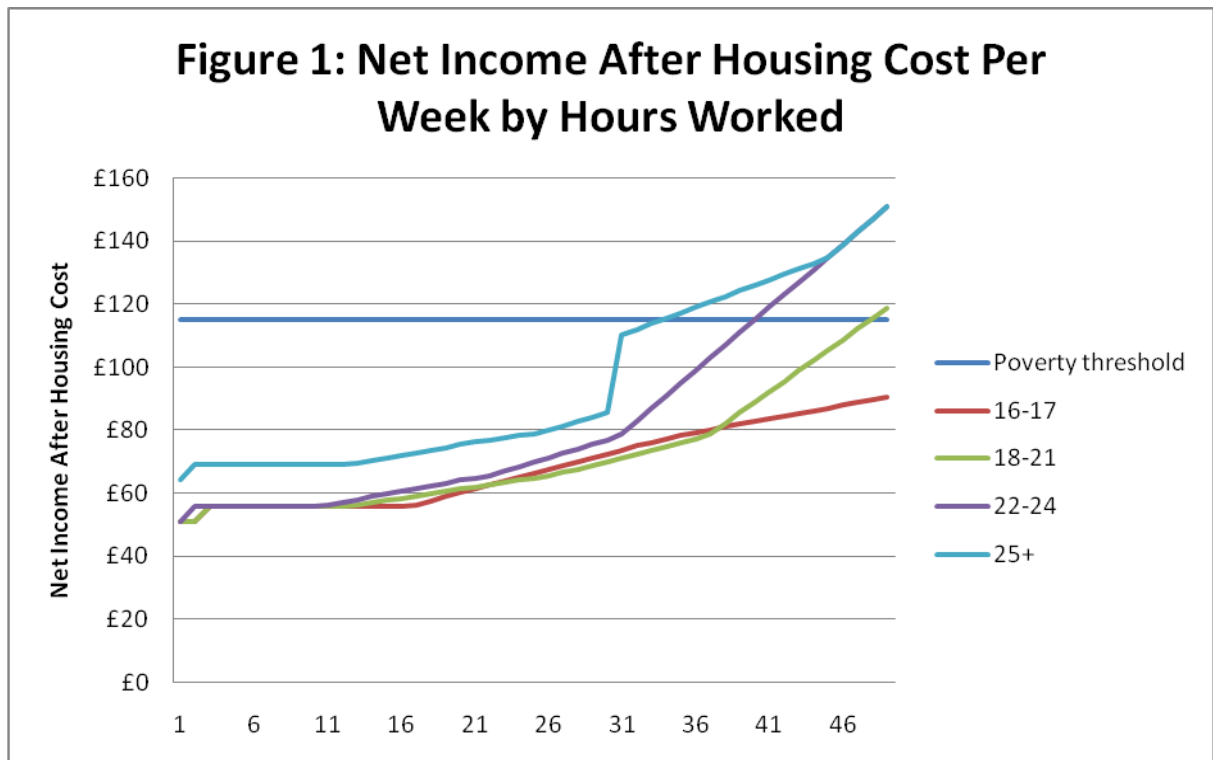
Within housing, the restricting of "both demand and supply within the British housing market […] over the past couple of decades [… has] generally operate[d] to the disadvantage of young people" (Fitzpatrick 2000: 5). This was through the Conservative government (1979-1997) introducing the Right to Buy in the Housing Act (1980), which has resulted in the sale of almost half a million council houses (Scottish Executive 2006) contributing to two-thirds of the rise of homeownership in Scotland from one in five households to two in three (Maclennan & O'Sullivan 2008). The Conservative government also ended the support provided to local authorities to keep rents affordable in favour of moving rents towards market levels (Lowe

2011). Long waiting lists and the cost of private renting has led to a lack of suitable housing options for young people to enable them to leave the family home (ECOTEC 2009). With housing benefit changed so that young people under 25 were restricted to a Single Room Rent if entering a private tenancy, any young person wishing to enter a tenancy on their own would need to find the difference for the rent themselves effectively limiting young people with low or no income to shared tenancies (Rugg 1999: 55).

As a result of this there has been a change in the time of when young people leave home and many do not achieve independent living until their late twenties (Elsley *et al.* 2007; Coles *et al.* 1999). The lack of access to housing for young people, through waiting lists and high costs of private lets and homeownership, mean many now make their initial housing pathway from the parental home due to non-housing attributes such as "family formation, parental disputes, entry to higher education and so on" (Ford *et al.* 2002: 2466). . Given the increasing policy "assumption that all young people have a family able and willing to support them is clearly untrue" the inability to rely on family at the same time as the removal of access to welfare for young people makes them increasingly "vulnerable to homelessness" (Fitzpatrick 2000: 13). "[A]t least two thirds and possibly up to 90 per cent" of young homeless people cite family breakdown as the cause for their homelessness (Brown and Randall 2001: 1). It is unsurprising therefore that it has been suggested that the ability to return to the family home is critical for discerning between young people who become homeless and those who do not (Breugel & Smith, 1999)

Scotland's Divergent Path

Research on youth transitions (Henderson *et al.* 2007; Furlong & Cartmel 2007) and housing pathways (McNaughton 2008; Clapham 2000) have tended to draw on theories of late

modernity and reflexive society (Beck 1994; Giddens 1991) in order to explain the economic and policy changes in the last few decades.   These theories focus on the increasing risk and uncertainty within society (Beck 1992).   In setting out a change from modernity to late modernity however as a series of stages they operate the "under an overall society logic" that cannot take into account the "ensemble of relatively autonomous spheres of play" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 16) that can exist, for example between housing and employment policy. Actually existing neoliberalism, being a process of state-crafting, moves "away from sweeping generalizations to identify the partial and sometimes tangential nature of any neoliberal transformation" (Cloke *et al.* 2010: 23). It can therefore account for the diverse ways, and possible contradictions, through which neoliberalism unfolds (Brenner & Theodre 2002)

Such a contradiction in its unfolding can be seen in regards to recent Scottish housing and homelessness policy where there has been a relative leftward tilting of the state. With the state being a space where struggles play out over "the very perimeter, prerogatives and priorities of public authority, and, in particular, over what 'social problems' deserve its attention and how they are to be treated" (Wacquant 2012: 73) devolution has enabled the Scottish Government to develop a distinct housing and homelessness policy framework (Wilcox *et al.* 2010). There is a preceding legacy of Scotland having a divergent housing policy from the rest of the UK. With housing being the main area discussed during the elections for devolution, this divergence has accelerated since devolution (Lowe 2004). In its brief to the Homelessness Task Force the post-devolution Scottish Government under the Labour - Liberal Democrat Coalition (1999- 2007) set the aim of providing policy recommendations towards preventing homelessness "and, where it does occur, [ensure it is] tackled effectively" (Scottish Executive, 2002: 1). A basis for this was that "homelessness is a symptom of and contributor to social injustice" (Goodland 2005: 15). Through the reports of the Homelessness Task Force (Scottish Executive 2000; 2002) two keys pieces of legislation have been implemented, the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 and the Homelessness etc. (Scotland) Act 2003.

Together these acts aim to create a "modernised homelessness programme" (Anderson, 2009: 113) for Scotland. To achieve this section 2 of the Homelessness etc (Scotland) Act 2003 set out for there to be a gradual increasing of the priority need category so that by 2012 the division of priority and non-priority would be effectively abolished. Emphasis was also placed in the legislation on the prevention of people becoming homeless and for services being in place to help tenancy settlement (Fitzpatrick 2004Since the passing of the Children (Scotland) Act 1995, local authorities in Scotland already had an obligation to accept young people under 18 as "vulnerable / priority need". Prior to this only 57% of them had chosen to do so (Yanetta and Third, 1999: 3). As a result of this framework local authorities have a duty under section 1 of the Homelessness etc (Scotland) Act 2003 to house young people under-18 who make a successful homelessness presentation.

At the time the research took place permanent tenancies with a local authority or registered social landlord formed the main statutory route out of homelessness. Section 31(2) of the Housing (Scotland) Act 1987 placed a duty upon local authorities to secure accommodation for people found statutorily homelessness in priority need and not found to be intentionally homeless. Section 3(3)(a) of the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 amended this duty to be permanent accommodation defined by section 3(3)(d) to be a Scottish secure tenancy (SST), "an assured tenancy that is not a short assured tenancy", or a short Scottish secure tenancy (SSST) where the person is subject to an anti-social behaviour order or a previous tenancy had been terminated due to anti-social behaviour. Permanent accommodation has been shown to provide a sense of home for young people leaving homelessness due to the feeling of control and stability it offers (Brueckner *et al.* 2011). Under two main criteria outlined in section 11 of the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001, for a tenancy to be considered a SST the landlord must be a local authority or registered social landlord and the property must be a separate dwelling where an "essential part of the living accommodation (e.g. livingroom or kitchen)" (Scottish Executive 2002: 4) is not shared with other tenants. In the case of an SSTs a tenant can only

be evicted under "15 grounds for possession … where the landlord must show that it is reasonable to evict" (Scott 2004: 39).

On paper, therefore, young people's access to housing has improved. However, this leftward tilting has followed an earlier period of neoliberal policy aiming to increase homeownership through the Right to Buy. Since then, partial and whole transfers of council housing to housing associations (cf. Taylor 2004) has furthered this depletion of council housing stock. However, the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001, by introducing the Scottish Secure Tenancy, ensures that tenants in either form of tenancy have the same rights (Scott 2004: 38). Furthermore, section 5 of the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 amended local authorities' duty to include requests to a registered social landlord to provide permanent accommodation. The depletion of the social housing stock though has led to an increase in waiting lists for tenancies (Scottish Executive 2006)thereby increasing the amount of time spent in temporary accommodation for those experiencing homelessness. In response to this the Scottish Government has recently introduced The Homeless Persons (Provision of Non-permanent Accommodation) (Scotland) Regulations 2010 where people accepted as statutory homeless can opt-in to include private rented tenancies in their housing options. However, given the high cost of private rent, as mentioned above, it is questionable how many young people will see this as an 'option' for them.

Additionally, as Anderson (2009: 119) has noted, increasing the access to housing and providing further support for those experiencing homelessness "does not impact on the social and economic triggers" that are associated with people experiencing homelessness "it merely ensures a more positive final outcome". In particular, with powers over benefits remaining with Westminster the Scottish Government is unable to change the legislation that has removed and restricted young people's access. Given the association with welfare changes and the increase in youth homelessness the Homelessness Monitoring Group (Scottish

Executive 2004: para 49) proposed that the "DWP should be asked to review the adequacy of welfare benefits payable to 16-24 year olds generally and to young homeless people specifically (as they are often the most vulnerable)". This was proposed to the DWP as benefits are not a devolved power for the Scottish Government (Sim 2004). No changes in regards to the age barriers in benefit access and level of payment have been made. As a result, neoliberal state crafting has not only led to a Centaur-state which has restructured the economy to the benefit of those with high levels of economic and cultural capital whilst also being "castigatory and restrictive [...] when it comes to managing the populations established by the deepening of inequality" (Wacquant 2012: 74) and welfare changes. There is also a paradoxical state arising through the divergence of the leftward tilting of housing and homeless policy compared to the rightward tilting in other social policy areas.

Social Suffering

Suffering from the economic and policy changes associated with actually existing neoliberalism has been disproportionately experienced by "disadvantaged young people [... with] many of them [having] also endured periods of homelessness" (Fitzpatrick 2000: 1). With the state's role in ushering in and producing the changes in youth transitions it is "imperative to bring the state back" (Wacquant 2008a: 270) into research. One way to do this is through a focus on social suffering, the "positional suffering" (Bourdieu 1991: 4) arising through the occupation of marginal social positions that has increased under actually existing neoliberalism (Bourdieu 1999; Wacquant 2008a). Being a positional suffering, social suffering, "is connected to the way in which inequalities are materialised in the body and lived" (Gonzalez-Arnal *et al.* 2013: 234). It is through the body that "social suffering [is] inscribed on the body" (Frost & Hogget 2008: 452) and "by the relations of power that infuse the social space" (Gonzalez-Arnal *et al.*

2013: 234) people are within, which the state has an instrumental role in shaping. Indeed the "singular suffering that women and men experience finds its roots in the objective contradictions, constraints and double binds inscribed in the structures of the labour and housing markets" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 201).

Conclusion

It has been shown that young people are at a higher risk of tenancy non-sustainment. While there has been development in understanding the factors of young people's tenancy non-sustainment there has been a dominance of a landlord's perspective with a concern over non-sustained tenancies considered to be 'failed'. Through this the tenant's perspective on their tenancy had been excluded alongside an uneven development in the reasons for ending a tenancy giving greater priority to negative reasons. Similarly, the questions of whether certain interventions lead to higher sustained or non-sustained tenancies has left practices and diversity of how they contribute towards sustaining a tenancy relatively unexplored.

Youth transitions and their changes over time has shown the increasingly marginalisation of young people in the labour market, housing, and social security. Young people who are marginalised experience not only higher risk of tenancy non-sustainment but also homelessness and unemployment. Actually existing neoliberalism offered a means to understand these changes as a political project of state-crafting that bolsters the market and utilizing disciplinary social policy for the marginalised. In locating the unfolding of neoliberalism through the bureaucratic field and the degree of rightward tilting of the state it is able to explain partial and contradictory developments. Particularly, the divergent path of Scottish housing and homelessness policy.

Having opened up the considerations to be given for researching young people's practice of sustaining a tenancy there is a need for a theory that can integrate these into an understanding of young peoples' practice and how it is influenced by social changes and state power. How the object of research was constructed and an integrated theory developed is covered in the next chapter.

Chapter Three: Reconstructing Tenancy Sustainment

Introduction

This chapter explains the conceptualisation developed within the research in order to construct an understanding of tenancy sustainment as a practice. A conceptualisation that was also able to account for this practice in relation to social changes in youth transitions and housing pathways, and the state crafting of actually existing neoliberalism. Crucially, while taking these into account young people's practice is not reduced to a mere epiphenomena of them. The first section therefore explains why the work of Bourdieu was chosen as a starting point alongside outlining the importance of seeing theory as a mode of operation, a modus operandi, for research that enabled a construction of tenancy sustainment as a practice. The second section moves to considering Bourdieu's theory of practice in more detail that was adapted within the research in order to account for this practice. This was through the development of concepts of a constellation of interdependent relations, embodied sensitivity, and techniques of independent living. Finally, Bourdieu's writings on rites of institution for understanding the importance of a symbolic capital of recognition are outlined.

Theory as Modus Operandi

Conceptualisation of tenancy sustainment has progressed without the necessary theoretical reflexivity that Kemeny (1992) sees as vital for developing research within housing. Kemeny (1992: xvii) views this reflexivity as important for bringing to the fore "the questions [housing researchers] pose, and the received wisdoms, often from policy-makers about what does and does not constitute 'a housing problem'". This concern for reflexivity was also shared by

Bourdieu who considered the vital aspect of research to be "the construction of the object" (Bourdieu *et al.* 1991: 248). Failing to adequately consider how the object is constructed through research exposes the sociologist towards the risk of conducting "spontaneous sociology" (Bourdieu *et al.* 1991: 16). This is where conceptualisation relies upon "ordinary language and everyday notions" (Bourdieu *et al.* 1991: 13) that implicitly constructs the conceptual frame for what is being researched. In the tenancy sustainment literature this was seen within the importation of the landlord / management and policy viewpoint as the concerns for analysis. As Kemeny (1992) makes clear, noting this influence does not mean a turn away from researching policy issues but recognises the need for a research-led definition of the object of research. There needs to a move away from accepting "the way in which policy-makers define what is, or is not, a housing problem, [towards researchers taking] a more active part in defining housing problems, informed by wider theories and debates" (Kemeny 1992: 21).

Due to this, theory was used as "a modus operandi" which guided the research (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 161). What is important for research is to ensure "the rigor of the construction of the object" (Bourdieu in Wacquant 1989: 51). The strength of a construction rests upon the capacity to take seemingly mundane and "socially insignificant objects [and turn them] into scientific objects […] or to approach a major socially significant object in an unexpected manner" (Bourdieu in Wacquant 1989: 51). This is achieved by knowing "how to translate very abstract problems into very concrete scientific operations" (Bourdieu in Wacquant 1989: 51). It is vital therefore to break with common sense constructions such as "official representations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 235) since these regularly present the questions put to research in terms generated by the concerns of officials.

However, while Kemeny's (1992) argument for more theoretically informed research within housing studies in order to create research-led definitions of the object of research can apply to current conceptualisations of tenancy sustainment, the theoretical landscape in housing

studies in general has changed since he originally made this call. Indeed, in reviewing Kemeny's call, a special issue of the journal Housing, Theory and Society sought papers not on whether there should be theory in housing studies but on "the role of theory in housing research" (Clapham 2009: 1). Given these developments, there is not only a need to defend the use of theory but also to justify drawing on the work of Bourdieu (1990a) as a basis to reconceptualise tenancy sustainment as opposed to the theories already used within housing studies. In particular, Kemeny's (1992) own use of social constructionism has been followed by further social constructionist work (cf. Jacobs et al. 2004) including examining issues related to housing and homelessness (cf. Hutson & Liddiard 1994), as well as the work of Foucault (1997; 2008) being drawn upon to examine the governance of tenants (cf. Flint 2002; and McKee 2011) and a mix of Giddens (1984) and critical realism (Bhaskar 1997; 1998) finding favour in research on housing pathways (cf. McNaughton 2008; and Clapham 2005).

While the social constructionist and Foucauldian literature has opened debates in housing towards the way homelessness (Hutson & Liddiard 1994) and anti-social behaviour (Flint 2002), for example, have become defined and target certain populations; these approaches have both been criticised for placing too much emphasis upon meaning and discourse over lived experience and material reality (Fitzpatrick 2005; Neale 1997; Crawford 1997; Stenson 2005). This is because a "focus on discursive strategies and dominant norms [...] tells us little about how individuals themselves feel about, experience and consume housing" (McKee 2011: 3401). It is precisely these critiques that have influenced housing researchers to argue in favour of Giddens' (Neale 1997; Clapham 2005), realist interpretations of Foucauldian governmentality (McKee 2009) and critical realism (Fitzpatrick 2005) to correct for discursive emphasis. The solutions they propose are also similar in wishing to extend theory to cover these short-comings such as seeing social structures as not having "an independent existence but [being] produced and reproduced by human agency at both the individual and institutional levels" (Clapham 2005: 23), moving towards "analysing the interplay between discourse and

its effects in the 'real'" (McKee 2009: 479), and recognising individual factors which can be causal in "their own right without undermining the importance of structural conditions in other cases" (Fitzpatrick 2005: 15).

Although these solutions may offer theoretical solutions to the short-comings, empirical issues remain. Critical realism is not a "philosophical programme that translates easily into empirical research" (Fitzpatrick 2005: 10) Foucauldian governmentality has previously preceded with a "disregard for empirical reality" (McKee 2009: 467) and Giddens has primarily developed his theory "on the basis of a comprehensive examination of the classics" rather than conducting research (Schroer & Wilde 2013: 164). In contrast, Bourdieu's work, whilst having affinity with these theories (cf. Vandenberghe 1999; Wacquant 2005; and Mohr 2013) and having also been previously suggested as a means to correct issues with governmentality (Flint 2002), already provides "a critical grounding for empirical social science, and construct[s] a barrier against the infinite textuality of the world" (Mohr 2013: 105) as seen with social constructionism and Foucauldian governmentality.   On a theoretical level this is because Bourdieu, as will be explained in more detail in later sections of this chapter, sees meaning as "embedded within domains of practical activity […where] to know something is to know it from the perspective of its locatedness within a material and sensual world" (Mohr 2013: 105). In addition, Bourdieu critically also developed his theory through empirical research covering the issue of state power (Bourdieu 1996), the way the state and other social actors influence targeted populations (Bourdieu 2005), and, most importantly, from his earliest to last works, explored the influence of this on targeted population's practice (Bourdieu 1990a; 1999).

King (2009), however, sees an additional problem arising in housing research from the recommendations of Kemeny (1992) for housing researchers to give greater attention to theoretical work from across the social sciences. The problem for King (2009: 45) is that, while the increase of housing research drawing upon theory is a positive development this "work has not been the creation of theory, but the application of theory to housing issues". As he

clarifies, "the problem is that housing researchers use ready-made rather than bespoke theory" (King 2009:45). What happens is that chosen theory is presented and then an area of research is understood through it. Being applied in this way thus prevents any development of theory. Therefore, there is a danger that in taking an explicitly theoretical approach researchers "are not themselves making theory, instead they are merely responding to" (King 2009: 46) developments in theory from other areas that are then imported unchanged onto housing questions. While agreeing with Kemeny (1992) that housing cannot be separated from other social processes, King (2009: 49) argues "this should not diminish housing as an activity in itself".

Of the theories that have been applied to housing King (2009: 46) explicitly names the work of Bourdieu amongst others. The problem of applying theory without regard for how it can be developed is also one that Lahire (2008) sees as endemic to those drawing on Bourdieu in general. Instead of undertaking a rigorous investigation of an issue there is "merely [a] switching on [of] the text-producing machine 'a la maniere de Bourdieu'" (Lahire 2008: 51). A creation of "unintentional pastiches" (Lahire 2008: 51) that repeats what has already been said by Bourdieu on one issue to a host of new ones. The critical tradition that should be integral to the work of every sociologist however is "to carry out empirical investigations in order to work out the yet unanswered questions; and eventually to go beyond what has been written or said" (Lahire 2008: 598). In order to avoid this, there needs to be what Boltanski (1987: xviii) called a "homage in practice", research that, while drawing on Bourdieu's theoretical method criticises and develops it where necessary.

Indeed taking theory as a modus operandi means that the construction of the object "is not something that is effected once and for all, with one stroke, through a sort of inaugural theoretical act" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 227). Rather reflexive consideration of the construction of the object has to be given to every stage of research. As Lahire (2011: 1) puts it, in his critique of 'social theory', as opposed to the normal view of theory as "a finished point

of view" it is to "[defend] the idea that any interpretative framework must be modified as a function of the objects studied". The resultant theory used within this research was "protracted and exacting [...] accomplished little by little" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 228) through the process of research making modifications in response to the requirements of analysis. The construction of the object therefore is similar to the "pragmatic approach" advocated by Clapham (2009: 5) that housing researchers should be "armed with theories [... but] aware of the possibility that they will not fit and [...] aware of the possible need for unique concepts". Theory as modus operandi therefore "makes the construction of the object the crucial moment of scientific research and refuses to dissociate the theoretical from the empirical" (Bourdieu *et al.* 1991: 265). Particularly, it combines "theoretical ambition" with "empirical modesty" (Bourdieu in Wacquant 1989: 51) where, as Kilminister (2007: 76) describes the work of Elias, "theoretical reflections and concept formation are developed continually in relation to empirical materials".

Thus constructing the object places a responsibility upon the researcher to develop a conceptual frame adequate to what is researched rather than the use of "standardized theoretical products" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: xi). With the conceptual frame being a product of analysis, however, creates an issue with presenting it before the empirical materials that informed it. Particularly, it requires a clarification for how the outlining of the concepts should be read. As Brubaker (1993: 212) notes in discussing how to read Bourdieu's work, it takes a dispositional rather than logocentric approach to theory. Logocentric being the manner of treating concepts "as logical constructs that can be developed by the manipulation of a few basic ideas" and tending to be "divorced from the empirical world" (Becker 1998: 109). Rather for Bourdieu, concepts are a set of "thinking tools" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 160). They are open concepts that are "polymorphic, supple and adaptive, rather than defined, calibrated and used rigidly" (Bourdieu and Wacquant 1992: 23). As Wacquant (2008b: 265) adds, concepts are "characterized not by static definitions [as assumed by some

traditions within Anglo-American social science] but by their actual uses, interrelations, and effects in the research enterprise".

The concepts used in the research are therefore dispositional in that not only do they invite a person "to see the social world in particular ways" but are also a "scheme of scientific perceptions and scientific operations" (Brubaker 1993: 220) that informed, and developed from, the analysis. Although a product of theoretical-empirical research, key concepts developed for this thesis are introduced here separately from the analysis at the risk of giving an appearance of them being divorced from the empirical work that informed them. While they are presented in this form it is to offer "a preliminary sense of their meaning" (Charlesworth 2000: 29) and locating them within theoretical debates aims to help sensitise the reader to the perspective developed by the researcher. The strength of the concepts however does not lie with this outlining but their development and use in analysis. As Charlesworth (2000: 29) says of his own work, the "meaning [... of the concepts] will become clearer from the context in which they are used."

The Logic of Practice

This thesis applies, and develops, Bourdieu's (1981: 305) theory of practice in order to overcome the "sterile oppositions" that "sociologists have tended to allow themselves to be trapped in". The opposition he was most concerned with, and his theory of practice sought to avoid, was that between structural determinism and individual will. Lizardo (2009: 325) notes that much of the criticisms of Bourdieu "all rest on a similar misinterpretation of Bourdieu as an agency-structure theorist, focused on the problematic of consciousness as confronted by structure". This economy of reading, in assuming all sociological writing must speak to the same issues, introduces into the reading an assumption of a divide between what is 'individual'

and what is 'social' whereby a "morally acceptable balance" needs to be found between the two (Lopez 2003: 147).

What is neglected within this is whether concepts of agency-structure can so easily be read on top of Bourdieu's work even if reading it in terms of better reconciling conceptual dualisms. Reading work through a continued use of the terms that create an opposition "merely reproduce it and pose it in a different form" (van Krieken 1998: 43-4). As opposed to this manner of reading, Bourdieu did not seek to realign dualisms as a duality but sought "to make the very terms of [such] debate irrelevant" (Lizardo 2009: 325). Indeed, he remarks there is no opposition "between individual wills and structural determination", but rather "it is sufficient to observe that every historical action brings together two states of history", history objectified in things, such as relational positions, and history embodied in people (Bourdieu 1981: 305). In this thesis, this is applied in order to provide an alternative understanding of tenancy sustainment than the concern with structural and individual factors in the literature (c.f. Harding 2004). Rather than a substantialist approach which seeks the essential properties of structures and / or individuals, Bourdieu stresses "the primacy of relations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 15). This is through recognising that the "real is relational" (Bourdieu 1998: 3) where changes in social relations also change the properties of individuals and the conditions of possibility for particular forms of practice to exist (Bourdieu 1990a: 26).

Additionally, practice "unfolds in time" (Bourdieu 1990a: 81) through how the relation between a practical sense and relational situations play out. Theoretical models that do not apprehend this practical relation to the world risk letting "slip everything that makes the temporal reality of practice in process" (Bourdieu 1990a: 81). While statistics, such as tenancy sustainment rates, can uncover the "life-chances objectively attached to particular social categories [...it] remains abstract and almost unreal unless one knows how this objective truth [...] is actualized in [...] practice" (Bourdieu 1990b: 4). A focus on practice, and how practical sense and social relations play out over time, offers a means to see how tenancy sustainment

is continually actualized in tenants' practice. Thus, all mysteries which lead theory to process-reduction "find their rational solution in human practice and in the comprehension of this practice" (Marx & Engels 1998: 574). A turn to the analysis of practice and how it plays out is, therefore, also a turn to a study of processes.

Bourdieu's theory of practice in accounting for both the experience and the conditions of possibility of that experience offered a means towards analysing young people's practice of tenancy sustainment. It enables attention to be given towards the on-going accomplishment of sustaining a tenancy as a practical mastery alongside consideration of what makes this practice possible. Although Bourdieu's (c.f. 1998) explanation of practice through a relation between a habitus, field and various forms of capital was used to initially guide the research it proved inadequate for understanding young people's practice within the research. The explanatory failings of these concepts required the development of some more adequate to the issues arising in the analysis. These concepts are covered below with discussion about how they differ from Bourdieu.

Constellation of Interdependent Relations

The concept of a constellation of interdependent relations was developed within the research to grasp the mesh of relations between young people's social positions and their tenancies in order to explain their practice of sustaining a tenancy. An interdependent relation is one where what is related is "inconceivable in isolation" (Kilminster 2007: 15). Since relations produce what exists then changes in these relations, and their configuration, they also produce changes in how what is related is constituted. For this reason, each of the social positions of young people cannot be considered only in terms of how they are positioned within their housing pathway and youth transitions but also requires examination of how

these positions themselves through being occupied by the same individual are brought into interdependency that affects the constitution of the individual and the positions. Being produced by their independencies, individuals therefore do not offer a central point for analysis to begin. Instead "social relationships (the specific and historically variable forms that these relationships take) come first, because they are constitutive of each individual social being" (Lahire 2011: 204). Thus, a constellation is a network of relations with "no centre, and no definite periphery, where the network ties represent not static relationships" (Powell 2011: 40) but dynamic interdependencies.

Constellation is a term that has been used by a number of sociologists with different degrees of how developed it is as a concept (Adorno 1973; Elias 2000; Bourdieu 2005; Mannheim 2013; Habbermas 2001). Both Elias and Bourdieu make vague reference to constellations for turning to the relations between fields and figurations, and not just the internal economy of a particular field or figuration. However, there is an issue in adopting this usage for understanding young people's practice of sustaining a tenancy. Both field and figuration place emphasis on interdependent relations between people that creates different social positions that are "dis-individualized, de-singularized, [and] de-particularized" (Lahire 2011: xiv). This is because studying "the world of work, the family, school, neighbourhood, church, political party, leisure activities, etc.," understands the people within these from a "single domain of activity" where a person has a particular position as "a worker, a pupil, a parent, a father or mother" (Lahire 2011: 208). Approaching research in this way homogenises what is researched such as the working class relation to housing (c.f. Allen 2008) where variations between members of the working class is downplayed.

The research, however, was concerned not only with the similarities in the experience of young people who had left homelessness but also with being be able to explain the differences between them. What is important is to replace the 'or' with 'and'; to focus on how differences in relations compound together to produce individual variation within a group. What was

pertinent for the research was that it was studying young people, who had previously experienced homelessness and were now in their own independent tenancy, who also occupied particular education-employment and family positions, and received certain forms of support, etc. Also pertinent therefore is not the relations between the economic field and the housing field but the relations between and the configuration of particular social positions within these that are occupied by the same person. As Schilling (1993: 199) has argued "[t]he body is not only affected by social relations but forms a basis for and enters into the construction of social relations".

From this it can be seen that although Elias (1999: 136) argued that "the concept of individual refers to interdependent persons; [and] the concept of society to interdependent persons in the plural form" the concept of figuration, and Bourdieu's concept of field, only deals with the plural form. A better concept of the individual was required that avoided "studying humans in the singular" (Powell & Flint 2009: 161) where their interdependency with others is neglected. Bourdieu (1991) has undertaken work looking at an individual through analysing how Heidegger's political views entered into his philosophy. However while locating Heidegger within both the political and philosophical fields the influence of these positions are simply read off his philosophical writing. As Lahire (2003: 334) summarised the work "it is disappointing because it poorly reconstructs under what conditions and in what manner Heidegger's philosophical habitus took form".

Elias (1993) however wrote a more promising study on Mozart which undertook an exploration of how Mozart's practical sense developed between the social worlds of a bourgeois family and court-society. Unfortunately, as Lahire (2003: 334) has commented, this work "remained unfinished and its conceptual tools are not strong". However, in noting the tools are not strong Lahire avoided looking at how Elias used these concepts and how they could be further developed. Within the study Elias (1993) puts the concept of constellation to

a new use for explaining how Mozart's multiple social positions also existed in relation to each other, albeit ambiguously and briefly.

Elias' vague use of the concept appears to be influenced by Mannheim (2013:134) who Elias worked with early in his academic career (Kilminster 2007), who considered a constellation to "designate the specific combination of certain factors at a given moment, and this will call for observation when we have reason to assume that the simultaneous presence of various factors is responsible for the shape assumed by one factor in which we are interested". Rather than factors Elias (1993) brings attention to the plural relations with others and that producing multiple social positions also compounds in the shaping of what is related in each relation. From this basis, a constellation of interdependent relations was developed within the research to designate the specific combination of relations which were responsible for the shape of young people's practice.

There is an additional issue within sociology in general of neglecting the part played by objects in what is researched (Latour 1996). Elias (1991) stressed that an important consideration for understanding a society is the relation with nature as well as arguing that nature and culture should not be treated separately (Gregor *et al.* 2013) that shares the same concerns of Latour (1993). Within the research therefore tenancies were taken as part of young people's constellation with what are referred to as 'pressures of the tenancy' arising through the interdependency between tenant and tenancy.

 A simplified model of a constellation, based on the social positions seen as important in the literature review, is presented in **Figure 2.** Each circle in the diagram denotes a particular social position of an individual person based on their housing pathway and youth transitions. The two way arrows represent an interdependent relationship with a particular balance of power between the two. Pressures of the tenancy arise from the interdependence between the housing position as a tenant and the tenancy. Since this position is interdependent with
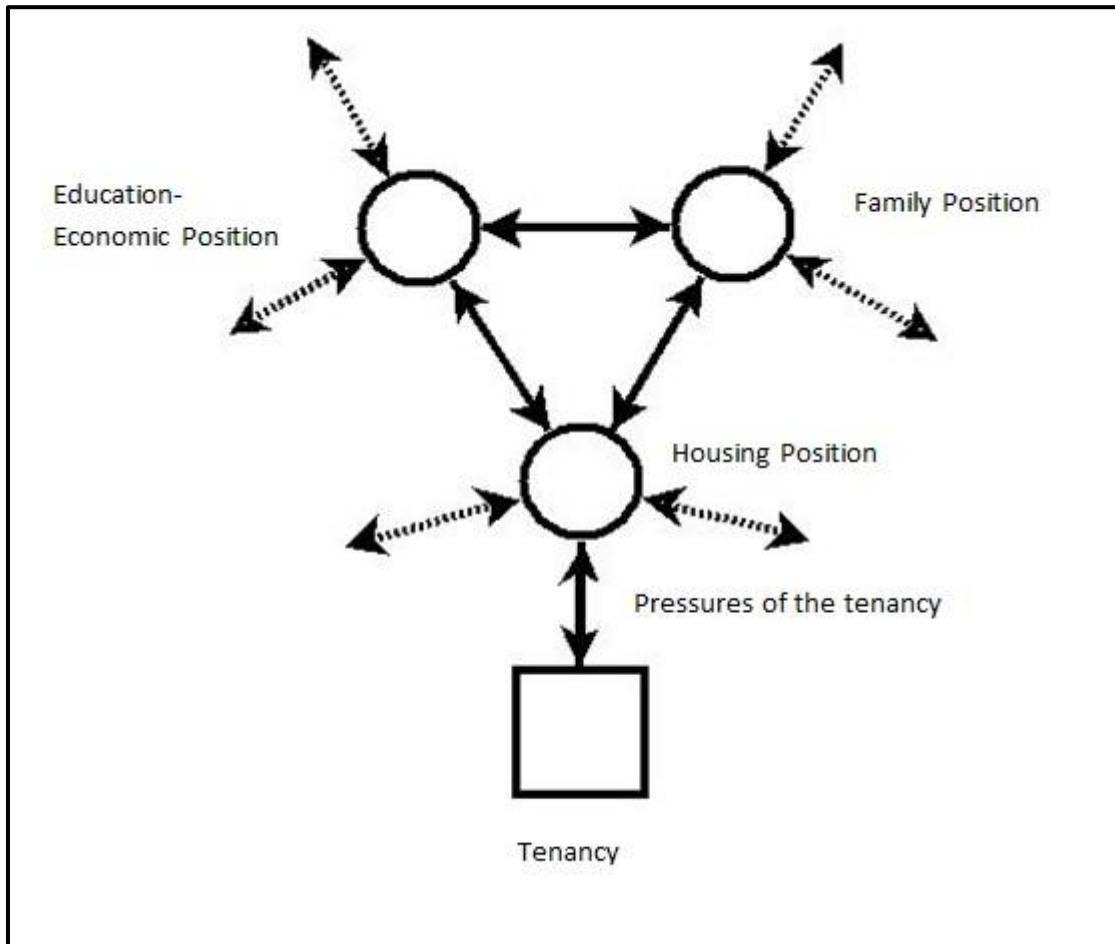
Figure 2: A Constellation of Inter-Dependent Relations

the other social positions of the individual person they take part in the shaping of the

interdependency between tenant and tenancy. This is a simplified model to express the main

aspects of a constellation. A person may have other positions such as being a support user

that would add further independencies. Other relations constituting social positions such as

with employers, landlords, friends, support workers, work-place, etc. are not shown to ensure

a degree of clarity for the diagram. Additionally, each social position is part of a field /

figuration putting the person in wider chains of interdependence with others that shape the

particular position. These aspects are represented by the periphery arrows with dotted lines.

Rather than an egocentric model emphasising an "individual person […] surrounded by social

structures" (Elias 1978: 14) it needs to be remembered that people "make up webs of

interdependence" (Elias 1978: 15). In other words a person is not 'in' an environment but

contributes to the constitution of the environment. Indeed, the environment is made up of

relations to other people and objects. The constellation outlined above, therefore, is a set of interdependent relations constituting an individual person that is part of wider chains of interdependence. That there are no clear-cut borders to the constellation is not a weakness. As Wittgenstein (1958: 208) argued, that words do not have definitive definitions is not the same as saying they are flawed to "think it is would be like saying that the light of my reading lamp is no real light at all because it has no sharp boundary".

State power and social change can be brought into research on tenancy sustainment through recognising this fuzzy periphery where they influence changes in the possible housing pathways, youth transitions through young people's interdependencies. The importance of this is that a person experiences changes in these wider chains, such as the process of actually existing neoliberalism, through how it modifies the interdependencies constituting their positions. Although the research is concerned with tenancy sustainment of young people this should not reduce the concerns of the research to the direct interaction between tenant and tenancy. As Bourdieu (1991: 181) notes too often in seeking to explain social phenomena "in person, close up" leads also to placing the basis of what is observed "at the site of observation itself". Indeed, "the truth of the interaction is not to be found in the interaction itself" (Bourdieu 2005: 148) but within "the mesh of interdependence […] that provide the firm framework of [any] 'inter-action'" (Elias 1983: 143). As Elias and Scotson (1994: 10) argued, "every element in a configuration and all of its properties are what they are only by virtue of their position and function within a configuration." Therefore it is through young people's interdependencies that changes in housing pathways, youth transitions, and the process of actually existing neoliberalism are "being brought inside" (Latour 2005: 179) their practice of sustaining a tenancy. Thus, despite the research not aiming to explain these social changes and the process of state-crafting because "they make other things move, and [the research] can document those moves, then they are visible" (Latour 2005: 150) in the influence they have on young people's practice and it is therefore vital to take them into account.

This does not reduce a person to their interdependencies, rather than being the basic unit of analysis that practice arises from a compounding of a constellation of interdependent relations, situated within longer chains of interdependence that enters into the configuration of the constellation, and individualises different forms of practice for sustaining a tenancy from others (Lahire 2011: Latour, Jensen & Venturini 2012).

Embodied Sensitivity

Embodied sensitivity was a concept developed for understanding the practical sense of young people within the research. It "is the socially constituted principle of perception and appreciation of the social world that [is acquired] in a particular social context which renders the world meaningful" (Charlesworth 2000: 29). A "system of dispositions [...] manners of being, seeing, acting and thinking, [...] schemata or structures of perception, conception and action" (Bourdieu 2005: 43). These dispositions are acquired because people are "opened to the world, and therefore exposed to the world, and so capable of being conditioned [...] by social relations" (Bourdieu 2000: 134).

Despite embodied sensitivity being produced through the embodiment of relations it does not mark a return to structural determinism. Remaining in thinking of "the usual antinomies [...] of determinism and freedom, conditioning and creativity, consciousness and the unconscious, or the individual and society" (Bourdieu 1990a: 55) prevents understanding how embodied sensitivity dissolves these as issues. Embodied sensitivity does not work "along the paths of a mechanical determinism, but within the constraints and limits" (Bourdieu 1990a: 55) embodied for "how to do things" (Burkitt 1999: 87) that can be creatively deployed to new situations. It "is not a fate, not a destiny [... it] is never a mere principle of repetition" (Bourdieu 2005: 45) and therefore "does not produce practices as much as orient them; it

does not determine action but provides [the means] with which people act in various situations" (Burkitt 1999: 87). A practice "cannot be deduced either from the present conditions which may seem to have provoked [it] or from the past conditions which have produced the" dispositions (Bourdieu 1990a: 56). Instead, both embodied sensitivity and a person's interdependencies have to be taken together in order to understand practice.

An important aspect of embodied sensitivity is it "functions as a sort of social orientation, a 'sense of one's place', guiding" (Bourdieu 1984: 467) people towards situations where this orientation can be realised. "People are motivated, driven by, torn from a state of in-difference and moved by the stimuli sent" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 26) by certain relations as opposed to others. People do not engage in activities unless there is an "investment in a game a stake, illusio, involvement" (Bourdieu 1990a: 290). This is not the same as saying people are seeking to maximize "their social profit; but one may say that they do it to perpetuate or to augment their social being" (Bourdieu 1999: 274). Within the research these orientations are referred to as libidos, a term Bourdieu increasingly used instead of illusio (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 25), to make clear this desire towards certain actions. Libidos also draws attention to the fact that people "may embody beliefs [...] without having the material and / or dispositional means of respecting, realizing, reaching, or achieving them" (Lahire 2003: 337). This is why it is important to consider libidos and the sensitivity that arises from their realization. That sensitivities also arise through the realization of libidos and rely on the constant realization of the libido is not to say they are not embodied. Sensitivities are always experienced bodily, and thus embodied, though not always internalized.

Embodied sensitivity therefore retains much from Bourdieu's use of habitus but was developed to be more empirically amenable within the research. One issue arising with habitus is Bourdieu "speaking indifferently of the 'habitus' of groups or classes along with the 'habitus' of singular individuals [...is it fails to] take into account that [there is a] change of scale in observation and analysis" (Lahire 2011: xiii-xiv). Particularly, the concepts of habitus

and field are seen to "function fully only in relation to one another" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 19). With a specific habitus corresponding to a specific field, habitus is understood as "the product of the embodiment of the immanent necessity of a field" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 127). Elsewhere this is phrased as the "internalization of externality and the externalization of internality" (Bourdieu 2001: 72) and "cognitive structures [...] the product of incorporation of the structures of the world" (Bourdieu 2000: 135).

However, this rhetorical style often fails in explaining how dispositions are actually formed for individuals (Lahire 2011: 175). Reference to the match between dispositions and "objective probabilities" (Bourdieu 1977: 77) does not provide an account of how these dispositions are embodied. Such phrases "masks the processes by which not 'social structures' but relations to the social world and to others, ways of acting in particular situations, with others and with objects, are gradually embodied" (Lahire 2011: 178). This gradual embodiment takes place "by entering step by step into social relations of interdependence with other actors, or by maintaining [...] relationships with multiple objects whose modes of use and appreciation they learn" (Lahire 2011: 176). Avoiding the rhetorical language in favour of an empirical study of how dispositions are embodied provides a means to study how young people develop a practical mastery through their social relations.

A second issue with the use made by Bourdieu of habitus is the emphasis "on the 'systematic' and 'unifying' aspect of habitus" (Lahire 2011: 11). However, this "coherence and homogeneity, which sociologists attribute to individual dispositions [might be fine when working] at the level of the group" (Lahire 2003: 344) such as how social classes distinguish themselves from each other (Bourdieu 1984). It creates issues though when "the individual as a complex product of various socialization processes" (Lahire 2003: 343) is considered, such as young people who occupy multiple social positions. Approached in this way leads to the recognition that "the singular [individual] is necessarily plural in nature" (Lahire 2003: 343-44). Bourdieu's (2000: 64) writings on "cleft, tormented habitus bearing in the form of tensions

and contradictions the mark of the contradictory conditions of formation of which they are the product" while approaching this remains within an assumption that singleness is the norm (Lahire 2011: 36). There needs to be consideration of the "relationships within individuals between the drives [libidos] and affects" (Elias 1939: 409-10) that are embodied through multiple social positions "which may be contrary or even contradictory to one another" (Lahire 2003: 344) or "can quite well coexist peacefully" (Lahire 2011: 36). Attention has to be given to if and how libidos are brought into conflict.

Lahire (2011) utilizes the metaphor of the fold to explain this internal plurality of people. This is through thinking of social space laid out in all its dimensions (political, cultural, economic, family, etc) as "a sheet of paper or a piece of cloth" (Lahire 2011: 204-5). In relation to this "each individual is comparable to a crumpled sheet of paper or a creased piece of cloth" (Lahire 2011: 205). Each individual therefore "is the product of multiple operations of folding […] and is characterized […] by the multiplicity and complexity of the social processes, dimensions, logics, etc." (Lahire 2011: 205) that are folded upon them. These "multiple operations of folding that are constitutive of the individual actor […] that make each actor both a relatively singular being and one relatively analogous to many others" (Lahire 2011: 205).

The concept of a constellation of interdependent relations improves a way to grasp this folding, the compounding of relations, as opposed to Lahire (2011) focusing on plural contexts. Returning to the constellation model in **Figure 2**, it can be seen as shining a light on this cloth in its unfolded form around a particular individual. The effect of folding can be seen by reading each of the arrows as so many creases that compound together in its folded state which is embodied in sensitivity. This reinforces why no central ego is represented in the model, as these operations of folding remove any clear distinction between what is internal and external to the individual.   Their interdependencies always take part in the production of their embodied sensitivity and sense of self. From this it can also be understood that "intra-

individual variation […] is nothing other than the trace and the symptom […] of the plurality"
(Lahire 2011: 172) of their constellation of interdependent relations and its particular
configuration. Combined together, then, a constellation of interdependent relations and
embodied sensitivity offers a means to move from the focus on group differences, as found
with habitus and field, to a more fine grained stuff of individual differences, both between
individuals and for the same individual over time.

Another reason the concept of embodied sensitivity has been used in this thesis is due to the
debates opposing habit / habitus and reflexivity or trying to theoretically synthesise them in
response to the work of Archer (2010; 2012; Elder-Vass 2007; Kemp 2010) Camic (1986), in a
historical review of the use of the concept of habit, found that it had become neglected within
sociology due to its association with behaviourism that was influential within the psychology
departments sociologists were struggling against when attempting to get sociology recognised
as a discipline. Through this neglect the concept had also increasingly become misunderstood
as referring solely to mechanical reaction with the creative, improvisational aspects removed.
Archer (2010; 2012) has done similar in her critiques of habitus seeing the concept as only
designating situations of routine activity. "In order to escape the linguistically based
misunderstanding that has befallen [habit and habitus…] 'sensitivity'" (Ostrow 1990: 11) has
been used in the thesis to designate the aspects of practical mastery discussed in this section.

Techniques of Independent Living

Techniques of independent living was coined based on a similar concern with the work on
techniques of the body. Mauss (1979) introduced the concept of techniques of the body in
order to explain how differences between cultures such as sleeping on a bed as opposed to on
the floor or sleeping whilst standing were not fixed but arise socially. Techniques of the body
therefore details how people "know how to use" (Mauss 1979: 70) their bodies within certain

activities and how these arise through social relations. Importantly, as with there being no "technique of the body in the singular" (Mauss 1979: 70) but a plurality of techniques, techniques of independent living covers the diversity of techniques that exist that produce a practice of sustaining a tenancy.

Crucially, techniques of independent living aims to extend this approach to the study of practice to the interdependency between tenant and tenancy. While Elias stressed the importance of 'nature' there is little provided in his work for how to incorporate objects. For example, Elias (2000) gives brief consideration of how changes in figurations has led to people no longer being concerned with hidden dangers in a forest and instead with the development of cars there is a concern for other drivers on a road. Both Hughes (2003) and Goudsblom (1992) though have built on Elias to consider in greater detail the use of tobacco and fire respectively. Particularly this work has stressed the interrelationship between humans and these objects for certain techniques and forms of practice to exist. For example, in "adapting fire to human needs, [people also] had to adapt human habits to fire" (Goudsblom 1992: 20). A similar argument within housing has been made by Clapham (2011: 360-1) that a shift needs to be made from looking at "the meaning of home" towards "the embodied use of the home by individuals" that "focuses on the relationship [between people and their houses], rather than on" them separately.

Techniques of independent living thus develops upon Clapham's (2011) call by examining how people adapt their tenancy to their needs, and also adapt to the tenancy. Particularly important for this is that the techniques people use "have to [be adapted] to the level at which society finds itself during their lifetime" (Goudslom 1992: 197). History objectified in relations presents pressures "given and inherited [...from the past] with which [people] are directly confronted" (Marx 1973: 146). A person therefore has to adapt to the "objectified, instituted history [… by becoming] endowed with the appropriate attributes to make it function" (Bourdieu 1981: 306).

Following Elias the approach adopted in this thesis considers approaching the question of the 'freedom' of an individual with "the theoretical and empirical planes in closest touch with one another, rather than on the basis of preconceived dogmatic positions" (Elias 1983:30). What is important is not starting from considering an isolated individual's action "as if there were only a single human being in the world" but to "start only from what is actually observable" (Elias 1983: 31) – the interdependence between people and objects. The focus on techniques is the difference a person makes, the degree to which they take part in the determination of events, through their interdependencies. Since what is interdependent cannot be conceived in isolation the balance of power in interdependencies always make a difference to what is related. It is not an *a priori* ability to make a difference but the difference that is made that remains empirically observable and explainable through an examination of interdependencies, embodied sensitivity, and capital. Techniques therefore do not exist 'above' or 'emerge' out of relations, embodied sensitivity, and capital but are formed through them and take part in their interweaving.

The difference techniques make should not be read as the same as Giddens' (1989: 258) writing on agency of there being a "possibility of doing otherwise". Elsewhere he phrases this as situations where a person "could have acted otherwise" (Gidden 1976: 75). Through this agency is argued to be the ability to "make a difference" (Giddens 1984: 14) that is enabled and / or constrained in structural contexts. Each of these phrasings in positively defining an 'ability' or 'possibility' leads to a focus upon choice that imports *a priori* philosophical thinking, influenced by liberalism, into Giddens' social theory which is difficult to apply empirically (Kilminster 1998; Loyal & Barnes 2001; Collins 1992).

Keeping with Elias' advice of remaining with what can be empirically studied makes the "only freedom […] sociologists can seriously consider […] a freedom of action […] relative to determinate socio-historical situations" (Lahire 2011: 207) rather than freedom, an ability to do other, being a property of an individual. With this freedom of action and what takes place

within it remaining explainable, and thus socially determined, situations cannot be deduced where a person 'could have act[ed] otherwise' from situations where they had no choice (Loyal & Barnes 2001). From this it can be seen that social theories which "naively deduce, from the constant activity of construction of the social world [...] by its actors, the idea that the latter have a fundamental freedom [... which they oppose to determinism] blandly confuses determinism and passivity, as if social determinism could act on dead bodies" (Lahire 2011: 206). What is important is the relative power people have through which their techniques make a difference, the balance between adapting to an interdependency and adapting the independence. The degree of a freedom of action people have to realise their desires and the degree to which their interdependencies determines their practice, thus requires examining the balance of power shaped by their constellation of relations and modified by techniques. Crucially, seeing an individual's practice in this way avoids any return to "connoting moral responsibility" on their actions and the "glorification" or "condemnation" of "the individual" (Collins 2004: 6).

Rites of Institution

The final element of the theoretical framework of this thesis was Bourdieu's (1991) writings on rites of institution. This writing offers a means to analyse the creation of social positions and the way in which symbolic capital positions young people within these. As Bourdieu (1991: 118) points out rites of institution draw attention towards if a person has passed a threshold, "whereas the important thing is the line" that marks the threshold. As Marx (1975: 51) remarked about examinations that existed for entering the bureaucracy they are "but the bureaucratic baptism of knowledge, the official recognition of the transubstantiation of profane knowledge into sacred knowledge." Similarly, a rite of institution is a baptism, or

"consecration" to adopt Bourdieu's (1991: 119) term, giving an official recognition which transforms a persons' status into one that is legitimate and confers them access to certain social positions. It makes their status "known and recognised; [and] consists of making it exist as a social difference" (Bourdieu 1991: 119).

These thresholds are a product of symbolic struggles over where these lines should be drawn that with the level of symbolic power located within the state makes it "one of the major stakes" where these struggles play out (Bourdieu 2000: 186). Rites of institution therefore offer a way to analyse how the divergence between lessening priority criteria within housing and homelessness legislation and increasing punitive conditionality for accessing and maintaining a benefits claim in the development of actually existing neoliberalism enter into and shape a young person's practice. Additionally rites of institution are key sites for exploring how housing ready models of support managed young people's housing pathways through the criteria for judging if a person is ready and how this creates and shapes the positions young people have access to.

Symbolic capital of recognition does not always operate the same way in different situations. Bourdieu writes of symbolic capital of recognition in two senses. There are the "mandated agents" who have the "power of legitimate distribution […] of identities [… that give] legitimate access" (Bourdieu 2000: 187) to social positions through their symbolic capital of recognition. It is clear however in his discussion of being recognised in giving this legitimate access and other privileges, compared to those not recognised at least, that the person recognised also is endowed with a symbolic capital to be recognised not only by the state but "by all" (Bourdieu 2000: 186). As he also states elsewhere symbolic capital is what causes people to "know [a person's status] and to recognise it, to give it value" (Bourdieu 1998: 47). The schemata of judgement to recognise a person therefore is always in relation to the attributes a person is able to present.

Rites of institution are also not one time events but continually play out. Since, to be given "an identity is also to impose boundaries" (Bourdieu 1991: 120) the symbolic capital that enables access to the position also has to be maintained through particular acts. The example Bourdieu (1991: 120-121) gives for this is that nobles have a duty to act nobly in order to maintain a recognition of their status. Rites of institution therefore vary according to the balance of power between the recogniser, and the schemata of judgement they deploy, and the attributes a person is required to present to be recognised. They additionally vary according to the duties imposed upon the recognised and the rights they are granted through their recognition. These variances thus also expose power differentials between people and the degree to which their practice is managed by others.

There is finally an issue of whether rites of institution and its focus on symbolic capital is relevant for explaining young people's experience. Allen (2008: 57) has criticised the literature on class consumption (cf. Savage *et al.* 1992; Skeggs 1997) because of the low levels of economic and cultural capital at the disposal of members of the working-class (Charlesworth 2000) which young people leaving homelessness are also likely to have low levels of. In contrast, Allen (2008: 58) argued that there needs to be "a theory of 'being' that must extend beyond an understanding of [...] resources [...] that some households mobilise to secure a position for themselves in the market for houses". Allen (2008: 61) thus opposes a "struggle for survival" to "a struggle for positions". In setting out this opposition, however, there is a risk of over-emphasising it whereby, despite being limited, the continuing significance of capital for understanding practice is downplayed. Young people who have previously experienced homelessness do not necessarily enter into a tenancy with all the capital and resources to automatically make it a home. Those experiencing homelessness therefore "are often acutely aware of their position and prioritization within social landlord allocation or local authority homelessness policies" (Flint 2011: 85). Indeed, research such as Allen's (2008) on

the experience of the working-class "often involves those in situ within dwellings that they have lived in for a long time and do not intend to leave" (Flint 2011: 85).

Additionally, while this critique of capital is important to emphasize that capital is not always seen as something to accumulate and used in order to advance within a market for housing it also neglects how capital and resources are important for obtaining and surviving in a particular housing position. Capital and resources, for example, are crucial for furnishing a tenancy, for paying bills and rent, and for shopping. Young people's pathway out of homelessness and settling into an independent tenancy, although they might be lacking in capital, is still important for understanding how they sustain a tenancy. A struggle for survival therefore is always at the same time a struggle for maintaining a housing position. Understanding young people's relation to housing "in their own terms" (Allen 2008: 58) should not favour being over capital and resources but understand how capital and resources make certain forms of being possible.   Particularly, that Allen's work is "based upon those with a property" (Flint 2011: 85), an established position, even if it is a struggle to get by, is a likely reason that the establishment of techniques that take part in this struggle for survival are neglected in favour of emphasising the "just-being" (Allen 2008: 61) of the working-class.

Conclusion

Through engaging in theoretical-empirical research it was possible to develop a new conceptualisation of tenancy sustainment as a practice. This was through giving recognition to the significance that the construction of the object has for producing the perspective a researcher has on what is researched. Additionally, this construction is not affected once and for all at the start of research but requires the development of thinking tools in response to analysis.   Within the research this took Bourdieu's theory of practice and developed

conceptual tools that were more adequate for exploring the practice of young people in independent tenancies. This was the history objectified within a constellation of relations and embodied in sensitivity and techniques of independent living that provides an account of individual variations in practice as opposed to homogenising practice by a group with a position in a field.

This conceptual frame provides, therefore, a means for understanding how young people sustain their tenancy from the multiple foldings of a constellation of relations, that are embodied in sensitivity, and the formation of techniques through these in relation to the relative amount of various forms of capital. This also provides a more detailed examination of "how general societal trends [are] enacted in the internalization of orientations and habits within individuals" alongside complementing the work of Elias with Bourdieu as suggested by Powell and Flint (2009: 162).

Similarly, it can understand how the influence of changes in youth transitions, housing pathways, and the state-crafting of actually existing neoliberalism enter into young people's practice without reducing their practice as mere effects of them through how being embodied individuals means their practice also takes part in the shaping of these relations. Rather than delineating a priori what is individual and what is social attention has to be given to the relative power a person has through their relations to also shape them which is an empirical question. As opposed to returning to an individual will, an ability to do other, the pertinent question is the relative freedom of action a person has in relation to the pressures of a tenancy. This conceptualisation thus undertakes the importance stressed by Kemeny (1992: 13) to integrate what is researched "into the wider social processes of which it is part" with King's (2009) warning not to forget what is unique about housing. In doing so integrating and developing previous theorisations through combining the theoretical ambition of the research with an empirical modesty by using them in a detailed examination of how young people sustain their tenancies. The creation of the empirical materials for the research and how they

were analysed is detailed in the following chapter before turning to presenting the concepts

outlined here at work.

Chapter Four: The Act of Research

Introduction

This chapter outlines the research design and rationale Firstly, the use of abductive reasoning, which enables theoretical-empirical research to integrate and develop existing theory, is explained. Secondly, the research design as a qualitative longitudinal study is described to explain how this allowed the research to study processes.   An overview of the research participants is then given with consideration of the information provided by the sample. The use of semi-structured interviews is explained followed by details of how the analysis was carried out to reach the research findings.   Finally, ethical issues which were deemed significant for the research and how these were dealt with are discussed.

Reflexive considerations which informed the shaping of the research are highlighted throughout, drawing on Bourdieu's reflexive sociology and work from the sociology of science (Latour 1999). This continues the "fusion between theory and method" (Wacquant 2008b: 266) in order to construct the object of research.   In the previous chapter, the implications of treating theory as the modus operandi for research and the development of a conceptualisation of the practice of sustaining a tenancy were outlined. In this chapter the focus is on the implication for research methods being guided by theory.   In particular participant recruitment, the use of semi-structured interviews and symbolic violence within the interview setting are explored in order to enable the reader to "reproduce in the reading of the [text] the work of both construction and understanding that produced [it]" (Bourdieu 2002: 607).

Theoretical-Empirical Research

It is impossible to "separate object-construction from the instruments of object-construction, because, to move from a research programme to scientific work, you need instruments, and these instruments are more or less appropriate depending on what you're looking for" (Bourdieu *et al.* 1989: 254). Therefore, to construct an understanding of young people's practice of sustaining a tenancy it was necessary to design research methods which could provide access to this practice. Crucially, however, there needed to be an approach where "the most 'empirical' technical choices [...were not] disentangled from the most 'theoretical' choices in the construction of the object" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 225).

This necessitated the use of abductive analysis which recognises that the "constant movement back and forth between theory and empirical data is necessary" (Wodak 2004: 2000). Rather than a commitment solely to deduction as advocated by Popper (1961) or to induction as found in early forms of grounded theory (Glaser & Strauss 1967), abductive analysis proceeds in a two-fold manner. Bourdieu's work formed a set of concepts which orientated the research design and analysis and whose explanatory power was tested through being put to work in the analysis. Throughout, there was no hesitation to "authorize oneself to contradict, refute, complete or inflect" (Lahire 2011: 4) where the analysis called for this. Focusing upon the nuance differences between the preliminary concepts and the developing analysis enabled the development of conceptualisation with improved explanatory power. Progressing in such a manner which did not rely solely on a deductive rejection through a null-hypothesis, as with positivist approaches, nor through theory "inductively developed" (Glaser & Strauss 1967: 5), as in grounded theory. This "reluctant engagement of theoretical literature" (Timmermans & Tavary 2012: 173) by grounded theory has been referred to by Wacquant (2002: 1481) as an

"epistemological fairy tale". This is because what 'emerges' can only do so from a theory which guides the analysis.

Rather than themes 'emerging' it is better to say that abductive reasoning takes advantage of the "misfit between experience and expectations" and "what [researchers] observe and / or experience" in the research and during analysis (Schwatz-Shea & Yanow 2011: 28). Therefore, through abduction, there is a modification of concepts in response to their explanatory failings. Indeed, the "latin roots [of abduction means] to lead away" where research is "led, or more actively, directed, in an inferential process, [… moving back and forth between theory and empirical data] toward its possible explanation(s)" (Schawtz-Shea & Yanow 2011: 28). Abduction thus requires researchers to have "extensive familiarity with existing theories at the outset and through every research step" (Timmermans & Tavary 2012: 173). To "work self-consciously to integrate [theory and research] at every step in the construction of the object rather than to pretend to discover theory [that is] 'grounded' in the field" (Wacquant 2002: 1523). This is what most distinguishes abduction from classical forms of grounded theory. This combination of the research, being theoretically driven yet allowed to be led in new directions by the research itself, enabled the empirical information from the interviews to lead to the synthesis and development of previous theories within the conceptualisation to explain young people's practice of sustaining their tenancies.

Qualitative Longitudinal Design

The research consisted of two waves of interviews with each participant where it was possible to recontact them. 25 participants were recruited for the research and took part in the first wave of interviews. 18 of this initial group were successfully tracked and took part in the second wave of interviews meaning contact was maintained with 72% of the participants

throughout the research period. For four of those who did not take part in the second wave, minimum information was made available to the researcher. In total then forty-three interviews were conducted as part of the fieldwork. Recruitment started in July 2010 and field-work was conducted between January 2011 and January 2012.

Moving towards seeing tenancy sustainment as a practice required an ability to explain not only the pathway into a tenancy and the potential ending of a tenancy. It also needed to explain the process of how a person adapts to a new social position and is able to develop a practical mastery to actively sustain it. Having this "interest in processes" (Thompson 2007: 571) meant a qualitative longitudinal design was preferable for being able to provide data relevant to these concerns. A major strength of qualitative longitudinal research is that it "seeks to uncover and understand processes of change over time" (Corden & Millar 2007: 529). This is because, instead of studying a phenomena at a single moment in time, longitudinal research makes repeated observations across set intervals. Having repeat interviews enables the study of processes rather than fixed states through observations of changes over time. Indeed, housing pathways and youth transitions are both concerned with understanding changes over time. Longitudinal research design was the most suitable strategy for this study and builds on longitudinal research on tenancy sustainment (Harding 2004; Crane *et al.* 2011), housing pathways (Fitzpatrick 2000; McNaughton 2008; Mallett *et al.* 2010), and youth transitions (Henderson *et al.* 2007; Holdsworth & Morgan 2005).

In contrast to this, Clapham (2005: 243) has argued that the majority of research tends to be cross-sectional, studying a situation at only one moment in time. A reason for this is the limits imposed upon research by funding and management which disfavour longitudinal research (Clapham 2005). Despite the strong temporal focus in much early sociological work, post-1945 there has been a "retreat […] into the present" (Elias 1987: 223). Due to this, time has been neglected to such an extent that it resurfaced as a separate area of study as 'change' opposed to standard research concerns which reinforce process-reduction. Adopting a longitudinal

design with two-waves of interviews meant that rather than processes and change being treated as a separate issue they could be given priority.

Even in utilising a longitudinal element, a decision had to be made on the lengths of time to have between waves of interviews where a change may have occurred (Thomson & Holland, 2003). Within the research there was a period of six months between the first and second wave of interviews. Originally this was decided so that a planned three waves would cover the time-period normally examined in tenancy sustainment research following young people for 10-12 months from entering their tenancy (SCSH 2007). Furthermore, Third *et al.*'s (2001) study showed two marked periods where people were more likely to leave. This was at the start of the tenancy and those approaching a six months into their tenancy. Three waves set six months apart would have captured these keys moments as well as incorporating a middle point between the two. Difficulties with recruitment, explained at the end of this chapter, meant only two waves were able to be completed during the time allocated for fieldwork.

Participants

The criteria for participants to be included in the research was 'young people', aged 16-25, who had previously been recognised as statutorily homeless and were currently in their own independent tenancy. The choice age group reflects cut-off points for social security and support services for young homeless people which constructs them as a separate group Despite this selection by age, the malleability of what constitutes youth was acknowledged and was a prominent feature of the analysis in order to avoid this sampling measure becoming an implicit conceptualisation.

Table 1 – Participant Recruitment Table

Participant	# of interviews	Age	Gender	LA Region	Recruitment Organisation	Tenancy Type	# of Previous Tenancies	Household at start of research	Household at end of research	Conditions of Housing Ready	Left tenancy during research
Rachael	2	17	F	1	1	Council	0	Single parent	Partner & child	No	Yes
Mike	2	21	M	1	2	Housing Association	3	Single	Single	No	No
Graham	2	17	M	2	3	Council	0	Partner	Partner	Yes	No
Eric	2	23	M	3	4	Council	0	Single	Single	No	Yes
Ryan	2	18	M	4	5	Council	0	Single	Single	No	No
John	2	19	M	4	5	Housing Association	0	Single	Single	Yes	No
Lucy	2	23	F	4	5	Council	3	Single parent	Single parent	No	No
Jenny	2	19	F	4	5	Council	3	Single parent	Partner & child	Yes	Yes
Brian	2	19	M	4	5	Housing Association	0	Single	Single	No	Yes
Scott	2	21	M	5	6	Council	0	Single	Single	No	No
Robert	2	21	M	5	6	Private Sector Lease	0	Single	Single	No	No
Fraser	1	24	M	6	7	Housing Association	0	Single	N/A	No	No
David	2	21	M	7	8	Housing Association	0	Single	Single	Yes	Yes
Lesley	1	19	F	5	9	Council	0	Single parent	N/A	No	No
Simon	1	22	M	7	10	Housing Association	2	Single	N/A	No	n/a
Tom	2	17	M	7	10	Housing Association	0	Single	Single	No	No
Alison	1	22	F	6	7	Housing Association	0	Single parent	N/A	No	No
Daniel	2	21	M	7	10	Housing Association	1	Single	Partner & child	Yes	No
Vicky	1	18	F	8	6	Council	0	Single parent	Partner & child	Yes	Yes
Alan	2	19	M	9	10	Council	0	Single	Single	Yes	No
Garry	2	22	M	8	6	Council	0	Single	Partner	Yes	No
Zoe	1	22	F	9	10	Housing Association	0	Partner	N/A	Yes	n/a
Mark	2	21	M	10	11	Housing Association	1	Single	Single	Yes	No
Sarah	1	21	F	10	11	Housing Association	0	Single	N/A	No	n/a
Marianne	2	19	F	10	11	Council	0	Partner	Partner	No	No

Table 1 provides an overview of the participants within the study and information in regards to certain key characteristics. As can be seen in the **Table 1**, there were no participants aged either 16 or 25, the two extremes of the age bracket used for selection. A lack of those aged 25 was probably due to this being an age where they would no longer fit within the age criteria of the floating support organisations which helped in recruitment. The lack of participants aged 16 and 17 can be explained through another of the characteristics included in the table. This was the prevalence of there being conditions of 'housing ready' within supported accommodation which a person had to meet before being allocated a tenancy. Where they were present, such conditions resulted in supported accommodation operating according to a steps model (see Pawson 2012). A service user's place on the waiting lists was 'frozen' until they were deemed ready to be housed. This increased the length of time before participants were in their own tenancy meaning very few young people would enter their own tenancy before the age of 17.

All participants were recruited through housing-related organisations they used, including landlords, employers (both paid and voluntary) and support organisations, ranging from organisations providing floating support to those offering assistance with, for example, 'life skills' or furnishing. Additionally, in a few cases, there was overlap where the support organisation was also the landlord of the tenancy. When determining potential participants for the research local authorities and housing associations could only do so based on their own records. The former could do this from their records of those making a successful homelessness presentation and housing associations from Section 5 referrals under the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 for people recognised as statutorily homeless. The support organisations that aided recruitment generally had service users referred to them by local authorities after a person made a successful homelessness presentation. Recruitment of participants who had experienced homelessness but had not gone through statutorily pathways out, would have required a different means of recruitment.

In terms of sampling, the aim was to have a balance of tenure type between council and housing association and the final sample included twelve of each. Attempts were made to include participants in other forms of tenure. Section 32A of the Homelessness Etc (Scotland) Act 2003 allows local authorities to discharge their duty to house homeless households in the private rented sector. Only one participant was recruited who had a private sector lease under a scheme run by the local authority. As will be seen in the findings chapters, private lets were generally unattractive to participants. This may explain why it was not possible to recruit participants in regular private tenancies as an option at the time of the first interview.

As with tenancy type, sampling of participants aimed to have a relative balance of gender. Within the final sample there were nine females and sixteen males. This slight imbalance could be due to the researcher's own gender. The three participants who opted to have someone else in attendance for their first interview were female. A further female participant opted to have the interview at the location of a support organisation rather than her own tenancy. Given the existence of patriarchy within the social world young women may have felt at risk allowing an unknown man into their house.

Retention

A key challenge in longitudinal research design is retaining the sampled participants. In order to ensure the retention of the participants originally recruited several steps were taken. At the first interview, participants were asked for their consent to be contacted again in the future (see **Appendix 1**). Further to this, participants were asked to provide contact information, not only for themselves, but two alternative contacts if they were comfortable with this (see **Appendix 2**). These second contact details were used to try and get in touch with eleven participants, leading to success in arranging a second interview with five of them. Finally, participants were given a contact sheet for the researcher including mobile, office, and

e-mail details. Two participants used them to check with the researcher that the second interviews would be arranged soon. Another also phoned after his second interview to notify the researcher they had left their tenancy.

In recontacting participants, the research utilised notions of 'maximum' and 'minimum' information (Pickering *et al.* 2003). Maximum information was what was primarily sought and gathered directly from the participants at interviews. Where this was not possible, minimum information from the participants or their secondary contacts was sought over the phone. Participants had been informed of this at the first interview when the contact sheet was introduced and their consent was sought for the researcher doing this. Of the seven where it was not possible to arrange a second interview it was possible to receive such minimum information for four of them. For three, this was from the participants themselves who had not been able to arrange a second interview. In the final case minimum information was provided by another participant. As can be seen in **Table 1,** for only three participants it was unknown if they had left their tenancy or not during the research period. In their cases, calls to the secondary contact details went unanswered and / or the secondary contact was no longer themselves in contact with the participant.

Semi-structured interviews

The two waves of the research took the form of semi-structured interviews with the young people themselves rather than with housing officers or support workers. The aim of the research was to reconceptualise tenancy sustainment as a practice by young people. Similar to previous research, interviewing housing officers and / or support workers would have enabled, examination of how within their strategies are "conceptions of appropriate behaviour by 'good' tenants" (Clapham 2005: 28) and the ways in which they encourage "self-regulation and responsibility amongst their tenants, both through establishing norms but also

through empowering tenants in various aspects of their lives" (Flint 2002: 622). However, such an approach risks assuming that these strategies "automatically realise their effects" (McKee 2011: 3401) in the practice of tenants and "may not sufficiently acknowledge the existence of competing dispositions and practices" (Flint 2002: 623) of tenants nor any alternative views tenants may have of what constitutes success or failure (Allen 2008).

Indeed, as seen within Chapter Two, current conceptualisations of tenancy sustainment have tended to deploy a 'landlord's perspective' for judging successful or failed tenancies including when speaking to tenants themselves. For example, in the development of the survey used with tenants in his research, Harding (2004) incorporated definitions from housing officers of what were appropriate and inappropriate forms of spending. As Allen (2008: 58) has argued in relation to working-class housing consumption, there is a lack of understanding tenants' practice of sustaining a tenancy "on their own terms" because it has been understood through the concerns and conceptions of other social groups. This takes on additional importance for young tenants. As Eder and Fingerson (2003: 33) point out, it is important to interview young people themselves so that they can express their views and opinions and move away from adults' interpretation of their lives which has a tendency to dominate debate. It was important, therefore, for the research to not only interview young tenants but also through interviewing them to enable an understanding of their practice and perspective of sustaining a tenancy rather than utilizing the concerns of policy makers, housing officers and /or support workers as a means to analysis their experience.

Additionally, within the tenancy sustainment research there is a lack of knowledge of where tenants move to after the ending of a tenancy. Housing officers and support workers themselves may not know where young people who leave a tenancy move onto, with Pawson *et al.* (2006) for example recruiting ex-tenants through homelessness organisations instead. In order to understand the housing pathway of the same young people both whilst in their tenancy and after they left it, it was important to establish contact with tenants themselves

whilst in their tenancy in order to be able at the second wave to interview any tenants who had left their tenancy.

Semi-structured interviews offered a balance between structure and flexibility (Gillham 2005: 70). This is because although the same questions are asked of each participant, the open nature of the questioning does not limit the range of responses as closed questioning would. Due to this, the interview schedules for each wave of interviews were designed not only to cover a particular set of questions but also to enable participants to offer their views and opinions. Probing in particular focused upon further clarifying the way participants phrased their responses to questions in order to explore their embodied sensitivity.

The first wave of interviews (see **Appendix 3** & **Appendix 4** for interview schedules) were primarily structured around experiences across a breadth of areas, including housing pathways, youth transitions, a range of housing related activities, including how participants budgeted their money. There were biographical questions included in this to gather information relating to their experiences before the interview and served as another way, alongside taking a longitudinal approach, to incorporate an understanding of time (Clapham 2005: 243). However, Clapham also raises criticisms of biographical interviewing tending to offer retrospective accounts where hindsight and selective memory may impact upon the responses. It was impossible to avoid some degree of retrospection in the interviews as not all participants had been in their tenancy for the same length of time at the first interview, and also changes in people's lives do not happen in synchrony (Thomson *et al.* 2002).

Hindsight, however, does not have to be seen as noise preventing access to some unmediated perspective. As Allen's (2008) research on the working-class's relation to housing showed, hindsight, when examined sociologically offers unique information for analysis. This is through examining why a person comes to perceive past experiences differently. Apparent limits of interviewing biographically then can be turned into benefits if the right questions are posed to

the information gathered. Understanding hindsight in this way also offers a means to control its impact on the recounting of past events. For this reason each wave of interviewing contained biographical questions as well as thematic ones to gather information of participants' histories and events which took place between interviews. To aid in keeping some separation between hindsight and recounting of events the research took Becker's (1998: 59) advice to where possible ask 'how' as opposed to 'why' questions. This is because 'why' suggests some reference to cause and a right answer whereas 'how' is more open and lets people tell their experience in a way that suits them. Asking 'why' though remains important for getting a person's reason for what happened or what they did (Becker 1998: 60). Using this as a strategy in places after 'how' questions allowed bringing aspects of hindsight into greater focus.

For the second wave (see **Appendix 4**), an initial biographical section was included to learn what had happened since last meeting the participant. In addition to this, there followed a series of more thematic questions than the first wave. These were based on gathering further information on developing conceptualisation from preliminary analysis. This was to take advance of "there [being] no closer of analysis [in longitudinal studies where] the next round of data can challenge interpretations" (Thomson & Holland 2003: 237). The second wave of interviews offered opportunities to "illuminate, confirm or unsettle initial and tentative interpretations" (McLeod 2000: 49) and continue the abductive analysis used throughout the research. This enabled an ability to not only test preliminary analysis from the first wave but also to approach developing conceptualisation from a different angle and enrich the information available for analysis. For example, the prevalence of discussion relating to maturity within interviews prompted the inclusion of a question in the second wave about whether participants thought there was any difference between themselves and someone older than them.   This enabled approaching the question of 'maturity' without directly prompting 'what is maturity' in order to see how the participants' placed themselves in

comparison to others. However, where maturity was mentioned it was probed. Doing this led

to a few participants questioning the linkage between age and maturity which aided in the

analysis of maturity being attained in particular ways of acting as opposed to increasing

linearly with age.

The Relative Objectivity of Perception

With the interview being held in a social setting at a distance from the practice it sought to

understand (Silverman 2001), in asking participants to recount and explain their experience

and practice, it was necessary to account for the "distance between the practical experience

[…] and the model" used to reconstruct it (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 170). Furthermore,

the research was not only concerned with participants' experience but with being able to

explain the conditions that make this very experience possible (Bourdieu 2003). Qualitative

methods are regularly presented as arising in opposition to positivist methodologies (Marvasti

2004: 3; Snape & Spencer 2003: 5) placing focus on subjectivity, social variability, and

construction from human interaction (Gillham 2005: 6; Marvasti 2004: 5; Bryman 2001: 266)

with no reality 'out there' (Grbch 2004: 18; Bryman 2001: 266). A similar tendency presents

these as 'philosophical' choices rather than sociological ones (Snape & Spencer 2003: 12;

Creswell 2007: 16). By designating these choices as philosophical it masks "the social and

intellectual unconscious embedded" (Bourdieu & Wacwuant 1992: 36) in the methodologies

that assume a separation of subjective and objective realities or that reality is wholly

subjective. Therefore, these positions are in many ways antithetical to the approach adopted,

aiming to grasp both perception, embodied sensitivity, and the conditions of its possibility,

interdependent relations, in order to explain participants' practice.

What needs to be brought back into question to avoid separating a subjective realm from an

objective one is how perspectives are formed.   Within their responses in the interviews what

participants drew on and actualised was their embodied sensitivity. This is what enabled analysis to account for the gap between what was observed in the interviews and the practice to be explained. As Bourdieu (1998: 1) puts it "there exists a correspondence […] between the objective divisions of the social world […] and the principles of vision and division that agents apply to them". This is because a person has "a sensitivity to everything with which [they are] related, and [… thus orients them] within those relations" (Burkitt 1999: 69). Participants' embodied sensitivity, therefore, was always objectified in an observable form within their behaviour and language (Lahire 2011: 202). Rather than there being a subjective reality separate from an objective one, there are "realities objectified in objects, spaces, machines, words, ways of acting and saying, and so on" (Lahire 2011: 202). Despite "oral language and ways of acting [having] a more ephemeral existence" they are thus "every bit as objective" (Lahire 2011: 202-3). Rather than needing to find an 'outside' to the interview it was already 'inside' "diffracted" (Burkitt 1999: 84) within the language participants use to describe their experiences, views and opinions. Inscribed within interview transcripts, therefore, were the "traces of the productive process" that produced the perspective which can be used as "cues in the process" of analysis (Fairclough 1989: 24). It was through paying attention to participants' vision and the divisions they made in their language that the analysis was able to understand the influence of participants' interdependent relations which informed their sensitivity. With the analysis focusing on understanding relations, this meant they could be traced and unfolded. From this, a move could be made to the influence these relations had in constituting experience to reconstruct and explain their practice.

Schqatz-Shea and Yanow (2011: 31) outline a similar idea in explaining abductive analysis through the metaphor of ripples in water created by a stone. While the stone may no longer be visible, its effects can be traced through the ripples which can "clarify aspects of the impact it had" (Schqatz-Shea & Yanow 2011: 31). Where the configuration of relations is influenced by social change and state power, such as actually existing neoliberalism, the embodiment of

relations to others and object left ripples upon sensitivity which informed participants' responses in the interview. Paying attention to these ripples enabled this influence to be made visible for the analysis. Therefore, tracing involves the ability to constantly move beyond seeing interviews as only accessing views and opinions towards the effects of social relations by the visible marks it leaves upon sensitivity. In this way, as Bourdieu (2002 :613) states, obviously making reference to Weber (see for example Ringer 1997), "understanding and explaining are one".

"This is going to sound silly…": Symbolic Violence in the Interview Setting

Being an engagement with a particular site within the social world the interview is also always an intrusion upon it (Bourdieu 2002: 608). Not only does it set up a situation at a distance from the everyday practice of the participants but there is an additional distance between being a researcher and a participant. Work which aims to be reflexive can draw attention to the positionality of the researcher, yet in doing so can forget the very relation that makes the interview possible (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992). In constituting this setting of interaction between researcher and participant, it created the means by which all the symbolic and linguistic differences, which hierarchize the social world, were flowing within the interviews. As it is the researcher who establishes this setting, an asymmetry is created which is only reinforced by the researcher normally also holding positions regard as 'higher' within the social hierarchy and all that this bestows (Bourdieu 2002: 608). Not taking account of this asymmetry can result in a symbolic violence where violence "is exercised upon a social agent with his or her complicity" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 167).

With all research itself being a sociological act there are implications for not only research design and analysis but conduct during fieldwork. No method offers "perfect innocence"

(Bourdieu 2002 608) in the gathering of information. Reflexivity was required in order to "discover and master as completely as possible the nature of [the] inevitable acts of construction" (Bourdieu 2002: 608) which were at work in the process of conducting research. Not to undermine the possibility of being scientific but with the aim of strengthening the research's scientific credentials (Bourdieu 2003). These implications did not only exhibit issues for ensuring adequate research method. Being sources of symbolic violence, they also have strong ethical importance which vigilance was given to throughout. By ensuring ethical conduct to reduce symbolic violence as much as possible while at the same time removing sources of distortion improves the objectivity of research findings.

One of the crucial features constituting distance between researcher and participant is that sociology is regularly concerned with understanding phenomena which are partially made possible because they 'go without saying' or are even made unspeakable (Charlesworth 2000). 'How' questions were asked where possible. However, with certain questions this was unachievable and it was not uncommon for participants to respond:

"I know this is going to sound really stupid…" **Lucy**

"I know you're saying there's nae wrong answers, but…" **Robert**

"A don't really know how tae describe it…" **Fraser**

Each of these phrases served as a means for participants to distance themselves from what they were about to say. Although frequently accompanied by laughter, they were made as if apologising or were swiftly followed by an apology because the answer was 'crap' or 'rubbish'. Not having a ready language in which to explain, for example, what they felt made their tenancy a home for them risked provoking embarrassment in trying to respond. This is exacerbated by the person the question comes from being granted authority to do so by the interview setting. Potentially awkward responses may have been perceived as a personal failing which one has to apologise for. In order to cater for this and "encourage the

collaboration of the individuals interviewed" (Bourdieu 2002: 609), questions posed to participants used these very phrases to describe the questions. By preceding the questions with "this is going to sound silly…" or "sorry, this might seem an obvious question", the burden of responsibility was reversed. It is made clear that any fault lies with the question and not the response. Introducing questions in this way created a lighter atmosphere where participants responded without as many of their own distancing techniques and apologies.

Another distorting effect which had to be managed was, again, linguistic in nature, arising through the differences in the way the participants and researcher spoke. Language use is intimately tied to symbolic power and violence. Accents are products of social situations and regularly those of class (Bourdieu 1991: 86-87). The best example of this is how socially legitimate forms of language establish those deviating from it as merely "slang" that should be avoided in educational, employment, and official situations (Bourdieu 1991: 49). An apparent lack of accent, then, is only not seen as accentuated because it does not deviate from what is established as 'correct'. Despite the researcher's own accent and use of 'slang' within personal situations, he is dispositioned towards 'de-accentuation' and avoidance of 'slang' when in a work or more formal setting.

As the interviews were a 'working' situation there was an unconscious slippage into this mode of talk. Although the difference in this code switching was slight, the participants' own responses to this were soon apparent. In making a response to a question, they would hesitate mid-word and start anew but this time speaking in a 'correct' manner and making apologies for swearing. This deferral to trying to match the researcher is again a result of the asymmetry of the interview setting forcing participants to feel the need to self-censor. To cater for this , deliberate efforts were made to avoid this slippage. This gradually required less effort as fieldwork continued, leading to less self-censorship by participants.

The transcription of interviews was verbatim to present the pronunciation and word use of participants with as little moderation as possible. Legitimated forms of language always dictate not only the 'correct' ways of speaking but also how language is textually presented. Ways of speaking which are not perceived 'correct' are regularly made to comply with 'correct' textual form losing the particular rhythm and expression of the spoken form. Similarly, the trend to present Scots words and pronunciation with 'apologetic commas' to denote the shortening of words (for example about when pronounced without the 'a' as 'bout) was avoided. This is again from such presentation suggesting there is something that needs its apparent deviance from correct forms designated. At the same time, it is recognised that readers, through the same forms of censorship, may not be acquainted with text presented in such a way. Where any possible misunderstanding with a word could arise, clarification is given within square brackets for the first instance it occurs.

The way researchers present themselves, the research, and their general comportment during the interview, are further means by which symbolic violence can enter the interview (Bourdieu 2002: 608-9). When conducting fieldwork, clothing was worn which would be considered 'casual'. Materials for the interview were carried in a sports backpack. Distance was also reduced during the fieldwork period with the researcher being within the same age category as the participants recruited. On more than one occasion this combination was met with verbal relief from participants who reported having expected a middle-aged suited professional with briefcase and clipboard in tow.

The position which was hardest to control for the researcher was his gender. The lower number of female participants and three wishing someone to accompany them at the first interview may testify to the sense of risk young women had. Letting participants know they could have another person of their choice present at the interview lessened this feeling but did not fully control it. Feelings of risk, however, were obviously lessened at subsequent interviews where two of the same participants were comfortable doing the interview without

another person present. This lessening of social distance through familiarity held true for nearly all participants where there was increased rapport. At the first interview, participants displayed an apprehension borne out of a lack of knowing how to interact with a new person. There was a noticeable reduction in nervousness at the second interview, when participants greeted the researcher at the start of the interviews.

Analysis

While use was made of QSR software, for analysis note-taking was also important throughout. Time spent on return journeys from interviews was beneficial for recording in a notebook anything striking about the interview and for jotting down any passing reflections, thoughts and ideas. Once back at the office these notes were transferred into electronic 'notebooks' using note taking software, Microsoft OneNote. The same software had been used extensively for other parts of the research such as the literature review.

There is an important contrast of abductive reasoning compared to other forms of logic where "both deduction and induction are described as following a step-wise, linear, 'first this, then that' logic; […] abduction follows a much more circular-spiral patterns, in which the puzzling requires an engagement with multiple pieces at once" (Schwatz-Shea & Yanow 2011: 28). OneNote offers a non-linear form of information recording which aided the collating, organising, and rearranging of initial thoughts for analysis. Also, the drawing tools make it possible to visually mark potential linkages between ideas. As ideas developed they were stored as separate 'pages' within a notebook using hyperlinks between pages to connect ideas and added to as more interviews were conducted. Another 'notebook' was kept for recording specific thoughts about how these ideas related to the particular experience of each participant. This meant that when it came to coding interview transcripts within NVivo an

initial set of hypothesises for analysis had been derived. Not all of these hypothesises turned out to have weight, but analysing the transcripts to test them regularly turned up other avenues of exploration.

Approaching an area of research in terms of interdependent relations requires a recognition, as de Freitas (2012: 592) explains for rhizomes, that "unlike trees […] any node can be connected to any other – there is no strict hierarchical structure that confines contact".   A coding scheme was developed focusing on the relations made by participants during the interviews in order to unfold them and bring interdependencies to the fore.   A person discussing the qualifications they received from school was coded 'qualifications - school' and when discussing the impact qualifications had for finding work 'qualifications - employment'. This is similar to the 'vs.' coding style that looks for oppositions made by participants such as 'us vs. them'. However, the style used made no assumption about whether relations were conflictual or not (Harger *et al.* 2000; Wolcott 2003).   All relations were coded with no assumption of there necessarily being conflict. Annotations were added to interviews during coding to record thoughts about what appeared to be potentially key passages. This included any details for comparing across interviews when reviewing nodes once initial coding had finished. Where there remained a diversity of experiences within nodes, further coding was carried out to refine the nodes used and find possible cues for explaining these differences.

Analysis made strong use of the various types of queries possible within NVivo. These were used to interrogate initial theorisation and to add additional rigour to coding. A word frequency was run at the start to determine whether certain words used within the interviews were appearing frequently. During coding as well, certain key phrases and words used by participants, which appeared to be prevalent, were recorded within OneNote. These were used for running text queries to discern whether these were indeed used by other participants across interviews. This provided a means to test the explanatory power of developing theories as well as catch parts in interviews which were not as immediately obvious as they were in

others when doing the initial coding. Such queries were helpful in the analysis of common language use arising from embodied sensitivity as found when discussing budgeting and maturity.

Classifications were given to interview transcripts based on tenancy type, organisation etc as well as for changes in situation between interviews such as if participants had ended their tenancy. From this, queries were made both to compare those employed or unemployed alongside, for participants who had left between interviews, discussion of how they viewed their tenancy. Splitting the monitor screen between two windows with a query for those in employment discussing their tenancy on the right and those who were out of employment discussing their tenancy on the left, enabled comparison for how the configuration of relations impacted on the practice of sustaining a tenancy. It was analysing the different configuration of relations between participants or for the same participant over time that enabled an understanding of "processes-in-relations" (White 1997: 60).

The advanced query tools of the software also allow its use for an abductive approach. Importantly, these features aid in coding and analysis which avoids a hierarchisation of nodes into linear structures. Queries were added to the project where all nodes related to 'school' were returned together. Queries were also created for combining nodes together such as all instances coded either 'qualifications - school' and 'qualifications - employment' in order to trace multiple relations. The number of nodes returned together varied in the degree of complexity including the use of qualifiers for instances in the interviews when two nodes were given to the same section of text or were near each other. Queries in this way enabled a coding scheme which kept the nodes non-linear that could embrace the complex inter-weaving of relations with "multiple sites of exit and entry" (de Freitas 2012: 588) through which the influence of changing youth transitions and actually existing neoliberalism could be understood. Additionally when having built up a chain of criteria for what information was to be retrieved, storied versions of advanced queries helped unfold the complex interplay

between sets of relations. This retrieving of information across nodes also aided tracing the impact of one interdependent relation through a chain of other relations such as the impact different forms of income had on budgeting techniques.

Together the coding style adopted and the use of advanced queries enabled a non-linear development of relations, linkages, chains, and networks with no presuppositions over their ordering. The "unfolding process" (Schwatz & Yanow 2011: 34) of the mesh of relations taking part in the constitution of the tenant – tenancy relation in a circular-spiral pattern re-emphasised the need to avoid making a hierarchy of coding because of how strongly "intertwined" (Schwatz & Yanow 2011: 32) the relations were. The unfolding and tracing of relations moving 'outwards' always required a return to how it folded back upon what had previously been explored; a process of "abduction within abduction within abduction" (Schwatz & Yanow 2011: 32). This pattern is followed in the presentation of the analysis chapters whereby, after following the pathway into an independent tenancy, the analysis spirals 'outwards' from the tenancy where covering further relations continually develops an understanding of how young people sustain their tenancies. Through this a new conceptualisation of tenancy sustainment as a practice is developed before finally turning back to the fold in considering pathways between independent tenancies.

Ethics

The research followed the Social Research Association's (2003) Ethical Guidelines. A series of ethical issues were given consideration in the design and conduct of the research.

Risks to the participants

The Social Research Association's (2003: 14) Ethical Guidelines make clear that "social researchers must strive to protect subjects from undue harm arising as a consequence of their participation in research." The focus on moving out of homelessness and maintaining a tenancy does lessen the likelihood of tackling highly sensitive issues to some degree. Despite this, it was acknowledged that a large number of the participants may have experienced a disrupted childhood / teenage years and sensitive issues could have arisen in the course of the interviews and prompted emotional distress. In order to minimize any potential impact this had on participants, they were informed at the beginning of the research that they did not have to answer any questions if they did not wish to in order to avoid "undue intrusion" (SRA, 2003: 25). Similarly, participants were reminded that they did not have to answer a question before any probing on what appeared could be a sensitive issue for them. Only one instance occurred where a participant opted not to answer and they remained happy to continue with the rest of the interview.

In addition to this, the researcher had a phone number for a national helpline for people experiencing difficulties with their tenancy or related issues. This was included on the bottom of the sheet containing the researcher's contact details (see A**ppendix 5**). This was so that, while attention was drawn to its inclusion on the sheet, participants would not assume the researcher felt they were in a situation where they had to call it. At three of the interviews, participants opted to have someone else in attendance during the interview for their own reassurance. They were informed that this was perfectly alright and the interview took place as normal At the second interview two of these participants were comfortable being interviewed alone while the third had not been contactable.

Procedures for informed consent

Recruitment organisations were provided with a letter and information sheet (see **Appendix 6** and **Appendix 7**) to give to participants, or verbally explain to them, containing an outline of the research aims and methods. Copies of this were also brought to the first interviews where the researcher went over it again with the participants. Consent to take part in research was stressed to be voluntary and that potential participants' were not required to take part if they did not wish to (Social Research Association, 2003: 27). While explaining the research, participants were informed of the research aims, what it would involve and how the information given would be used, along with measures in place to ensure their confidentiality and anonymity. Additionally at the start of the second wave of interviews they were informed again that they were under no obligation to take part, could withdraw at any point and were reminded that they did not have to answer any questions that they did not wish to.

High importance was placed on the legibility and readability of the information handed out to participants since "[t]he clarity and comprehensibility of the information provided are as important as the quantity" (Social Research Association, 2003: 28). All information sheets handed to participants were written to a Flesch-Kincaid grade level of 8 and under to enhance readability. Additionally, the font used was verdana to increase the legibility of the text. Where necessary, the information sheet was read over with any participants with reading difficulties, which occurred in a couple of instances. All participants were given the opportunity to ask any questions or for clarifications before being asked if they were happy for the interview to proceed and sign the consent form. Before the actual interview began participants were made aware they could ask questions during the interview if they were unsure of anything. Participants were then directly asked again at the end of the interview if they had any questions. At the second wave of interviews a reminder of the research aims

was given; the same opportunity for asking questions was given; and verbal consent to conduct the interviews was sought before beginning.

Ensuring confidentiality and anonymity

With the type of information given during the interviews and the contact information received for tracking purposes, it was necessary to ensure the confidentiality of what was provided by the participants. In order to do this, the recorded interviews were transferred from the recorder to a password secured computer at the earliest opportunity after the interview took place. The first wave of interviews were transcribed by the researcher and the second wave by a transcription service which had signed a confidentiality agreement with the university. To further enhance the security of the interview recordings and transcripts, they were kept within a password protected archive file using TrueCrypt. All participants were given pseudonyms with the list detailing who was assigned which name kept separately in a locked filing cabinet.

The Best Laid Schemes: Problems with Access and Research Achievements

As was mentioned, due to time constraints the research was forced to cancel an originally planned third wave of interviews. This was a result of the difficulties which were experienced with the recruitment of participants. Although contacting organisations to aid in recruitment started in July 2010, it took nearly seven months before the researcher first went out to conduct actual fieldwork.

Two previous longitudinal research projects within housing and homelessness had utilised a single organisation to help with recruitment. For Harding (2004: 28) this was the local authority and for McNaughton (2008: 29) this was a support organisation which ran thirteen

different services. For this research it was envisaged that contact could be established with an organisation which could play an equivalent role. Further to this it was decided that establishing contact with a single large organisation would minimize time spent on recruitment and maximise the time available for fieldwork. In light of the difficulties with recruitment, the research switched to use the multi-organisation strategy as found in other longitudinal studies within housing and homelessness (c.f. Fitzpatrick 2000; and Mallett *et al.* 2010). Ten organisations, later expanded to fifteen, were selected for this. Very early on it became clear that recruitment would still be slow and e-mails and phone calls were made to collective organisations to notify their member organisations about the research. Therefore, the exact number of organisations contacted to aid in recruitment is unknown. It would be unfair to blame the organisations for these delays. On learning about the research many showed enthusiasm for taking part. However, it is likely that the time and logistical commitments of briefing and co-ordinating staff in recruitment required by the research was hard to balance with current work commitments. Especially as the research was conducted during a time when there was wide-spread talk and concern about funding being cut and services scaled-back.

In order to try and increase the rate of recruitment, the research criteria itself was changed during this time. Originally only participants who were in the tenancy for up to three months were to be included. Feedback from newly contacted organisations suggested each currently worked with a small number in this situation and the time period was extended to six months, then nine months, and, finally, a year.

Although recruitment of participants was slow with the final interviews for the first wave taking place in July 2011, the first wave finished with twenty-five participants interviewed. Evidence of the diversity of organisations who aided in recruitment can be seen in the participant table. While many more organisations had approached potential participants, in the end participants were successfully recruited from eleven different organisations with only

one participant being recruited from five of these. The organisations operated across ten local authority regions, nearly a third of the total number within Scotland.

This diversity differs strongly from the initial plan of one organisation operating within one local authority region. It cannot be concluded from this that the final sample is necessarily of less value than if all had gone to plan. Work within the sociology of science has made clear the constructed character of all scientific research (Latour & Woolgar: 1987). Information gathered during fieldwork does not lay perfectly formed in wait for a researcher to stumble upon it. Rather information is produced by a researcher's very engagement with what is being researched. It is for this reason that "one should never speak of 'data' – what is given – but rather of sublata, that is, of 'achievements'" (Latour 1999: 42). While there were changes in the research design, consideration about how the sample constructs the information gathered prevents this being necessarily a negative.

Firstly, the aims of the research will be considered. While it had not been possible to recruit participants who had been in their tenancy for equivalent time periods and fieldwork was cut short after the second wave, it can be seen from the participant table that six participants left their tenancy during the research period. A further five participants had been in previous tenancies. Both these groups offered an ample base for analysis to compare with situations where participants remained in their tenancy across the two waves. Furthermore, a number of participants had been in their tenancy for at least six months meaning that, by the end of the second wave, they had been there for at least a year . Finally, as can be seen between columns ten and eleven there were five changes of household formation between the first interview and the end of the fieldwork period. As noted in the literature review, these changes have received little attention in previous studies on tenancy sustainment. Therefore, having only two waves of interviews did not prevent the research from making the comparisons previous research suggested were important, as well as for incorporating changes that have been relatively neglected.

In addition to this, despite the relative lack of homogeneity in the sample reducing in-depth examination of particular services and settings, the research findings strength lies elsewhere. This is in the breadth and flexibility of the conceptualisation developed through analysis to be able to cover and explain the diversity within the sample. For example, the different ways conditionalities of housing ready were applied across services and local authorities made clear the impact such variations had on participants' experiences. Being formed in such a way as to be empirically amenable, the 'thinking tools' developed in the analysis also provided a new frame in which to understand the process of leaving a tenancy, fulfilling the role of concepts called for by Clapham (2005: 240) to be "holistic, enabling all factors that influence meaning and behaviour to be related". It is this that most characterises the achievements of this research. The following chapters turn towards an exploration of these achievements.

Chapter Five: Pathways into Independent Tenancies

Introduction

This chapter is the first of five presenting the findings of the two waves of qualitative interviews with young people managing their own independent tenancies. Here, attention is given to the stages of the participants' housing pathways preceding their entering an independent tenancy. In turn, these are the strategies to disassociate themselves from the stigma associated with homelessness, the making of homelessness presentations, the wait for housing in temporary accommodation, and the conditionalities of 'housing ready' experienced by seventeen of the participants. These will be analysed through developing Bourdieu's (1991: 115; 2000: 186) writings on 'rites of institution' and 'symbolic capital of recognition' in order to understand how participants accessed these different positions.

Starting with these pathways in and through homelessness is important for understanding in greater detail the 'selection' of the young people into independent tenancies. All the participants in this study had to rely on homelessness support services at some point. In order to be in an independent tenancy, participants had gone through a dual process of selection of having made a homelessness presentation and having had their need for housing recognised. It took time, however, from being accepted as statutorily homeless to the move into an independent tenancy. Participants thus had a pathway from home, care or a previous tenancy through one or more intermediate positions before moving into the tenancy they were in at the time of the first interview. What needs to be taken into consideration is why they made a homelessness presentation and the ensuing pathway through and out of homelessness to arrive in their independent tenancy.

In addition to this, entering an independent tenancy did not demarcate a clean break for participants. Young people's experience of homelessness left its traces upon their independent tenancies:

> *"For me personally in my opinion it's like, [being in own tenancy is] kinda like still... a homeless experience because... you're still dealing with the affects of being in the homeless, like, setting up, getting things, getting your head organised, getting yourself on track, [...] so it feels like, know like the aftermath or the ripple effects."* **Robert**

In leaving 'ripple effects' upon the practice of sustaining their tenancy, analysis of their pathways into, through and out of homelessness also enables an illumination of what carried with them from homelessness into their tenancy.

'Going down the homeless'

As the quote above from Robert suggests, using homelessness support services was a detour from the housing pathway participants were orientated towards. Being in an independent tenancy was a place where a person could start 'getting yourself on track' suggesting a homelessness experience is to have deviated from the track in some way. As one participant made clear, for him leaving home had resulted in a worsening of his situation:

> *"I was pretty much worse off than I was at home, you know, [...] but obviously you've got to rebuild things, you've got to climb the ladder again, you know, and that's what I've been trying to do for the last couple of years."* **John**

These notions of homelessness suggest things falling apart and a fall in social status. Even when in a tenancy of his own, there was still the work of rebuilding and climbing to go. Whilst a small number of participants then referred to having gone through homelessness as a

positive experience in retrospect, in terms of now having their own tenancy, there was still a sense of transgression in a few interviews:

> *"Not any boy should have to go through that [...] I'm 16 years old and I should still be living with my mum you know it should all be different."* **Graeme**

This sense of transgression from leaving the family home too soon was part of what had fallen apart. For those leaving their family home or care and entering homelessness, the predominant reason was relationship breakdown. Having been living with biological or foster parents meant relationship breakdown resulted in an early family transition and housing pathway for participants compared to the general population. For three of the participants the change in their family transition did not come from relationship breakdown but from starting their own household, having recently had a child or expecting one at the time of their homelessness presentation. They presented as homeless due to overcrowding and a desire to have a place where their household could live together:

> *"I wanted my own tenancy because I was pregnant [...] and I wanted like my family with me, my daughter and ma ex-partner."* **Rachael**

For those who were in their own tenancy at the time of the first interview, making a homelessness presentation was crucial in accessing it. However, when explicitly asked if they ever thought of themselves as homeless most said they had not or that their opinion had changed over time. Graeme was one participant whose views had changed remarking that he had considered himself homeless:

> *"When I was given my suitcases at my door [laugh]"* **Graeme**

Graeme clarified though that his opinion on being homeless changed as soon as he knew he could stay at his friend's house. It then continued to oscillate when he was asked to leave there till he found another friend's tenancy he could stay at. When he felt he could no longer

stay there, he approached housing services and this was when his view shifted decisively towards perceiving his situation as homelessness:

"I'm definitely homeless [… I thought to myself whilst] sitting in the [homeless centre], middle of the night, on a couch almost falling asleep waiting to see the care workers […] it finally got to me 'yeah, I'm going to be in [this place] but I'm not useless, but I'm still homeless.'" **Graeme**

The last sentence is particularly illuminating as he describes himself as homeless but not useless, as if the two normally coincide. Other participants had similar moments when in services where they felt they were 'definitely homeless'. This is similar to findings of previous studies where participants distanced themselves from identifying as homeless until they approached or were within services (McNaughton 2008; Fitzpatrick 2000). Homelessness was associated with 'rooflessness' and having no option but 'living out on the street' (Ryan). However, participants regularly broadened out their understandings of homelessness to include other features. Thus, it was not only having a roof that enabled this distancing, it was also having maintained relations with friends or family.

"I was never properly homeless cause I had friends that would let me stay, I had family." **Ryan**

In this comment, he slips into talking about himself as homeless but clarifies it as not being proper, not authentic, because he still had friends and family. There were additional broader definitions for homelessness for participants who lived in small towns. For example, Brian, like others, noted his realisation of being homeless when entering a 'homeless house' the local authority provided. When asked, however, to clarify what defined the situation as homelessness for him, he replied:

"You've got a bed for the night basically and you're not sleeping on the streets like you do in Glasgow, London, Edinburgh, all these big major cities." **Brian**

In Brian's case, his ability to associate his experience with homelessness remained, while at the same time he disassociated it by highlighting how homelessness in his small town differed from the popular images of homelessness within larger cities. Throughout these quoted sections from the interviews, there is evidence of a broader understanding of homelessness. However, how homelessness was explained can be seen in terms of what individuals were able to say was different about their own situation. This was used either to avoid identifying as homeless or to clarify their homelessness was not 'complete' or 'proper'. Something always put them at a distance from being subsumed by the identity. This helps to explain similar findings by Fitzpatrick (2000: 39) that young people "have a fairly broad understanding of homelessness" yet the "stigma they perceive in being homeless may" lead them to resist applying it to their own situations. The broadness or shortness of the definitions they applied was tied to which features of 'complete' homelessness they could distance their own situation from.

For example, one of the two participants who had reported having slept outside still distanced himself from perceiving his situation as homeless. He did this through the association made between homelessness and drug use. To be homeless therefore meant he would have to be:

> "probably into heroine and stuff like that, erm, 'cause then you can't pay for housing or like not even survive in hostels 'cause like they just keep blasting their money away".
> **Joe**

As can be seen with the quote from Joe, participants not only distanced themselves from homelessness but also from the people they thought experienced it. Within interviews, derogatory terms, particularly those associated with drugs and alcohol, were regularly used to refer to other, generally older, people using services:

> "[The hostel is] jist [just] full a junkies and alchies." **Simon**

> "[The homeless service building] was just full of jaykees and alcoholics." **Graham**

Within these quotes, there is a clear linkage being made between homelessness and housing services and a particular conception of the people who use the services. The impact this had was to strengthen strategies of identifying as homeless while clarifying their situation was lacking some 'proper' aspect:

> *"[There was] these two homeless folk, well we were all homeless but they looked like proper homeless people, like really rough"* **Alison**

This brings into clearer focus the stigma of being 'proper homeless' with its connotations of looking and acting in particular ways. It is not surprising, therefore, on speaking about housing and council offices, hostels and temporary accommodation, that many of the participants 'didnae [didn't] think I'd end up in a place like at [that]' (Simon) and why so many only saw themselves as homeless on approaching the housing office or on entering temporary accommodation. A question arises, however, from this about why participants went to make a homelessness presentation when there was a strong impetus to dissociate themselves from being identified as homeless.

'Making myself homeless': Homelessness Presentations and Local Authorities' Duties

In order to answer this, attention needs to turn towards why participants made homelessness presentations and the impact making one played on their housing pathway. As the name implies, a presentation requires a person to present themselves. A partial explanation for why the strategies of disassociation from identifying their situation as homelessness did not prevent participants making a homelessness presentation was given by Joe. On being asked if he had ever thought to himself 'I'm homeless' he responded:

"No, not generally. Homeless means nowhere to stay, on the street, and there's not one point I've actually thought to myself I'm homeless. I was in a better situation than most people." **Joe**

The effect of the strategies of disassociation can be seen in that, he still considered his situation better 'than most people' and it was only when probed further and with hindsight that he viewed his circumstances as homelessness. Explaining why he had made a homelessness presentation in light of this he responded:

"cause I like I had generally nowhere to stay but I had mates, so I couldn't stay permanently at my friend's […] which is not good." **Joe**

The second quote from Joe was made straight after the first one and both contain the phrase 'nowhere to stay'. The continuing disassociation as used by other participants can be seen again when he immediately mentioned friends. Within this explanation, however, there is a notion of 'could be' homeless because this current situation was not something that could last. For those who did not view their situation prior to approaching services as homelessness, this 'could be' was extremely important because although "I'm not homeless, I'm in between homes" (Daniel). As Daniel clarified there was also a difference in identifying as homeless in contrast to talk of being homeless:

"[I]f somebody asked me 'Are you homeless?' I'd say 'Aye' but to myself I wasnae because I still had my family there." **Daniel**

Another participant who had experience volunteering in the local community including helping people who were experiencing homelessness made similar points, adding there is a difference between people's understanding of homelessness and 'the way the law sees ye as homeless' (Tom). The issue of feeling their housing situation was insecure was not only at work in being able to distance themselves from homelessness, it also played a role in why many made a presentation instead of looking at alternative options. Rachael for example:

"knew a wis [was] gonnae [going to] have tae [to], like, get myself a house an stuff like that." **Rachael**

However, she wanted a council house because 'it was ma [my] first one' and she thought that, being 16,'I know I would've got, like, mair [more] help' (Rachael). Not only was social housing considered a more secure option, private rent was seen in comparison as insecure. This prevented many participants from viewing the private rental sector as a realistic option. While this was seen in terms of security of tenure, as it was perceived that a landlord could end the tenancy with little notice, the quote from Rachael shows how the references to security were broader to include the available support. The unaffordability of private rents compared to social tenancies was also given as another reason why they were perceived as less secure. Many participants had not even considered a private let before making their homeless presentation. Joe had considered a private tenancy with his housing officer but ultimately decided against it:

"Like it's impossible to pay like on any wage pretty much, unless you're a high like businessman or something, you know." **Joe**

Eric, who had been in a private let in the past, noted that he 'would never go back to having a private let' as they are 'too expensive to try and keep the roof over your head' (Eric). Two participants additionally referred to recent newspaper stories about rogue landlords within the city.

It was this combination of being dispositioned by a sense of their own lack of security in their housing position and a sense of the insecurity of other housing positions which led to many making a homeless presentation. When recounting the lead up to making their homelessness presentation it is worth noting that the majority did not mention private tenancies. This gives testimony to the extent it was not seen as an option by participants. It was only from frustration at the length of time it was taking to get a tenancy or in discussion with housing or

support workers that many started considering private lets as an option. In most interviews it was from being directly asked whether they had ever thought about a private let that this information was given.

This feeling of a lack of security was also important for those who did identify as homeless in distinguishing their situation as homelessness before approaching services. Since there was 'not [...] anybody there that can help you' in terms of 'putting a roof over your head [...] or helping you get somewhere to stay' their situation was homelessness because 'it's like just not having security there' (Eric). Despite not all viewing themselves as homeless, or doing so at different stages of their housing pathway in and through homelessness, lack of feeling of security was what united participants for making homelessness presentations. While the participants viewed themselves as 'between homes', 'could be' homeless, homeless but not 'proper' homeless, or homeless given the housing situation they were in, a lack of a sense of security led them to making homelessness presentations.

As well as requiring a person who can present, homelessness presentations are events which take place at particular locations. This is highlighted in the various ways the participants phrased that they had 'went down and presented myself as homeless' (Ryan). Participants' knowledge of where the relevant council buildings were or the support available was mixed, however. For many participants 'somebody else had to tell me about it' (Graeme), and 'ma friend used to be homeless and she gave me the number' (Sarah). Vicky, on applying as homeless after learning she was pregnant, was the only participant who had a parent who helped and accompanied her in making her presentation.

A partial reason behind this was only one of the participants received any form of housing advice during their time at school. A council representative informed the pupils about the 'pros and the negatives of [...] when yer 16 and ye get yer ane tenancy' because 'loads of us were planning to leave school' (Rachael). The only other participant who knew of any form of

advice given at the school intimated it was similarly aimed at pupils who were planning to leave school at the end of their fourth year. The participant, however, was planning to stay on to do her Highers and was, therefore, excluded from taking part. If a similar programme was in place across Scotland many of the other participants would not have been able to participate. This is because a few of them, because of truanting, had been placed in special college classes by their fourth year. Other participants who did not have any problems during their time at school, had stayed on until their fifth year. While none of the participants reported any difficulty in eventually learning where to go, many felt that access to housing advice during their time at school would have been beneficial. As participants were 16-24 years old at the time of making their homelessness presentations, they made them not long after leaving school.

At the same time as making reference to 'going to the homeless' (Eric), other common phrases in the interviews included 'declared myself homeless' (Simon) or 'made myself homeless' (Marianne). Within these two latter phrases, there is a particularly important aspect of the role homelessness presentations have within the "construction of the world" (Bourdieu 2000: 186). It is not only, as quoted from Tom above, that a person's perspective and that of the state's can differ.   What exists through these differences are also social divisions. Homelessness presentations which determine whether a person is statutorily homeless can be seen as a 'rite of institution' (Bourdieu 1991: 117) creating a variety of housing positions. With distinctions being made between statutorily homeless / not statutorily homeless, the Housing (Scotland) Act 1987 further divides between priority /non-priority and intentional / non-intentional.

Such boundaries are a product of symbolic struggles over where the lines should be drawn that with the level of symbolic power located within the state, makes it "one of the major stakes" where these struggles play out (Bourdieu 2000: 186).   The influence of this can be seen in recent Scottish legislation, such as the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 and the

Homelessness etc (Scotland) Act 2003 moving towards greater access to housing and the phasing out of conditions of priority. Through this, homeless presentations take part in the creation of social positions based on the resources and help such positions offer or deny.

Through this lens it is possible to see the importance of the phrase 'made myself homeless' (Marianne) as it is through the homelessness presentation that a person becomes officially "known and recognised [as homeless]; it consists of making it exist as a social difference" (Bourdieu 1991: 119). Participants experienced very few difficulties with being recognised. Recruiting participants who were in their own tenancies obviously meant that it was unlikely that they would have been amongst those not recognised. However, that few difficulties were reported does attest to the effect of Scottish housing policy expanding those deemed recognised and the form of assistance available to them. When asked what took place during his interview, Alan noted:

> *"Em, the reasons why yer declaring yerself homeless, why you're declaring yourself homeless in [the area]. Em, what else was there? Where would ye like tae stay, where would you not like tae stay? That sorta thing."* **Alan**

This adds to the evidence that being recognised as homeless at a homelessness presentation was largely non-problematic. As Alan commented, there were questions on why he was declaring himself homeless and why he was doing so in that particular local authority, as his family home was in another area. A successful homelessness presentation can be seen as a "consecration" (Bourdieu 1991: 119), giving an official recognition which transformed participants' status into one that is legitimate. Having received the necessary information that he was 'legitimate', the next information they asked from Alan was in relation to the local authorities' duty to house him. Indeed, like the majority of participants, he was 'accepted there and then' as statutorily homeless.

These moves towards fulfilling the local authorities' duties show the impact of the symbolic capital that comes with being recognised as statutorily homeless. Through being recognised as homeless, participants are transformed "because [the symbolic efficacy of the rite] transforms representations others have of [them] and above all the behaviour they adopt towards [them]" (Bourdieu 1991: 119). With the power of housing offices to perform the 'rite of institution' that distributes homelessness as an identity in this way, it helps contribute further to understanding why it is on approaching services that people start to form this identity of themselves. This is because rites of institution are always also "an act of communication […] it signifies to someone what [their] identity is, […] in a way that both expresses it to [them] and imposes it on [them]" (Bourdieu 1991: 121). A person has to go 'to the homeless' (Eric) whereby having 'declared [themselves] homeless' (Simon) and being recognised as legitimate by an agent of the state they are 'made […] homeless' (Marianne).

The Wait for Housing

Apart from two participants who opted to stay with friends and relatives until they got a tenancy, all participants were found temporary accommodation on the same day as their homeless presentation. In a few cases this was emergency accommodation until other accommodation became available. This included bedsits or hostels that were normally only for an older age group. Participants were highly negative about this and were anxious for their safety. However, all the supported accommodation that the participants finally ended up in was limited to those who were aged 16-25. This was temporary accommodation based within a single building providing bedsits or flats for multiple residents alongside support workers who were always based within the building. The only other exceptions were a participant who presented as a couple, participants who were pregnant or had a child at the time of their

presentation, and those in a rural area with no supported accommodation. They were all housed within temporary flats, where they could stay until allocated an independent tenancy.

Temporary and supported accommodation was only accessible through the symbolic capital of recognition that came with a successful homelessness application. Access to them was dependent upon having been recognised as statutorily homeless and within a particular age group. This organisation of the available accommodation shows the division that is made in practice between youth and adult homeless. This is an example of how symbolic divisions are always enmeshed with material divisions that contribute towards the "establishing [of] social frontier[s]" (Bourdieu 2000: 189), through the forms of accommodation available to specific groupings.

It was at this juncture that the majority of participants were allocated their first housing support worker. Exceptions were found in one local authority area and, for Eric, who had first applied as homeless seven years before his first interview took place. With the former there was no obvious reason why the participants had not been offered a support worker though both were assigned a housing officer who provided support. This though fell short of the support other participants received both in temporary accommodation and once in their own tenancy. Eric, on the other hand, had not even originally been assigned a housing officer. It was only six years later on revisiting the housing office, when the contemporary Scottish housing policy framework was in place, that he was appointed one. This change in the support made available to him shows the shift in privileges that has taken place in recent years for those recognised as statutorily homeless.

The length of time waiting for a tenancy after having made a homelessness presentation ranged from a number of weeks to, in Eric's extreme situation, six years. The most common

length of time waiting ranged from six months to a year and a half[5]. A common characteristic for most of the participants, however, was a lack of knowledge about how long they could expect to wait for a tenancy:

> *"Yeah I had been back and forth numerous amount of times asking them where my application was and they says o its moving up the list and it won't be long now and that's all I kept getting. [...] Me and [support worker] kept having to go in and saying what's going on what's going on [another support worker] told me as well keep going in don't let them forget your face so I had to proper pest them."* **Lucy**

Not all participants took chasing up their allocation this far. A number of participants had initial faith in waiting to be offered an independent tenancy but this eroded over time where eventually they became frustrated and started as Lucy did to chase up support workers and housing officers about how long they would have to keep waiting. Additionally, there were reports from participants of experiencing periods in temporary accommodation where they were not thinking about when they would be allocated a tenancy, seeing it as being in the distant future. These moments were temporary though and a desire to be allocated a tenancy eventually resurfaced.

A lack of information on how long the waiting lists were in different areas led to one of the participants feeling she had waited longer than was necessary.

> *" I eventually says to them look I've been first for a year and a bit what's happening and the wifie on the phone [...] eventually says to me like I don't know why you've even been on that list I said what d'ye mean she says well your chances of getting a flat there are like one in a million she says so you've been sitting on that."* **Lesley**

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[5] It is difficult to give precise statistics for these as participants were only able to give rough time scales for when they entered temporary accommodation till they moved into their own tenancy. Additionally reported time scales changed slightly during the interview or were corrected on probing.

This was only after having phoned them repeatedly in the past. No-one she had spoken to on the phone previously had informed her of this and fortunately the person this time noted she could move her 'social inclusion' points to where her gran lived instead. Whilst happy with this, Lesley noted:

> "I could of been offered a flat well before well maybe no but I think I could of if I wasnae listed there that full time." **Lesley**

Some participants did consider a private tenancy due to the length of time waiting. Private tenancies, however, were still viewed as less secure and not as desirable as social housing and no participants exited homelessness into a private tenancy. Lucy was in a unique situation as she had a dependent child. She was, therefore, allocated a private tenancy whilst waiting for social housing to become available. Each of the private tenancies she was placed in though had problems such as a flea infestation and poor central heating. Despite this, while waiting for a social tenancy to become available, she was not able to find another private let of her own:

> "'Cause I was told, erm, if I found my own tenancy then I would no longer be classed as homeless and I would not be eligible for a council house." **Lucy**

A few participants mentioned concerns about losing their homelessness status if they moved in temporarily with friends or family or if they turned down a tenancy offer. Two participants did have to reapply as homeless after a temporary period back home and another after staying with her partner's family. However, other participants stayed with friends and family without this affecting their being recognised as homeless. In their cases, this may have been because they were sleeping on sofas or, in the case of expectant mothers and those with children, the house was overcrowded.

Being recognised as homeless therefore is not a one-time event. Since to be given "an identity, is also to impose boundaries" (Bourdieu 1991: 120) the symbolic capital that enables

access to the position also has to be maintained through particular acts. For participants there was an obligation to perform actions that went with their position. In the case of the local authority Lucy was in, this included keeping in contact with them:

> *"You have to wait for them to contact you, but if you don't contact them within a certain amount of time as well, then you get taken off the list, which I think is really stupid. You're told not to bother them."* **Lucy**

She was told 'all the time' that they had sent her a letter she was supposed to have replied to. However, she had not received it. It was only when the support worker who accompanied her to the housing office, noted that others were having similar problems with letters not being received that this issue was resolved.

Participants who were told they could lose their status if they turned down an offer were in the minority. Even then, only one reported directly taking a tenancy due to this. For a couple of others, it weighed on their mind although they were overall happy with the tenancy. Others took temporary accommodation they were not keen on but Joe was the only participant who reported taking an independent tenancy he did not want. While bidding for a tenancy he did not realise how far away one of those he had bid for was. It was only when viewing it that he realised his mistake. Despite then not wanting the tenancy:

> *"I've got to accept it and view it, and then when you view it they say that you have to accept it otherwise you lose your [...] priority. [...] If I refuse it that's me making myself homeless."* **Joe**

Within this it can be seen how expectations are inscribed upon the position of being accepted as statutorily and unintentionally homeless. Anyone turning down an offer of settled accommodation, which is perceived as reasonable by the local authority, risked being categorised as intentionally homeless. With this comes a loss of symbolic capital and a change in the duties the local authority has towards them.

Having gone into the new housing position of temporary accommodation also entailed changes within other aspects of participants' lives. For some it resulted in losing contact with their network of friends and work. This came about either due to the distance the temporary accommodation was from their family home or from the difference in their living situation. Additionally, the change in their living and financial situation made work an undesirable activity. Many noted a decreased libido for employment:

> *"When I was in the homeless and that and it was getting a bit stressful tryin tae get a job and get hame and cook I wasn't getting a good night's sleep or nothing either."*
> **Lesley**

Whilst for Lesley this resulted from this joint situation, others focused solely on the financial issues of working whilst in temporary accommodation. Many support organisations in order to fund their work incorporate the support cost as part of the rent. Tenants if unemployed and in receipt of housing benefit do not see a difference from such a higher rent as it goes straight to the landlord. For those in employment though, the way benefits are deducted based on their wage resulted in smaller financial benefits from working:

> *"when yer [you're] in [supported accommodation] it's 75% o yer earnings go towards them which is crazy."* **Tom**

One participant was even told by a support worker that it was not worth their time working because of the high amount of their wage they would lose in rent. What was notable across all the interviews was the participants, again against the discourse surrounding those in receipt of benefit, were motivated towards gaining employment. However, there were a number of circumstances where this desire would be curtailed such as during their time in temporary accommodation, the initial period for settling into a tenancy, recommendations from a doctor not to and, for young mothers, where the cost of child-minding prevented it. Being within temporary accommodation and experiencing its pressures; the stresses, noise,

distance from work place, and amount of wages lost in rent diminishes the strength of the libido towards employment. This reaches the point where employment can no longer be perceived as beneficial and / or that it only adds to the stresses of temporary accommodation whereby participants removed themselves from work or discontinued from applying for jobs. This conflict between a desire to work and the barriers presented by their housing situation was made clear by Tom. As he continued from the quote above:

> *"I woulda wanted tae work but ye cannae work, [...] I mean, if you weren't gonnae have a job you'd have tae be still on benefits at the same time so you'd have to dae casual work and then you can get done for that [...] cause it's benefit fraud."* **Tom**

Sarah, however, like other participants, continued applying for jobs despite the additional pressure in trying to find work to support two people which weighed on her thoughts:

> *"It was quite hard cause we're in homeless temporary accommodation and we were told if we did get a job the rent would be quite high and how would we support ourselves, if I was working and [my partner] wasnae."* **Sarah**

Contributing to the diminished libido towards employment for Simon was, additionally, the attraction in engaging within the local social networks which are created by the groups of young people who are resident within the supported accommodation. With the residents who are unemployed engaging in social activities such as hanging about or going out drinking, the attraction of this outweighs the desirability of work where little financial reward over benefits is received for the amount of time given over to it.

> *"Well, I didnae like handin over that much money tae the [supported accommodation] but aw the young people use tae stand at the office as well and jist sat and look at me handin over a big bundle o money. They'd aw be like at 'what the fuck are ye daein?"* **Simon**

He had originally started the job before going into the supported accommodation. He stuck with it for three months but the mix of handing over so much of his wages and the social opportunities in the accommodation led to him getting 'sick of it and just gave up [the] job' (Simon).

By the time of the second interview, two participants who were not in their own tenancy at the first interview were still in temporary accommodation. David had moved into a new 'satellite tenancy'. This is a special tenancy in a furnished flat, set up for those who are considered to need extra support. They can stay there until they are 25 before moving into a permanent tenancy. Ryan, conversely, was still in the same 'homeless house' as the first interview. By this point, he had been there for over a year. When asked about his thoughts regarding moving into a permanent tenancy he responded:

> *"I'm getting more used to this house and I don't wanna move."* **Ryan**

This, however, was not a wholly uncommon view. Graeme looked back fondly on his time in supported accommodation because of the social life and fun he had with the other tenants whilst there. Tom, on the other hand, had felt a mix of relief and trepidation on being allocated a tenancy. He had been surprised at this as he knew other tenants had not wanted to leave the supported accommodation during his time there and did not understand why. This changed when he was about to move into his own tenancy because:

> *"obviously yer glad tae be getting yer aine hoose but ye actually, like, don't want tae*
> *move oot the hostel cause you've always got the support there if ye need it, no that a*
> *often used it but it's there if ye dae need it."* **Tom**

Again a sense of security played an important role in influencing participants' housing pathways. For the move from temporary accommodation to their own tenancy, concern resulted from there no longer being onsite support and / or the relative isolation after being

within a highly social environment. Overall, however, the desirability of having their own tenancy tended to counteract this.

Conditionalities of Housing Ready

Conditionalities of housing ready was a phrase developed within the analysis to cover the varying degrees by which criteria for young people to be 'housing ready' was used by organisations to manage participants' housing pathway. During the interviews, 17 participants reported experiences which showed evidence of some form of 'housing ready' criteria being applied to them while in temporary accommodation and / or after they had been allocated their own tenancy. 'Housing ready' itself was a phrase used by support workers within two of the local authorities during the recruitment of participants. This phrase, however, only found its way into one of the interviews:

> *"Just when you're ready for a flat [… the support workers] do a sort of assessment with ye to see if you're housing ready."* **Lesley**

 While the two words were not, therefore, found together in this way, reference to assessments and being 'ready' were frequent:

> *"It was like a get ready for your own house type of thing."* **Zoe**

> *"[If you] stay in a hostel for long enough, get good reviews and you'll get a house."*
> **Daniel**

A lack of a common vocabulary is a likely result of the various ways and differing degrees to which criteria were applied across local authorities and support services. As will be shown, however, there is a common schema of judgement being applied to young people throughout this diversity which validates treating them together. Conditionalities of housing ready,

therefore, are to be used to refer to any situation where criteria was applied to young people based on a notion of their ability to maintain a tenancy.

An important aspect of there being conditionalities of housing ready while in temporary accommodation was that it placed the duty towards providing settled accommodation on hold. Their place on the waiting list was suspended until the young people were judged ready:

> *"They had actually freezed me."* **Zoe**

> *"[The support service] wouldn't let you take an offer of a house unless you done certain courses with them."* **Graeme**

Zoe additionally remarked that the 'freezing' of her place on the housing waiting lists was a term used by the support organisation. Conditionalities of housing ready, therefore, created their own form of symbolic capital of recognition that placed new pressures upon the participants.

One participant refused to stay in the supported accommodation moving between his aunt's and back to his mother's instead. The support service he was with was the most intensive specifying times to be in, times when guests had to leave, employing cameras to ensure residents did not leave after the curfew, and wake up calls every morning. As Garry remarked on this level of monitoring:

> *"If I wanted to go to jail I would have got into trouble."* **Garry**

However, he still had to 'work with them and […] do the cooking sessions, budget your money with them, and stuff like that, show that you're interested in it […] until they think you're ready to give you a house' (Garry). It was only after eight months doing this that he was allocated his tenancy. Six months of this time was working through stages before he was considered 'ready':

"After I done the first couple of cooking lessons they were like 'We think you're able enough to look after yourself in the cooking stage part, so like they were starting budgeting my money with me and that, and then I went from there and they was like 'We think you're ready'." **Garry**

With participants' position on the housing list only coming back into play after being assessed as 'ready', such categories work as a principle of "vision and division" (Bourdieu 2000: 96) in the formation of a rite of institution. Distinctions made between those who are ready or not serve to create new housing positions. After being recognised as homeless and found a place in temporary accommodation where there is a duty to find individuals settled accommodation, this duty is 'frozen' until they are judged housing ready. Variation between local authorities and support services in applying conditionalities of housing ready can be seen through how developed the tools to make such judgements were and the number of new positions created. Tools that existed included:

"They do a matrix score an I think when ye, when ye get yer matrix score down tae about ten or nine, they put you back on the housing list and it's called reactivation." **Zoe**

"They had to do so many cooking with you, cleaning with you, shopping with you, all that." **Graeme**

Intermediary positions between entering temporary accommodation and having a permanent tenancy were based on increasing the level of 'independent' forms of temporary accommodation participants passed through:

"There were six bedrooms in the actual building itself but they also had two bedsits on the outside which were for people that were [...] ready [...] they put them into their bedsit accommodation but it was just so they know what it was like having their own bedsit." **Graeme**

These positions, created by the organisation and operation of temporary accommodation for a period between entering temporary accommodation and moving into a permanent tenancy, can be seen as a result of an assemblage between housing policy and the practice of local authorities and support organisations. The various forms this took meant it was experienced differently by participants within different authorities and supported accommodation.

In one local authority where there was a lack of tools developed and not as many intermediary positions, three participants discussed how housing officers' opinion of their behaviour affected the time it took to be allocated a tenancy. One of these participants had received a temporary bedsit from the council before moving into a private let with her friend. A week later the landlord evicted them. She had to wait longer this time to be given another bedsit. On asked why it took longer this time she noted:

> *"It was because of my behaviour on the last flats, it took longer for me to get another*
> *flat."* **Jenny**

She also perceived the time it took her to get her tenancy was again based on the judgment of her behaviour:

> *"Because of my behaviour I think that's why it took ages to get this flat, and I had to*
> *like behave myself and not get into trouble, and [housing officer] didn't want to hear*
> *anything from the landlord about me making noise."* **Jenny**

With the other two participants, one actually received a house before the other despite the second, Ryan who as discussed above was still there by the second interview, having been in temporary accommodation for a longer period of time. This was perceived by both as being due to judgments about Ryan's behaviour. The first participant at one point expressed a slight feeling of guilt at having got a tenancy before the other had. He made reference to the fact that the tenancy should have been his friend's. He followed this by saying:

"I've been told that it's because, erm, [my friend's] obviously mentally younger than other people [… whereas] I didn't need like as much support as [my friend] did[…]. [Because I] got a more mature attitude […] that's why they gave me the place […]. You know, [my support worker] said that and so did, erm, the homeless officer." **John**

As well as being based on a non-systematised judgement by housing officers, this focus on a discourse of 'behaviour' rather than 'ready to be housed' or 'housing ready' shows how the 'vision and division' operate as one. More developed tools for assessing participants were always met with an increase in intermediary positions. Similarly, the tools shift away from judging young people on 'maturity', as mentioned by John, towards particular activities such as budgeting, cooking, and cleaning. With the tools and scoring being based on the support given to participants, making them mandatory to progress with their pathway exposes a fusion of support with control mechanisms.

However, that participants, based on their age, were placed in temporary accommodation utilizing conditionalities, exposes a similar concern mentioned in previous research about not setting young people up to fail (Third *et al.* 2001: 64). In both circumstances there is an assumption that in order for young people to manage their own tenancy their housing pathway has to be managed in some way. This exceptionality of young people appears therefore as the vision that fosters new divisions between temporary accommodation and a permanent tenancy.

Participants involved with one of the services reported a degree to which they could negotiate with support workers at review meetings as to whether they were housing ready. Despite this, the fact that considering if they are ready is put to review, suggests a shift in the balance of power between young people and support workers. It is through applying conditionalities that support workers gain an ability to manage young people's housing pathways. The use of tools and scoring systems to assess this through set programmes, workbooks, and compulsory

activities all mark shifts in the power balance in favour of the support worker. Objectified within these tools and scoring systems is a set of criteria set by the support organisation that the young people have to meet to progress with their pathway. The move towards greater reliance upon these tools and scoring systems for assessing housing ready solidifies these criteria while limiting what is open to negotiation. The young person has a diminished ability to proclaim they are ready with a chance for it to be recognised, with the symbolic capital to be recognised generated through meeting the tasks set and accumulating higher scores.

Zoe, during her time in supported accommodation after being deemed ready, was told that she could wait up to six months for a tenancy to become available. Fortunately, she was allocated one after a couple of weeks. The supported accommodation she was in had a more developed system whereby participants progressed from a main building with a number of residents to a furnished flat on their own nearby. Originally she was going to have to move out of the furnished flat to a temporary flat whilst waiting for a permanent tenancy to be allocated. Therefore, by suspending a person's place on the waiting list, conditionalities also risk extending the length of their pathway between entering homelessness and moving out. This is because once an individual's place on the waiting list is reactivated they still have to wait to be allocated a tenancy. This was seen in the case of Ryan who was still waiting to be deemed ready, and had, at the time of the second interview, been waiting for over a year.

Two of the three participants referred to this service were told by support workers at their first meeting that they did not require the more intense support they provided. One of these participants was originally in bed and breakfast accommodation. She had been regarded shortly after her homelessness presentation as being housing ready but, due to the lack of available housing, was eventually placed within the supported accommodation which she perceived to have been because of a decision by the local authority rather than the support organisation. She viewed the supported accommodation as a negative experience, and a step backwards, because after initially refusing to take part in the drinking and late night parties

she decided it was better to take part. This was to try and make the most of it rather than the intolerability of being unable to sleep etc from the noise. For this participant it was only after becoming pregnant that she was moved to a temporary furnished tenancy whilst waiting for a permanent tenancy to become available. She expressed relief at having been moved out of the temporary accommodation:

> *"About a million times better just wish I'd been put in here before I had been put anywhere like that."* **Lesley**

This experience gives an example of how a symbolic division between single and family homeless is created in the provision of accommodation. Having become pregnant, she was no longer expected to be subject to the conditionalities of housing ready and was offered accommodation out with the supported accommodation. When probed on what she thought would have happened if she had not become pregnant she responded that she would have probably still been there without her own place waiting for a permanent tenancy to become available.

For Zoe though, conditionalities did help maintain a libido towards housing. The social networks of residents additionally exerted, what in hindsight for her, was a negative influence where the immediacy of hanging about, and getting drunk was more attractive than becoming 'housing ready'. Zoe at this point had progressed to the furnished flat where residents who are regarded as being close to housing ready are placed to give them a 'taste' of independent living with less intense support provided. Being in a rural area this involved moving to a new site where the furnished flat was based just a little distance from the main supported accommodation building. Whereas previously she had not cared for the social life created amongst residents, she became involved with it at the new site. It was only when she was removed from the furnished flat and put back into the main building because of her changed

behaviour that she came to the conclusion she no longer wanted to take part in the social life. The goal of having her own independent tenancy was more important to her.

> *"[They said to me] you're no gonnae go anywhere if ye keep going on like this, yer gonnae set yersel back and yer gonnae end up in here for a long, long time'. An that gave me the wake up call I needed an I stopped, stopped goin oot an stopped goin oot wi them all an stopped drinkin and settled back an then I end up movin back intae a flat again and getting masel sorted."* **Zoe**

Here the ability for conditionalities of housing ready to keep an individual's position on the waiting lists on hold was directly cited. If she kept 'going on like this' she would risk being there for a 'long time'. Importantly, blame for this was placed on her setting her back rather than the conditionalities. However, many of the issues of 'behaviour' amongst the residents are from the pressures of the position. The undesirability of employment created by being within temporary accommodation coupled with the social networks fostered in supported accommodation was behind a few of the participants engaging in drinking etc. Conditionaltities therefore appear as a practical solution for support services in order to manage residents' behaviour that at least partially arise from the pressures of temporary accommodation itself. If there were shorter waiting times for permanent tenancies and the operation of benefits did not make work undesirable there is a possibility that there would be less behaviour seen as requiring management through conditionalities.

Conclusion

Participants' pathways into their independent tenancy first had to have a pathway in and through homelessness. Therefore, homelessness presentations were an important event given these are the vehicle for the official consecration as statutorily homeless. While there

were strategies of disassociation from identifying as homeless, all participants had a sense of there being a lack of security and permanence to their housing situation whereby although 'between homes' they 'could be' homeless. The symbolic capital through being recognised as homeless and the duties this places on the local authority towards the person, therefore, opened pathways towards independent living through statutory routes. In contrast, private tenancies being seen as insecure both in terms of the security of tenure and financial cost, were considered undesirable.

Despite this, there was still a wait for housing through local authority waiting lists or whilst bidding for tenancies. The pressures of the temporary accommodation the participants were placed in during this time meant a loss of social relations with friends and barriers to work where the latter lost its desirability. Their pathway into and through homelessness, as well as being seen as on their way towards 'rebuild[ing] things' and 'climb[ing] the ladder', also marked other important events. For the majority of participants it was after their homelessness presentation that they were put in contact with a support worker. Support workers, generally, not only aided participants within temporary accommodation but continued with them as floating support into their independent tenancy. Other participants had to first pass through conditionalities of housing ready before commencing their wait for housing. This introduced a new form of symbolic capital where they had to be recognised as ready for a tenancy, as defined by the local authority and / or support services, which created new housing positions. This management of young people's pathways also led to them having an extended pathway through homelessness.

As noted previously, there was an ambiguity for some participants in receiving their own tenancy in that they 'kent [they] could get out a homeless' (Michael) alongside the sense of anxiety in how they would manage in their tenancy. The relative security found in temporary accommodation also continued into the tenancy. There is a contradiction created between a

tenancy offering a feeling of greater security for participants but the initial move feeling like a

loss of security on becoming more independent from support.

Chapter Six: Making a Home

Introduction

This chapter begins by outlining the participants' practice of sustaining a tenancy. The interviews highlighted that the main components of making a home were the initial stage of entering a tenancy, the process of furnishing it, and the practical mastery required to maintain it. Additionally, there was a continuation of specific differences for those whose tenancy was influenced by conditionalities of being 'housing ready'.

Through exploring these, the notion of techniques of independent living outlined in Chapter Three will be developed. The first section is on 'making a home' as a pathway to securing a position in an independent tenancy. This places attention on the pressures of the tenancy from the interdependence between the participants and their tenancies as well as the plurality of techniques of independent living that they utilize to meet these pressures.

Making a home also incorporates the everyday practice happening within the tenancy. As the second section of this chapter will cover, there are also techniques required to continually make a tenancy a home. These are the techniques of cooking, cleaning, and techniques with other people. The latter of which, given its importance when entering and furnishing a tenancy, will also be remarked upon throughout the chapter. Two other techniques important for this, techniques of securing and maintaining an income and techniques of budgeting, due to their complexity and interrelatedness will be covered in the next chapter. The third section returns to an examination of conditionalities of housing ready, focusing on those experienced when entering an independent tenancy. This brings into sharper focus the important interrelation between embodied sensitivity of what home is, the techniques to modify the tenancy and realise a sense of home, and the level of control the tenant has to achieve this.

Making a Home

When asked to clarify what made their tenancy a home, or what would help make it a home, participants regularly mentioned:

> *"Jist the furniture being in it an managing the bills an stuff like at cause when yer in homeless, it doesnae feel like your home. Cause wi it being here it feels like your home causes it's decorated, you've done stuff yourself. You've got yer furniture and ye pay the bills and ye buy food and stuff an jist makes it feel like home."* **Sarah**

There is a strong emphasis placed here on a sense of home arising through the practical activities that take place there, particularly when 'you've done stuff yourself'. Pawson *et al.* (2006: 57) in their research into tenancy sustainment included a section on "building a home". This focused on the issue, repeated throughout the literature, of the problem that tenants face on entering unfurnished tenancies (Third et al. 2001). Participants all placed stress on how this building and equipping was important to make their tenancy become a place they could call home. However, what is clear from the quote above is that it is not only the building of a home that is important but the continuous practical activities such as paying bills and buying food which 'makes it feel like home'.

A sense of home, therefore, required both an embodied sensitivity towards the tenancy and it being a place transformed into one that relates to their sensitivity. As David put it:

> *"A house technically is another word for home as such. But, a house is where you move to but a home is where you can actually call this is where I belong. [...] The house that relates to you kinda thing."* **David**

In this comment can be seen the importance of the participants' interrelation with their tenancies. Thus a 'home is [...] what you make it kinda thing' (David) where a person can say

'this is where I belong' because it is 'the house that relates to you'. This confirms the importance, previously noted by Clapham (2011), that analysis has to move beyond meaning ascribed to a dwelling towards the interrelation between the tenant and tenancy and the practical activities taking place. More so, participants made clear that a sense of ownership was additionally important to this:

> *"Well a home would class to me as you've put a lot of effort into it, and like you've done the decorating yourself and you've got it the way you want it, and not the way other people want it."* **Marianne**

Vicky also, when asked what kind of housing she was looking for, responded:

> *"I was just looking for a hoose I wasnae really bothered as long as if it was kindof if you could live in it and make it like your hoose"* **Vicky**

With feelings of insecurity in their previous housing position having led participants to make a homelessness presentation, it is unsurprising that independent tenancies were valued as 'somewhere you feel comfortable, safe, [and] secure' (Joe). Furthermore, because:

> *"[this is a] secure place that I'm actually keeping up, and not knocking down [laugh] [it's] quite a great achievement for me after all the moving around."* **Joe**

Here Joe uses similar phrasing to the quote in the last chapter from John that, after leaving the family home, a person has to 'rebuild things'. Joe, in making a contrast to 'keeping up' his tenancy as opposed to 'knocking [it] down', adds to the notion of making a tenancy a home a practical activity. Additionally, the mention of 'you could live in it' from Vicky above being tied to the ability to make 'your hoose' relates back to the issue in the preceding chapter on why participants were dispositioned against private tenancies:

"[W]ith private lets man, Landlords are iffy but with the council like, once you sign that

lease man, the house is practically yours. But with private let man, the landlords can

come and go and decide like we want you out now." **Garry**

The power of the landlord to 'turn up at [the] door and say you've got two weeks and you're out' meant 'they werenae secure tenancies' (Lucy). Being considered insecure additionally meant that private tenancies were not regarded as potentially promising places to live and make a home as opposed to social housing where 'I ken I'm secure in here' (Michael).

Each of these elements, as seen in the linkages between them, does not on their own contain 'partial' meanings of home. While a few participants talked about the development over time of a sense of home, this cannot be attributed to checking off each of these elements. Instead, as Vicky makes clear:

"A house is just when you walk in and it's just normal but you've got your ane wee

things like sitting about and your ane like lamps and ornaments and your rug. Just

everything pulls it together to just make it your home" **Vicky**

All these elements thus exert a cumulative effect whereby the development of all, not each in isolation, results in the sense of it being a home. Particularly, recognising the interdependence between the tenant and their tenancy in this avoids dualistic thinking (Clapham 2011). As seen here, embodied sensitivity was "constantly objectified" (Lahire 2011: 202) within participants' practice which could transform a tenancy into a place which, if successful, related back to them and could foster a sense of home. Treating separately the meaning of home from the tenancy considered a home would risk missing the importance of there being no such division lines in practice.

Entering a Tenancy

As mentioned in the previous chapter, participants had two contradictory sensitivities towards entering an independent tenancy. Having previously lived with family and / or in residential care meant participants were not used to residing in a place on their own. Strengthening this, preceding their tenancy, the majority were in supported accommodation where other tenants and staff were always around. It was not surprising then that the first days in a tenancy were 'lonely, really lonely' (Graham).

Over time such feelings tended to decrease lasting from a few days to weeks. A small number of the participants said they can still feel lonely at times, though not as often as they did initially. Accompanying this were feelings of being scared. Brian, for example, was not used to busy areas and initially found the noise from cars passing outside unsettling. Again, over time, such feelings subsided and participants' sensitivity adapted to their new housing position. However, what can be seen from both of these is the adjustment required to cope with these new situations of increasingly individualised living.

Zoe mentioned that, in an attempt to avoid this initial feeling of loneliness, her boyfriend stayed with her for the first few nights. This had since become the permanent living situation for them. This technique with others, inviting another person to stay to mitigate loneliness, brought about a change in her family transition towards establishing a household with her partner. Similarly, participants who had dependent children wanted their own tenancies where they could live as a family. However, unless they had moved in originally with a partner, other participants got used to their new situation before any change in their family structure.

The ability to improve family relations which had broken down before entering homelessness also impacted on settling in:

> *"My opinion is it's got a lot more relaxed, I don't feel quite as alone now 'cause my relationship with mum is getting a lot better, and my other family as well, it's kind of all coming together a bit more."* **Robert**

Here again, reference is made to everything 'coming together a bit more' which enabled a settling into the tenancy. The same sensitivity arising through relations with friends and family that made people feel homeless where they had broken down was also important for establishing a sense of home. Such relations when improved opened up techniques with others where contact with family, in this example, mitigated loneliness.

Participants had also spoken about being apprehensive about leaving supported accommodation. This was an effect that having been 'through the homeless' and the techniques with others developed there had on people's libido towards independent living. Such apprehension towards independent living is not to mistake this move as being undesirable. As Tom clarified no-one:

> *"wants tae be in a hostel forever, d'you know what a mean, as good as it might be like cheap an getting food an aw that, naebody wants tae be stuck in a hostel for the rest o their life."* **Tom**

Temporary accommodation, for all its positives, was ultimately not a desirable place to spend 'the rest o their life'. A contradictory sensitivity then superseded this apprehension which made the move towards independent living remain desirable. This had two overlapping dimensions:

> *"My ane space I could do what I want just away [from my] mum so it would be like what I wanted to do and no what anybody else did."* **Vicky**

This desire for 'ane space' and 'freedom basically from adults' (Vicky) can be seen as a requirement for independence and another side to the techniques with others which establish independent living. As mentioned by Elias (1991: 28), contemporary social relations and a

corresponding schemata of sensitivity creates divisions between what is public and what is private where the latter requires a personal space in which it can be fulfilled. A space where participants stressed things could be done in accordance with their desires not someone else's.

Own space was beneficial not only in terms of control but also because it was a larger space than temporary accommodation:

> *"[It's] bigger for a start, more to do, erm, there was more like you had your own space [the] bedsit was just a room [with] shared toilet, living room and a kitchen with everybody."* **Eric**

Again, this is a phenomena Elias (2000) comments on that, with the greater division between public and private in the schemata of sensitivity, in turn there is also a greater division of the rooms within houses. Bedrooms and bathrooms, for example, have become places for activities seen as personal and private. With the quote above it is clear for the participant this extends further where the desirability of independent living comes from having more space for doing activities alone. This is also recognised in legislation, where for a house to meet the criteria for being a permanent tenancy requires "essential parts of the living accommodation (e.g. living room or kitchen)" (Scottish Executive 2002: 4) to not be shared with other tenants.

Having a tenancy also meant a change in how participants related to others and the techniques available for when and how contact was made. Participants also remarked that this personal space was also a benefit over the highly socialised environment of temporary accommodation where other residents would regularly knocked on their doors and it was harder to maintain distance:

> *"It's good to have your ane space and […] about a million times better [than supported accommodation] just wish I'd been put in here before I had been put anywhere like that."* **Lesley**

Lesley's negative experience of temporary accommodation accentuated the positive view of having her own tenancy. Such reasons probably explain some of the differences between participants of the two contradictory sensitivities of wanting their own tenancy but being apprehensive about leaving supported accommodation. While, then, it is out with the bounds of this research to be able to explain the social origin of the libido to live in housing, what is evident is the modulation to it by participants' pathway through and out of homelessness. No matter the balance of the two contradictory sensitivities, it highlights the positive and negative impact that time spent in temporary accommodation had upon the housing libido when entering and settling into a tenancy.

Furnishing a Tenancy

The other main aspect on entering a tenancy was the furnishing and decorating - or more precisely the initial lack of it. For the majority of participants, their tenancy had no oven, fridge or other white goods and additionally no curtains, no wallpaper and no carpets. When asked why this was, participants explained it was the local authority or housing association's policy to remove all furnishings and decorations when a tenant left. For a small number of participants it was not just a bare, stripped down tenancy that they entered but one that required repairs. In the most part this was re-plastering or similar but for one participant:

> *"I came in it was like everythin they wi dirt from top to bottom like completely holes in the ceiling hole- every door in here is brand new like everything the flareboards were a' see as if somebody had ripped them up and I had to get them all completely fixed I had to get loads of things fixed in here they had to put a new kitchen in for me a new bathroom in for me so you can imagine the state that the place was in it was just a total just minging dive."* **Lesley**

Given the amount of damage to the property, the local authority put in a new kitchen and bathroom. For other participants, where there was less damage, the local authority gave them vouchers they could use to buy the necessary materials for the repairs. For Lesley, however, it was 'a good four months before [she] moved in the place' whilst waiting for the repairs to be complete. Since becoming pregnant though, she had re-established her relationship with her family and was able to stay with them during this time. As Lesley clarified, if that had not been a possible option she would not have accepted the tenancy. Here the technique with others, staying with family, made it possible for her to accept the tenancy and wait for the repairs and furnishing to be completed.

Obviously, such a situation was not open to all participants, and if not able or wishing to stay initially with friends or family, they had to move into their tenancy straight-away. This is because Housing Benefit can only be claimed for one property, with a three day period to cover changing properties, meaning participants had to leave temporary accommodation soon after signing for a tenancy. As a result of this, Alison had to sleep on the floor initially as prior to signing for the tenancy she had only been able to buy a bed for her son. Similarly, on entering his first tenancy, Mike had only managed to buy a sofa so he slept on it whilst waiting for the bed to be delivered.

It is not only the short time period for having to move in but also the ability to utilize sources of funding or goods that impact on the techniques for furnishing a tenancy. While both new and second hand goods were received from family, friends and networks established by support organisations, the majority were not able to depend on this alone. Participants who were care leavers received around £1,500 each from Throughcare and Aftercare.   Another two participants' tenancies were furnished by the support service they were involved with before moving in. However, the rest of the participants had to find other avenues for acquiring furniture. Community Care Grants (CCGs) were the most utilized technique for acquiring economic capital in which to buy goods for or to decorate the tenancy. However,

CCGs can only be applied for once a lease for a tenancy is signed and it can take up to a month to hear if the application has been successful:

> *"I had applied and […] about three weeks later I got the letter back. And it says I never got it so I applied again and it was about four weeks later after that. […] I think I got the money once I moved in the flat but that's cause my grandad helped out [to buy furnishings] so I just like paid him the money back"* **Lesley**

Again for Lesley, techniques with others could open up new techniques for furnishing and decorating. Through her family she could borrow money in order to avoid having to wait to hear back on her CCG. In other cases, a support service had given participants a small loan to help them buy furnishings until they heard back about their CCG claim. This though was a minority of cases and there was a risk the amount received could be less than they were loaned, though this did not occur for any of the participants.

Many participants felt the CCG form was overly complex and that if they had not received help in filling it out they would not have received as much or even have managed to complete it on their own. Participants reported that support workers, experienced in filling out the forms, had a working knowledge of what items to request alongside estimates of costs and the sort of text to accompany each item. In the majority of cases, the participants did not receive as much as they had hoped. In rarer cases they were turned down. In such cases, it is possible to make an appeal within 28 days. For those who opted to appeal, support workers again helped in filling out the forms and, in all cases, where a participant opted to do so they eventually received a higher amount. However, participants were aware that appeals were not always successful. The pressure of having to move in, combined then with these delays in receiving money to furnish the tenancy, meant that a couple of participants said that although they were disappointed with the amount they received, an appeal was too lengthy, and risky, an option to go with.

The importance of successfully furnishing a tenancy can be seen in how Graham responded when asked if he felt he now had everything he needed for his tenancy:

> "*You come see my house it's so much it's if you saw it when I just had my couch and everythin and you see it now you wouldn't think I was ever homeless.*" **Graham**

Again, like the contrast made between temporary accommodation and the benefits of having their own tenancy, making a home formed a sense of having made a pathway out of homelessness. As Brian noted:

> "*When you go into like a homeless house… erm, that's when the realisation kicks in that you're homeless, basically, until you get a flat of your own and you've got furniture of your own and everything else. That's when you're homeless.*" **Brian**

It is not only the furniture, white goods and decoration which make this important for feeling settled and the tenancy being a home, but also the aspect of personalisation. At the time of the second interview, Marianne was still not feeling that her tenancy was her home. This was because her father had taken control over the choice of furnishing and decorating and his having helped to pay for it, disrupted the cumulative effect towards creating a sense of the place being home. Here the technique with others in the control over choice of decoration by her father resulted in a modification of the pressure of the tenancy. While the tenancy was furnished, it did not feel like her home as it was not done the way she wanted.

For the majority of participants, settling into and furnishing a tenancy was completed within the first few months after signing the lease. For others though, where techniques had failed to provide adequate economic capital or direct goods, this process took longer. After moving in, Jenny , made reference to still having to get more items to 'just make it homely'. Asked why, she added:

> "*I feel, aye it is quite homely but like I like pictures and all that up, but I'm not buying everything at once 'cause I'm just gonna be spending my money wisely, and I'll wait 'til*

> *like I've got money spare and then I'll get wee things, but 'cause Christmas is coming*
>
> *up."* **Jenny**

For those experiencing difficulties furnishing their tenancy, this strategy of not 'buying everything at once' in order to keep within the limits they felt they could afford, led to them taking a protracted time to do so. By the second interview, a few of the participants had still not finished furnishing their tenancy. Tom, who by at this point, was still furnishing, decorating and making repairs commented:

> *"I would've wanted, like, in the first couple o months for it tae be aw done but it's like*
>
> *ye cannae dae everyhing wi the very limited money that you've got, d'you know what a*
>
> *mean."* **Tom**

At the first interview he had considered the tenancy to be 'still ma hoose, just a hoose' only once 'the rest of it [is] done I'll probably say it was mair like ma home.' He felt this would change 'when I've got the money, but I think that'll be quite a while'. By the second interview, he had still not got the money nor considered the tenancy to be his home. Instead he considered his mother's house his home. However, he also often visited for meals due to a lack of money as well as to borrow a vacuum cleaner as he did not have one for his tenancy. The fact that the techniques which bring a sense of home 'together' were still incomplete or taking place elsewhere probably contributed to him considering his mother's house and not his own tenancy as home.

Practical Mastery

The aspects of cooking and cleaning have in previous research been detailed as a list of skills, either as 'life skills' or 'independent living-skills', associated with maintaining a tenancy without always detailing the form they take. It was found, however, that not all skills were

equally possessed. A survey by Hutson and Jones (1997 as cited in Hutson 1999: 217) found those who sought support primarily wanted it for budgeting and help with their benefits. Only 8% conversely desired support for shopping and cooking. Nor has research found skills being equally viewed as an issue by young people and professionals. In Third *et al.* (2001: 61) focus groups with young people highlighted support with budgeting as an important issue whereas focus groups with professionals mentioned not only budgeting but a "lack of independent living skills".

Gaining Independence and Control

The interviews with the participants showed a similar balance between the emphases on each skill. Again, although the majority of participants reported issues with budgeting or claiming benefits, the need for assistance with who they let into their tenancy, cooking, and understanding bills was reported in a minority of cases. Support services generally offered a holistic approach covering multiple areas. Support offered included budgeting, cooking, cleaning, filling in forms, reading bills, and / or controlling who entered the tenancy amongst other activities. Generally the support was appreciated even where participants during the interviews had not expressed any concern with their ability in the area:

> *"[Doing the scenarios for controlling who entered my tenancy did benefit me] because the scenarios that are on it are actually real life things that […] actually do happen."* **Zoe**

> *"Well to be fair, I wasnae really that good a cook to start with, but like after a couple of weeks like [this improved]."* **Garry**

This might go some way to explaining the difference of opinion between young people and professionals in previous research. While participants were comfortable with their capability,

support helped them to improve this further. Additionally, the scenarios Zoe worked through were not events she initially thought would happen but did occur once in her own tenancy.

Age itself was no guarantee that participants needed more or less support. Participants who had chores or looked after a family member obviously had a greater amount of previous experience than others. Through their dependence upon family members or care workers, these pressures of the housing positions were channelled through this relationship where a degree of responsibility was delegated to them. Moving into temporary accommodation and their own tenancy marked changes in both their family transition and housing pathways towards greater independence and meant these pressures were no longer channelled through these relations and participants had to adopt new techniques to meet them.

However, despite many participants citing no previous experience, they felt they took to their new responsibilities with relative ease.   Where any difficulties were mentioned this was explained by participants by this lack of experience:

> *"Like ma cookin, em, ma cleaning, like, all my washing and stuff, that was all done for me, em, appointments that was all done for me. Bascially, everything I done in ma life […] the foster carers were doing it for me kinda thing.   Whereas in [supported accommodation] it was for maself."* **David**

For others cooking and being able to read bills were all new experiences:

> *"[I didn't know] like what sort of food to buy, […] I couldnae cook bacon, sausages, I couldnae cook pasta, err, I couldnae make Super Noodles, but I can make all them [now]."* **Ryan**

> *"[I'm OK with my tenancy] apart from the bills, I'm not used to the bills yet."* **Alison**

Participants' inability to understand letters for bills and rent payments risked them missing payment and accruing debt. It is only in "the act of reading which presupposes an acquired

disposition and aptitude for reading and deciphering the meaning inscribed in it" (Bourdieu : 306) that a text is not just incidental markings on a page. The particular style and manner of presentation that bills are written in required learning how to decipher the markings. Thus, more generally, the pressures of a tenancy while being modified through their configuration of relations also refract within them circumstances "given and inherited [...from the past] with which they are directly confronted" (Marx 1973: 146). In order to be able to 'live in it and make it [their] hoose' participants in terms of doing it themselves were required to adapt to this "objectified, instituted history [… by becoming] endowed with the appropriate attributes to make it function" (Bourdieu 1981: 306). The historical and technological development towards cooking food purchased from shops within the home, using ovens and microwaves, and the standards of presenting bills can only continue to function and become active through the history embodied in a person who has learnt to utilize them in their techniques.

What is important here is how lacking a practical mastery meant certain techniques of independent living were not possible except through techniques with others that drew on their practical mastery instead. Initially not knowing what food to buy or how to cook it, Ryan regularly visited his friend to eat with him. Participants struggling to understand letters they received took them to their support worker to decipher. While meeting the pressures, this also modifies them through establishing new ways to channel them through techniques with others.

Having the holistic support available within both supported accommodation and continuing as floating support when in their tenancy, meant participants developed this practical mastery and reported that they 'coped eventually with it' (David).   The importance of being able to conduct these skilful activities was not only in enabling a person to achieve them but an improved self-worth:

"I was much more happier, I mean, I was much more in control of ma life kinda thing, whereas I used tae jist kinda have everything done for me." **David**

"I feel more independent with all that now" **Jenny**

Both of these quotes note heightened control and independence that come from developing these skills. Being endowed with the ability to do it themselves meant not relying on others and an increase of their relative power over the pressures of the tenancy. Through adapting to the plurality of pressures there is, thus, also an increasing diversification of activities they themselves are able to engage in. The process of actively gaining experience doing them, sometimes guided by a support worker or friends, meant that a person becomes 'so used to it then it's nothing' (David).   Whilst then, at first, it was 'really hard, cause [they'd] never done it before, […] now it's real easy' (Brian).

Establishing these techniques through a practical mastery meant the pressure was no longer felt in the same way. Before it was a pressure that made them dependent on others and now, incorporating an embodied mastery of the pressures, it was one where they were relatively independent.   As their embodied sensitivity became "attuned" to the pressures of the tenancy, "social necessity [is] turned into nature, converted into motor schemes and body automatisms" (Bourdieu 1990a: 68-69). In being "appropriated by history" (Bourdieu 1981: 306), adapting to the pressures of the tenancy, they can in turn have 'much more control of [their] life' through techniques of independent living enabling them to appropriate the tenancy to do what they wanted. With the most successful techniques giving greater control and independence there is an alignment between the history objectified in the tenancy and embodied within the person's sensitivity.   The techniques of independent living, therefore, although resulting in a diversification of activities, also brought everything together to create a sense of home when carried out successfully.

The Diversity of Techniques

What is important with reference to more control and independence is the emphasis on degree. Despite the pressures of the tenancy they were not always of a sort that imposed a single technique to meet them. Indeed, social positions lacking fully objectively defined standards, or through the complexity of relations constituting the position, "paradoxically, [create a] freedom [by which] they allow their holders to define and delimit them by freely bringing into them their own limits, and their own definition" (Bourdieu 1981: 311) through their embodied sensitivity.

For example, in terms of techniques, for activities such as reading bills there was a greater level of pressure towards one form of technique. Either a person felt confident enough to read them alone or required support to translate it for them whereby they gradually acquired this ability themselves. Highly codified writing systems used for administration impose a limitation on the degree of possible interpretations of a text. If a person could easily decipher it in many different ways it would be impossible to bill them for the amount of money expected.

In contrast, techniques for cooking was an area where there was a relative freedom that enabled a plurality of techniques to be possible. Being a more complex activity with no strict right or wrong and containing a degree of aesthetic variation, obviously allows for various degrees of skill, choice of food and its preparation. Therefore, while a person need not be a skilled chef, their cooking ability can be of a level that does not create direct issues for their tenancy. It is, perhaps, for this reason that support with cooking was not perceived as necessary but when offered was met with positive responses:

> *"I was a lousy cooker, cause I'm a microwave person. So [my support worker] started getting me intae cookin proper stuff."* **Michael**

Learning to cook using new equipment and increasing the repertoire of foods they could make, therefore gave new techniques by which the pressures of the tenancy could be met. Their interdependence changed where gaining practical mastery meant cooking instruments no longer presented them with the options, where they were defined by the instrument 'a microwave person', but they took their options to it so that they could cook 'proper stuff'. In increasing the options it also increased feelings of confidence and independence.

Cooking and cleaning created an additional challenge of being able to put newly learnt skills to work if also experiencing budgeting difficulties:

> "I'm eating less microwave stuff but I'm still eating stuff I shouldnae really be but, I think it's mainly because of ma budget." **Michael**

> *"Yeah, £7.99 for washing powder, I mean, that's bloody beyond a joke. But if it's got to be done it's got to be done. [...] I usually try and go [… to cheap variety chain store]."* **Graham**

Therefore, it is not only the possession or lack of embodied capacity to conduct these activities that formed different techniques but also cost factors. The tools through which the techniques were carried out were also important. When discussing cooking and cleaning, participants also detailed how a lack of white goods resulted in a reliance on techniques with others. By the second interview, two participants, who had both experienced serious budgeting difficulties had not managed to buy vacuum cleaners for their tenancies. Both became dependent on borrowing one from other people when they cleaned their tenancy.

Others had periods without cookers or washing machines where they had to rely on friends and family for food and to do their washing or came up with alternatives such as washing clothes in the bath. In such cases participants reported this negatively and / or as reducing their independence:

"I washed [my clothes] in the bath [after my washing machine broke down…] it's not a good feeling." **Graham**

In the case of cleaning and cooking, therefore, compared to deciphering bills, not only was an embodied capacity required but there was a reliance placed upon white goods and economic capital for forming different techniques.   What this shows is, as the complexity of a skilful activity, in terms of the practical mastery and resources needed, increases so does the variety of techniques formed around it. Additionally, all possible techniques were not seen equally as offering independence.   Although where participants lacked white goods alternative techniques were possible that enabled them to sustain their tenancies these alternatives were felt to undermine independence. This is probably because these alternatives did not allow them the independent living potentially possible for the "level at which society [was] during their lifetime" (Goudslom 1992: 197).

Techniques with Others

Across all of the interviews there was a clear importance placed on techniques with others. These were made available by relations with support, family and / or friends. They were particularly important for helping participants meet pressures that they could not do alone or to lower the pressures experienced. For example, receiving loans from support or family members meant participants could start furnishing their tenancy earlier prior to hearing if their CCG had been successful. Being involved with support workers also meant that as participants increased their own capacities they needed less support.

Increasing independence, thus, also meant another side to these techniques with others; keeping other people at a relative distance. Participants took pleasure in the personal space that having a tenancy gave them where control over who they invited in was on their terms.

Having their own space where participants had more power over what they could do was not limitless but relative to being at home or in supported accommodation. Participants had to balance it with consideration of neighbours and the ability of the landlord to evict them. Participants developed different techniques with others in dealing with neighbours. For example, after receiving complaints, a couple of participants invited less people over in future and were stricter in informing guests whose actions could cause complaints to stop or leave. A participant, who lived in a tenancy with poor sound dampening between himself and his upstairs neighbour, took to notifying him to confirm it was acceptable to him each time the participant invited people over for the evening where it could potentially become noisy. This was explained as:

> *"Being civil with your neighbours […] like having respect for each other and stuff like that."* **Garry**

These techniques with others meant tenants' practice in their tenancies were adapted to balance their having a space of their own, controlling those they invited over, and taking into consideration how their actions could affect others.

Other people, however, remained important for a sense of home and to prevent feeling alone. Particularly where participants had their own dependent children, the tenancy was important as a space to live as a family. Becoming more independent, therefore, was not to cut off all ties but a change in the ties. Feeling settled, at home, and independent required a progression towards dealing with pressures themselves, increasing their interdependence with the tenancy, as well as a renegotiation of the balance of their interdependencies with others. Similarly, on entering their own tenancy, participants were met with conditionalities of housing ready. These increased dependence on their support workers and landlords and requires further exploration.

Conditionalities of Housing Ready: Delaying the sense of home

Even if participants had experienced conditionalities of housing ready whilst in temporary accommodation, this was no guarantee that they experienced them when in their own tenancy. Furthermore, except in the case of two of the participants, it was the landlord who imposed the conditionalites rather than the support organisation This was the main reason why those who had not previously gone through having to be recognised as housing ready during temporary accommodation to continue their pathway out of homelessness experienced them once in their own tenancy.

Intensity of Support

Both Vicky and Garry were the only participants to receive furnished and decorated tenancies, however to receive these they had to be receiving support. This was through an agreement the support service they were involved with had with the local authority. The local authority would give management of the tenancy to the support service who furnished and decorated it before the participants moved in. This is similar to the operation of a support service mentioned by Harding (2004: 107) where furnishing was provided as part of the "intense support provided". The degree of the intensity of the support provided by this service was made clear by Garry:

> "When they think you're ready to have your own tenancy they'll like give you a fully
>
> furnished house like, but you've got to work with them and you've got to like do the
>
> cooking sessions, budget your money with them like, and stuff like that. Keep up with
>
> like, keep your meetings, […] show that you're interested in it. [...] So I done it, and
>
> through the whole time that I worked with them for eight month, and then I got this

place, I'm still working with them now, because if you move into the tenancy they help

you, they support you with the tenancy for six months to see if you're capable and then

after that [...] they sign the house over to you, and then it's your house." **Garry**

This quote emphasises the linkage created by the support organisation for the conditionalities both before and after entering the tenancy. Potential tenants had to be considered ready to be housed in order to be allocated one of these properties and then faced further checks on their capability in order to have the tenancy signed over. The rite of institution for determining participants' status as housing ready therefore continued into the tenancy where they had to continue displaying behaviour that was symbolically recognised through the checks. Additionally, through this there was a continuation of the fusion of support with control mechanisms.

Shifting Power Balances

What Harding (2004) did not explore, in the linkage between more intensive support and the management of the tenancy being placed with the support service, is this fusion of the support and control. While in their tenancy, both Garry and Vicky faced a high degree of monitoring with potential penalties for failure to meet them:

"[T]hey give you three chances. Like you've not paid a bill one week, right they'll write

that down and they'll write that 'he's no paid it – we'll give him another chance, but

he's paid it this week'. Or like see one time like you didnae buy food, so 'He's no

bought food' - that's the second chance, and then after your third chance where you

cannae… they extend, or if they think you are capable, you were just going through a

rough time, they'd extend the six months." **Garry**

As Flint and Powell (2009: 172) note "the introduction of probationary and demoted tenancies in the UK also represents a formalized regulation of conduct whereby tenancy status becomes increasingly dependent upon meeting the required standards of behaviour". What is shown through these conditionalities is a perception of young people having lacked the correct conduct to orientate their practice towards meeting the pressures of the tenancy. Due to this, a civilizing offense is taking place (van Kriekn 1999) where support is fused with mechanisms of control in order to impose the conduct desired by support services and landlords:

> *"Your house has […] got to be tidy and you've got to have your receipts and that out, 'cause [review meetings are] when the boss comes out to look at the house, to make sure like everything's like the way it should be.[...] They'll check the cupboards and they'll check the freezer just to make sure there's plenty of food to do you the two weeks."* **Garry**

Garry did remark this was 'no bad that way'. He emphasised how he appreciated the support compared to going into a private tenancy where 'you couldnae look after it, they'd just kick you out' (Garry). However, after noting that, he commented that there were downsides to the management of the tenancy by the support service where you were not allowed anyone to stay over 'not even for like a night' (Garry). Enforced through the regulations of the support service therefore was an assumption that young people should be living alone.

During the time before the tenancy, his girlfriend stayed with him at his aunt's house. Moving into the tenancy meant she was not able to move in with him and they could not remain living together. However, this did not stop speculation from the support organisation that she was secretly staying over. At the first interview he said the plan was that as soon as the six months were over she would be able to move in. By the second interview, the tenancy had been signed over and she had moved in. The management of his pathway, therefore, had also

meant placing on hold the family transition towards establishing his own household that both would have preferred to have happened sooner.

Gary and Vikki were also not allowed to refurnish or redecorate the tenancy during the probationary period. Asked his opinion on the decoration Garry said 'the full thing would be repainted'. He added he finally would feel it was a home once he had done this repainting. By the second interview, when the tenancy had been signed over to him, he repeated this intention once he could afford it. Alongside other factors, when asked, Vicky also felt her tenancy was a home after decorating the place:

> *"I've painted again in every room and decorated my living [room] got my laminate doon, my wallpaper and my thingy that hangs from the wall."* **Vicky**

Vicky had also found the intensity of the support from the organisation overbearing. Due to the support being tied to the period before the tenancy was signed over it could not be ended before this took place. Although Vicky felt she no longer needed support, she still had to have two visits a week from support workers:

> *"[I] got fed up with them coming roond all the time cause, like, I just wanted to sit with my pals if [my child] was in bed and just sit and have a wee chat with my pals and stuff. […] I already passed the book thing so they were just coming out for like a wee while just for a talk and stuff."* **Vicky**

The book Vicky referred to was an organised support plan each tenant had to work through with their support worker before being judged housing ready. Having this as the structure to the support also meant support was considered finished once the plan was completed which added to the frustration Vicky experienced. She had:

> *"finished [the plan] before they got my tenancy so when I finished it there was nae more like work to be done so they just come oot and sat aboot."* **Vicky**

Again the ending of the support, similar to being able to decorate the tenancy, added positively to the experience of her tenancy. She compared it to feeling 'like I had just moved away from my mum again' where she was 'glad to get my ane space back' (Vicky). What is clear from this is that the management of tenancies become a way to ensure tenants manage their tenancy according to the standards of the landlord. However, through this space for the tenants' to define how they manage their tenancy is eroded as the sensitivity of the support service / landlord creeps in through control mechanisms.

Probationary Tenancies

No other participants experienced housing ready conditions to their tenancy to the same degree as Vicky and Garry. Instead, the conditionalities formed solely around a probationary period for the tenancy before it was signed over. The time period for this ranged from six months to a year:

> "*Like the first year's contract is a temporary contract which is on the basis of, there's no complaints about you, and there's no issues with your tenancy which I assume is in terms of payment of rent.*" **Fraser**

Only John experienced an extension to this temporary period, happening a week before it was supposed to end, because of the police being called out due to noise:

> "*So now I've got to wait a couple of more months until I can actually sign [a permanent tenancy agreement], you know, just to prove to them that I am actually, you know, liable and well behaved and things for the tenancy.*" **John**

Conditionalities of housing ready creates two separate housing problems when applied to independent tenancies despite participants being in the same physical building during probationary periods and after. By initially signing over the tenancy as a Scottish Short Secure

Tenancy this bifurcation inserts a new space between the pathway out of homelessness and having an independent tenancy with the same security of tenure those without conditionalities received. In effect, it splits an independent tenancy into two positions - an initial temporary independent tenancy and a permanent independent tenancy.

John when asked what difference he thought it would make to his tenancy having it signed over as a permanent tenancy replied:

> "I'd probably feel more this is my house rather than [...], you know, I've got to watch where I tread if you know what I mean." **John**

Having a temporary period to the tenancy also made another participant conscious of his behaviour despite never receiving a single complaint:

> "I was kinda worried with the temporary lease kinda thing, [...] you feel like you've got to be extra careful about how noisy you are and what you actually do in your flat for the first year, but then after that you kinda feel settled once you know that it's an unlimited lease [...]. You're kinda [...] a little bit edgy about there's a possibility that [the tenancy] could be retracted from you, even though it's on the basis of, err, severe circumstances. But it's still in the back of your mind that it's not a full time lease."
> **Fraser**

The social control exerted over the participants, therefore, influences their behaviour through an overly self-conscious monitoring of it. What can be seen across these situations is that conditionalities of housing ready exerted a shift in the power relation between the tenant and the support organisation and / or landlord. It can be seen that in shifting this relation it also affected the relation participants had to their tenancy. By preventing many of the measures that led to a house being considered a home, conditionalities not only effectively delayed the pathway into a permanent independent tenancy but also the participant feeling at home.

Housing Ready and Tenancy Sustainment

There was no observable difference with participants who had been in temporary accommodation without housing ready criteria in terms of how they sustained their tenancy. Conditionalities appear to be a means by which support services could regulate behaviour through creating additional pressures, the requirement for participants to accrue symbolic capital to be recognised as housing ready and continue with their pathway towards independent living. Within supported accommodation this meant residents who engaged in drinking etc while waiting to be allocated a tenancy are thereby discouraged from doing so by the threat of losing this capital and being unable to progress. When in their own tenancy, participants continued having to exert a heightened self-restraint over their behaviour with the threat of not having the tenancy signed over to them if not deemed ready. Given the pervasiveness of conditionalities of housing ready and their variability within the interviews, it cannot be adequately assessed whether the management of the pathway as opposed to providing support alone contributes towards success within the tenancy. Harding (2004: 107-8) found that for young men the intense support provided led to higher rates of tenancy sustainment. However, given the fusion of support and control it cannot easily be assumed that the management, and not the support, was crucial for increasing sustainment rates.

As seen across all the interviews, support was appreciated and important for participants. Where participants had concerns about support it was where holistic support was not provided or where support was used as control. That such support was provided both with and without conditionalities proved crucial for participants getting furniture, making successful benefit claims, improving their budgeting, and, in some circumstances, learning how to cook and / or clean. From this it appears that what was important was not the conditionalities but the support and how holisitic it was.

Conclusion

Techniques of independent living were important for participants in managing the pressures of their tenancy. What exists through these techniques of independent living, by adapting the tenancy and adaption to the tenancy, is a process of "possessing which implies the possession of the owner by his belongings" (Bourdieu 1981: 306). With the embodied sensitivity objectified into the tenancy through the furnishings and decorations and the embodiment into sensitivity of the practical mastery required to meet the pressures of the tenancy "the same history inhabits both" (Bourdieu 1981: 306) tenant and tenancy. The relative success of techniques in drawing everything together to meet the pressures, undertaking this dual process of adaptation, results in "history in a sense communicat[ing] with itself, […] reflected in its own image" (Bourdieu 1981: 306). The tenancy becomes a 'house that relates to you' and becomes home because the tenant can say 'this is where I belong'.

It is also within this process that the pathways towards securing the practice of tenancy sustainment can be seen. Variations in the degree to which a practical mastery of the pressures was embodied and the extent to which participants could make the tenancy relate to their sensitivity were tied to variations in feeling at home, in control, and independent. The techniques were, thus, also what made it possible to manage the tenancy. Participants were differently endowed with these capacities based on their experience of chores within the family and foster homes or within residential care. Greater acquisition of these took place with support during time in temporary accommodation and continued into their tenancy. Therefore, even when in a permanent tenancy, support was crucial for continuing a pathway towards sustaining their tenancy where increased degrees of control and independence developed and they adapted to the pressures of the tenancy. Through this, they were able to carry out more techniques themselves rather than through techniques with others and they required less support.

Conditionalities of housing ready delayed the achievement of a sense of home. The power balance between the tenant and the support worker or landlord tilting towards the latter gives them a power to manage a pathway through the use of monitoring tools and probationary tenancies. By exerting new pressures on the tenancy, it also acts as a way to discipline tenants according to standards of behaviour determined by support and landlords; though as will be seen in the next chapter support provided was also empowering. Participants, while aware that the tenancy was technically theirs, were also aware that there is a heightened monitoring of their activities where there was a loss of control and an inability to call the tenancy their home.

Chapter Seven: Budgeting an Income

Introduction

This chapter presents the analysis of the techniques used by participants for acquiring and spending economic capital. First to be covered are techniques to secure and maintain an income which is one of the most crucial for sustaining a tenancy. The relative success of this technique, as seen in the previous chapter, can have an influence on how other techniques are shaped given the ability to convert the income into items for the tenancy. Additionally, securing and maintaining an income is important for being able to pay rent. However, there are issues with maintaining an income which come from benefit conditionalities and precarious employment.

The second half of the chapter covers the techniques of budgeting. For the participants, the form budgeting took was influenced by other social positions that affected both the pressures faced and the amount of economic capital at their disposal to meet these pressures. Successful budgeting can be understood through focusing on changes in embodied sensitivity and the temporal organisation of spending, alongside adaptation to an economy of needs over wants.

There were particularly strong relations between the techniques of securing and maintaining an income utilized by participants and their techniques of budgeting. This chapter is headed 'Budgeting an Income' to stress that budgeting can only take place in relation to an income as opposed to treating the two separately as found in previous research (Harding 2004: 6). Additionally, this high level of interdependence is made clearer within this chapter by explaining how techniques can modify and create pressures of the tenancy and influence other techniques. Indeed, the chapter could just as easily be titled 'an income to spend'

thereby placing emphasis on the need to acquire an income in relation to spending pressures, and this is where the analysis starts.

Techniques of Securing and Maintaining an Income

To maintain their tenancies, participants required a means to cover both direct housing expenses such as rent, gas and electricity as well as other living costs. As mentioned in the previous chapter, within the family home and while in care, the interdependence with parents and care workers tended towards dependence. Whilst participants had varying degrees of experience of earning their own money, or at least receiving pocket money and budgeting with it, this was not to the same degree as within their own tenancy. In the main, parents carried out the bulk of paying rent and other living costs. Similarly, for those in residential care settings, they were provided accommodation, food, and allocated pocket money which they could spend as they wished. Therefore, the shift in their family transition and housing pathway towards greater independence brought with it pressures which were no longer channelled through their relationship with parents and care workers.

This involved a change in their education-employment transition with two main techniques formed around the pressure to have an income. The first, and most ubiquitous, was through a symbolic capital of recognition which arose from a rite of institution that operated similarly to issues of 'housing ready' discussed in the last chapter, and influenced access to benefits. The second, and a less secure and accessible technique, was through employment. These techniques did not exist separately from each other, and could be utilized at the same time, where the pressures faced in maintaining the first led to issues relating to the second.

Making a Benefits Claim

Before their homelessness presentation, the majority of participants had not previously applied for any out-of-work benefits. Furthermore, all participants who took up offers of temporary accommodation had to apply for Housing Benefit in order to pay their rent and for additional benefits to pay living costs. The rite of institution of presenting and being recognised as homeless in these cases was then tied to a second rite of institution for being recognised as deserving of benefits by staff at the JobCentre Plus. Symbolic boundaries existed for access to different benefits that covered additional living costs with the majority of participants receiving Jobseekers Allowance or Income Support. Participants who had children were additionally entitled to Child Benefit and Child Tax Credits. Finally, three participants had recognised disabilities and were entitled, at the time of the interviews, to Disability Living Allowance and Employment and Support Allowance. When participants were allocated a tenancy they then had to have the Housing Benefit transferred over and those who had sought alternative accommodation made a claim at that point.

At such times participants received support setting up their benefits from support organisations, housing offices and landlord organisations. This ranged from the minimal:

> *"When I went […] to] get booked in [the supported accommodation] they […] gave me a number and told me tae go tae the Jobcentre and start a claim."* **Zoe**

To the more substantial:

> *"Well cause I got it with the council, it's the council that does my housing benefit so it was easy they just done the housing benefit the same time they did the tenancy agreement."* **Graham**

Sorting the transfer or initial setting up of Housing Benefit when signing the tenancy agreement, or shortly after, was a common experience. The level of support received during

the period from knowing a claim needs to be made through to actually filling out the forms resulted in the participants generally regarding setting up benefits as an easy task. The vast majority experienced no difficulties having a benefits claim accepted.

Participants who were under-18 were among those who experienced difficulties making a claim. Through the concern that young people were claiming benefits unnecessarily Jobseekers Allowance is restricted to those aged 16 and 17 except in exceptional circumstances (Jobseeker's Allowance Regulations 1996). This vague qualifier resulted in divergent experiences for those who applied for benefits at this age and distinguished their experience from older participants. While not all reported difficulties in applying for benefits, two participants reported an age related issue.

> *"They says they werenae giving me it cause I was under 18 and your meant to be 18 when you sign on but its different circumstances when you're like homeless […] I got denied twice actually and then I phoned them up and the wife's like no no no on the phone."* **Lesley**

For one participant, it was only through the intervention of a support worker that the issue was resolved. When probed on why the support worker's intervention resulted in a successful claim it was attributed to their experience in dealing with such situations. Curiously, despite the trouble these two participants had in claiming Jobseekers Allowance, another two had no problems and were put straight onto Income Support:

> *"Well you go on Income Support straight away when you are 16 it's not until you're 17 that you go on jobseekers'"* **Graham**

As can be seen in the contrasting experiences, there was no evident consistency within the interpretation of the 'exceptional circumstances' across local authority areas. Variations in the interpretation of exceptionality, therefore, changed the particular characteristics a person had to present with to be recognised. The diversity of interpretations could lead to either not

being seen to be making a legitimate claim, participants' housing situation making them exceptional and thus able to claim Jobseekers Allowance, or being put on Income Support which has less conditionalities placed upon it in terms of having to show evidence of job hunting and how often claimants are required to attend meetings.

What unites these experiences, however, is the process through which a recognition, or not, of their situation entitled them to specific types of symbolic capital enabling access to different benefits. For example, a participant, who was pregnant, was changed to Income Support when she was twenty-nine weeks into her pregnancy. She was also told she would be put back on Jobseekers' when her child is fifteen months old. Those receiving additional benefits for recognised disabilities were gauged in terms of the level of money they would need for support in relation to their disability. The ability to display characteristics which were treated as worthy of recognition in the material exercises of completing forms with the right information and to answer questions adequately at meetings, translated into a symbolic capital of recognition with access to particular benefits. The complexity of these processes meant support workers can become necessary both for helping to complete the forms and for providing additional assistance should any problems arise at a later stage of the claim. In these latter situations they acted as advocates for participants by using their professional knowledge to translate the young person's experience into one that could gain recognition.

Maintaining a Benefits Claim

The regularity of Housing Benefit and it going straight to the landlord meant participants did not express concerns about their rent being paid whilst there were no issues with their benefits claims. Indeed, it was not uncommon during the interviews, when asked how much their rent was, for participants to reply: "I'm not paying the rent really" (Graham), "I don't

have to pay it" (Lucy) and "they pay the rent for me" (Brian). Rather, with housing benefit being tied to either receiving out-of-work benefits and / or proof of income below a certain level, the experienced pressure is shifted to the requirement to maintain these.

> *"I just didn't want my benefits to be stopped really, otherwise I'd lose my housing benefit and I would have lost the house as well."* **Joe**

Being recognised meant that similar to maintaining a homelessness status, there were boundaries imposed on the actions participants engaged in to maintain claimant status (Bourdieu 1991: 120). Despite this there was greater difficult maintaining a benefits claim compared to a homelessness status. Within actually existing neoliberalism on a general level there has been a growth of "disciplinary social policy" (Wacquant 2012: 72). A shift away from welfare as a right towards conditional forms of welfare that frequently have a symbiotic relationship with "corrective workfare" and "behavioural mandates" (Wacquant 2012: 72) that, as part of a rite of institution, "signify to someone what [they are] and how [they] should conduct [themselves]" (Bourdieu 1991: 120). Within the UK the same belief of there being perverse disincentives created by benefits that resulted in the retrenchment of welfare access for young people also provided arguments for disciplinary social policy for those who still had access. A person on Jobseekers Allowance cannot merely say they are looking for work but must provide proof.

> *"Yiv got tae show them what yiv been doin tae try tae, what yiv been doin to try and look for work."* **Zoe**

Again, an uneven application of policy was seen in regards to under-18s. After being placed on Income Support or Jobseekers Allowance the majority faced the same requirements to maintain their position as others. In one case, however, the participant had to attend both the Careers Office and the JobCentre Plus every two weeks. This was written off by the participant

as just what happens for those under-18s. It remained a local phenomenon, however, with no under-18s in other areas reporting similar.

There was slight variance as well for all participants receiving Jobseekers Allowance in terms of what they reported as being required to do at each fortnightly meeting. The general format was showing that they had made a number of job searches, three being the most cited, and in some cases also needing to show evidence of 'employer contact'. This meant having not only sent off CVs but logging a phone call to or letter back from a potential employer.   A typical example of these fortnightly activities to record and present at the meeting would be:

> *"I was checkin the newspaper, posting ads on like job sites on the internet. I was phoning around hotels, asking friends and family for jobs. So there's, like, four different things each week that ye were doin."* **John**

These meetings were usually of low intensity whereby the log would be examined and accepted within a short space of time. In some cases a higher level of scrutiny was passed on their job hunting efforts. The potential disciplinary consequences for not displaying adequate effort were at the forefront of participants minds:

> *"they ask ye loads a questions an, em, if ye don't give them the properly, proper answers they can stop yer money."* **Zoe**

Another participant with a recognised disability, who received Employment and Support Allowance had failed two medical assessments which were to assess her support needs.

> *"The medical works on a scoring system and you have to get 15 or over to pass your medical. […] The two times that I've had a medical, […], I got 6 points so my ESA stopped then the last time on my medical I got zero points, 'cause the doctor didn't understand me at all."* **Marianne**

As can be seen with the case where benefit claims were unsuccessful, the maintenance of a benefit claim entailed being able to continually display the characteristics required to be recognised. It was not only a case of the doctor not understanding her but also at previous appeals she had attended regarding failed medical assessments she had been unable to understand the professionals.

> *"There's three [people in attendance], there's err, a doctor, a lawyer and a counsellor, and they don't like, say you're struggling with a word that they've used and you say look 'I don't understand that word, can you say it a bit... like explain it a bit more to me?' 'No we can't' – […] so that's the main reason I failed my first, erm, appeal."*
> **Marianne**

In this case it was due to a member of staff at the JobCentre Plus listening to the severity of Marianne's depression, anxiety and mobility issues that her ESA was started back up with no requirement to go through a full appeal. For another participant it was taking a support worker to the appeal that made all the difference with understanding the questions.

> *"Like say there was question I didn't understand, she could answer kinda thing and that helped tae actually […] get a better result instead of [me] getting moaned at and questioned about all sorts."* **David**

Again the ability to maintain symbolic capital required the continued advocacy of support workers or others. In this latter case it was not merely a case of translating the participant's situation into a recognised form but the preliminary step of translating the questions into ones he could understand to even begin an adequate response.

Willing to Labour

Although participants were compelled to look for work through conditionalities on Jobseekers Allowance, to focus solely on action arising in response to this offers only a partial picture. The previous chapter discussed how being in temporary accommodation diminished the libido towards employment. Participants continued to want to work but did not, on the whole, see it as providing them with any benefits in their current situation. Once they were in their own tenancy, the barriers to work created in temporary accommodation no longer existed and all reported a willingness to work:

> *"Just helping us to look for a job [is a good aspect of the local job club] so we're not staying on benefits all the time […] cause I hate being on benefits an no working."* **Ryan**

Through the interviews being on benefits was seen as undesirable. Alongside the negative comments associated with going to JobCentre Plus others viewed benefits themselves negatively.

> *"It was not really what I wanted out of life being on the brew."* **Graham**

Yet Ryan ends his statement by also mentioning his dislike of not working. Mentioning both these aspects together was common.

> *"I'd just love tae get oot there an fuckin no be pure depressed man every, like, two weeks going tae the Job Centre […] I'd jist like tae get oot there an earn ma money."*
>
> **Tom**

The same positive view of work alongside a negative one of benefits was evident in interviews with those who were in employment.

> *"At least I've made something of my life, rather than being depressed and on benefits for thirteen years."* **Joe**

While there was an undeniable push created by the negativity associated with benefits there was a strong desire to work. This desire cannot be understood solely as a response to the depressing position of being on 'the brew'. So, although the higher level of income a good job could potentially offer was cited in contrast to benefits, it was further desirable in being a way to 'earn ma money' (Tom) and make 'something of my life' (Joe). Parents not only viewed it as a positive for their life and their child's but also a means to provide a good example.

> *"I want to give the best to [my daughter], like I don't want her growing up saying you're not working and then thinking 'well my mum never worked so I'm not going to work'."* **Jenny**

An additional positive associated with employment was an escape from the mundane existence of having nothing to do. A desire to work and escape this monotony resulted in five participants volunteering. This included volunteering at youth groups, support organisations, local community groups and charitable work.

Precarious Employment

What repeatedly therefore came through in the interviews was never a lack of desire to work. Rather, the reason participants cited for remaining unemployed was a lack of available or suitable jobs and any employment found being precarious. Eight of the twenty-five participants were employed at the time of the first interview. The three participants who were interviewed twice and were in work at the first interview no longer had the same job by the second. One had found new employment through a friend but, while potentially long lasting, it was not a permanent position.

> *"It's just helping them out until I can find another job but if I can't find another job I'll be working for them for quite a while anyway."* **Brian**

Of the other fifteen who were interviewed twice and were unemployed at the time of the first interview, only one was in employment by the second. However, the majority of participants had previous work experience, with a few having worked multiple jobs in the past. These positions came to an end for various reasons such as the participant entered homelessness, they were only temporary positions, the participant moved area, or was fired / let go.

Lack of available jobs was expressed both in terms of there being a scarcity of jobs that could be applied for and also there being increased competition for the available positions which was particularly heightened in rural areas.

> *"Trying to get a job in this town is unbelievable. It's like 25 folk apply for one job in this town, and maybe 24 will not get it, and one gets it."* **Brian**

The combination of trying to find work alongside the requirement to keep presenting evidence to the Job Centre that they were actively looking, was considered de-motivating. One participant, although eventually finding work, admitted he had forged his job searches log when it became too de-motivating. Other participants reported similar periods of time when they could not keep up the momentum against the barrage of rejection letters and no replies. In some cases, it was not even always possible to find enough jobs to apply for. The local JobCentre Plus which one participant attended expected six job searches a fortnight. One staff actively encouraged fabrication to avoid penalties.

> *"I've been actually told that, if you cannae do it you need to make something up because it's going to affect your benefits."* **Daniel**

In this instance, it appeared that even the job officer recognised the difficulties in trying to meet the demands expected to maintain a claim. Furthermore, of the jobs available many were seen as unsuitable if the hours worked risked affecting the amount still received in benefits.

"[W]ould depend the hours and it would depend, you know, if it was 16 and under I would, if it was anything between 16 and 33 I wouldn't, but if it was 35 or over I would." **Graham**

Or, in the case of single mothers, working hours would have to fit around times when their child was at nursery or school. Child-minders were generally seen as too expensive where the cost would equal or exceed income. Some mothers also had trouble finding a local child-minder.

"I'm willing to get a job no problem, just help me find a child-minder in [the local area], you know, that picks up from this school or, you know, help me find a job that's ten till two so that the child-minder doesn't need to pick him up, then I'd be straight back to work. I'd be working [laugh] tomorrow if that happened, you know." **Alison**

This effectively created a situation where single mothers would not be able to work until their child was of school age. None of the single mothers interviewed were in employment at the time of either of the interviews nor did they report having any employment in-between.

When Techniques Break Down

That techniques of securing an income through benefits and employment were not always secure resulted in participants building up debt and rent arrears. With benefits being the technique to fall back upon when employment was not possible, it was largely troubles with them that ultimately caused this. Failing to meet the conditions expected by the JobCentre Plus could result in a loss of money or the stopping of benefits.

"I'd missed an appointment one day and I hadnae [...] wrote a letter [and] they taen out [...] a full weeks money off ye, so I only got, like, half ma money because I missed a appointment" **Zoe**

Notification of benefits being stopped came by letter. Letters tended to arrive after the participants had noticed they were no longer receiving their money or, in rare cases, not arrive at all. Many felt there had been no reason for their money being stopped. For others, it was because of missed appointments or not meeting other requirements.

> *"I missed an appointment at the Jobcentre and they closed down my claim, and the second was 'cause ... they only give you two periods of illness, so [...] if you go for any more periods of illness than the two, they'll automatically close down your claim as well."* **Alan**

In circumstances such as a missed meeting, it was possible to restart a claim fairly quickly and have the money 'back-dated' to cover what they missed. Again, support could prove vital in this being successful. Other participants found it took longer to have their claim restarted.

> *"I went through six months of not getting paid by benefits, that's when I was on the sick. I sent down the sick lines they said they never received them, for about six months I had to get what was it, crisis loans which would last me £20 a fortnight."* **Joe**

With Housing Benefit being linked to their out-of-work benefits it meant a close down of their claim also meant their Housing Benefit was stopped.

> *"[They] stopped ma housing benefit as well for a while an that wis complete crazy cause I'd the housing on ma back and then I'd… like, they were sending me letters threatening tae evict me an aw that, d'you know what a mean, if a don't pay ma rent."*
> **Tom**

For this participant it was a result of another anomaly experienced by him for being under-18. Within the local area under-18s would frequently have their Jobseekers Allowance stopped every eight weeks for a review meeting. This meant every eight weeks the participant's Housing Benefit stopped and he had to get it restarted meaning he repeatedly was in rent arrears until his claim was backdated after a successful review meeting.

Since most participants managed to get their benefits sorted out relatively quickly, they avoided developing rent arrears. However, rent arrears were mentioned by nine participants. For those who were able to cite an amount, Graham cited £70 arrears, Daniel cited arrears of £500 at the first interview and £800 at the second, Scott who also owed £800 in crisis loans could only estimate a combined total of 'thousands', Simon owed £450 for a previous tenancy he abandoned and Jenny had been paying her rent arrears off £20 per week with half of the debt cleared when a support worker helped her to put in an appeal

Despite this no participants reported being evicted from their tenancy through rent arrears although there were reports of receiving letters warning of eviction for non-payment of arrears. Participants noted having rent arrears was stressful but were overall confident in paying back their arrears with a small amount being taken directly from their benefits every two weeks. However, Jenny and Simon did report problems rent arrears caused them for being able to move to a new tenancy. Simon had to sort out a 'payment card' and start making payments for his arrears before he was allowed to be allocated a tenancy. Jenny, who was pregnant at the time of the first interview, was wanting to move to a larger house before her due date but was unable to until her arrears were paid. In the end she moved into her partner's family home for a few months before they both applied for a new tenancy together.

Techniques of Budgeting

Budgeting features prominently within the literature of young people and housing as a difficulty they experience and it normally centres on discussion about whether they possess "budgeting skills" (cf. Harding 2004: 4-6 for an outlining). Harding's (2004: 108) own conclusions drawn from his analysis were that difficulties with debt in the long-term were "a result of inexperience or immaturity on the part of young people". Attention given to

budgeting is a likely response to the perceived problems young people have with it and the move out of the family home or care being the first time many were paying for their own subsistence. This was evident when the participants were asked what support they received from any support organisation.   The most frequent initial response was budgeting; normally mentioned with little or no pause compared to other support received.

Changes to Embodied Sensitivity

Participants all had previous experience spending money. Receiving pocket money was not unusual nor was, for some, having a job or, in a smaller number of cases, receiving benefits before making a homelessness presentation. Despite this acquaintance with money and spending it, such practice was not transferable to their new housing position. In both temporary accommodation and continuing into their independent tenancy, a change in the relationship to money had to be established. David, in contrasting this new relationship to how it was during his time in care, summarised it as:

> *"I didn't know what money was really, I would jist spend it on anything, literally… I mean, college bursaries I'd jist spend it all in a oner"* **David**

While he had his own money before to spend as he wished he had spent it on 'anything' rather than being focused on particular items. This created difficulties for him when he moved out of his foster carer's to his aunt's as he had to borrow money from her regularly. It was only once he moved into temporary accommodation that he got help budgeting and -

> *"It kinda slowed itself down, eh, I wasn't spendin it on crap, I was spending it on stuff that I actually had to get."* **David**

Therefore, it was not the case that he did not know what money was but that the previous way in which he used money was unsuitable in his new housing position. Having made a

change in his housing position additionally meant moving from a position of relative dependence at his foster carer's to a more independent one at his aunt's and in temporary accommodation. Carly made this point clear:

> *"I've always been alright with money so I thought it was- it's weird to actually having my own money like having to go buy food and all that dinnae expect everythin to be as expense as it was but then after a couple of weeks I kind of got the hang of it"* **Carly**

Having previously been 'alright with money', the changed housing and family positions within her new situation meant she had to get 'the hang of' how to budget appropriately to it. Their previous dependent position was one where their money was spent on 'anything' with only a few paying 'digs'. Conversely, in their new position they needed to spend 'it on stuff [... they ...] had to get' such as 'having to go buy food'.

Having expenses that they 'had to get' exposed the inability for participants to transpose their previous embodied sensitivity of relatively unorganized spending to their new positions. Rather different sensitivities develop within different situations. The unsuitability of strategies arising from an embodied sensitivity developed in more dependent housing positions did not lead to its immediate change. Instead, participants tended to continue with their previous strategy despite its inadequacy. For many, this inadequacy eventually led to the realisation that it hindered other techniques:

> *"for the first couple of weeks [I was] buying stupid things like cakes and all that and then realised wait a minute I need to actually make dinner."* **Carly**

A realization of their situation was not enough for a change in technique to develop. There was a need to embody a particular schemata of perception and action. The largest change in terms of perspective was the way in which available goods were categorized. As David commented, he was no longer able to spend money on 'crap' and Carly did similarly in reference to 'junk'. When probed as to what 'junk was she replied:

*"Like sweeties fae the shop and stuff *laughs* scratch cards and stuff like that bottles and bottles of juice."* **Carly**

References to 'junk' and 'crap' along with 'rubbish' permeated through the interviews in relation to budgeting. Such a schemata differentiating between 'junk', 'rubbish' and 'crap' / 'stuff [... they ...] had to get', was a basis towards establishing budgeting techniques within more independent positions. When questioned, participants noted that previously they had not considered goods so categorised as being 'rubbish'. The categorisation arose as a way to distance themselves from items they could not afford in relation to the pressures of having more independent social positions. The categorisations of goods as 'rubbish' in this way acknowledged an "acceptance of one's place, a sense of limits" (Bourdieu 1985: 728).

To help them adapt to their new situation participants also received support with budgeting, including doing budget sheets to see how much money they could afford to spend on different expenses. Participants though felt that they could not always see where savings could be made. A few, however, also had assisted shopping where a support worker accompanied them to the shops to help with this. Graham explained as part of this the support worker 'taught' him to buy cheaper options. Previously, he was dispositioned against buying such items but through shopping trips with support workers this changed. Before being 'taught [...] to buy cheapies' they were not of consideration and limited the adaptability of spending practices. However, through being encouraged to buy them his disposition towards them changed and they became regular purchases. Asked if he benefited from the budgeting support he added:

"it was good cause I had money to myself plus I was able to get my shopping and pay the electric" **Graham**

What is important with these practical schemata, in categorising and dispositioning participants towards certain goods, was that budgeting was not a product of conscious

calculation. Robert, when asked how he budgets, made clear that he did not consciously have to budget:

> *"a just dinnae get it. That sounds weird but… a dinnae have a budget plan, it just works oot [laugh], it's like programmed into ma head, like, the stuff that I would need tae get and it kinda just works, [...] it just balances itself oot somehow"* **Robert**

While Robert was quick to associate this with troubles he has with his memory, it is not all that dissimilar to other participants. John, at the first interview had recently found employment but by the time of the second interview had returned to unemployment. Asked about how he would cope with the lower amount of money on benefits he noted that, while it was harder, having previously established the schemata to budget accordingly in the past meant:

> *"obviously I've been here before, you know, so I've learnt the ropes and I know how to handle the money situation with the limited amount of money, so I'm coping with it."*
> **John**

Although there were initial difficulties with budgeting arising from inexperience, as was noted by Harding (2004: 108), the research cannot fully agree with his findings that this was due to the correlation of debt with "spending patterns rather than level of income". Such "inappropriate spending" for Harding (2004: 38) was "spending on alcohol, drugs and cigarettes" (Harding 2004: 37). Part of the reason for this is the either / or approach to the methodology that informs Harding's research.

His analysis poses the question as either spending (individual) or income (structural). The issue with doing so is, as Bourdieu (2000: 152) argues, during a concert it is impracticable to say how much of the music is created by the conductor and how much by the orchestra. This is not to say analysis is impossible but the operations of each side cannot be stripped away from the interdependent relations in which they take place. Thus, to say that buying alcohol, drugs and cigarettes or any other items are inappropriate cannot be separated from the level of

income and what 'needs' to be bought that makes them inappropriate. What is 'appropriate' spending for someone on £1,000 obviously would not be for someone on £100 or indeed, as seen here, spending when in a relatively dependent position compared to one of greater independence. It is not then "spending patterns rather than level of income" (Harding 2004: 108) that creates issues but the ability to adapt spending patterns in relation to the level of income and spending pressures. Accepting this does not lead to a dismissal of the very real impact spending on drugs, alcohol and cigarettes had for an increased risk of debt as evident from Harding's (2004: 37) findings and will be returned to in the next section.

It was not only the schemata of perception where embodied sensitivity influenced budgeting practice. The same held true with budget sheets. A few participants, such as Robert, noted difficulties planning a budget. A capacity to make a budget sheet relies on the knowledge of how to such as being able to do maths. Indeed, Alan noted that, when doing them himself, he did not find budget sheets, useful because of this:

> *"every time I work a budget sheet I get confused. I always hated spread sheets! [laughs] anything that involves maths I was absolutely terrible at."* **Alan**

For those able to do them, however, budget sheets offered a means to objectify practice. By bringing incomings and outgoings together within the same instance on the page and calculating the sum between them a different perspective was created on spending not always readily apparent when involved in budgeting. Such "objectified memory" (Lahire 2011: 117) then differed from embodied memory and its practical sense where primarily it was only on findings they did not have enough money that made apparent any issues with budgeting.

> *"It helps you work out how much money you're spending, other than you spend it and then you're like 'Where's that gone?' 'Where's that gone, I swear I had £20 more' and you're clueless."* **Graham**

Objectified memory in such circumstances served to create a reflexivity where embodied memory failed. Reflexivity in being dependent on embodied capacities is not non-practical nor as claimed by Archer (2010) out-with the theoretical tools of habit, and therefore embodied sensitivity. As Lahire (2011: 144) notes, a habit can also be a habit to be reflexive like a "grammarian has the habit of casting a grammatical look at sentences [...] a habit of reflexivity, of taking a distance from language". Despite then the opposition raised between habit and reflexivity it can be seen that questions of reflexivity cannot be separated from how it is realised and the form it takes that leads back into questions of the practice that enables it. Reflexivity on budgeting arose from the disruptions caused by a lack of money; assisted shopping or from a return to the shop to refine choice of goods purchased; and from the practice of making budget sheets, or similar, which forced or enabled a practical distancing of oneself from the activity of being involved in budgeting.

Temporality

Budget sheets however were not always a sufficient means by which to budget. As already noted, a person requires the capacity to make and use budget sheets but there is also a pertinent context in which they are effective that limits their usefulness. For example, the standard form of budget sheets is a tallying of incomings and outgoings over a set time period. By controlling for time it effectively detemporalises practice by placing all incomings and outgoings within the same column as if happening at the same time. In other words, by ignoring the different times such transactions take place through placing everything in a single column it cannot account for the impact when they happen has on budgeting. This risks forgetting "the properties [budgeting] owes to the fact that it is constructed in time, that time gives it its form" (Bourdieu 1990a: 98).

As David mentioned as he mastered budgeting his spending 'kinda slowed itself down'. No longer spending it all in a 'oner' as he did each time he received his college bursary. Instead, like the majority of single and childless participants in this research, being in receipt of out-of-work benefits meant his income was on a fortnightly basis. Their spending tended to be based around a fortnight as well. When asking David why he did his groceries every two weeks there was a stunned pause before replying -

"Jist because that's how often I get paid." **David**

Graham referred to this fortnightly organisation of spending by participants receiving only Jobseekers' Allowance or Income Support as 'the fortnightly routine'. Shopping, electricity and gas were expenses most commonly spent on the same day as participants received their benefits. This was despite the discounts that would be made to gas and electricity bills if paying by direct debt on a monthly basis. Participants, however, did not trust this method of payment and preferred being able to know when their money was going in and out. Additionally, having it come out monthly risked not having enough in their bank account when the payment was due given the low level of benefits to cover all expenses occurring each fortnight. Their use of electricity and gas, therefore, could be regulated by knowing how much they put in the meter for the two weeks.

Understanding this temporal aspect to budgeting also enables a better understanding of why spending on alcohol and drugs can result in budgeting difficulties.

"at the start it was good cause I had money to myself plus I was able to get my shopping and pay the electric but then I turned to drugs and it was all gone […] all my possessions went on to paying for my drugs." **Graham**

For Graham and four other participants, spending on drugs and / or alcohol was done before spending on bills and food shopping disrupting this fortnightly routine. As seen with Graham, this was to such an extent that he had to pawn his own possessions. Another participant also

reported doing so directly to his dealer. As a result of the impact drug use had on spending as well as daily living, it was considered to be causing their lives to 'have spiralled out of control a wee bit' (Eric). The problems this caused did eventually lead to participants developing an embodied sensitivity that prioritised spending for the 'stuff they had to get' to regain control:

"Now I'm cutting down [my drug use], that's a big like factor for me, so I can buy [my son] more presents and I've got more food in the house." **Joe**

For Eric this change came about through help received from a support worker specialising in addiction who also provided general support 'to get me back into a normal daily life so to speak' and establishing routine. Another participant, Tom, reported the issues drinking with his friends had on his budgeting. He received his benefit payments the same day as they normally met up in the pub and this left him struggling to have enough money to buy food afterwards. Again, this shows the disruption such spending has to developing a fortnightly routine where buying 'stuff they had to get' created a routine to meet spending pressures.

Participants who had previously, or by the second interview, had jobs or other changes of circumstance changed to shopping weekly. When probed on this it was not because it was how often they got paid but that they preferred it. In Garry's case, his girlfriend moving in with him meant for a temporary period they were able to do their shopping weekly as their money came in on different weeks. However:

"when we get the joint claim it's going to have be fortnightly." **Garry**

What is seen then is that it was not only the limited money available but also the regularity in which it was received that led to particular outgoings being treated as essential by spending them on the same day as their money came in. As each of the outgoings was covered there was a greater tendency of a 'varies', 'don't know' or similar type response. This was due to spending on travel, cigarettes, etc. not being treated as essential and spending on them changed in relation to how much was left for the two weeks after essentials were covered.

The success of this technique was evident when asking participants if they ever made their own budget sheets. A number said they did not so regularly, or had done so in the past, only if they experienced any difficulty with budgeting or due to a change in income.

> *"I've done that a couple of times but not all the time, 'cause I kind of followed the same routine that I done before."* **Graham**

In other words, there was no need to objectify this practice as the regularity of budgeting through a fortnightly routine meant it was "permanently mobilized and activated" (Lahire 2011: 117) in embodied memory. It was only required to deal with unexpected shortages or to refine spending if there were any changes in incomings or outgoings.

For participants employment or receiving additional benefits for mothers and those with recognised disabilities meant their income was a mix of weekly, fortnightly and / or monthly. Households with dependent children received different incomes within all three of these time-periods. Child Benefit was paid weekly, Income Support and Jobseekers Allowance fortnightly, and Child Tax Credits monthly. This enabled a breaking from a fortnightly routine whereby essential expenses no longer had to be synced onto the same day. As Lucy noted, after her son was born the change in the benefits she was entitled to meant:

> *"now I can spread it [referring to her expenses]."* **Lucy**

Receiving incomes at different times meant that different expenses could be synced with these.

> *"I get my money every fortnight, erm, and that's usually just for food, then [my son's] Child Benefit goes in every week and that pays for his nursery and his nappies, and like his Child Tax Credits go in at the end of the month and that's like for the big bills."* **Lucy**

As this quote hints towards, it was not only that their income was more complex but their spending was too. Their own family transition to a position of not only being more

independent but one where they had a dependent child was one reason for this. The perishable nature of food and other items for children meant delaying shopping longer than weekly was not possible. At the time of the first interview a mother was the only participant who when moving onto the budget sheet section of the interview left the room to fetch one she had already prepared. Therefore, while helping form routines, budget sheets appear to only be used regularly to maintain budgeting techniques that deal with increasing financial complexity where incomings and outgoings are harder to sync.

This is similar to research by Lave (1988) showing that financial complexity leads to different categories of money being created for different expenses. What aided the characterisation for parents was having multiple income streams at different times. Each income source was treated as a different category for organising spending. Importantly, however, it was not all viewed as participants' money. Child Benefit was referred to as belonging to their children and used to pay for items for them. Perceiving the money as belonging to their child and to be used for buying items for them was common for all participants receiving Child Benefit. Previous research has found that the payment of Child Benefit separately than as a single payment had resulted in more money being spent on children (Lundberg *et al.* 2006) which this categorisation of who it belongs to provides a reason for why this is. This held true even where parents were forced to 'borrow' this money from their child. One participant reported having to do this when her claim was stopped but once a new claim was started she ensured she made up what she had borrowed.

Such complexity also resulted in more diversity in budgeting techniques. By the time of the second interview Jenny had moved to a new tenancy with her child and partner. Her partner was in employment and his wage went into a separate bank account from the money Jenny was entitled to. In this way, they established a unique way of categorising their incomes among the participants for mastering budgeting:

> *"I'll take money out of the bank but then I'll just leave it, because Ian gets money in his bank so I just leave my money for bills, and then Ian will just spend his on food and all that, and that's what we've been doing anyway."* **Jenny**

While Lucy, through the temporal emancipation from a fortnightly routine arising through having multiple incomes, organised her bills monthly, Jenny instead organised hers weekly where possible. Although their techniques for budgeting then remained temporal, similar to those receiving higher wages, there was a reduction in the likelihood for all essential spending to gravitate towards the same time period.

The Economy of Needs Over Wants

What has been covered so far is that budgeting techniques for independent living required a change in embodied sensitivity where certain goods became considered 'rubbish' or 'junk'. In their temporal organisation of spending participants additionally synced up essential spending with the days the money was received. The final part to budgeting techniques is a division between needs and wants:

> *"Well if I lived at home obviously I didn't have benefits […] I'd rely on getting money from my parents and odd jobs here and there, […] you know, be bouncing about buying cigarettes when I wanted if I wanted them, you know, buy what I wanted at the weekends, be it to go out drinking with my pals, [...] But obviously now it's different cause I need to look after myself, I need to buy what I need and not what I want."* **John**

This aspect, like the other two, was additionally influenced by the technique utilized for an income. With benefits providing a low level of economic capital the division between needs and wants turned emphasis towards placing needs over wants as John mentions. As covered in the previous section, some participants also had to delay furnishing their tenancy as they

could not afford to, with a few still not having fully furnished and decorated as they would like by the second interview. Needs and wants, however, are not two wholly separate kinds of items like those categorized as 'rubbish' and, by implication, not-rubbish. John again made this clear:

> *"I've got everything sorted and everything in place that I really need, you know, well needs not wants, like a table, obviously you need a table for such and such things [...] Obviously I want to improve that and get better things [referring to the decoration and furnishings] but I'm happy with what I've got now."* **John**

Here he makes a distinction that while he has the needed items for his tenancy he would want, if possible, better ones. The same items that are needed can also be ones that are wanted but the financial situation did not always make it possible for the two to coincide. Similarly, when shopping needs over wants was further behind the refinement of spending seen above, alongside avoiding 'rubbish'. During the first wave of interviews John had moved into employment and was able to start buying again items he had to give up as part of the budgeting technique for living on benefits:

> *"At least the now that I've got myself a job I can go back to buying the normal good things and still have money 'cause I'm earning more than I would have done on benefits, you know, so, I find it a lot better."* **John**

The quote from John highlights how his wages enabled a going back to 'the normal good things' which was not possible on benefits where the needed items could also be the wanted ones. What is happening is an imposition of form resulting from the heightened pressure the low level of economic capital has on what budgeting practices are possible. This is what the phrase of an economy of needs over wants seeks to capture. The balance of power between the tenant and the spending pressure of the tenancy tilts towards the latter where the majority of spending is on what is needed to sustain the tenancy.

The precarious employment situation of participants meant that, for the majority of the time, most of them operated under such an economy. However, the pressure of it was heightened when techniques for maintaining benefits failed. A number of participants had periods of no income except for crisis loans and support from friends and family. Having a secure income then was not always the 'norm'. Any understanding of budgeting practice needs to account for how such periods are dealt with and how the debt built up during it is paid off.

At the time of the first interview Michael had been experiencing difficulties from paying off both crisis loans and budget loans. He had received support with cooking to improve the range of meals he could make however -

> *"I'm still eating stuff I shouldnae really be but, I think it's mainly because of ma budget."* **Michael**

When probed why it was because of his budget he mentioned it was from paying back Crisis Loans and an upcoming bill. Under such circumstances even needs become prioritized over each other whereby the need to pay off loans and an upcoming bill meant cutting back on food. Other participants reported similar periods where spending was further cut back arising from claims being stopped, paying back debts, or on receiving unexpected bills:

> *"I've had a couple of periods where I've not enough money to pay for gas and electric, I've got enough to sacrifice either a wee drop of food for shopping to put enough money in gas and electric to pay for it, or I'm going to have to sacrifice not going to a job interview because I've not got the money to go for it 'cause I need to pay for bills."*
> **Lesley**

This was due to both the lower amount of economic capital receivable through Crisis Loans and paying back these loans or rent arrears once benefits were set up again.

Michael, like others, said he was 'not that fussed' in paying back the loans; just as long as they were not taking too much off his benefits. Previously he had £12 a fortnight being taken off

him a but due to the difficulties he was having paying this it was cut down to £4 a fortnight. As this was a debt owed to the local authority, this amount was removed before he received his fortnightly payment. This was perceived by many to make the process of paying these debts easier.

Conclusion

The techniques of independent living detailed in this chapter show the importance of what takes place outside the tenancy enters into the practice of sustaining it. Establishing economic positions such as accessing benefits and / or employment allowed the use of economic capital acquired from these positions to pay for rent, bills and living expenses. As seen in the previous chapter, the level of income had an impact upon the ability to make a house a home, being able to replace broken white goods, and for buying food to eat. The move towards more independent positions through their housing pathway and family transition therefore also required a move in participants' education-employment transition to secure their own source of economic capital. Accessing benefits in particular was an important technique given the precariousness of employment. This in itself was not a guaranteed position where the high level of scrutiny and punitive measures in place resulted in regular endings of benefit claims which risked the build-up of rent arrears.

Having these more independent social positions additionally meant adopting new techniques of budgeting entailing the formation of schemata of perception and action attuned to the pressures of the tenancy. Items that money had predominately been spent on in the past become regarded as 'rubbish' with their orientation towards the tenancy prioritising spending that aided sustainment. The time period over which payments were received furthered such categorisation and for those receiving only Jobseekers Allowance and Income Support

enforced a fortnightly routine when combined with the low level of income. While the low level of income was important, it alone did not determine the particular technique of budgeting adopted by participants. However, it did impose upon participants an economy of needs over wants that was intensified when benefit claims were stopped, paying back debts or having received an unexpected bill.

Chapter Eight: Realising Independence

Introduction

This chapter explores the impact of the changing configuration of participants' social positions from moving into an independent tenancy. This is structured in two main sections. The first section examines the influence upon participants' sense of self through their social positions moving towards more independent positions. The changes in sensitivity are the product of the practical experience of becoming attuned to their housing position and evidenced through the discourses of maturity that participants used when discussing their changed sense of self. These discourses thus connect their changing configuration of social positions to the practical mastery of establishing their techniques of independent living. Crucially, this change, similar to the sense of home, cannot be understood as a mere aggregation of the aspects detailed in previous chapters. Rather it speaks to a reorientation of embodied sensitivity through the development of techniques of independent living and the increased intensity of libidos towards independent positions.

When used to describe their practical mastery of an independent position, these discourses of maturity by participants were largely positive. The second half of this chapter moves to cover the various tensions seen in participants' discussions of feeling shamed and depressed. This is understood through how participants' social positions and libidos are in dissonance, creating social suffering. This dissonance arose from the libidos towards independent positions not always being possible to realise within practice due to being out of phase with the opportunities available to participants. Such opportunities are a product of the longer term historical process of actually existing neoliberalism which influenced the configuration of participants' social positions.

Discourses of Maturity

Discourses of maturity used by participants within the interviews were a result of their move towards greater independence and establishment of successful techniques of independent living, and how these were embodied within sensitivity. As seen within The Making of Home, there was a process of adapting the tenancy whilst also adapting to it through the development of a practical mastery that made techniques of independent living possible. Participants had varying degrees of previous experience using these techniques, although not always of the same intensity as they found within their own tenancy. Once in the tenancy there was an increase in density and intensity of pressures where practical mastery had to keep adapting as greater levels of independence were realised. Gaining experience and mastery of the pressures was strongly connected to the discourses of maturity. It is with experience, therefore, that this section starts following this into the more explicit discourses of maturity.

Levels of Experience

All participants were asked how they felt they had managed in their tenancy compared to their initial expectations. Alongside it being harder due to feelings of loneliness, as previously discussed, the responses fell into two broad categories. The first, and larger, category was composed of those who were surprised at how well they had done:

> *"I thought I was gonnae have a difficult experience and, like, I thought I wasn't gonnae cope at all and I actually did manage to cope really well."* **David**

The second category comprised those who were generally confident upon entering:

"Well I thought it'd be the same to be honest wi ye I [was] used to all the budgeting and different things. Obviously different situations when I was in the [supported accommodation] and that I was use to it." **Lesley**

The above quotation also highlights the difference between the two groups. This was the level of confidence in their ability to manage independent living primarily based on their experience. Even for those who did better than expected, there was a tendency to refer to experience when explaining their success:

"I kinda knew along the lines how I had to keep the house and how to […] keep it clean and all that all the time, but I think I've actually done better than what I thought."
Daniel

In comparison, however, there is a distancing in the confidence in their only 'kinda [knowing]' as opposed to being 'use to it'. Similarly, this was expressed through not, as yet, being 'use to it' as a clarification on an initial statement about how they had done:

"Fine, yeah, fine. Apart from the bills, I'm not used to the bills yet." **Alison**

In each case, it was predominately a concern with their capacity to manage the tenancy rather than the potential offered by the tenancy. As discussed in the previous chapters, confidence within their responses can be viewed as being tied to the practical mastery they had of the techniques of independent living. They also referred to the techniques of independent living to help to explain their ability to manage their tenancy:

"I think it wis easier stayin here maself because I ken exactly what needs done, when it needs done and I'll do it whenever it needs." **Michael**

Within this quote is a highlighting of the attunement to the tenancy through the sense of what needs done and when, mastering within their practice ways to meet the pressures of the tenancy.

Within the second wave of interviews participants were asked what difference they felt there would be between themselves and someone older than them entering a tenancy. In their responses to the question many linked the expected higher level of experience of someone older than themselves making life in a tenancy easier.

"I think people that are older than me would have, like, maybe a bit more experience of […] looking after a house and that […] They might have a bit more money so […] they would make it their own." **Marianne**

Age was also tied to the importance of economic capital in enabling a person to 'make it their own'. With the important role it played in the formation of techniques it is also mentioned here alongside experience in terms of offering greater levels of control over a tenancy.

So far this compliments previous research where concern has been expressed on issues of the "inexperience or immaturity" of young people (Harding 2004: 108). Hutson (1999: 216) has also commented that homeless 16 and 17 year olds are perceived as requiring support due solely to their age. This perception of young people can be summarised by the apprehension many organisations have of not "setting them up to fail" (Third *et al.* 2001: 64). For participants in this research it was common for support organisations and / or the local authorities' to be working on the basis that those between 16-25 years old were requiring support due to their age alone. Support organisations operating with conditionalities of housing ready worked exclusively with people within this age bracket. Imposing conditionalities appears to be a solution to views expressed by organisations in previous research that how quickly a young person could be allocated a tenancy "was part of the problem" if they were unprepared to live independently (Third *et al.* 2001: 69).

In contrast to this, the participants emphasised that, regardless of age, any new tenant would have to adjust to independent living. Although some added that people older than them would probably have more experience, this was not necessarily true for everyone.

Additionally references were made to other attributes associated with age rather than experience such as being 'given more benefits' (Alan) or having 'more chance of jobs' (Graham).

In further contrast to previous concerns about a lack of support for young people, support in the research was nearly ubiquitous and highly holistic. Where participants in this research were receiving support, for the majority this was a continuation of support from the same organisation that supported in temporary accommodation. Participants who did not receive such support during temporary accommodation received in kind support from other organisations. This included a drug support worker and an organisation providing help and resources for participants to make their own furnishings for their tenancy. In such cases, support went beyond the immediate provision of support for a specific area in favour of a more holistic approach providing help with budgeting and general trouble-shooting. While they did not always cover the same breadth of areas as floating support from housing services, what remains important from this is the role support was seen to have in the previous chapters for aiding participants with their adjustment to independent living. This continued into the tenancy itself and being 'housing ready' did not mean participants did not require support afterwards.

More Pressures, More Independence

This combination of continuing support between temporary accommodation and on entering the tenancy or the relatively holistic approach of services for others was beneficial. Despite levels of preparedness, entering a tenancy provided new and increased pressures to those encountered while in temporary accommodation. This was, not only the need to furnish and

decorate their tenancy, but also changes in practical activities learnt in temporary accommodation such as budgeting in response to new bills to pay for.

> *"Jist it's hard, running, running your own hoose is hard. You don't actually know how hard it is when yer in […] the hostel. You've got […] rent [a service charge] to pay that's only like £5 odd a week. Then you come here and you've got […] if ye oot working it's […] £200 a month and stuff. It's a lot harder. There's a lot more money involved."* **Zoe**

Therefore, there was a continuation of adaptation to increasing independent living when moving into the tenancy itself. There was, thus, an increase in the density and intensity of pressures where adaptation involved the development of techniques which increased the interdependence with the tenancy. This was referred to as there being 'a lot more responsibility' (Alison) because –

> *"I've got more than one room to keep tidy, I've got a lot more electricity, I've got gas to put in this time that I didnae have the last time. Erm, plus the simple fact it's more to keep clean."* **Alison**

This progressive adaptation to increasingly independent social positions met not only with an increasing experience of how to manage the position but a changed sense of self. More responsibilities called for a person to be more responsible:

> *"'Cause I've got a baby, I'm in a routine […] I've always got money now that I'm budgeting things more and, just being responsible, I need to be."* **Jenny**

As quoted previously, the participant '[felt] more independent with all that now' (Jenny) as a result of receiving support with reading bills. Both areas of this quoted section connect a pressure with the outcome of a successful technique. The technique with others in having a child she was responsible for was attributed to being in a routine. This was common amongst the parents as the strong interdependence between parent and child meant that, although

their child was largely dependent on them, it also required them to shape their practice around the child. Similarly, 'now that I'm budgeting' was tied to having money available compared to having a lack of money during the week previously. Furthermore, in response to being asked why she had done better in her tenancy than she thought, she said her behaviour had changed:

"I feel more mature now […] I feel more grown up, and more responsible." **Jenny**

There is a linkage, therefore, between experience and maturity. While the two are not equivalents there was a regular attribution of increasing experience with increasing maturity. Ainsely (1991: 108) noted similar in his research where participants felt more mature from the responsibilities of living independently. Crucially, though, this can be further explained by experience being gained through responsibilities where being able to develop techniques of independent living which could meet these responsibilities strengthened feelings of control and maturity.

"I feel a lot more confident and a lot more mature cause I've had time to learn about sort of stuff and the way stuff works an that." **Ryan**

Comments about being more independent, grown up, responsible and mature were made by participants across the interviews. While not all of these terms were used by every participant, it can be seen in the above quote that there was a tendency to link these phrases together. Being mature was regularly associated with being grown up and responsible and vice versa. Correspondingly, although some participants may not have used such terms in relation to activities, where others did there was a similarity in the manner of expression they used. Particularly when some may have talked of a change in maturity others used a language of behaviour.

When probed about what they thought made them more mature, participants responded both in terms of it being a particular 'mindset' (Tom) and / or through the activities associated with it. Again this linked the increased responsibilities to the activities.

> *"Having priorities an havin responsibilities an that now [...] Knowing you've got something to wake up to in the morning instead o just [...] when I was staying wi ma mum [...] wakening up an hinking [...] 'oh what tae dae the day?' an go oot an get drunk, But now it's like I'll wake up, get the hoosework done, go tae the shops, play wi [my daughter], make sure [she's] healthy, get aw the stuff done with [her], stuff like at."* **Rachael**

Elsewhere, the participant stated that successfully engaging in the techniques of independent living meant 'it shows I'm no an immature wee lassie any mair' (Rachael). The mindset and activities engaged in, therefore, are two sides of the same process. This sense of self was 'constantly objectified' (Lahire 2011: 202) in particular forms of practice acting as are the visual signs of being mature bearing the traces of the pressures of the tenancy young people were orientated themselves towards.

Maturity as an Extensive Sensitivity

An increasing sense of being mature or grown up was not solely in response to participants' housing pathway but was extended to include changes in other youth transitions. Hence one reason why it cannot be subsumed to experience of an independent tenancy alone,

> *"My behaviour's changed [...] but I've got a reason for that to change, I'm pregnant [laughs] I cannae be having parties when I'm pregnant."* **Jenny**

Having started their own families, participants with children were not only in an increased independent position but also had someone who was dependent on them. The valences of

relations constituting the pressures of their housing position were thus increased, leading to a greater prevalence of discourses of maturity within their interviews. While it was mothers who were the main care-providers to children, a few fathers also spoke about changed behaviour to meet the responsibilities of parenthood.

> "*I wasn't taking any drugs I was smoking cannabis but that's it [...] so I was quite happy and I gave up smoking and everything just so I could gie the bairn a good life.*"
> **Eric**

Being more mature thus refracted throughout their constellation of relations. Giving up previous activities was commonly given as another explanation of being mature. Again, parents were most likely to discuss this. Not only did participants stop certain activities but they started to look negatively upon them:

> "*I've grew up and got a bit maturer and I ken I dinnae want to walk outside my house and see loads of folk drinking and that but a few years ago I would of probably been doing that wi my pals so I kind of grew up now dinnae really like looking at things like that when you're walking about the streets.*" **Vicky**

For some this meant also disassociating themselves from any friends who still engaged in these activities. Where previous behaviour was seen as 'understandable [because] we were young' (Joe) it was considered wrong to be 'that old and still [...] fannying about' (Joe). There was a sense then of having:

> '*Quieten down a lot anyway, I fell pregnant know what I mean, so had to quieten down. Just thought keep myself quiet, really quiet*' **Lesley**

Others spoke of 'proper screwed the heed' (Lucy), 'more level headed' (Alan) or 'heid doon' (Tom) to refer to this. Therefore, maturity came not only from an increase in experience of independent living but also an adaptation to it in terms of schemata of action and perception, a reorientation of embodied sensitivity that also entailed changes in relations to particular

activities and people.   This process of changing embodied sensitivity was not in response to "'social structures' [in terms of structures existing separately above individuals] but relations to the social world and to others, ways of acting in particular situations, with others and with objects [that were] gradually embodied" (Lahire 2011: 178).

As previously mentioned, the density and intensity of participants' interdependencies were heightened through moving to more independent social positions where to adapt to independent living involved the development of techniques.   This "socially instilled displeasure" (Elias 2000: xi) towards certain activities and increased self-restraint arose through increasing interdependencies.   'Maturity', therefore, is a process towards these standards of behaviour embodied in sensitivity and realised in participants' practice.   This is through participants' housing pathways and other youth transitions whereby their independencies changed in balance due to progressing through more independent social positions.   The move from the family home or care meant certain pressures were no longer channelled through parents.   These pressures increased between temporary accommodation and their own independent tenancies, and the pressures of the tenancy extended out with the tenancy where there was a need to secure and maintain an income.   Those who had progressed in their family transition to establishing their own family gave an additional importance to their tenancy as a place to be a family and having a dependent child added further pressures and modifications of behaviour.   Depending on social positioning in this way means it is not a fixed process nor at any set rate for all people.   The gap in maturity between participants and their friends was explained precisely by their earlier youth transitions.

> *"I've tae grow up faster than a should've because I had ma ain house an a had ma child an aw stuff like that."* **Rachael**

By being explained through practical activities discourses of maturity also associated more maturity with better ways of dealing with them.

"I'd say I've grown up a bit more. I'd say I'm not all […] spur of the moment type thing, I'll actually think about things now […] the one main thing is if I go apply for a job, obviously I was like 'yeah I'm just going to get that job really quick, let's go, let's go', but now if I sit back and think about it, if that job's a little part time job, it's say 12 hours a week […] National minimum wage for my age, it'll not cover my house for me, it'll not cover food and things so obviously I'm thinking about things like that more and more." **John**

This quotation describes an increased orientation of practice being in line with what is best in terms of managing his tenancy, adding to the notion of having a head 'screwed on'. The search for employment became refined in terms of whether it would 'cover my house […] food and things'. It is being more discerning with options in order to avoid any potential difficulties as the changed schemata in relation to budgeting also showed. Finally, having 'grown up a bit more' is used to describe being able to act in new, positive, ways. This was also explained by participants in relation to how they related to other people.

"See once you start speaking to them as if you're an adult and when you go in to sign on you don't just sit there and look at them, sign on and leave. You go in and have a conversation with that person and start asking questions about your benefits, and start asking questions about your money and look for jobs as well and start asking them questions on what they are doing for you, then they start treating you like an adult and see that you are actually trying and stuff, so it's better , plus it's a lot better." **Daniel**

Here, there is not only a linking of acting like an adult with taking an active role and exerting more control. There are also comments about how acting 'as if you're an adult' is important to being recognised as one. The recognition was seen as coming from establishing a practice associated with being adult. As Henderson *et al.* (2006: 29) noted within their own research,

feeling like an adult is related to both "competence" and its recognition by others. As Daniel explained, such recognition in acting as an adult thus meant being treated 'like an adult'.

Maturity, or the need to be, was also seen as a promoter towards greater independence. Participants, in establishing themselves as independent for example, did not want to return to the family home.

> *"I wouldnae have been wanting to have it [mediation for a return to the family home] anyway it would have just been like taking a step backwards."* **Lucy**

Becoming independent and embodying a sense of maturity, therefore, increased the desirability of independence and being treated by others in regards to their sense of self. Participants generally remarked that going through homelessness had in a way been worth it as they now had their own tenancy. Orientation towards independence therefore meant to lose independence was seen as a 'step backwards'.

While for many participants their orientation towards the future was a desire to work and / or continue improving their tenancy, for parents their orientation was firmly in line with what they felt would be best for their child.

> *"I have been grown up since I found out I was pregnant, well before, but I think I've been more like mature than… I just want the best [for my child]"* **Jenny**

Maturity, then, constituted a reorientation within the way participants perceived themselves and the social world. Indeed, there is no separation between a mental "interior" and a social "exterior". Rather what was "inside" was merely the "outside" social relations, positions and processes folded inwards (Lahire 2011: 205). A reconfiguration of social positions towards greater independence changing the balance of interdependencies and the acquiring of practical mastery of them was accompanied by a change in embodied sensitivity. However, this sensitivity was not reducible only to the having experience of living independently. It was extensive across their housing pathway and youth transitions operating as a general gauge on

the combination of their different social positions. Increasing independence in terms of an independent tenancy met with an increased orientation and desire towards independence and self-sustainability. This orientation in embodied sensitivity, however, was not always met with the opportunities to realise them within their own social positions.

Social Suffering

The findings have demonstrated a series of tensions, for example between the satisfaction participants felt in having their own space with the possibilities of making that space into a home. Tensions between an increasing desire towards occupying more 'self-sustaining' (Fraser) social positions and being 'back [at] square one' (John). Each of these tensions gravitated around the desires of the participants and the opportunities before them through which they could be realised.

Such tensions, as emotionally experienced by participants, constituted an embodied social suffering arising from the interplay between their social positioning as it bore upon trying to realise their desires within their practice of tenancy sustainment. As seen with the discourse of maturity, maintaining a tenancy was not an end in itself for participants. It is only by reframing tenancy sustainment as a means towards other goals that this suffering can be incorporated within the conceptualisation.

Doing so, however, requires further consideration about how these tensions come about. As Bourdieu (1991: 181) notes, too often when seeking to explain social phenomena "in person, close up" leads also to placing the basis of what is observed "at the site of observation itself". What is required to mitigate such risk is to maintain vigilance on the part played in the construction of phenomena by "the political world" (Bourdieu 1999: 181); to relate what is observed with its wider interdependencies. Rather than a question of what is individual and

what is structure, it is important to remember that "the most personal is the most impersonal" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 201). This is because the "singular suffering that women and men experience finds their roots in the objective contradictions, constraints and double binds inscribed" within relations (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 201).

Education and Employment

All participants had a permeating sense of regret about school. Variance in feelings of regret came from how beneficial cultural capital, in the form of qualifications gained at school, was for gaining further educational places or employment. As with the last section, discourses of maturity informed the way many perceived how they had previously acted.   Many felt during their time at school 'I was just like immature' (Fraser). Being 'a lot more sensible now' (Sarah) meant that they took a negative view of their past behaviour and would act differently at school if they had the chance again. This was commonly related through phrases such as 'stuck my head down' (Joe), 'put my head down' (Ryan), and 'keep my head down' (Daniel).

With qualifications being seen as the primary outcome of school, if participants had not received the qualifications they had hoped for, or they had been unable to find further education or employment from their qualifications, school was not seen as having benefited them.

> *"No really [any benefit…] obviously I learned how to read and write and all that but nut I've no used anything no […] there's nothing in [this town]."* **Lucy**

The highest qualification level achieved by the majority of participants was standard grades, intermediates, highers or equivalent qualifications from college. The erosion of a distinct youth labour market has resulted in a relative lowering of the value of such qualifications. Increasing levels of precarious employment for marginalised young people has also placed

greater importance for advanced qualifications to be able to acquire more stable jobs (Bynner & Elies 2002). Compounding this has been the move away within policy from a commitment to full employment towards a focus on encouraging young people to remain within education for longer (Furlong *et al.* 2003). Such "intensifying competition, is responsible for many failures and disappointments" (Bourdieu 2002: 507).

> *"I would definitely stay on and get Highers [… I would have] just focus down and get the grades that matter, because I don't think standard grades are even important, and they don't actually get you anywhere, […] So like standard grades are generally a waste of time. Like if you're made to do Highers, you know what I mean, Highers are seen… you know, they're recognised as something, a step above that so if I was gonna go back I would have stayed on. I would have done Highers and at least tried to get something out of it. Something that was […] valued"* **Fraser**

The changes mentioned above are clear within this quote from Fraser and were mirrored in interviews with other participants. There was a feeling that they would have dealt with school differently if they could go back was because they believed the qualifications they had were not 'valued'. This meant they did not 'get something out of' school, 'grades that matter'. What was achieved was a 'waste of time' with respect to how they were 'recognised' and 'valued' by universities and employers. This valuing and recognition being defined by the importance they have for gaining employment or continuing with education; placing them a 'step above' what others may have. Recognition about where their qualifications placed them within the hierarchical ordering of potential applicants.

Participants therefore could have qualifications but still dismiss them as nothing because it did not place them a step above. Their relative lack of cultural capital meant they felt they had wasted their time or in the competition for grades and jobs could have endlessly done better. Indeed, even participants who, when describing their time at school as having 'pit ma head

doon and studied and got ma qualifications', would have in hindsight 'changed a lot of things' (Sarah). Despite at school having 'managed tae dae all my exams […] ma greatest achievement at the moment', and beneficial because 'maist jobs that I've applied for my standard grades linked tae it', could still leave a person saying in hindsight they would have 'stuck in more' (Zoe). The chains of interdependence that constituted this situation were always experienced as their own personal failing in where it rplaced them to in relation others.

This is what was behind the regret that looking back on school fostered in terms of what could have been. A regret where they impart the sensitivity of their current situation in the labour market onto the past and their time at school becomes their own failings in not having been more engaged or concentrating enough despite many also recognising that their situation while at school was –

> *"Kind of screwed up, but you can't change the past and to be honest from what I've been through I've done pretty well."* **Joe**

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 168) notes that the symbolic violence that fosters social suffering exerts itself through the misrecognition of the social relations that create and maintain inequality as personal failings. School in particular legitimates already existing economic and cultural inequalities through qualifications that are perceived as the result of personal merit (Bourdieu & Passeron 1997). Therefore, unequal levels of such capital make children with it feel at ease at school whilst those without experience it as an alien place. In general, participants came from working class families and classic examples of how this shaped schooling was seen with participants claiming to having "never liked [school]" (Michael), "werenae really brainy" (Vicky) or that they found "the work hard and exams hard" (Jenny).

It would be better however, in relation to the participants in this research, to view it as a (mis)recognition where different levels of recognition and misrecognition co-existed. When

asked to recount their schooling, participants did recognise any problems with bullying, disrupted schooling, or having attended multiple schools, to then in hindsight still have regret over not having achieved more. This lack was perceived in their not being a 'step above'. As Lahire (2003: 337) notes, there is a gap "experienced by students who acknowledge the legitimacy of the culture at school, even when they have major problems at school". This is because "their self-image is determined by what they are not, they cannot but depreciate themselves" (Lahire 2003: 337). Similarly, where initially a person described their time at school as a relative accomplishment given their circumstances or expectations, then subsequently expressed regret, this was a result of how their cultural capital positioned them in relation to employment. The suffering of regret therefore was experienced in the tension, the double bind (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 201), between how they did at school with the further education and employment opportunities it currently offered them. Opportunities constituted by the wider chains of interdependence influenced by changes in social policy and the economy.

As Bourdieu (2002: 507) noted, the impact on the sense of self arising from the relative value of the cultural capital acquired from school "no doubt explains why we so often find school at the core of the suffering of the interviewees, who have been disappointed either in their own plans [...] or by the ways the job market has reneged on the promises and guarantees made by the educational system". As Fraser remarked school was 'the worst experience of ma life [laugh]. Literally.'

However, as seen with this regret, such suffering also came after school when trying to find employment. The difficulty experienced in finding such work was regularly seen as intensified by their level of education.

> *"Jobs are hard enough as it is, 'cause I've got no grades and it's quite difficult to look for [work]"* **Joe**

For others the job they wanted had been denied to them through their education.

> *"I did have plans on becoming a Paramedic but I never had the qualifications to start*
>
> *with […] cause I'd [….] too low a grade."* **Michael**

As previously discussed, employment found tended to be precarious and not always perceived as one that could lead to a career. Wacquant (2007) has put forth that the end to a commitment to full-employment and an increasingly 'flexible' workforce has resulted in the rise of such precarious employment being a permanent feature of contemporary society for marginalised social groups. These marginal positions are not "behind us: they are not residual" problems only temporarily existing, awaiting to be "reabsorbed by the expansion of the 'free market'" but rather the situation being forged by actually existing neoliberalism that lie "ahead of us" (Wacquant 2007: 232). The growing entrenchment of such precarious employment increases the marginal employment positions those with relatively low levels of cultural capital can access.

> *"It was just the fact that obviously I was on benefits for a while and I finally got a job*
>
> *and it was full time […] I thought I was going to go somewhere and then obviously I*
>
> *lost my job and I was back to square one again, so that got me a bit depressed."* **John**

Employment was regularly seen in terms of moving forward away from being stuck in the same place. Through this, gaining employment to subsequently return to unemployment became perceived as being 'back at square one' (John). Such depression, as mentioned above, arose from hopes of moving forward subsequently being dashed. The precariousness of employment, which resulted in many remaining in unemployment and claiming benefits between the interviews, was a social position which was seen as doubly undesirable. Firstly, due to the libido towards employment where they could 'earn ma money' (Tom) and, secondly, it was 'not really what I wanted out of life being on the brew' (Graham). As well as

conflicted feelings about time at school, there was also a conflict with how people felt about benefits.

> *"I dunno, I've got a mixed opinion about it tae be quite honest, sometimes I'm awright aboot it but sometimes I'm no, like… [sigh] I dunno. [It is good] that they help you oot a lot […] I dunno, see it's a weird question because sometimes… it's like I actually hate them because they just muck ye aboot aw the time."* **Rachael**

There was a dual recognition of the vital role benefits had in helping them secure an income but this was constantly matched by a sense of being mucked about. The balance between the two positions was not even with the latter side finding greater expression within the interviews. This was because of the growth of "disciplinary social policy" (Wacquant 2012: 72).

Conditionalities on benefits, both when making a claim and through what is required to maintain them, constructed a regime of distrust and suspicion upon claimants' actions. A person on Jobseekers' Allowance cannot merely say they are looking for work but, as was previously discussed, must provide proof during what Charlesworth (2000: 81) called the "fortnightly ritualized humiliation" at the JobCentre Plus.

> *"It's like a depressing feeling that you have to go there […] and have them look down their noses at ye. […] 'an have ye been looking for work now?' and I'm like that 'I have done' 'are ye sure?' I was like that 'yes!'"* **Tom**

> *"It just makes ye feel like you're in the wrong for doin it. They just make ye feel like they're judging ye."* **Rachael**

It was not only a sense of being constantly under scrutiny that was depressing but that, at the Jobcentre Plus, there was a sense of being judged negatively for being on benefits. There were the same concerns for those claiming additional benefits for disabilities.

> *"I had a few kinda physical kinda illnesses that I was born with, and they didn't give me a point for that, they thought I was jist lyin."* **David**

Additionally, it was not uncommon for participants to say that their money was stopped "a lot" (Rachael). The severity of the impact from this varied depending on how soon they were able to resolve the issue. Therefore, alongside the annoyance and a sense of depression in taking part in the processes required to maintain their claim, there was a lingering angst on the ever possible situation that their benefits could be stopped 'for no entire reason' (Joe).

When discussing going to the Jobcentre Plus, participants described it as "annoying" (Alan), "shameful" (Lesley), "too much of a hassle" (Simon) and making them "even more depressed" than they already were (Mike).   They perceived the Jobcentre Plus as "play[ing] games with ye" (Rachael) and "mess[ing] ye about so much" (Simon). This was a social suffering arising from the use, and threat to use, "merciless sanctions" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 201), whilst being in a position they did not wish to be in and also having their attempts to leave it constantly scrutinized.

Receiving benefits, as well as shaping the form of budgeting practice engaged in by participants, also impacted how much money was spent on needs over wants. While the participants within this research all managed to establish a budgeting practice, it was not easy to live by it. One of the common things participants said they would change about benefits was the level of money received:

> *"For folk on Jobseekers, gie them a bit mare […] probably make it easier tae run a household and feed yerself"* **Alan**

When asked how much more they felt was needed, participants mentioned it was roughly £20 a fortnight. While this might not appear "that much", as one participant said in relation to her electricity and gas bills "it is a lot when you're on a budget" (Lucy). The low level of economic

capital they had with which to organise their budgeting meant that even small amounts of money become "a lot" for them.

Marginality Folded Within the Tenancy

What has been seen in the previous sections is the effect of the rightward tilting of the state the process of actually existing neoliberalism (Wacquant 2012). Housing and homelessness policy and practice, however, has largely resisted this rightward tilting in the opening of access to housing. While conditionalities of housing ready delayed the pathway into an independent permanent tenancy, this was against a background of increasing access and removal of symbolic boundaries. Participants therefore had begun independent living against the trend within social policy relating to education and benefits to encourage a prolonged pathway. However, the interdependency between social positions meant that the tensions fostered 'outside' the tenancy were also brought 'inside'.

Three of the youngest participants in the research talked about their early housing pathway and / or family transition in negative terms.

> *"My first thoughts [on entering my tenancy] was I shouldn't be doing this I should still be at home you know like every other normal teenager, most teenagers are. I shouldn't be having drugs and addicted to them, it's the worst feeling ever."* **Graham**

> *"You're no really meant to fall pregnant when you're still at school […] I was really young I knew I'd have a lot of support fae my family but I was just scared I was too young."* **Vicky**

The reason why this did not cover all the younger participants was because the negative views about early transitions being a transgression of social trends came from those who could be categorised within social groups, drug users and young mothers, which are subject to

additional stigma. Emphasis was put on this additional stigma in their explanations of their concern over leaving home earlier than their peers. It can also be seen how this social suffering "is connected to the way in which inequalities are materialised in the body and lived" (Gonzalez-Arnal *et al.* 2013: 234). Their transgression, being 'too young' and 'not like every other normal teenager' was felt through being 'scared' and as 'the worst feeling ever'.

Inequalities additionally materialised through the emotional tensions expressed from the effect of the low level of economic capital that participants received through benefits. When asked what was hardest about having their own tenancy participants focused on the process of furnishing the place to turn it into a home and /or paying bills.

> *"The demand for bills to be paid to keep your roof over your head, and maintaining it."*
>
> **Eric**

These difficulties in establishing the techniques of independent living were due to the limited resources to hand. Bills were regularly, therefore, seen as a source of angst.

> *"There's a lot of bills to having a house I hate that, that's quite hard, it stresses you out tae when you realise how much bills you need to pay."* **Jenny**

Being on benefits 'stresses [a person] out' as trying to pay the bills 'to keep your roof over your head' becomes a struggle.

> *"It's quite a scary thing. Just sitting there goin, 'crap I need this, this and this and I've got this amount a money. I'm no gonnae have enough, gonnae have to dae without something for a couple a weeks."* **Alan**

Even where participants managed to break even between payments it was still addressed in terms of a struggle.

> *"I've never been in debt, I've never had a credit card in my life but seeing the bills come in saying 'you owe this' and you need to pay it with ten days but you've not got any*

money and you won't get any money until, you know, two weeks ways, it's horrible, it's a horrible thought. I've always managed to pay them but it's been, you know, scrimping and saving every little last penny." **Alison**

Managing to do so, however, is not something 'to live on'. The money participants received 'doesn't last' meaning they were 'left with nothing really at the end of it' (Alison). This meant that it was not uncommon to 'have to dae without something' (Alan). Participants were also restricted in what they could do with their time.

"I'm fed up being skint, like I'm fed up like having money the one week and then being skint the next week and then waiting for more money." **Jenny**

Participants further spoke of being unable to engage in social activities or to provide as much as they wanted for their children. Low levels of economic capital acquired through their economic position meant that, after meeting the pressures of the tenancy, there is little left over for engaging in other activities. The relative freedom for action is thus limited through the balance of power achieved through their economic position in meeting these pressures. While they can achieve a degree of control in managing the tenancy through their techniques of independent living there is a tendency for it to be just managing where 'getting on with life' was made difficult. As can be seen when participants found employment, the higher levels of economic capital meant there was a surplus after meeting pressures of the tenancy whereby engaging in other activities, fulfilling other desires, became possible. However, the precariousness of the employment meant a person could find themselves 'back at square one' when this technique was disrupted.

While adapting to independent living once they were in their own tenancy, participants also had an increase in desire towards other independent positions. Opportunities outside the tenancy were not always available to realise the libidos. As a result of this, not being in

employment or not being able to take part in activities out with the tenancy, was experienced as a mundaneness.

> *"At least [work] would give me something to do during the day instead of walking around doing nothing, sitting playing the PlayStation all day, it would keep me busy."* **Ryan**

> *"I like it sometimes when I'm in by myself, but sometimes I get lonely and it's boring because I'm just used to doing that same thing when I come home, and it's just really annoying."* **Jenny**

Not only do these quoted sections speak of a mundaneness, for Jenny there is also a conflicted view of the tenancy. Having space of her own is viewed as both enjoyable but also potentially lonely and boring. Somewhere that in doing the same thing each time she comes home is an annoyance. This can similarly be seen in Ryan talking negatively about 'playing the PlayStation all day'. This 'doing nothing' being contrasted with finding employment that would keep him busy. An area where participants felt more support was needed.

> *"Just support just like get some get daeing something with their lives like moving forward instead of being stuck in the same place all the time."* **Vicky**

Other participants made similarly conflicting comments about their tenancy or objects within it. In particular, televisions were mentioned in the interviews in contrasting ways. Having a television was seen positively as giving participants, or their children, something to do. A few had pride in having the television that they did, including one participant who was glad his television made his tenancy the place his friends chose to go to watch the football. Elsewhere in the interviews, however, disparaging comments were made that they had nothing to do without employment where they 'jisted watched TV all day' (Michael).

These paradoxical relations to television and the tenancy arose from the contrasts between 'doing nothing' and 'doing something' also contrasted in 'being stuck in the same place' and

'moving forward'. While participants had progressed with their housing pathway into their own tenancy they also felt as if they were stuck and not progressing if they were unable to find rewarding work. There was, thus, a duplicity of the tenancy and the objects within it as both a place to realise greater independence but at the same time a place of boredom and frustration from the uneven development in their housing pathway and youth transitions. There was a dissonance between the orientation towards independence and the lack of opportunity to realise it across their social positions.

The participants' constellation of relations, the configuration of their social positions relative to each other and other people and objects they are in relation with through them, operated as a prism where the longer term historical processes towards actually existing neoliberalism are refracted, condensed and embodied as a social suffering. The disjuncture between housing and homelessness policy and other social policy areas also found a disjuncture in the tensions between participants' housing and economic positions. Although the libido towards housing was realised, participants had libidos out with the tenancy that could not be fulfilled or could only be temporarily. The dissonance between participants' housing and employment positions folded upon the tenancy giving it a Janus face. Therefore being in their own tenancy not only provided a sense of home as the housing libido was realised but it also became a place of boredom and angst due to the other libidos not being realised and their lack of economic capital.

Conclusion

The tracing of embodied sensitivity within this chapter in its expressions of maturity and suffering bring to the fore two aspects of how being in an independent tenancy was experienced. The former of these is that an independent tenancy when considered alongside

youth transitions links this more independent position, compared to the family home or time in care, with the education-employment transition and the family transition. The latter is the other side of how the combination of these social positions is experienced where the changed orientation towards increasing independence when not realised results in suffering.

Social suffering was not an all or nothing situation. There was satisfaction in having their own tenancy and in developing the capability to manage to it. However, social suffering was the negative side of adapting to more independent positions whilst being unable to fully realise their desires towards them. Understood relationally placed emphasis on "social suffering [being] inscribed on the body" (Frost & Hogget 2008: 452) through tensions in participants relations. Such suffering, in being embodied, was evidenced within the expressions of shame, guilt, boredom and depression by the participants. Through treating seriously these expressions of suffering it was possible to 'read' what was inscribed, the traces of the social relations constituting that suffering.

This was from a dissonance between their social positions. In having started their housing pathway earlier in transgression of the expectations of policy, their desire for independent living was increased. Yet the ability to realise this through employment was difficult. Participants thus regularly relied on benefits under a system that treated them with constant suspicion. A system whose attempts to ensure they were 'job seeking' only intensified the feelings of depression and frustration when it was not desire that was lacking but non-precarious employment.

While there was an alignment in terms of the tenant and tenancy, as explained in Chapter Six, where participants felt their tenancy was home, there was a dissonance between their housing positions and economic positions. This dissonance folded within the tenancy which took on a Janus face as a place to call home and a place of boredom. Therefore despite the opening up of housing and homelessness legislation within Scotland which removed barriers

to independent living, there were still barriers to realising independence through changes to employment and benefits.

The folding of these tensions upon the relation between tenant and tenancy emphasises the importance of understanding tenancy sustainment as a practice. Through examining participants' constellation of relations and their embodied sensitivity it has been possible to "circumvent the censorship […] and to acknowledge new forms of inequality and misery rendered invisible by established instruments" (Wacquant 2008b: 275) measuring tenancy sustainment as either sustained or non-sustained.

Chapter Nine: Pathways Between Independent Tenancies

Introduction

The previous chapters covered the pathway into independent tenancies and the securing of the pathway, and participants' experience of and adaptation to independent living. It now becomes possible to explain how certain participants came to end a tenancy and their pathway through different independent tenancies. Events leading to the ending of a tenancy included the tenancy being considered unsecure, the tenancy being inadequate, eviction by the landlord, and changing relations with family and friends.

While reasons are given for ending a tenancy, this does not mean these were direct causation. They should more aptly be considered as events which led to the prevention or disruption of a practice of sustaining a tenancy. Their explanation requires discussion in combination with the issues dealt with in the preceding chapters. Additionally, events could occur together or follow from each other. An example of this is changes in family transition making a current tenancy inadequate. In terms of being an event, therefore, it needs to be understood through looking at the means by which participants maintained their tenancy. Similarly, the same event does not necessarily entail the same outcome as it becomes compounded within the sensitivity and relations of the participants. Therefore, consideration of the reasons for ending a tenancy also builds on the understanding of constellation of relations, embodied sensitivity and techniques of independent living developed within the analysis so far. In particular, while participants when discussing the making of home emphasised that *'everything pulls it together to just make it your home'* (Vicky) events leading to the ending of a tenancy saw this sensitivity of home disrupted or pulled apart.

Finally, at the end of both waves of interviews, participants were asked for their opinions on potential future housing and different types of tenancy. While not all participants ended a tenancy, it is important to know under what circumstances they felt they would move and to which form of housing. Doing so will help build on the orientation participants developed through their housing pathways and other youth transitions dealt with in the previous chapter.

Patterns of Tenancies Ended

For the participants where information is available seven out of twenty-two had ended the tenancy they were in when first contacted about the research. One of these participants had ended their tenancy between initial contact and the first interview taking place. Five participants additionally had previous tenancies to the one they were in at the point of being approached for the research. Details of which participants ended a tenancy and whether it was before or after the first interview are summarised in **Table 1** in Chapter Four**.**

Two of the participants' tenancies were technically used as temporary accommodation. However, the local authority they were in placed participants with private landlords whilst they were on the waiting list for a social tenancy. When asked how many previous tenancies they had these participants then included the private tenancies in the number given. For the purposes of the research, therefore, these are to be included in the considerations of reasons for ending a tenancy because the participants did not consider them the same as other temporary accommodation used. Indeed, one of the participants was not concerned about receiving a social tenancy until she learnt she was pregnant and experienced a series of problems with three different private tenancies.

Relationships with Friends and Family

Relationships with friends and family were the most prevalent reason for leaving a tenancy. This prevalence is not surprising, even in times where single occupant households are becoming more dominant and there is a decline in the "practice of different generations living under one roof" (Bourdieu 2005: 21). Indeed, "house" in the past was used not only to refer to the dwelling but also the family resident in it (Bourdieu 2005: 20). For many participants, this linkage between house and household remained where the making of home included the relations with others residing within it. Even when not living together though, these relations could impact upon the relation they had to their tenancy and their sense of home. One participant, for example, ended his tenancy soon after breaking up with his partner. In this case, the events leading up to the breakdown of the relationship resulted in him:

> *"Jist [wanting] away fae [this town] for a while, jist sick o everybody, aw dain ma nut in."* **Simon**

The participant had been arrested for domestic abuse and had been in prison on remand for two weeks. It is not possible to ascertain the full facts about what happened from an interview with only one of the people involved in the situation. However, what is evident from the participant's account is his anger at the situation and his admittance to threatening behaviour. It is this anger arising from the tension in the changing interdependency with his partner that spilled over from how he felt about his relationship into his feelings across his constellation of relations. Being 'sick o everybody' that was 'daein ma nut in' whereby he wanted to go elsewhere. The town in which his tenancy was located became negative to him through the issues with his relationship, resulting in his ending of the tenancy. Being invested with a sensitivity of home that was based on this relation with his partner, the break-down in the household meant a breaking-down in the sense of home he had both in relation to the town he was in and his tenancy.

It was not only with partners where relationships changed but also with friends. As Daniel explains:

> *"I moved in with one of my friends, and I was working. But it was kinda difficult to keep a job when all you're doing is drinking and that so. The pressures were there but I stuck in and worked through it but erm, I wish I had done things differently back then."*
>
> **Daniel**

Hindsight, again, was important in relation to how the participant came to perceive his previous actions. His changed orientation by the time of interview meant he perceived things differently now. The particular pathway and transitions embodied in his sensitivity was what enabled this reflection about how it could have been different. Having left his family home he had developed an orientation towards greater independence. As can be seen in his description of his housing pathway:

> *"I was staying at my grandmother's and then with friends, then I moved into the hostel, still having my own place, It was still having some sort of my own place but it wasnae until I moved in here that I felt more at ease and that"* **Daniel**

Twice in explaining his pathway, he emphasises 'own place' as desirable. Maintaining a semblance of having this, 'sort of', in 'the hostel' was held up as a positive. The way he adds this immediately after mentioning the supported accommodation appeared to be a justification that it was not too much of a step backwards. When being able to realise a sense of having his 'own place' it also made him feel more settled. This importance of being at ease can be seen in the way he previously felt unsettled.

> *"One of the reasons I moved into [supported accommodation] was […] I fell out with my pals one weekend and I was like that fuck it, I can't be arsed with this all the time […] and then I need to go and stay somewhere and then move back in, and then fall out with them."* **Daniel**

The constant moving in and out of the accommodation he shared with his friend meant a feeling of ease was not possible and that led him to reconsider his drinking and drug use. Again a change in interdependency with a person the participant shared a tenancy with fostered a change in sensitivity. The tension with his friend in increasing his desire towards living independently contributed to the "socially instilled displeasures" (Elias 2000: xi) towards drinking and drug use. Similar to other participants, in developing these displeasures in his sensitivity also resulted in disassociating himself, a lessening of the interdependency, from his friend who still engaged in these activities. With the changing sensitivity of wanting to live with his friend to a desire to live alone also making the tenancy undesirable and losing its sense of being home. Moving into supported accommodation for a second time was therefore held up as a positive as it 'kinda got me out of it' since it would enable him to progress towards a more independent housing position.

Not all moves were made because of worsening relations. Some were made to be closer. As Daniel's pathway itself shows, he had originally moved from his grandmother's to share accommodation with his friend. Conversely, at the first interview Jenny had already been planning to move. She was six months pregnant at the time of interview and 'needed to get a bigger house […] for [my daughter]' (Jenny) . Preceding a move into an independent tenancy with her child and partner, she had moved into her partner's mother's house.

> *"She said I might need help with the baby 'cause it was all new to me, so I agreed, 'cause I'd probably freak if I'd brought this baby home myself, so I moved out there like when I was six months/seven months pregnant."* **Jenny**

During this time the plan had remained to apply for a tenancy with her partner. As she says, moving into her partner's mother's house was so she did not have to worry about bringing her child back to her tenancy on her own. While highly appreciative of the help, her desire to have her own place only strengthened as time went by.

"It was okay, like about a week after [my daughter] was born it was okay, but then I started to get a bit, like everybody was in my way. [...]I used to go nuts because it would just be too crowded for me, [...] so I kept going into the Housing and saying to them 'have you got my house yet?' cause I was dying for space." **Jenny**

Similar to the situation for many participants, although alternative housing arrangements were found between tenancies, these remained temporary options. The orientation towards independent living made having their 'own space' desirable and was heightened through the problems that accompanied their temporary living arrangements. Important in Jenny's changing household formation was that the interdependent relation between tenant and tenancy is always within a wider "mesh of interdependence [... a constellation of interdependent relations] that provide the firm framework" (Elias 1983: 143) of what enters into this interdependency. Jenny was not only a tenant but a mother to her daughter and partner to her fiancé. These interdependencies in informing her social identities and sensitivity also modified her sense of home where she 'needed to get a bigger house [...] for [my daughter]' (Jenny) and not just her 'own space'. The history embodied in her sensitivity was not "reflected in its own image" (Bourdieu 1981: 306) by the history objectified in her partner's mother's house. Thus the desire to have a relatively more independent housing position in having a tenancy that could be made a home for *her family* rather than one for her partner's mother's family.

It was the same concern for having her 'own space' that led to Rachael ending her council tenancy after the first interview. She had split up with her partner the day prior to the interview. He was the father of her child and soon moved in close by. Although she did not want to go into the details she explained the reason behind ending her tenancy as:

"Aw it was just because when I was stayin in [that area] there was just a lot of stuff, like, just had problems wi ma neighbours an, like, [...] my daughter's dad, he was like

roond the corner an I was getting hassle fae him, stuff like that, just personal, a lot o

personal reasons to be quite honest." **Rachael**

This break-down in the relationship and being hassled as her ex-partner lived so close by led to her moving to a new town with her new partner and her child; 'just for a fresh start' (Rachael) for them to live as a family. Similar to Simon, her negative sensitivity of no longer feeling at home extended beyond her tenancy to incorporate how she felt about the town. Initially she had tried to find a new tenancy through a tenancy swap scheme. This though 'could be up to two years' (Rachael) which, given the circumstances, was too long for her to wait. Instead she started looking for private lets and moved out as soon as she could after finding one she was happy with.

> *"[My support worker] wisnae too happy because ye have tae gie them […] 20 days*
>
> *notice […] but […] I jist wanted oot o there ASAP, but they knew I wurnae happy there,*
>
> *they knew it cause I wis on the register to get a swap with somebody else an stuff."*
>
> **Rachael**

As seen in Chapter Six, it was important for participants to have a sense of their own private space where they could through techniques with others have control for when and how contact was made. The change of the interdependency with her ex-partner from being consensual to one of conflict combined with his close proximity meant she did not feel she was adequately able to control the contact she had with him. The creation of physical distance was necessary to realise the social distance she now felt towards him and re-establish a degree of control. With the lack of available opportunities to move leading to the intensification of this desire meant a move to another city was not seen as a viable option to achieve this.

Whilst initially being happy with the private tenancy, she increasingly came to miss her friends and family within the original town.

"I loved it to pieces. It wis, it wis a gorgeous flat, and it wis like a studio, like, all open plan studio flat […] but I was isolated, it was too far away [… from] ma family and friends and that." **Rachael**

While her move had been fuelled by the desire to end contact with her ex-partner with this being realised the intensity of the desire for distance from her old town was reduced. Although living with her new partner and child there was not sufficient techniques with others to mitigate a sense of isolation due to her distance from her other interdependencies with friends and family.

The feelings of isolation therefore cannot be explained as something that "happened in the social 'outside world' of the [… participant], which acts as an external cause on [her] 'inner self'" (Elias 1978 : 136). Rather people's interdependencies with friends and families, what Elias (1978 136) also at times calls "valencies" (Elias 1978 : 136), a series of openings that are fixed to other people, contributes to their sense of self. The change in Rachael's personal relations in moving also meant through these interdependencies that "an integral part of [herself]" (Elias 1978 : 136) had been cut off from others who were 'too far away' fostering feelings of isolation. Due to this, Rachael eventually found another private tenancy in her original town and moved back, commenting that its location still allowed her to maintain a distance from her ex-partner whilst being closer to friends and family where she no longer felt isolated. It can be seen then that the interdependence with friends and family when unable to maintain sufficient contact for techniques with others led to a desire to be closer to them pulling apart a sensitivity of the tenancy as home.

By the second interview, Joe, who had a number of previous tenancies, was staying infrequently with friends. This was due to changes in his family structure causing him to feel depressed and unable to be in his tenancy which he had hoped to make a home for his son and himself. At the time of the first interview his son had been taken into care and Joe had

plans for proving himself capable of being able to look after him. By the second interview, although he had been told by social work that there was a notable improvement from him decreasing his drug use and finding employment, they felt it was still best for his son to be placed in permanent care. This was what made Joe feel depressed when in his tenancy.

Despite having engaged in techniques to make his tenancy a home for him and his son and developing the "socially instilled displeasure" (Elias 2000: xi) participants associated with increased maturity, that his relationship with his son ended in contradiction to his plans left a sense of emptiness and loss. In particular, he could not bear to see the room he had invested time and money into making a bedroom for his son. The sensitivity that had been objectified into the tenancy through its furnishing and decoration was now no longer one that could be realised. The communication it reflected to him in having been invested with his sensitivity of establishing his own household only reminded Joe of plans that were no longer possible and the loss of his son. Due to this at the time of the second interview he was staying at his friend's tenancy in order to escape the negative sensitivity now associated with his tenancy.

Across these experiences it can be seen how the shifting configuration of participants' constellation of relations through changes in their relationships could rupture a sense of home. When the making of home was successful techniques of independent living could align the constellation of relations and coalesce into the relation between tenant and tenancy. However, the breaking down of relationships and the establishment of new ones in modifying participants' desirable household could bring the constellation out of alignment and the sense of home pulled apart.

Tenancy not Secure

In three situations participants no longer felt secure in their tenancy. This was tied to the experience and / or the fear of crime disrupting a sense of having their 'own space'. In two cases the participants ended their tenancy very soon after an experience of crime and in another the tenant rarely visited the tenancy because of it being perceived as insecure. As previously discussed, the sense of a tenancy being a person's 'own space' and 'secure' whereby it could be made into a home was important for participants. As Joe explains when he moved into his first independent tenancy he felt:

> *"Fine once I locked myself in, it just looked a bit bare."* **Joe**

Whilst the tenancy had no furnishings, not even 'a mattress on the floor but like bare' (Joe), he was 'fine' because he could lock himself in. In the two months before his tenancy was broken into the participant had been unsuccessful with his techniques of furnishing having 'only had a fridge and a sofa' (Joe). However, when he came home to find the door unlocked and the fridge and sofa stolen, the shock of what had happened meant he:

> *"Just looked inside [...] picked up a few clothes, they left my clothes, and then just left.*
>
> *I didn't hand the keys in, did nothing, I just vanished."* **Joe**

The participant moved to another town to stay with extended family before returning to supported accommodation in the original town two months later. While sensitivity is embodied, it depended upon a corporeal involvement through particular interdependent relations. This did not mean it was permanent and could not be easily disrupted. Here the sense of being secure can be seen as reliant upon a situation where other aspects of his sensitivity were realised. The fact that his space had been violated and he realised he did not have the ability to lock himself away, meant the sense of security was ephemeral. It was

dependent upon the continual realisation in experience of the tenancy as a secure place where he could lock the door on the world and be in his own space.

Having had his sense of security disrupted the same participant at a later date had items stolen from his room in supported accommodation.

"They have locks, but they're meant to be secure locks but they're not." **Joe**

Embodied sensitivity was not something participants either did or did not possess. Rather their sensitivity was continually being shaped by their experiences and their interdependencies. When allocated another tenancy, then, these experiences of insecurity impacted his perception of the risk of crime. On being asked his initial opinion of the new tenancy, he responded he had not been keen on the area. On being asked to clarify this, he quickly moved conversation to the relation between locks and security.

"I knew the area it was in […] all the flats around the area, the different roads all look the same so it was quite difficult to tell which one you wanted, and the one I chose, it was okay but the door already looked like it would be break in central, it had something like seven mortice locks on it! It was quite worrying on my behalf. Why would you have seven?" **Joe**

Therefore, across these experiences it is evident how the experience of crime dispositioned the participant to have a heightened need for a sense of security. As Simmel (2012: 250) noted doors carve "a parcel out of the continuity and infinity of space and by designing this parcel into a separate whole according to *one* [original emphasis] meaning". In this case the door carved out the separate whole of his tenancy as his potential 'own space'. Upon seeing the locks on the door in the last situation it was not something that made him feel like he could lock himself in. Unlike a door which "can be opened, [and] its being shut [giving] a feeling of being shut out" (Simmel 2012: 250) offering security and a barrier between the world and his own space it was 'worrying' because the number of locks called his attention to

crime being a risk. As he phrased it, it appeared to be 'break in central'; a place with a high

probability he would experience another break in. One where techniques to control when and

how contact was made with others was not a guarantee and his 'own space' was at risk of

being invaded again. Due to this the participant guessed he probably only stayed one full

night within the tenancy preferring to stay with friends. Eventually he returned to supported

accommodation once more; unable to gain a sense of his 'own space' in the tenancy that was

crucial for participants to be able to make their tenancy a home.

Another participant also had experience of crime in his tenancy but with a different outcome.

For him the trigger arose when people he thought he had become friends with broke his trust.

> *"I had friends over for a drink and they chucked everything out of ma flat, all [the*
>
> *support organisation's] furniture went straight out the flat."* **David**

The participant had tried to stop them and they eventually left. Afterwards the participant

called the support organisation and spoke to the police. Since the people involved knew

where he lived and that he may have informed the police, it was decided for his safety that he

'had tae kinda move to [supported accommodation]' (David). While this violation of his 'own

space' came through the betrayal of people David believed to be friends there is a similarity

with the experiences of Joe. A sense of security for tenancies was predicated on the ability of

participants to establish their 'own space' and close the door on the world. For Joe the doors

of his tenancies had failed to enable him a sense of control over who entered. For David the

techniques with others in letting people into his own space who betrayed his trust meant he

lost control over what took place in his tenancy. His space having been violated through this

loss of control leading to a sense by him and his support workers that there was a risk of it

happening again. Therefore, despite the differences in both participants' experiences it was

the inability to utilize techniques with others to control who entered their tenancy and what

took place in it that resulted in a breaking down of a sense of 'own space' , or the inability to initially realise it, leading also to it no longer being possible to make the tenancy a home.

Inadequate Tenancies

Three participants ended tenancies because they were felt to be inadequate. One of these participants ended three private tenancies in a row because they were considered inadequate. The moves between the private tenancies came about through speaking to the landlord. As mentioned in the introduction to this chapter, on being given a private let she originally did not care about being allocated a social tenancy:

> *"When I first moved into a private let they put your name on the list and I was like I'm no really interested in getting a council house and that […] I had somewhere to stay I had a private let. I was happy in a private let […] well I wasnae even that I was happy in a private let […] it was a case o I've got a roof over my heid and I've decorated it."*
>
> **Lucy**

Importantly the technique of independent living, the decorating of the flat, was cited as one of the reasons why she was originally not fussed about moving. This difference in control over the tenancy compared to other forms of temporary accommodation used by local authorities and support services may partially explain why these were considered a 'tenancy' rather than simply 'temporary accommodation' whilst waiting for a tenancy. The degree of control the participant had through techniques of independent living, while not a place she was necessarily happy with, made it adequate enough for her current desires for independent living.

The participant mentioned that this changed when she learnt she was pregnant and wanted a 'mair stable place to live' (Lucy). This was similar to the reasons given by many participants

about why they had wanted social housing, that social tenancies offered a greater sense of stability in terms of both security of tenure and financial costs compared to private lets. While originally content with her private let there were still problems with the place. For example, her first tenancy had poor heating meaning:

> *"[When] I found out I was pregnant there's no way I could o [stayed there] the house was freezing absolutely freezin so it is I had to put clothes on to go to bed that was mental."* **Lucy**

This quote makes clearer that it was the change in her interdependencies, in becoming a mother, compounded with the condition of her tenancy which rendered it inadequate and she felt she could no longer stay. Like all the other mothers and two of the fathers interviewed, there was a strong tendency to place consideration of their children first. This tendency for participants' sense of responsibility towards the child came from the strong interdependence between parent and child, tending towards a dependency of the child upon the parent, that required parents to shape their practice around the child. It was this concern for her child taking primacy in her embodied sensitivity that made the poor heating change from being a problem she could bear to being one that made the tenancy inadequate as it posed a risk to herself while pregnant and to her child.

For the second participant, who ended a tenancy because of an exploding boiler, similar to the first participant this reason was compounded with others.

> *"It wis like a wee town, it wis too quiet and cause o aw that cauld weather as well, my boiler had explored, flooded ma hoose and after that I wis like that 'I'm no going back'. I moved intae my sister's [back in the town I was brought up in]."* **Simon**

In contrast to Lucy where a change in household through becoming a mother led to a change in sensitivity of the material condition of the property, in Simon's case the change in the material condition of the property provided an incentive to act upon his background sensitivity

that had become dissatisfied with the town he was living in. As discussed above, originally the participant had moved to another town after leaving another tenancy. He found accommodation in a private let there which was owned by a friend of the family. While a desire to get away from other people had originally influenced him to leave his first place, the intensity of the desire to leave his original town as with Rachael dissipated where he then found the new town 'too quiet'. However, as the quote above shows, it was only the boiler breaking down and the house flooding which gave him the impetus to act on this sensitivity and leave. Although the landlord offered to make repairs and replace damaged furniture, he had already left in order to realise his desire to return to his home town so he was no longer interested in returning. While the material change in the tenancy made it inadequate Simon had been more concerned with his change in sensitivity whereby he had little interest in if the material condition of the tenancy could be restored.

Brian also ended a tenancy because of a failing boiler. Unlike Simon, however, where the boiler breaking down provided an incentive to leave against the background desire to move, Brain had been content within his housing association tenancy. Instead the continuing faults with the material condition of the tenancy wore away at his sensitivity where he no longer had a desire to maintain the tenancy. At the first interview he had expressed no interest in moving within the immediate future. By the second interview he had recently moved into a private tenancy after having stayed temporarily with his mother and then with his cousin. He had given a month's notice for his tenancy three months after the first interview although he had been staying with his mother during part of the final month of the tenancy. As Brian explained it:

> *"Well I've got myself another flat, erm, 'cause I was having boiler problems with the previous flat."* **Brian**

The problems with the boiler was that it was 'going out every six weeks' (Brian) leaving him with no hot water or heating. He had contacted the housing association's dedicated repair hotline and people came to fix it a number of times. He did not have a landline phone and the boiler going out at night meant he had to use his mobile phone to report the fault. This cost him '£70, £80 a time' (Brian).

It was the lack of heating which led him to initially move to his mother's house as a temporary measure for warmth. However, once there he decided 'right that's it, I've had enough of that flat, I'm moving out' (Brian). He clarified later that he had also asked for a new boiler only to be informed that he would have to pay in part for it. He did not know how much he was going to be expected to pay but he 'thought no I'm not going to; I'll just let it go. I gave the tenancy up and moved back into Mum's' (Brian). For Brian, therefore, the continuing nuisance caused by the boiler breaking down and being cold, combined with the expectation to pay in part for a new one to be fitted, resulted in him deciding it was better to give up the tenancy and find someplace else as opposed to staying. At first, the failing boiler had not been enough on its own for him to want to end the tenancy. Over time, however, the frustration of it not being fixed gradually wore away at his resolve to stay and try and have it fixed and he had 'had enough'.

Inadequacy was, therefore, simultaneously material and symbolic relying upon the relation between the material condition of the tenancies and the sensitivity of the participants. Saying this was simultaneous is not to undermine the importance of the material condition of tenancies. A sense of the tenancy being inadequate was always connected to the material condition even if only as a trigger for action as in the case of Simon where his sensitivity to leave the town he was in played a stronger role than the material condition. However, a tenancy becoming inadequate was not always through a material change in the condition of the tenancy nor did a material change always immediately lead to it being considered inadequate. A change in the constellation of relations, such as becoming a parent, also led to

a change in the relation between tenant and tenancy where sensitivity in the development of a sense of responsibility to a child meant that the same material conditions could be seen differently; where a previously adequate material condition of the tenancy could become inadequate in the change in sensitivity. Additionally, Brian's sensitivity towards his tenancy had original been unchanged in the breaking down of his boiler. However, the continuing inadequacy of the material conditions over time where he was not living in the tenancy and engaging in the techniques of independent living that made it a home eventually eroded his sensitivity towards his tenancy as a home. Therefore, to stress inadequacy as being simultaneously material and symbolic is not to say either that they necessarily play an equal role but to emphasise how a tenancy can become inadequate through the changing relation between tenant and tenancy.

Eviction

One participant within the research was evicted from their tenancy. She explained this was because:

> *"Like just having parties with my pals and that, my pals were coming up and taking the mick, wreckling, like, my house when they're were drunk, but I didnae see that because I was stupid at the time."* **Jenny**

In this situation, and that of David considered above where the tenancy was not felt to be secure, there was a breaking of trust and crossing of boundaries, 'taking the mick', by people considered friends. However, it can also be seen that what may be abstractly similar is not so when seen within the full complexity of a given situation. Here, because the participant never challenged the situation outright nor felt her safety was at risk, she was held responsible for

what happened and it led to eviction. This is in contrast to David who challenged the people who broke his trust resulting in fears for his safety.

Jenny's experience risks playing into the negative judgements which participants felt were passed on young people as party animals. Therefore, it is worth exploring further. Firstly, this was the only case where a participant was evicted from a tenancy. The majority of participants also never experienced issues in relation to drinking or noise. As discussed in Chapter Six, those who did develop techniques with others gave greater consideration to how their actions in their tenancy could affect their neighbours. Secondly, as Jones (1995) aptly explains, young people who make a pathway to their own independent tenancy early do not experience the same acceptability of their behaviour as given to students. As one participant noted, leaving home earlier meant she had to 'grow up faster than a should've' (Rachael).

Similarly for Jenny she explained her previous behaviour as:

> *"I was just young and I just thought 'ocht … just get a drink and music up loud' and I was just carrying on with my pals."* **Jenny**

This reference to being 'just young' implies she was no longer that 'young' by which she can now see what happened differently. Having to stay with a friend until another 'homeless flat' (Jenny) was found for her, she remarked that she 'hated it because I wanted to get back to […] my own space' (Jenny). The sensitivity which made having her own space desirable through the standards of behaviour expected from tenants which came with such space, meant she could no longer be 'just young'. Having subsequently instilled negative views upon her previous behaviour whereby she now considered she had been 'stupid' she added:

> *"I wish I never thought [as if naebody can tell me what to do] because it got me into trouble."* **Jenny**

Later, because she was in a local authority employing conditionalities of housing ready, she commented she 'had to like behave myself' if she wanted to get allocated another tenancy.

Comparing herself to her friends 'normal lives […] living in a home' she had asked herself while in the 'homeless flat' 'how can I not behave?' (Jenny). This discourse of maturity arose because she had 'got fed up with the way I was acting' (Jenny). What is vital in this contrast between her situation and her 'normal' friends' is that the latter were still living with their family, where they could continue to be 'just young'. The difference between the pressures Jenny and her friends faced in their housing position, both through the expectation of others and in what they were required to do to maintain it, meant that what she could do and still remain in her housing position was different to what her friends could do.

While in this case the participant was evicted it was, as discussed above, her changing orientation which meant she took a different approach in her new tenancy. Again, this was explained through a discourse of maturity:

> *"I feel more grown up, and more responsible and naebody gets in this house, naebody comes up to my door, 'cause I won't allow [it …] I only let a few people up."* **Jenny**

Importantly, while she had said she wished she had never felt that no one could tell her what to do, it is this change in sensitivity and development of techniques with others that was different. In her new tenancy, no one had to tell her what to do. She, herself, no longer wanted to host parties and incorporated consideration of neighbours into her practice. Previously, believing other people could not tell her what to do created a resistance to this sensitivity and the development of these techniques with others.

When to End a Tenancy

Within the participants' practice there are commonalities across this diversity of reasons behind ending a tenancy. The experiences covered above provide concrete examples of how ending a tenancy came about and the form it took. However, there were also commonalities

in the schemata of perception that informed participants as to whether the ending of their tenancy was positive, negative, or ambiguous. Additionally, participants on leaving had similar pathways to new housing positions with support services playing a role in determining how positive or negative this was for participants. Finally, all the participants had a sense for when they would leave their tenancy.

On being asked how long they thought they would remain in their tenancy a few joked ''til they chuck me out' (Joe). This was not due to any issues they were having with the tenancy but to joke that because they had 'nae intention of moving anytime soon' (Lucy) that the decision to end the tenancy would likely come from someone else. Indeed, as seen in many cases, the events arose from the interdependency with others, such as friends and family, or objects, such as boilers, that were not always foreseen or planned. Eviction, the inadequacy of tenancies and the breaking down of relationships leading to the ending of the tenancy show how interdependencies with other people and objects could impose upon participants' own plans for their future.

Within the language participants used to explain their housing pathways a concern for establishing and realising a desire for independent living was seen. In doing so, participants' sensitivity informed decisions of whether the ending of a tenancy was a good or bad move for them. The metaphorical description of returning to supported accommodation or returning to the family home as a 'step backwards' was a reflection of participants' sensitivity which orientated them towards independent living. Similarly, for Jenny, being evicted, making a return to homelessness and having to live at her friend's house was explained as negative through the loss of independence and was an experience which increased the resolution towards having her own tenancy. How negative these experiences were felt to be was mitigated by a sense of it being possible to have another tenancy where the 'step backwards' was known to be only short lived. Indeed, all participants on leaving their tenancy while they may have initially returned to the family home, stayed with other family or friends, or entered

temporary accommodation, eventually moved into another independent tenancy or expressed a strong desire to do so at the second interview.

Support services were important for influencing these pathways through independent tenancies for participants. Crucially, support services aided participants in ending tenancies and finding new ones, increasing the possibility of a pathway between tenancies rather than a return through homelessness. Lucy, for example, managed to eventually move from inadequate private lets to social housing through the help of her support worker. Together they kept reminding the council of the inadequacy of her private tenancies and the need for her to be allocated social housing. Finally, the participant learnt that the house next to her grandad was soon to become available:

> *"[My support worker] said gonna just ask for that, ask for that address so I did. They offered me one in [another street] which was absolutely nae use the closies the junkies live up the close. The closies are covered in dog shit and piss and they put me three floors up and I was like how the hell am I suppose to get through that crap with a pram never mind anything else and then [grandad's neighbour] moved out of this house and [my support worker] says ask for it just ask for that house and then I got it."* **Lucy**

Not only was support vital for helping the participant make planned moves but also for helping her find a council tenancy she felt was adequate. Again the importance of the concern for her child can be seen with the tenancy she had been offered being difficult when out with a pram. The aid of her support worker further evidences the role support services played in helping the participants receive better outcomes from their engagement with housing and benefit officers.

Where it was not possible to move to another independent tenancy straight away, support helped mitigate how much of a step-backwards returning to temporary accommodation was felt to be. This was as a result of knowing that such a return would be short-lived and the

ability to move forward was possible to see. The support accommodation David moved to after leaving his tenancy, for example, was a shared flat with a live-in support worker. Although he felt it was a step back he was also able to downplay the impact of this:

"I thought right it's a big step back from being on ma own tae having people with, around me kinda thing. Eh, I went, right, it's not a big step back and jist kinda getting intae that kinda routine of, as if I'm still in ma own tenancy kinda thing, even though there's other people sharing the tenancy with me." **David**

The move to supported accommodation was considered to be a step-backward because it was a move away from being able to realise the independence his sensitivity was orientated towards. On a number of occasions during the interview David had said that he felt he was ready to move to a more independent position.   The tenancy he had was technically independent because there was no support provided on-site. However, due to conditionalities of housing ready he was only allocated the tenancy on the agreement that he accepted floating support. Achieving 'independence' meant he hoped to gain a tenancy where support was no longer required, and, in the long-term, to find employment. Feeling ready to make this move soon meant that 'having people […] around' who shared the same place was 'a big step back' because it was not seen as progressing towards increased independence. At the same time, however, it was possible to downplay this as the set-up of the accommodation was as a shared flat in a building that contained social and private flats as well. As opposed to regular supported accommodation that was a separate designated building it was 'as if I'm still in ma own tenancy [… although] sharing' it with other people.

Relationship breakdown was more ambivalent. While it was contingent to participants' initial plans of wanting to live together, the moving apart was not explained in wholly negative terms. A breaking down of a relationship was also a change in sensitivity and interdependency between those within it. With the tenancy being infused with the sensitivity of a place to live

together the change in a participant's relationship with their partner or friend also resulted in a change in their interdependency with their tenancy. Therefore, in being melded with notions of 'getting on' or making 'a fresh start' the return to living alone became desirable as the other person no longer fitted into the sense of home for the participant. The balance between these could shift it from being ambivalent to positive, such as with Daniel, where moving to his own tenancy offered greater stability and a feeling of being 'at ease'. For Graham as with cases already discussed, there was a compounding of relationship breakdown with a wish to be closer to family, and to start afresh with his current partner elsewhere which turned his initial positive view of his tenancy negative. Remaining within the same place, then, had become increasingly stressful and overwhelming whereby the wish to move closer to family and make a fresh start remained for him even after moving to another tenancy in the same area.

Finally, progressing with their youth transitions in establishing their own households was explained positively. It was also this reason that was most predominately given by participants as a reason to move in the future.

> *"I can't actually imagine myself moving out till if I had any more weans and then I eventually need a bigger house but apart from that I'm staying here no moving."* **Lucy**

While a couple of participants mentioned the possibility of moving for work elsewhere, this was not largely seen as a viable option. On being explicitly probed, a few said it was a possibility but they had not really ever given it much consideration, suggesting doing so would be unlikely to happen. Crucially, others said it was not an attractive option given it would mean moving away from friends and family. The potential of being able to find suitable housing within a new area was also cited as a difficulty with this. In particular, the long waiting lists for social housing were seen as hampering the ease with which a move to a new area could be made.

While private tenancies were seen as being quicker to access, they were also generally seen as more expensive and offering less security; both through the difference in rent and less security of tenure. Private tenancies were described positively as offering a larger range of choice, no waiting lists, and, sometimes, being 'in a better state' (Marianne). However, overall, social housing remained the preferred option for future housing and only three participants moved from social housing to the private sector.

Rachael was in council housing at the time of the first interview but had moved to two different private tenancies by the time of the second interview. She said she would likely remain with the private sector in the future. On being probed for her reasons this was the slightly conflicting explanation she gave.

> *"I hink it wis just because I was in that one [the council tenancy] for that long and then, jist… I dunno, it wis like… it's hard to describe, like, fae council, like, fair enough it's for like long term and, like, it's different for private let cause you could get, like, flung oot anytime but council you cannae. But I hink it wis just havin that aine bit o, like, independence so you can dae yer aine stuff."* **Rachael**

Within this account, the negatives of the private tenancy are countered with the independence it still offers. She further explained that with a 'private let a feel mair […] a kinda say insecure cause ye can get thrown out any time' (Rachael) but that this in itself did not make a private tenancy an unfavourable option. While then she said she did not really know why she preferred private tenancies, the reason she had moved to her first private tenancy had been due to the expected two year wait she had to move council house. The frustration at this wait, combined with the problems she was experiencing with her ex-partner living so close by, meant that the mobility offered by a private tenancy made it the option she went with. In making 'a fresh start' in this way it is perhaps a contributing reason behind why Rachael felt private tenancies provided independence despite the decreased security.

Furthermore, Rachael's family home had been a private tenancy. Her original move into council housing had been due to the greater security it offered for her at the time.

> *"A wanted tae jist stay wi council cause it wis ma first one. […] I think it wis because a wis 16 I know I would've got, like, mair help."* **Rachael**

In moving into the tenancy and furnishing it, she had received support from an organisation run by the local authority. By the second interview she was no longer receiving this support and felt she no longer required any, having gained confidence in her capabilities to manage a tenancy. When asked when she thought she no longer required support she replied 'I think it's when a went intae private let' (Rachael). Council housing, therefore, had served its purpose for her and now, providing a block to mobility, it was no longer the preferred option with private tenancies taking its place.

Simon, in moving town, had similarly moved into a private tenancy which offered a quick option for leaving. However, in contrast to Rachael, he did not view private tenancies positively as an option for the future due to his own experience.

> *"I wouldnae go private again, that wis murder the first time. I'd probably jist stay in the [social] housing […] cause the guy jist didnae really gie a … didnae care aboot any o his hooses, as long as he wis getting the money, that wis aw he wis botherin aboot."*
> **Simon**

As opposed to private tenancies nearly all participants spoke of home-ownership positively. Where they did not it was more to do with the potential to realise it than it being a negative option. Indeed, home-ownership for a few participants was an ideal form of housing they wished to achieve showing evidence of the way home-ownership has become normalised (Gurney 1999). This idealised form it took was evidenced in how they described it alongside ideal location and size.

"If I had the money I would buy a house out in the countryside with a big garden […] with at least five or six rooms." **Marianne**

Brian mentioned that, if he had the money, the tenancy he was in could be a holiday home with his main home being somewhere closer to where it was possible to find work. Failing that, his second home could become a source of income through renting it out to someone else. Two other participants also discussed the possibility of buying the tenancy they were currently in but that they were not fully aware about how to go about it. It was more a consideration for the future than anything immediate. Furthermore, it was the possibility of buying a house that was seen as another reason for ending their tenancy:

"[I'm going to be here] very long, I am not moving! Unless I can buy one, if I could afford to buy one then it would be nice but I don't think it'll ever be." **Alison**

It was the lack of money that made home-ownership largely remain an ideal. Social housing was perceived as offering a greater sense of security where if anything broke down it was the landlord who bore the financial cost. Home-ownership was idealised through being upheld as the pinnacle of independence.

"The fact that it's yours and you can do anything." **Marianne**

"Well it wouldna be there really wouldn't be much different but you make it more of your awn place I suppose" **Lesley**

Although these two quotes differ in how positive the participants were about the possibility of home-ownership, with Lesley only considering it on being probed, both describe it as a place in which the attractive feature of independent living was intensified. Not being in a power balance with a landlord over tenure rights, decoration and furnishings it could be 'more of your awn place'. It would be a place where a person could 'do anything' because it belongs to them and not to someone else. This heightened level of independence even made social housing appear not truly theirs in comparison. However, these positive descriptions were

mainly in idealised terms where it was assumed that the mortgage was fully paid. Additionally, there was no negative perception of being a social tenant arising from this idealisation of home-ownership such as Rowlands & Gurney (2000) found among young people they interviewed.

As was seen with private tenancies, it was this balance between security over their own place, realising independence, and the linkage between family and home that informed orientations towards different housing options. Social housing was generally regarded as fulfilling this balance, particularly in being seen as a realistic possibility from the capital at their disposal.

Conclusion

What is clearly seen across these experiences is how other relations fold upon the relation between participants and their tenancies. It is a folding put across by Vicky that a tenancy becomes a home when 'everything pulls it together'. Techniques of independent living, in constituting a practice of sustaining a tenancy, interwove participants' constellation of relations, embodied sensitivity, and capital to pull these together in the making of a tenancy into a home.

Understanding that the relation to the tenancy is influenced by this pulling together, it is possible to see the events leading to the ending of a tenancy as comprising moments where the process can change from one of making a particular tenancy a home to one of leaving / moving. These arose from events either contingent to participants' pathways and transitions or in continuing with them. This could be a case of a 'step backwards' when it meant decreasing independence such as a return to supported accommodation; ambivalence where it arose during the ending of a relationship; and viewed as a move forwards, or 'getting on with life', when making a youth transition and housing pathway towards establishing their

own family household. That pathways and transitions were continuous processes, and sometimes conflicting, additionally informed their perception of their tenancy and their future housing options.

The influence of these events was not as independent factors possessing their own casual force. Their influence came from how they took part in the configuration of the constellation of interdependent relations and sensitivity that were folded in the relation between the tenant and their tenancy. The events either disrupted or prevented the techniques of independent living in relation to a particular tenancy. Unable or no longer pulling together, the sense of home was pulled apart where it was not possible to engage in the practice of making the tenancy a home. In exploring these events through the processes that resulted from them, it can be seen why, to understand the impact, they had had to progress alongside an understanding of how home was constituted and achieved in the participants' practice; a conceptualisation that required shifting focus from factors towards interdependencies and the dynamic balance of tensions formed through them.

This is not only through the disruption to a sense of and ability to make a home that events can foster. As was also seen in the case of eviction, the relative power others, such as landlords, have over the decision to end a tenancy additionally can disrupt the making of a tenancy into a home. It was this balance of power between the tenant and landlord that meant social housing, associated with a sense of security and stability, continued to be the preferred housing option with home ownership being an ideal, and potentially unachievable, for a number of participants.

Chapter Ten: Conclusions

Introduction

Within this thesis it has been shown how young people, who had previously experienced homelessness, engaged in a practice of sustaining an independent tenancy through techniques of independent living. The interdependency between a tenant and their tenancy presented young people with pressures which had to be addressed in order to sustain it and to make it a home. Crucially, young people's practice could not be understood by this interdependency alone. Participants not only had a particular housing position of being a tenant, they held family and education-employment positions which took part in the formation and shaping of the pressures they experienced living independently. These positions were formed through their relations with other people and located them within longer chains of interdependence. In tracing participants' interdependent relations, analysis has shown that attention has to be given to what is "being brought inside" (Latour 2005: 179) in order to understand the practice of sustaining a tenancy. There is a need to recognise that to "understand the 'inside' [the relation to the tenancy] there is only one solution: to study the 'outside' […] as systematically as possible" (Lahire 2011: 205). This showed the importance of the constellation of interdependent relations which produced a lattice of tensions and folded upon the relation between tenant and tenancy.

From this, it could be understood that the important point about techniques of independent living was that they interwove together this constellation, embodied sensitivity, and various forms of capital in the making of a tenancy into a home and progressing towards a realisation of independence. Remembering that participants' constellations existed within longer chains of interdependency which have been formed through longer-term historical processes

additionally enabled accounting for the influences of social change and state power in the interdependencies through which they entered constellations and the visible traces they left upon the practices observed. In particular, in how the uneven process of actually existing neoliberalism across policy areas also finds a dissonance within the positions held by young people giving rise to social suffering. This was not done by "double-entry accounting" (Latour 2005: 215) where everything apparently structural was deducted from what was considered as being individual. Rather, what individualised their practices was how each participant's constellation differed from other participants in its full complexity.

This construction of tenancy sustainment through theoretical-empirical research of young people's practice of sustaining a tenancy makes a number of contributions to the literature. Through understanding tenancy sustainment as a practice, it has been possible to show how young people manage a tenancy, the way their practice is managed by others, and the 'just managing' in situations of social suffering. This concluding chapter retraces these contributions and brings it together with the implications it has for policy, practice and future research. In doing so, it clarifies the importance of tenancy sustainment as a practice and how approaching the issue in this manner offers an alternative means by which to understand both how a tenancy is sustained over time and the events behind young people leaving their tenancy. One that can account for the conditions that make tenancy sustainment possible for young people leaving homelessness and incorporate within it the tenants' own sensitivity by which they assess the value of their tenancy.

Managing a Tenancy

The primary contribution of this thesis has been to present a coherent account of the way young people manage an independent tenancy. Participants' practice of sustaining their tenancies was through techniques of independent living which, when successful, enabled a sense of home to develop. Each technique was seen as formed to meet a particular pressure of the tenancy faced by the young people. Critical to this was the relation between tenant and tenancy, the two-fold process of adapting to the tenancy and adapting it to them. Participants' embodied sensitivity had to incorporate a mastery of the historical pressures objectified in the tenancy as well as objectifying their sensitivity into the shaping of the tenancy. Entering into this relation was participants' other interdependent relations modifying the pressures experienced. This built upon the concern with 'independent living skills' discussed in previous literature (Third *et al.* 2001; Harding 2004). However, it did so by treating furnishing and decorating and securing and maintaining an income as important as cooking, cleaning, and budgeting as techniques which can be understood through the same conceptualisation.

Notably, the analysis showed the interconnection between these techniques and how they took part in the shaping of pressures. For example, while all participants were able to establish practical mastery of cooking and cleaning, these techniques depended upon having ovens, washing machines, and vacuum cleaners. Therefore, the techniques of furnishing and decorating were imperative for these techniques. If techniques of securing and maintaining an income could not cover replacing items which broke and resulted in having to wash clothes and eat meals at other people's houses, the situation was regarded negatively. Additionally, the complexity of CCG grant forms meant participants had to rely on the practical mastery of support to translate their needs into the official language required.

Similarly, the difficulties of finding sustainable employment and maintaining benefit claims could not be separated from the techniques of budgeting. The amount and timing of incomes in relation to spending requirements made different forms of budgeting possible.   One example was where those on Jobseekers' Allowance or Income Support alongside Housing Benefit engaged in a 'fortnightly routine' in order to manage low levels of economic capital. Furthermore, the economy of needs over wants that many participants lived under was heightened when benefit claims were ended. This highlighted the need to move from the ambiguous language of 'budgeting skill(s)' towards a detailed study of the formation and implications of different budgeting techniques.

An important implication of this conceptualisation through developing Bourdieu's (1990a) theory of practice is the need to further move away from a vocabulary of individual and structural factors (Harding 2004). The dualistic approach of separating out individual and structural factors is not only found in the studies of tenancy sustainment but is brought into these studies by reference to the broader homelessness literature where this conceptual language is in vogue, even in critical realist work aiming to better 'reconcile' them (Fitzpatrick 2005; McNaughton 2008). The ascription for both what is structural and what is individual and its codification in the 'new homelessness orthodoxy' (Neale 1997) appears more often to be inherited historically by attempting to bring together previous competing accounts of homelessness or tenancy sustainment into a single frame. Labelling one body of work as 'structuralist' and an opposing body 'individualist' presents the solutions to their respective failings to be a piecing together of a jigsaw rather than one requiring reconceptualisation. Bringing two limited conceptualisations together, however, amplifies the conceptual failings rather than solving them through appeal to the work of the other.

It does this by a bifurcation that is also a sterilisation where theory becomes unproductive. The partitioning of factors into those belonging to structures and those belonging to

individuals creates a gulf where interdependencies can no longer be seen, requiring theoretical bridges to be made to try to reunite them "[b]ut the synthesis never 'takes', the bridge exercise never actually abolishes the oppositional dichotomy" (van Krieken 2002: 256). When considering budgeting, for example, on one side there is the structure of the economy and the set level of benefits and on the other a particular budgeting skill or set of skills left ambiguously explained (Harding 2004). This is why this bifurcation is unproductive as it prevents exploration of the diversity of budgeting techniques from a tracing of the interdependency between different forms of income and spending in favour of asking if it is income or spending that is at fault.

Again with those aiming to better reconcile the opposition, it is seen in designating drug use as 'individual', or a 'personal attribute' as Fitzpatrick (2005) prefers in her own critique of individual and structural factors, bypassing the necessary explanation of becoming a drug user (Becker 1963). Becker (1963) has shown that people who use drugs have to be 'initiated' into them. The attribute of being a drug user, as seen with the positions held by participants in this thesis, is as impersonal as it is personal, requiring a network of people who can introduce others to drugs and to continue receiving drugs from. A point that is almost banal until it is compared to unemployment being considered structural as opposed to it also being possible to consider it as an individual attribute of being unemployed (Fitzpatrick 2005). Focusing on techniques, and the multiple forms they can take, shows the need for a similar conceptual vocabulary across different areas rather than parcelling them into two separate categories.

Therefore, techniques of independent living were able to better explain the "relationship to each other" of factors previously treated separately in the tenancy sustainment literature and start the process of incorporating them into "wider explanatory frameworks" as argued for by Fitzpatrick (2005: 1). However, it did so by an avoidance of considering 'individual' attributes separate from networks of interdependence. Interdependencies thus acts as a reminder that

the relations between people create those who are employed and unemployed, and relations between a person's positions can make certain forms of practice possible or not. To modify a phrase of Elias' (1991), a person is not an individual within social structures but is part of, and in turn produced by, networks of interdependence. This approach does not reduce a person to their interdependencies. Since an individual is part of and produced by a network of interdependence, increasing complexity of interdependencies adds to them by multiplying their social positions and libidos. Similarly, the complexity of interdependencies is what "makes each [person] both a relatively singular being and one relatively analogous to many others" (Lahire 2011: 205). In other words, it is the constellation of relations that both created the similarities between participants but also in the variation in its configuration also individualised participants from each other in their practice of sustaining a tenancy (Lahire 2011; Latour *et al.* 2012).

Importantly, with the move to an independent tenancy accompanying progression to more independent family positions, participants' interdependencies changed leading to corresponding changes in sensitivity. Establishing techniques of independent living made participants feel more mature which in turn heightened the desires towards independent positions. It is these same techniques of independent living which are important with 'the management of tenancies' and the 'just managing' of social suffering. However, these take into further account the interdependence with other people had in shaping the possible techniques deployed by young people.

The Management of Tenancies

It was also through interdependencies that young people's practice was managed by others, both directly and indirectly. On becoming homeless, participants had to go through a 'rite of

institution' by presenting themselves as homeless in order to be recognised as statutorily homeless. With Scottish housing and homelessness policy having a general trend towards being less punitive, little difficulty was experienced during this. Through recognition, the local authority had a duty to find them settled accommodation and their recognised level of need was translated into a points system to place them on the waiting list for social housing. The majority of participants, while growing frustrated at the wait for housing, persisted in their bidding / asking support workers and housing officers about allocations because of the desire for their own space and the sense of insecurity and high rents associated with private tenancies making them an unrealistic option.

During this wait, participants found it difficult to maintain education and employment due to the stresses and strains experienced in temporary accommodation. In particular, the level of income that participants had to contribute to rent was cited as making employment appear to provide little benefit to them compared to being able to hang out with other residents. It was also here that the direct management of young people's practice was seen with the use by support services of conditionalities of housing ready.

By 'freezing' young people's position on housing waiting lists until they were deemed housing ready, there was a shift in the power ratio between young people and the support organisation towards the latter who can control the progress of the former's housing pathway. It is likely these systems have developed from the repeated concerns that young people are being set up to fail and are not equipped with the necessary 'life skills' to cope on their own. Managing their pathway is then seen as a way to ensure they only 'move on' when the support organisation believes they are capable. Conditionalities of housing ready existed not only within supported accommodation but extended into the tenancy as well; although in some cases this came from the landlord rather than the support service. Previous research on tenancy sustainment had recognised the existence of these conditionalities (Harding 2004); . However, by judging these in terms of whether they increased tenancy sustainment did not

explore the full implications conditionalities had in prolonging the pathway into an independent tenancy through a fusion of support and control, and the delay in being able to develop a sense of home. Additionally, where the fusion of control and support was at its highest changed the relation participants had with the support provided. Support given in the form of workbooks and tests which participants had to complete, resulted in them believing they had received all the necessary support after they had 'worked through them'. Continued monitoring was perceived as an intrusion into their life.

Harding (2004) found that services using conditionalities of housing ready increased tenancy sustainment rates. Despite this, there is a growing body of evidence suggesting housing first is more effective (Pleace 2013). Indeed, each position a person progressed through had a change in the associated pressures they had to adapt to. Having a staircase of positions may ease a person into each one but does not remove the pressures each person finds in their tenancy. The question of the success of increasing tenancy sustainment found in previous research is whether the increased support available is the difference as opposed to the conditionalities that manage the pathway. Third *et al.* (2000), for example in research showing evidence of high non-sustainment rates, noted that levels of support offered to young people were low. Furthermore, they noted that the timing when support began and how long it lasted could also explain variances in tenancy sustainment rates across different areas. Counter to this, the majority of participants in this research had access to holistic support as they had a support worker allocated to them within temporary accommodation who continued providing floating support when they were in their independent tenancy. In one case where this did not happen, the participant turned down support as he did not wish to be in a situation again where trust had to be established. Some participants renewed or maintained other forms of support. One participant, for example contacted a drug support worker he had previously worked with to aid him with his tenancy as well.

That the development of this holistic and longer lasting support has occurred alongside the conditionalities makes it hard to separate out the influence of support from control. There is some evidence within the research where participants who were asked to leave temporary accommodation, failing to work their way up the staircase, or not experiencing conditionalities of housing ready, still managed to sustain their tenancies. For others where this was not the case, issues could be seen from not receiving the same level of support as others as opposed to them not being 'housing ready'.

Having a staircase system in place may have been a pragmatic response to the situation within supported accommodation as much as resulting from concern for what happened once young people were in their own tenancies. Engaging in drinking and / or drug use was seen as a product of supported accommodation where work provided no economic benefits and socialisation was seen as a good way to spend time. This is only heightened by how far from receiving their own tenancy some young people feel. Having a staircase system in place in these circumstances may have been a practical way of finding a means to keep participants focused towards getting their own tenancy as much as ensuring they are 'housing ready'. This was seen with one participant who, on being moved back a position, had renewed desire to work towards getting her own place.

By no means does this questioning of conditionalities of housing ready undermine the crucial role support played within the participants' experiences. The areas where support was seen as most critical was in helping the development of practical mastery for techniques, furnishing and decorating the tenancy, the completing of forms, and challenging decisions made in relation to benefits and CCGs; support which could be provided without the conditionalities. Indeed, from this research, each of the situations where support proved vital are likely only to increase their importance from the increased pressures of the tenancy which could arise from the proposed welfare changes due to be rolled out across the UK .

Theoretically, therefore, the use of Bourdieu's (1991) writings on rites of institution enabled an empirical analysis of the uneven process of actually existing neoliberalism across social policy areas and the impact this had on participants' practice of sustaining a tenancy. As opposed to Foucauldian governmentality that has been criticised for its "focus on discursive strategies and dominant norms [… which] tells us little about how individuals themselves feel about, experience and consume housing" (McKee 2011: 3401), rites of institution as used in this research enabled bringing together an exploration of state-crafting and its implementation through the influence it had upon participants' access to certain social positions and how this in turn influenced their techniques of independent living. In particular, this was possible through how rites of institution, in the "vision and division" (Bourdieu 2000: 96) which informs them, create social positions and associated symbolic capital used to position participants within these.

Rather than assuming state-crafting was "automatically realise[d]" (McKee 2011: 3401), rites of institution turned to examining the power balance between young people and the "mandated agents" who had the "power of legitimate distribution […] of identities [… that give] legitimate access" (Bourdieu 2000: 187). It was possible within this to see the uneven progress of neoliberal state-crafting from the relative ease participants were accepted as statutorily homeless compared to the difficulties in accessing benefits alongside the differences in the associated duties required to maintain these two social positions. In terms of benefits this was clearly seen in the need for support workers to help gain access to benefits, challenging stopped claims, and translating participants' experiences into ones recognised as legitimate. In contrast, while participants did not always understand what took place during homeless presentations they were still accepted as statutorily homeless with little difficulty.

Additionally, rites of institution in positioning participants also communicated to them a social identity. Therefore, while participants utilized strategies to avoid the stigmatised identity of

being homeless the majority came to see themselves as homeless when going to make their homelessness presentation or on being accepted as statutorily homeless. During the process of claiming Jobseekers Allowance, as there was no lack of desire to find employment but rather a lack of opportunities to find permanent employment the high level of scrutiny over participants' job searching efforts fostered feelings of shame, stigma, and depression while trapped being in receipt of benefits. Additionally, the rites of institution associated with making a welfare claim in determining the amount and timing of economic capital available to participants in receipt of welfare also transferred across to their tenancy through their influence on techniques of budgeting.

Further differences existed with rites of institution through the discretion possible in the current Scottish Government (2005a: 60) Code of Guidance on Homelessness that clarifies that a person recognised as homeless should be moved into permanent accommodation but "that this is only done at a time when the household is able to sustain permanent accommodation" (Scottish Government 2005a: 60). Within this, the vision and division of local authorities and support services could enter into the implementation of policy to create conditionalities of housing ready. Whilst likely being informed by the pragmatic concerns of housing officers and support workers to ensure a continued desire by young people towards accessing permanent accommodation, the fusion of support with control, via the use of scoring systems and mandatory support, imparted upon support workers relative control over the progression of young people's pathways through and out of homelessness by deeming whether they had the necessary symbolic capital of recognition associated with being housing ready. Higher degrees of fusion of support and control were seen within the corresponding increase in the development of scoring systems and mandatory support and in turn a tilting of the balance of power between young people and support workers towards the latter. The continuing scrutiny of participants' ability to manage a tenancy when continuing into the tenancy itself meant the sensitivity of support services / landlords crept into the pressures experienced in the tenancy

and delayed a sense of home from developing through the loss of control by tenants to define how they managed their tenancy.

Therefore, rather than assuming a direct realisation of state-crafting, rites of institution in combination with techniques of independent living enabled an exploration of how the process of state-crafting is mediated through the balance of power between participants and mandated agents, and the discretion available to them, into specific techniques of independent living. While using an alternative theoretical frame developed from Bourdieu, it also manages to address concerns in the Foucauldian governmentality literature of being able to empirically examine "the lived experience of subjection" (McKee 2009: 474) and expose "unintended consequences" (Flint 2002: 623) of disciplinary power such as delays to participants developing a sense of home.

The indirect management of tenancies through actually existing neoliberalism in modifying the pressures experienced by participants was important to understand the difficulties they had with techniques for securing and maintaining an income. Proposals to heighten monitoring whether claimants are spending adequate time job searching, longer periods for the length of time benefits can be suspended, and payments, including rent, being made on a monthly basis, all increase the pressures which were seen as areas where both techniques of maintaining and securing an income and, in turn, techniques of budgeting could be disrupted and debt and rent arrears increase. The theoretical frame developed provides a means through which to monitor the impact of such changes on how young people sustain a tenancy. This is through understanding how the rites of institution in regulating access to social positions and capital, alongside imposing duties that have to be met in order to maintain positions, influence the techniques of independent living deployed by tenants.

Just Managing

The process of placing the conceptualisation within "wider explanatory frameworks" (Fitzpatrick 2005: 10) was seen when exploring the relative social suffering of participants which constituted them 'just managing' to get by at times. Focusing on the making of home highlighted the linkages between different social positions which are associated together to symbolically designate 'independence' and 'maturity'. Participants engaging in one aspect of independent living, having their own tenancy, were seen to have a heightened desire for other independent positions. Feeling depressed or ashamed claiming benefits due to the treatment they received at the JobCentre Plus and the uncomfortable situation living on benefits additionally fuelled a desire for employment. However, the move towards prolonged youth transitions from economic and policy changes, the advancement of actually existing neoliberalism, created a dissonance between participants' housing pathways and their other youth transitions.

The language used by participants to explain how they were doing in their housing pathways and youth transitions reflected those in Lister's (2004) work of 'getting by' as opposed to 'getting on'. In particular, the difference between 'getting by' and 'getting on with life' in the participants' experiences can be explained by the power balance between meeting pressures of the tenancy and the freedom of action to realise their own goals. 'Getting on' was being in a situation where they did not feel that their practice of sustaining their tenancy resulted in all their money being spent on essential items nor their being confined to their tenancy. This was what exposed the need to understand tenancy sustainment from the tenant's point of view not as a goal in itself but as a means towards other goals.

This also shows the importance of not ascribing success and failure through whether a person remained in a tenancy. Having such a simple binary excluded the purpose the tenancy had for

the tenant. The tenancy was not only a place to sustain but also one in which to realise other activities, such as turning it into a home. Similarly, again the importance of being able to come and go was seen. The tenancy was not a place in which to spend all their time. It was a space of their own which was a base from which they could go out and do other things.   The hampering of these additional goals through an uneven progression within tenants' youth transitions, where they occupied dissonant positions, translated through their techniques of independent living into the practice of tenancy sustainment and created social suffering. For example, the relations between techniques of maintaining and securing an income and how this was translated into techniques of budgeting fostered a situation where many lived within an economy of needs over wants. The tenancy thus became Janus faced, a place participants felt as home yet at the same time a place of frustration and boredom.

Understanding social suffering in this way also, crucially, builds upon its original use by Bourdieu (1990a) through the implications of how his theory of practice was developed within this thesis. While retaining social suffering as a "positional suffering" (Bourdieu 1991: 4) the suffering of participants was not through a "gap between the new opportunities that occur as a result of any field change, and field participants with attitudes and practices that are needed to recognize, grasp and occupy these new field positions" (Hardy 2008: 135) associated with a "cleft habitus" (Bourdieu 2004: 100). Instead of this temporal lag, it arose through the dissonance between participants' social positions due to the differences in the opportunities open to them across different fields in relation to the volume of capital at their disposal. Understanding this form of suffering required an extension of a relational framework rather than shifting conceptual lens.

This is in contrast to Allen (2008: 195) who, in examining working class housing consumption, argued for viewing "housing consumption on its own terms and not simply in relational terms" which is achieved through a phenomenology of the "internal economy" of working class housing consumption. Similarly, while Flint (2011: 87) critiques aspects of Allen's position he

does so through further criticising relational frameworks for having a tendency to "focus on the absences, failures, degradations, injuries and defeats" of marginalised groups and seeing a phenomenological move to examine 'being towards dwelling' as a solution. However, both, in critiquing the limits of a relational framework, assume relations are limited to those between different social classes.

This phenomenological move is not required when taking "the primacy of relations" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 15) as argued for by Bourdieu more seriously than is sometimes found within his work (cf. Depelteau 2013 on the uneven relational approach within Bourdieu's work). This was achieved in this thesis through developing Bourdieu's (1990a) theory of practice with insights from Lahire (2011), Elias (1993), and Latour (2005) as outlined in Chapter Three. Principally the focus on embodied sensitivity and a constellation of interdependent relations meant the use of a thoroughly relational framework that incorporated the relational position of participants to others in terms of being employed or in receipt of benefits etc.; the relations between the multiple positions held by participants; and the relation between participants and their tenancies. In particular, this enabled a consistency in examining interdependencies that agrees with the importance of considering the relation to housing, although not through a phenomenological shift to examining being towards dwelling (Flint 2011) but an extension of the relational framework to consider the interdependency between tenant and tenancy. Additionally, this does not contradict the claim of the thesis to present the participants' perspective of tenancy sustainment on their own terms. The 'internal economy' Allen (2008: 195) sees as being captured through phenomenological analysis is replaced with the embodied sensitivity of participants that "is the product of multiple operations of folding" (Lahire 2011: 205) of their constellation of interdependent relations.

It is this extension of a relational framework that leads to the building upon understandings of social suffering. Suffering within Bourdieu (2004) rests on assuming a homogenous habitus where there is no suffering compared to a heterogeneous cleft habitus where there is

suffering. However, through their multiple social positions participants were always plural and heterogeneous in being unemployed, young, tenant, etc. but they did not always experience suffering. The suffering was not a result of their heterogeneity but the tensions between their positions which "are materialised in the body and lived" (Gonzalez-Arnal et al. 2013: 234) in the mismatch between realised and unrealised libidos. The positional suffering of Bourdieu remains important in this given the role the uneven development of neoliberal state-crafting (Wacquant 2012) between housing and other areas of social policy. The paradoxical state arising from this influencing the configuration of participants' relations in the opportunities open to them and available capital.

The extensive sensitivity of being mature acted as a gauge for participants of their overall position within social space across particular social positions. When participants reported they were getting on with life was where their different libidos were able to come into relative alignment through the changing configuration of their interdependent relations. Reports of suffering in contrast resulted where this configuration led to a lack of alignment of their libidos with the desire for a home being realised but there being an inability to realise other desires such as finding employment. That this dissonance between positions folded upon participants' relation to their tenancies was why it took on a Janus face. Rather than highlighting only "absences, failures, degradations, injuries and defeats" (Flint 2011: 87) which suggests seeing suffering as completely defining experience, there was a relative suffering; the insensitive of which can be empirically examined in the ability to realise libidos in practice.

The attention given throughout the thesis to the interdependency between tenant and tenancy, therefore, did not fall in to the trap of seeing "the truth of the interaction [...between tenant and tenancy] in the interaction itself" (Bourdieu 2005: 148) but saw it within "the mesh of interdependence" (Elias 1983: 143) constituting participants' constellation of interdependent relations. That the configuration of these relations could also be traced in rites of institution to the influence of state-crafting meant the relational framework

developed, additionally could see "how general societal trends [are] enacted in the internalization of orientations and habits within individuals" (Powell and Flint 2009: 162). With the analysis achieving this through an unfolding of participants' sensitivity to trace their interdependent relations also meant there was also no need to shift between frameworks to follow these traces through relational positions in fields / figurations, relations between positions, and the relation with the tenancy.

Ending a Tenancy

When the research turned to situations where participants had left their tenancy it additionally showed the vital role support plays. For participants who left their tenancy for negative reasons, such as feeling their tenancy was insecure in the case of one, this could partially be seen to arise from a lack of support. For a second participant, support enabled him to move back into supported accommodation while being able to downplay this as being a step backwards since they were working with him to move to another tenancy. This smoother transition between accommodation which support made possible was also seen with other participants.

More generally, the approach adopted in this research also offered new information on why tenants ended their tenancies. Having constructed a theory of tenancy sustainment practice it was possible to explain these reasons by the way other relations are refracted through the relation between the tenant and their tenancy. With tenancy sustainment practice forming through a constellation of interdependent relations, changes to its configuration formed moments where the practice of sustaining a tenancy turned to ending a tenancy. In particular, the configuration of relations seen within participants' accounts of their practice emphasised how 'everything pulls it together' to make a tenancy a home.

Reasons for ending a tenancy can thus be understood by processes which pull apart the ability to make a tenancy a home. For example, the insecurity of a tenancy made it an uncomfortable place to stay; not regarded by participants as their own space where it was possible to close the door on the world. This was also seen as important for the high proportion of tenants who ended their tenancy due to changes within their personal relationships. This had received little attention within previous research and the tendency for this to be viewed ambivalently by participants would not fit into the binary allocation of success and failure used.

From incorporating into the analysis the tenants' sensitivity, it was also possible to discern their own views upon ending a tenancy. This could be a case of a 'step backwards' when it meant decreasing independence such as a return to supported accommodation; ambivalent, where it arose during the ending of a relationship; and viewed as a move forwards, or 'getting on with life', when making a youth transition to establishing their own family household.

Implications from Research

Conducting research-led conceptualisation, as examined in this thesis, does not mean abandoning concerns with policy and practice. Instead, it placed a requirement upon the research to take a detour via detachment (Elias 1956) through placing primary concern on an adequate construction of the object where the concerns of policy and practice can be returned to in a new light. Through being able to integrate within the thesis the connections between young people's practice of sustaining a tenancy and their orientations with social changes and state power, it is possible to escape the snare of seeing higher rates of sustainment as good without consideration of the implications of the policy and practice used to achieve it.

Additionally, it broadens the concerns beyond whether tenancies are sustained towards how they are sustained.

There is a need to reverse the reduction in the social rented housing stock that has increased waiting lists (Scottish Executive 2006). Providing 'housing options' (c.f. Shelter 2011) can operate as a short-term solution, however, it needs to be recognised that private tenancies are not the preferred option for young people in this research. Efforts to improve the affordability of private lets and introducing more secure tenancy agreements might change this. However, this can only go so far without meeting resistance from landlords over the ability to sell their property or being able to make a profit from it. Therefore, increasing housing options should not distract from the need to increase the social rented stock.

Further review of 'conditionalities of housing ready' is required in order to better understand the relative influence of support being fused with control. Despite this, the thesis provides evidence that it may be the amount of support provided rather than the fusion of it with control which is important for aiding young people to sustain a tenancy. The holistic support provided by organisations was well received and was repeatedly seen as vital for young people developing their techniques of independent living. However, when this became fused with control mechanisms it additionally prolonged the wait for housing and delayed a sense of home developing. With the current length of waiting lists, there is ample opportunity for support organisations to provide support pre-tenancy without the 'freezing' of young people on waiting lists. This would enable the retention of a relatively housing first model whilst ensuring ample support for young people to be ready when allocated a tenancy.

Policy changes to enable support organisations to receive funding through different means than housing benefit to pay for rent would aid in making employment worthwhile during time spent there. Similarly, removal of the 16-hour rule would enable more young people to continue with education, both while in temporary accommodation and once in their own

tenancy. Both these changes in removing barriers to progressing towards more independent positions might be found to additionally reduce the need for control mechanisms to ensure young people continue progressing towards being able to live independently. Any research on the relative values of housing first versus housing ready would also have to take the influence of this current situation into account.

This should not distract from the indispensability of providing support and ensuring it is holistic and widely available. Notably, the thesis has shown good practice which can be extended across services. Budgeting can be made more comprehensive in combining the use of budget sheets with assisted shopping. The provision of loans to young people can prevent the delays to furnishing and decorating which arise waiting for CCG grants. However, it does pose a risk if a claim is unsuccessful, leaving the young person in debt or the support service incurring a loss. Changes in assessments could allow a claim to be made in temporary accommodation with the money only provided to young people on being allocated a tenancy. Mixing cooking, and 'life-skills' training, with social opportunities can encourage young people to attend even where they think their cooking skills are already adequate.

Support was also important for ensuring the ending of a tenancy was not too much of a 'step backwards' for participants. However, the most common event leading to the ending of a tenancy in this research was participants' changing relations with family and friends. In assessing levels of tenancy sustainment, these ambivalent and positive moves need to be taken into account; to recognise that for young people sustainment is not an end in itself. Further research could seek ways to quantify the different types of pathways through independent living which could be used to temper where non-sustainment is not necessarily negative for young people.

Finally, the greatest obstacle to realising independence was the lack of sustainable employment. This was furthered by the low level of economic capital provided by benefits

and the punitive conditionalities associated with them, where participants could experience repeated periods of no income. Additional support with employment, education, and training could be beneficial for young people. However, it cannot be ignored that simply providing this support will not prevent the entrenchment of precarious employment nor the continuing belief among politicians that benefits create perverse disincentives. This thesis has shown that the positive developments in housing and homelessness moving towards greater access and provision of support are being hampered by the perverse ideology of neoliberalism. The unequal development across policy areas is finding a dissonance between young people's social positions and the fostering of social suffering. This thesis restates the recommendation of the Homeless Task Force that changes within housing legislation require a reassessment of benefit legislation (Scottish Executive 2004).   There needs to be a commitment to the minimization of social suffering and the maximization of a freedom of action through which people can realise their independence. Thus, there needs to be a reversal of increasing precarious employment, the dismantling of punitive welfare systems and the stigma fostered by them, and a shift away from the policy language of 'individual responsibility' which masks the role played by state-crafting in ushering in the social changes behind contemporary social suffering.

Theoretical Ambition and Empirical Modesty

"Research without theory is blind, and theory without research is empty"

(Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 162)

The new conceptualisation outlined in this thesis has replaced the abstract empiricism that Kemeny (1992) argued tends to pervade housing studies by reconceptualising the findings of

previous research into an adequate construction of the object. Focusing upon the constellation of interdependent relations, embodied sensitivity, and various forms of capital it brought into the understanding of tenancy sustainment the techniques for *sustaining* a tenancy. Furthermore, this aided in showing that the tenancy is not an end in itself and that living independently has to be realised across social positions. Similarly, this brought issues of social change and state power, which Kemeny (1992) also argued tends to become neglected in housing studies, into the conceptualisation about how they influence participants' configuration of relations and the relative amount and value of the capital they possessed. In doing so, the role of actually existing neoliberalism in influencing the dissonance between participants' housing position and education-employment position which fostered social suffering is exposed.

In making these points, it should not be forgotten, however, that conceptualisation "has more to gain by confronting new objects than by engaging in theoretical polemics" (Bourdieu interviewed in Wacquant 1989: 50) that risks becoming sterile when it becomes a replacement for conducting further research. In particular, despite the theoretical ambition of the conceptualisation developed, it is important to recognise the socio-historical limits upon its validity. The techniques of independent living, experiences of social suffering, and reasons for ending a tenancy were based on empirical research with young people, aged between 16-25, who had previously experienced homelessness, had moved into their own independent tenancy, and were living within Scotland. However, the theoretical model, in being built in close dialogue with empirical research, yielded "a coherent system of relations which can be put to the test as such" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1992: 233). In being forged as thinking tools in response to the analysis, the concepts offer a multitude of avenues for research which can redeploy them and extend them.

Probably of most importance, is that this research should not be read as a qualitative alternative to what has largely been quantitative research on tenancy sustainment.

Presenting scientific strategies as "absolute and universal choices [is] often little more than rationalizations of [it's] own limits [...and] amounts to saying, 'You must be like me,' which means: mutilated" (Bourdieu 1992: 48). Instead of operationalizing tenancy sustainment as an end in-itself, further survey research could develop the findings of this research to include indicators of the realisation of independence and levels of social suffering. By including measures of tenancy sustainment alongside measures of settledness, and housing satisfaction the FOR-HOME study (Crane *et al.* 2011) makes strong progress towards this. However, as seen in this research a single measure of housing satisfaction would mask the dual relation participants had towards their tenancies.

The need to take state power seriously can be seen with the introduction of Universal Credit (c.f. DWP 2010). This risks creating new issues in the unequal progression between housing and homeless policy and employment and benefits policy. Changing to monthly payments may potentially increase disruptions to techniques of budgeting where it is no longer possible to form a 'fortnightly routine'. Participants in this research depended on such a routine. By prioritising spending on essentials on the same day as benefits were received they did not have to worry as much about how the remainder was spent. It would be difficult to extend this into a monthly routine, only doing shopping and topping up gas and electricity meters once a month. Additionally, given the economy of needs over wants, paying Housing Benefit directly to the claimant risks making it easy to overspend with not enough remaining for the rent if it is not paid the same day as the benefit payment is received.

Finally, increasing the conditionalities for claimants in the requirements to display proof of job searching with a corresponding increase in the severity of the sanctions where benefits could be stopped for set periods of time, risks placing participants in situations of receiving no income more often and for longer. The techniques of independent living highlighted in this research, formed in response to the pressures of the tenancy, offer a conceptual frame for monitoring changes in the practice of sustaining a tenancy. Through analysing the way these

changes enter into their constellation of interdependent relations and modify the pressures of the tenancy, it can be shown the influence these changes have.

Further quantitative survey research could aid in the quantification of the ratio of the reasons for ending a tenancy. Doing so would provide a model for interpreting the number of ended tenancies where both landlord and tenant are in agreement that this was for negative reasons. Discernments could be made as to where more support was required or if there was evidence that tenants were leaving for reasons they viewed ambivalently or positively. Support in the latter situations can then be targeted towards ensuring negotiated ending of tenancies or suggest that landlords need to find other means to enable these moves while lowering associated financial costs. Creating a consensus in this way over the valuation of the reasons why tenancies were ended reduces perceiving tenancy sustainment rates through a landlord's perspective. If this does not happen, the move towards increasing tenancy sustainment rates risks reaching a point it cannot pass without knowing why or increasing sustainment only by increasing the power balance of the landlord over the tenant, whereby it would tie people into tenancies rather than enabling them to get on with life.

Finally, the need to take seemingly mundane and "socially insignificant objects [and turn them] into scientific objects […] or to approach a major socially significant object in an unexpected manner" (Bourdieu & Wacquant 1989: 51) should not be forgotten. Sociology, as a discipline, has increasingly studied only the present in response to pressures of conducting research 'relevant' for policy-makers (Elias 1987). However, historical research could enable a tracing of the development of techniques of independent living alongside the trend to live independently. Elias (2000), for example, used etiquette manuals from different decades and centuries to show the development of a civilizing process in standards of behaviour. Studying the development of certain standards of techniques of independent living could similarly be traced by collating house-keeping manuals and analysing them for changes over time.

Therefore, it can be seen, that while every individual piece of research has its socio-historical limits, science is an on-going process of continuous research. Paying attention to the limits of any piece of research does not make these limits into insurmountable barriers. Recognising that every limit possesses lines for development means "there are no a prior frontiers" (Bourdieu 1992: 46) for science, only further questions which require further theoretical-empirical research.

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Appendix 1: Consent form for participants

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'Me and My Tenancy'

The purpose of this consent form is to make sure that you understand the nature of the study, your role within it and agree to take part. This is voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any time during the study. After reading, the information sheet and asking any questions that you may have you should sign this consent form.

Interviews will be recorded on a digital recorder in order to accurately record what you say. No one else apart from the researcher will hear this recording. The recording will be used to make a written version of what was said and stored on a password-protected computer and any printed version in a locked filing cabinet so that no one else has access to them. Any names of people or organisation you mention will be removed at this stage so that any quotes used in the final research report cannot be traced back to you. Additionally, your own name will not be mentioned anywhere in the research report. A version of the interview with your name, any personal details and anyone else's removed may be stored in an archive. Again, nothing in this will be able to be traced back to you.

In order to keep in touch with the researcher you will need to provide any contact details for yourself and, if you want, details of a friend or family member in case it is not possible to reach you. Again, any information given will be stored on a password-protected computer or in a locked filling cabinet so that no one else can access them. All contact details will be destroyed at the end of the research if you do not wish to be contacted again about any future research.

I have read and understood the information sheet

☐

I agree to the interview being recorded

☐

I agree to give the researcher contact details in order to keep contact

☐

I agree to take part in the research and for quotes from the interviews to be used in a research report

☐

Name..

Date...

Signature...

Appendix 2: Contact Information Sheet

Contact Information

Primary Contact Details

Name ……………………………………………………………..

Telephone …………………………………………………….

Alternative telephone ……………………………………..

E-mail ………………………………………………………..

Secondary Contact Details

First Contact   Second Contact

Name   …………………………..   Name   ……………………………..

Relation   …………………………..   Relation   ……………………………..

Telephone   …………………………..   Telephone   ……………………………..

E-mail   …………………………..   E-mail   ……………………………..

Appendix 3: Interview Schedule for First Wave of Interviews

<u>**Basic Participant Information**</u>

Name:

Number:

Age:

Sex:

Tenancy type:

1. Interview Opening

Hi, thank you for agreeing to take part in the interview. There are no right or wrong answers. What is important is finding out about your views and experiences. Nothing you say will be able to be traced back to you and your real name will not appear in any report. Do you have any questions before we start? Are you ok to begin?

2. Education

First of all I would like to start by talking about your time at school, if that is OK with you?

- Did they enjoy school
- Goods and bads - any important aspects of school
- What skills / knowledge they think they got from school
- any careers or housing advice received and thoughts on it
- other support given
- done anything different in hindsight
- (if left) when and why
- qualifications
- anything else they would like to say about time at school

3. Before tenancy

If it is OK I would now like to move onto how you came to enter this tenancy

- circumstances leading up to applying for tenancy – housing / finance
- (if homelessness presentation) how did find out how to make a presentation
    - previous knowledge of the process
    - how they found the homelessness application
    - understanding of what was happening
    - how helpful were staff
    - how long before they knew outcome
    - how long after till they had tenancy
- how did they feel applying for tenancy - understanding of process etc
- what does a tenancy mean to them
- what sort of tenancies were they applying for – type, location,
- how long before they heard they had tenancy
- any bids before this where their bid was successful[6]
- how did they feel during time
- living situation
- any pre-tenancy support from council or other agency? How helpful was that?

4. Tenancy

- how long since hearing they had tenancy before entering
- (if viewed it before gaining) describe first time they viewed it
- Was there an option to turn down the tenancy? – did they want to take it?
- describe first impressions on entering it
- how did it feel having own place
- anyone accompany them
- describe experience of first day and month
- was there any follow-up visits from landlord or support organisation
- any issues they have had and how were they solved
- what was in tenancy when they arrived - what have they got, and how, since then
- do they have everything they feel they need now
- describe what they think makes a "home"
- how they think tenancy is going - has this opinion changed over time - if so why
- how did they think they would manage before entering tenancy compared to how they have done
- what they think they have learnt since entering tenancy - how they learn this
- thoughts on local area – has this changed since living in area – any friends / family near-by
- are they receiving any help from an agency for their tenancy

5. Education, training and employment

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[6] Note for ethics committee – this refers to the local system of Choice Based Lettings where prospective tenants bid for vacant homes.

Thank you, I'd like to now move onto any experiences of education, training or employment - including anything that you have applied for, thinking about or would like to do.

Ask: Have you been involved in any education, training or employment since leaving school?

- If so for each one -

  What it was

  How they heard about it

  Thoughts on it - why they think they got it -

  [If left] Why left

  Balancing EET / own time

  Feel it has benefited them?

  Income situation during this time

- Any EET they would like to have or applied for
- any they think they will need
- type of employment they would ideally like
- (if not in EET) when would they like to return / are currently trying
  - any obstacles in way of this
  - any issues they think are more important to deal with first
- any interviews or applications (both successful and unsuccessful) - thoughts on process
- any services been involved with to help with EET or give advice on EET

6. Social Networks

- how do they spend their spare time – evenings / weekends / weekdays
- Who do they have regular contact with?
  - family / friends / neighbours /services / organizations
  - how important do they find these relationships
  - have they offered support in any way (emotional / advice etc)
  - how often they see them
- Family
  - who they grew up with - any siblings
  - relationship with them - has this changed over time
  - housing situation when growing up
- Friends
  - where they met them
  - has their group of friends changed over time
  - how would they compare their friends' situation to their own
- any other services / organisations not mention so far

- role they play
- have they been helpful - if so any examples
- how they made contact with them
- any others they use to be in contact with
- any help they would like but not receiving
- how do they find balancing social life with any other commitments
- how do they think their health is doing? Diet? Any health conditions? Getting treatment?

7. Budgeting

- Do they budget – what they think budgeting is
- How do they find budgeting - has this changed since first moving into tenancy or before
- examples of any weekly or monthly costs
- any unexpected costs and how they afforded this
- How do they pay for the rent?
    - How well was the process of paying rent explained
    - Are they / have they ever received housing benefit
    - Are they / or have they ever been in arrears
    - What priority do they place on paying rent over other costs
- do they / have they ever found themselves not having enough to cover costs?
    - how did this affect them
    - did they have to do without anything
    - if solved - how did they solve this
    - if not - what are they doing / are they receiving any help to solve this
- Do they / have they ever received any benefits?
    - which ones they receive / received
    - how they came to apply for them
    - how they found application
    - time it took from application to receiving
    - any issues with them
    - how far did they cover any costs
    - how long have they / were they receiving them
    - if JSA over six months - did they get offered training scheme

8. Looking to future

- goals for the future - probe how they think they will set out to achieve them
- where do they see themselves in six months and one year's time

9. Anything else

Thank you very much, that is the end of all the questions I have. Is there anything you feel I have left out that you'd like to talk about?

10. Wrapping up

Thank you for your time, your help is greatly appreciated. Now that the interview is over do you have any questions about it?

[Move onto contact sheets, and details for next interview]

Appendix 4: Interview Schedule for Second Wave of Interviews

Name:

Number:

Tenancy type:

Left Tenancy:

Thank them for them time and agreeing to see myself again.

Since last interview

Changes:

- Do they feel their lives are "different" in any way since last interview?
- Has there been any changes in their circumstances since the last interview?
  - o Probes: EET (including applied for), support services working with, new plans for future, made any changes to the tenancy,
- Have they had any difficulties with their tenancy or anything else during that time?

If left tenancy

- Why did they leave their tenancy?
  - o Probe: did they want to leave, if not what they felt would have helped etc
- Did they plan to leave their tenancy? If so, how long did they plan for?
- Did they notify anyone about leaving their tenancy?
- Where did they go upon leaving? What were their plans for where to go?
- How do they feel now looking back on their original tenancy
- How do they feel where they are now? How did they feel when first moved there?

(check before interview what their goals for the next six / twelve months were and ask how they have got on with them)

Themes

Intro: Explain briefly some questions may seen 'obvious' but it is to get a good picture of how they explain things.

Looking at managing their tenancy:

- What have been the hardest things in having their own tenancy?
- What things have made having their own tenancy easier?
- Is there any changes they think would make having their own tenancy better?
- Is there anything they feel they could have done with more support or wish they had known more about?
- How do they find doing house-work?
    - How did they feel doing this when they first entered?
    - How much did they have to do when living at home or during time in care?

Budgeting and related:

- Overall, how do you feel about benefits?
- (if not EET) how do they feel education employment or training would make to their situation?
    - How do they think it would affect them being in EET?
    - Probe on each their views on each and why they would or would not apply for each?
    - Would there be any difference to their benefits?
- IF in EET – how would you compare being in EET to when they were not? What difference has it made to their daily life?
- Phrase to fit if do / don't – if paying for rent out with housing benefit how do they feel they would budget for it?
- How would they compare what they spend their money on now compared to when they lived at home?
- If they did budgeting with support worker: What do they think the benefits of it were
- Do they ever make a "budget sheet" by writing down what they have coming in compared to what they spend?

Being homeless:

- If looking back on their experiences was there any point, where they thought, "I'm homeless"

- When would they consider themselves to have become homeless and when did it end?
- What do you think it is to be homeless? How would you summarise your experiences of it?
- How do you think your experiences compare to other people?

Housing:

- Before getting their own tenancy, did they at any point look at any alternatives such as getting a private tenancy? If so – what did they think of them
- If they were to move what sort of housing would they look for?
- If the opportunity arose, would they ever move to another area for work or any other reasons? Do you think there would be any issues doing so?
- How would you compare your tenancy to your family home (was family home council, private, home-owned).

Social networks:

- Has their group of friends changed much since their time leaving home or during temporary accommodation?
- What do they do in their spare time? Is there anything they want to do but do not feel they can for any reason?

Do you think there is anything different about having a tenancy at your age compared to someone who is older?

Ending

Thinking towards the future again – what are their plans or goals in the coming months?

- What do they think will be needed to achieve them?
- Do they see any issues they might face in achieving them?

Thank them again for their time. Explain details of when next interview should be and give another copy of contact sheet.

Appendix 5: Example of contact sheet

'Me & My Tenancy'

Alasdair Stewart contact information.

Mobile phone number: [insert mobile number]

Office numbers: [insert number for university and SCSH offices]

E-mail: [insert university e-mail address]

Please feel free to contact me if you move from your tenancy.

If you have any concerns about what your tenancy please [details of housing support service and phone-number]

The next group of interviews should be between February 2011 - May 2011 and I will try to contact you at the start of this period. If there is a time that would be best for you during that period please contact me to tell me.

Appendix 6: Letter to potential participants

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

Department of Applied Social Science

Alasdair Stewart

Postgraduate research student

Dept of Applied Social Science

Colin Bell Building

University of Stirling

Stirling FK9 4LA Scotland

Telephone: +44 (0) 1786

E-mail: alasdair.stewart@stir.ac.uk

[insert tenant's name],

I am sending you this letter to see if you are interested in taking part in a study. Taking part is voluntary and you do not have to if you do not want to.

The aim of the research is to find out about you and your time in your tenancy. Important to this is talking to you about your thoughts and opinions of events. This will include events that have happened both before and after moving into your tenancy.

It is hoped by talking to you and others like you to get a better understanding of any problems young people face in setting up their own place. This may then help in changing policies and services available for young people to help make living in their tenancy easier.

If you were 16 or 17 when you moved into your tenancy and want to take part please [insert who to contact here]. If you do not wish to take part, please contact the same person to say so.

I have included an information sheet that explains the study in more detail.

Thank you,

Alasdair B R Stewart

Appendex 7: Information sheet

UNIVERSITY OF STIRLING

'Me and My Tenancy'

What is the aim of the study?

I am Alasdair Stewart a research student at the University of Stirling. The aim of this study is to discover what does or does not help make life easier for young people in their own tenancy. It is hoped that talking to young people about these issues will help in improving policy and services available.

What is involved?

The study involves three interviews over a year about your experiences, views and opinions. Each interview should last one - two hours. This gives you the chance to say what you felt has been most helpful to you or anything that has created any unnecessary problems. Other likely areas to be covered are:

- the process of applying for the tenancy
- education & employment
- social life
- budgeting

As a thank you for participating you will receive [money / gift voucher] at the end of the interview. Further interviews are to be conducted six months and a year after the first and will be similar in style.

How is what I say to be kept safe?

During the study, your identity is to be kept confidential. This means everything possible will be done to make sure what you say cannot be traced back to you. All information is to be stored on a passworded computer so that no one else can access them. When typing up what was said all names and groups are to be removed so that any quotes used in the study report will not have any effect on you.

What happens after the interviews?

After the interviews are finished, I will be writing a report based on what everyone said. This report is part of a study for a PhD. It will also be distributed to services working with young people and people involved in policy. The findings may also be published in journals or used for lectures. It is hoped spreading the findings in this way will then help influence future policy and practice to make living in a tenancy easier for young people.

How do I take part?

If you are wishing to take part in this study then please contact [insert name and details] and tell them what date and time would suit you best. You can also phone this number if you have any more questions. Also, make sure to tell them if it is OK for the researcher to visit you or if you would prefer it to take place elsewhere. An example of an alternative place could be the council's local neighbourhood office. Taking part in the research is voluntary and you do not have to if you don't want to. Just contact the same person [insert details again] and tell them you do not wish to take part. If I do not hear from you I will be coming round in person as well to check if you want to take part or not.

Thank you.