(In)Visible Influences: Conceptualizing Homelessness in the Age of Over-Regulation and Neoliberalism

Fatima Zaidi

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Criminology Department
Faculty of Arts
Kwantlen Polytechnic University

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Abstract

Homelessness as a phenomenon and as a social problem can be unpacked and understood in a variety of ways. Although there is some consensus among various actors involved in homeless prevention on how to end homelessness, there is a lack of momentum when it comes to effective policy and program development and implementation. The challenge becomes greater when private sectors get involved in the monopoly of physical space and impact the privatization and regulation of space. The purpose of this research is to move beyond discussion and into implementation in order to begin the momentum towards homelessness solutions. This is accomplished through emphasis on current events and issues within the context of Governmentality, Over-Regulation and the Right to / Use of the Shrinking Public Space, bringing awareness to the importance of reframing homelessness for varying languages across disciplines for accountability and to better align with action oriented goals, and most importantly defining the forces that frequently shape policies and programs, but are often overlooked when addressing homelessness.

Thesis Committee:

Mike Larsen, Criminology Department, Kwantlen Polytechnic University (Supervisor)
Lisa Freeman, Criminology Department, Kwantlen Polytechnic University (Reader)
Michael Ma, Criminology Department, Kwantlen Polytechnic University (Reader)

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My Journey

There is not one single or isolated event that inspired the topic of my Honours Thesis. My name is Fatima Zaidi, and I enjoy educating myself on social justice related matters. This Honours Thesis contributes to my Bachelors of Arts Degree in Criminology at Kwantlen Polytechnic University. Prior to applying for the Honours Program, I discovered a strong passion for advocacy, policy and program development and implementation working with a wide variety of non-profit organizations. My portfolio includes youth leadership and anti-bullying programs, academic skills programs, student advocacy, and advocacy for marginalized populations.

In January of 2015, I completed my practicum as a Disability Support Advocate at Sources BC, Newton Resource Centre, and continued as a summer student. During this period, I worked with individuals who were homeless or at imminent risk of homelessness, assisting them with Income Assistance, Persons With Disability Designation, BC Housing, Canada Pension Plan (Disability) applications and few residential tenancy related matters and housing search. Working with homeless populations provided me with insight and challenges that homeless people face and also inspired to complete my Honours Thesis on homelessness.

Initially I intended to do a policy and program evaluation for select local homeless shelters or services to determine to what extent and whether or not they meet the needs of homeless people, and make recommendation for homeless services. During the first phase of my research, I realized that there is no deficit of recommendations for homeless services making me question why many of them were not being implemented effectively. In order to prevent my ideas from being shelved like other ideas, I allowed my research to guide me and switched gears to research conceptualization of homelessness and factors that influence public policy in relation to homelessness. This led me to my research questions and the selection of my research participants. My research is intended to contribute to the greater pool of research on homelessness and provide greater context to and supplement the quantitative studies conducted in the recent years.

Introduction

Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland of BC's housing and real estate market is at a critical point where housing is becoming unaffordable for the working and the middle class. As a result, there is a constant rise in the homeless population that is receiving a lot of media attention urging for practices that are more humane, and financially feasible. Meanwhile simultaneously, there is also resistance towards facilities catering to the homeless populations. In this study, the researcher investigates the forces that shape policies pertaining to homelessness referred to in this thesis as (In)visible Influences due to the lack of their transparent and inconspicuous nature. In this study, the term policy is intended to address public policies and is used loosely to extend to policies, regulations, bylaws, legislations, acts, and any other forms of laws that regulate physical space at any given time. The purpose of this qualitative study is to complement quantitative reports and studies on homelessness. This study uses semi-structured interviews of professionals working in the field of homeless prevention and intend to impact the policy development around housing and homelessness. This study does not interview individuals belonging to law enforcement or for profit business associations. This study also neither addresses different types of homelessness in detail, nor does it propose innovative solutions to addressing homelessness. It tackles issues around conceptualization of homelessness and other terms relating to homeless prevention in a neoliberal state.

Background

In Vancouver, 2010, the number of families on the housing waitlist were estimated to be 2,800.[1] The income assistance (welfare) provided per single individual in 2010 was noted to be $610/mo.[2] Despite it being too little of an amount to even fully cover basic necessities in the first place, this number has not changed since 2010 to keep up with inflation either. Additionally, single individuals on Income Assistance are not allowed to earn more than $100 dollars on top of the Income Assistance through employment. Estimated number of individuals living on the streets in 2014 were 957, while living in facilities such as emergency/transitional beds were 1820 (the count based on the definition of homelessness used).[3] The average cost of rent for two bedrooms in 2014 was $1274, and the rental vacancy rate in 2015 was 1.4%.[4] In May of 2016, street and emergency shelter homelessness reached a record high number in Vancouver at 1,847 people.[5] Consequently, media has become flooded with issues of homelessness ranging from articles that shed light on the depth of the issue of homelessness presenting it as a Federal issue,[6]

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[1] The Homeless Hub. "Population Facts." Accessed November 19th, 2015. http://homelesshub.ca/community-profiles/british-columbia/vancouver

[2] Ibid.

[3] Ibid.

[4] Ibid.

[5] Matt Robinson, "Record number of homeless on Vancouver streets," Vancouver Sun, May 2016, http://vancouversun.com/news/local-news/record-number-of-homeless-on-vancouver-streets.

[6] Ibid.

to articles that refer to homelessness as the landscape of the city and highlighting their need to feel respected and acknowledged by the public, yet contradict this intention by speaking about homeless people in a negative fashion such as calling the writing on their cardboard "emotional blackmail".[7]

This study is significant because homeless population is a rapidly growing issue in the community.[8] Homeless people are less privileged members of the society towards whom the common attitude is 'out of sight, out of mind'.[9] The writer's theory is that homelessness affects BC and Canada financially and high homeless population makes a bad impression on the foreign countries as well. The Human Rights Code and the Canadian Charter of Rights and Freedoms also put a moral obligation on us as citizens to help marginalized populations in our community.

Understanding neoliberalism is also significant in addressing homelessness. The growing businesses and market places are monopolizing the public space and influencing the use of public space in a way that homeless people are unable to meet their basic human needs.[10] As an example, select local Boards of Trades and Business Improvement Associations play a key role in lobbying municipal, and provincial governments, discouraging avenues that improve the survivability of homeless.[11] The Safe Streets Act and the Trespass Act are a prime example of the consequences of these lobbying efforts that will be unpacked later in the study. There is also an improper regulation of the real estate market contributing to a housing crisis, however when it comes to taking responsibility, no one steps forward and instead the blame is put onto the foreign buyers.[12]

This study is strikingly relevant in the current time and space with the recent change in majority government which is likely to impact several social changes taking place within the next few years. One of the potential changes the new federal government can take on is a national housing strategy and reallocating funding for housing that was withdrawn in 1990's. An example of an effective housing strategy is Singapore's public housing managed by the

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[7] Kevin Griffin, "When a panhandler asks for money, how should you respond?" Vancouver Sun, April 2016, http://vancouversun.com/news/local-news/when-a-panhandler-asks-for-money-how-should-you-respond

[8] Erin E. Harron. What to do About Whalley? Homelessness in Surrey's City Centre. (Vancouver: Simon Fraser University, 2007.) 1-3.

[9] Don Mitchell. "The Annihilation of Space by Law: Anti-Homeless laws and the Shrinking Landscape of Rights." In The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. (New York: The Guildford Press, 2003.) 167.

[10] Ibid. 170-173

[11] Jennifer Saltman, "Surrey businesses speak out against proposed new homeless shelter in Whalley" Vancouver Sun, July 2016, http://vancouversun.com/news/local-news/surrey-businesses-speak-out-against-proposed-new-homeless-shelter-in-whalley

[12] Lupick, Travis. "Study finds foreign buyers impact Vancouver real estate but likely can't account for sky-high prices" The Georgia Straight, June 17, 2016. http://www.straight.com/news/720471/study-finds-foreign-buyers-impact-vancouver-real-estate-likely-cant-account-sky-high

Government's Housing and Development Board.[13] Singapore has a centralized housing program managed by the Housing and Development Board where a large majority of housing is considered government housing, providing a more controlled housing market favouring the average citizens.

A recent Abbottsford case has also left a footprint in the media where the Supreme Court judge has ruled in favour of homeless people's rights as citizens after homeless people where oppressed by a city employee through the act of being pepper sprayed and having chicken manure thrown at them.[14] There have been several other like incidents that took place in Surrey, and now there is a similar issue taking place in Victoria involving tent cities and homeless people's Charter rights being breached.[15] There has also been a recent incident involving Saskatchewan sending a group of homeless people to BC on a Greyhound bus and BC's response has been to treat them as "internal refugees" and provide them with housing, services and support.[16] This support is likely provided for positive media attention as a response to people criticizing growing number of homelessness. Through a recent FOI request, it has also come to the attention that homeless shelters have stopped keeping a count of homeless people turned away from shelters.[17] This poses a major issue as we no longer have data that could potentially lead to or assist in filling the gaps in services provided to homeless shelters. Another example of mismanagement of the situation involving homeless population has been around the overpass bridge in Chilliwack where the area under a bridge is being fenced off to disperse homeless people, but alternative shelters are provided.[18]

Just within the years, 2015/2016, homelessness has made the news in British Columbia (BC) numerous times. Whether it be due to provincial funding cuts towards homelessness,[19] lack

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[13] Housing and Development Board, "Home, Sweet Home." Accessed June 15, 2016. http://www.hdb.gov.sg/cs/infoweb/homepage

[14] Abbotsford (City) v. Shantz, 2015 BCSC 1909

[15] C.P. "B.C. government in Supreme Court seeking to shut down Victoria homeless camp." *The Province*, June 2008. http://www.theprovince.com/life/government+supreme+court+seeking+shut+down+victoria+homeless+camp/11778620/story.html

[16] Jason Proctor. "A greeting fit for a Syrian: are homeless men 'internal refugees?'." *CBC News*, March, 2016. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/a-greeting-fit-for-a-syrian-are-homeless-men-internal-refugees-1.3486049

[17] Frances Bula. "BC Housing no longer collecting data on homeless shelter turnaways." The Globe and Mail November 10, 2015. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/bc-housing-no-longer-collecting-data-on-homeless-shelter-turnaways/article27170855/

[18] Paul J. Henderson. "Homeless Gathering Spot in Chilliwack to be Fenced Off." Chilliwack Times, November 2014. http://www.chilliwacktimes.com/news/283746561.html

[19] Nick Greenizan "Funding Cut Hits Surrey Homelessness Prevention Program." PeachArch News, January 2015.
http://www.peacearchnews.com/news/288336751.html

of affordable housing especially when in conjunction with mass evictions,[20] lack of accountability and transparency involving homeless shelters,[21] regulation of public spaces[22] or court case(s) involving homelessness[23]. Homelessness is a rapidly growing communal problem and a good example of which is downtown Surrey.[24] According to Harron, Surrey's population is predicted to exceed Vancouver's in the next 20 years along with its homeless population.[25] Homelessness is spoken about in a variety of different was. By some accounts, it is called a national crises / disaster, and by others it is called an ongoing persistent problem that requires better management.[26] Homelessness, not unlike several other phenomenon in Social Sciences has a contested definition despite the overwhelming media attention, and research on homelessness. In fact, the former leader of BC New Democratic Party (NDP), Jack Layton stated that there are as many definitions of homelessness as people defining homelessness and each definition is depended upon the motives that exists for creating the definition.[27]

Canada has been deeply criticized by the United Nations (UN) on its inadequate treatment of homeless people and lack of affordable housing.[28] The UN Committee on Economic, Social, and Cultural Rights CANADA as expressed its "grave concern" at Canada's inability to deal with homelessness.[29] Their concerns are directed towards homelessness being a national crisis in a rich country, inadequate provincial social assistance, insufficient minimum wage, neglect of previous UN recommendations, and significant cuts in social services.[30] These and many like current events create a sense of urgency for this kind of research to be conducted in order to create a shift in the way homelessness is viewed and addressed by various groups.

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[20] "Delta Inn Residents to be Evicted From Their Homes." CBC News, June 2015. http://www.cbc.ca/news/canada/british-columbia/delta-inn-residents-to-be-evicted-from-their-homes-1.3105523

[21] Frances Bula. "BC Housing no longer collecting data on homeless shelter turnaways." The Globe and Mail November 2015. http://www.theglobeandmail.com/news/british-columbia/bc-housing-no-longer-collecting-data-on-homeless-shelter-turnaways/article27170855/

[22] Paul J. Henderson. "Homeless Gathering Spot in Chilliwack to be Fenced Off." Chilliwack Times, November 2014. http://www.chilliwacktimes.com/news/283746561.html

[23] Abbotsford (City) v. Shantz, 2015 BCSC 1909

[24] Erin E. Harron. What to do About Whalley? Homelessness in Surrey's City Centre. (Vancouver: Simon Fraser University, 2007.) 1-3.

[25] Ibid

[26] Ibid

[27] Jack Layton. Homelessness: The making and unmaking of a crisis. (Toronto: Penguin, 2000.) p.

[28] Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights. *CONSIDERATION OF REPORTS SUBMITTED BY STATES PARTIES UNDER* ARTICLES 16 AND 17 OF THE COVENANT, under "How the United Nations saw Canada's homeless problem (excerpts)," Accessed December 4, 2015. http://www.amistadvideoandfilm.com/shelter/un.html

[29] Ibid.

[30] Ibid.

Literature Review

When it comes to conceptualization of homelessness, the most local definition to this thesis is provided by the Metro Vancouver Homeless Count. In a report submitted to the Surrey Homelessness and Housing Society by the Metro Vancouver Homeless Count, a homeless person is someone who (a) does "not have a place of their own where they could expect to stay for more than 30 days" or (b) "if they did not pay rent".[31] This includes individuals living without physical shelter, in temporarily and emergency shelters, having no fixed address, and/or staying temporarily at someone else' place.[32] Without physical shelter includes individuals living on the streets, under the bridges, in parks, in cars, etc. Emergency shelters include rehab houses, transition houses, homeless shelters, women's shelters, etc. Having no fixed address includes being in a jail, detox, or hospital. Temporary housing includes primarily couch surfing. There are aspects of the definition that should have been included in the report but are not. For example, having no fixed address could include individuals that use non-profit organizations' address for their mailing address. It should also be clarified whether not paying rent includes living with close or distant family or friends for extended periods of time without contributing towards rent, or trading labor for shelter. It is also unclear if and why, under or over 30 days in emergency shelters are not included as homeless, or what "temporary" means when it comes to staying at someone's place without paying rent. Temporary in this case may or may not mean 30 days again. There are several other definitions and categories of homelessness listed as follows.

The Homeless Hub, a centralized virtual platform dedicated to the collection of research on homelessness and activism towards addressing homelessness, defines it as "an individual or family without stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect, means and ability of acquiring it".[33] This is a more suitable definition as it incorporates people who are homeless or people who are at imminent risk of homelessness without confining homelessness to lengths of time. Jack Layton defines it the form of typologies including "Absolute Homelessness" and "Relative Homelessness".[34] Absolute homelessness being homeless people living on the streets, in shelters, jails, hospitals, etc. Relative homelessness being people living under conditions, all but ideal. This includes housing that poses risk to health and personal safety and security or overcrowded buildings. Similar to homelessness vs. imminent risk of homelessness. Homeless prevention programs such as Housing First[35] often classify homeless

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[31] Metro Vancouver Homeless Count. "Results of the 2014 Homeless Count in the Metro Vancouver Region: A Report of the Greater Vancouver Regional Steering Committee on Homelessness." Accessed December 15th, 2015. http://stophomelessness.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Results-of-the-2014-Metro-Vancouver-Homeless-Count.pdf

[32] Ibid.

[33] The Homeless Hub. "Canadian Definition of Homelessness." Accessed December 4, 2015. http://www.homelesshub.ca/sites/default/files/COHhomelessdefinition-1pager.pdf

[34] Jack Layton. Homelessness: The making and unmaking of a crisis. (Toronto: Penguin, 2000.) p.

[35] Ministry of Housing and Development. *Putting Housing First: Progress and Achievements on British Columbia's Provincial Housing Strategy 2006-2008*. Accessed November 26, 2015. http://www.housingmattersbc.ca/docs/HousingMatters_Progress.pdf

people in terms of the frequency of homelessness. Common terms used are Chronic Homelessness and Episodic Homelessness, however the definitions of these vary drastically from one region to another.[36] There are two types of Housing First Programs in Metropolitan Vancouver and Lower Mainland. One is offered by RainCity Housing[37], and the other one which is provincially mandated is a collaboration between four organizations specializing in homeless prevention programs: Sources BC, Lookout Society, Options, and BC Housing. Housing First is a new program in BC and the thesis will later explore Housing First effectively implemented in other provinces.

As it happens, while homelessness is a theme of its own accord, related themes emerge from the phenomenon, homelessness and homeless prevention. These themes extend to neoliberalism, law and space, marginalization, advocacy, invisible influences, and momentum, all explicable in due course. The themes must weave together in a coherent manner when casting a keen eye over public policy relating to homelessness. That is to say, in order to create a shift in society, an advocating individual or group must understand the forces that influence the privileged members of the society, that hold the power to enforce social changes through the development of public policy, but also understand the role of momentum in success and be determined to maintain the momentum in any given project. A recognized scholar, Michel Foucault has a unique perspective on this power struggle stating that elite members of the society do not necessarily hold all the power, but rather, all members of the society hold privileges in different forms and levels.[38] He highlights that history is non-linear as it is formed by dominating influences in particular times.[39] This is encouraging for those advocating for homeless people because although it can explain how "bad laws" have come to be,[40] it can also demonstrate that mistreatment of homeless people is not inevitable, and that advocates can influence positive change.

History

By various accounts, homelessness came to be regarded as a nationwide crises in the 20th Century. According to a report called The State of Homelessness in Canada 2014, it was the 1990s when the government withdrew its investment in affordable housing. Consequently

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[36] Susan Sellick and Bruce Foster, interview by Fatima Zaidi, August 20, 2015.

[37] RainCity Housing. "Housing First ACT Team." Accessed December 13, 2015. http://www.raincityhousing.org/what-we-do/hfact/

[38] Michel Foucault. "Governmentality." In The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, edited by Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon, and Peter Miller, 87-104. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1991.

[39] Ibid.

[40] DJ Larkin, "Bad laws are worse than bad enforcement," Huffington Post, April 2016, http://www.huffingtonpost.ca/dj-larkin/bad-laws-enforcement_b_9693126.html

declined wages, increasing inflation, shrinking social support and affordable housing lead to the increased risk of homelessness.[41]

According to Katherine Beckett and Theodore Sasson it is canonical that this shift is part of an effort called the hegemonic strategy.[42] Hegemonic strategy is the process by which the government developed a mechanism for the capitalists and social elites to be able to secure their social positions through cultural change.[43] This is accomplished in two stages. First is sustaining worker's demands throughout boom and bust just enough keep them satisfactorily working as a working class in a capitalist society.[44] Second is ensuring a distinction within education systems between the working class and the business class / social elites.[45] It is not uncommon to see this education extend beyond the educational institutes instilling values of worker class and encouraging consumerism at a young age. For example, advertisements of children's toys and exaggerating the experience of playing with them, gendered segregation of children's toy isles, and toys such as cashier tills instilling socioeconomic status in children's mind. The wealthy capitalists maintain worker class so they build their products and pay them just enough so they can also buy those very same products.[46] This quickly and drastically changed the western community from being a welfare state to security state.[47] Welfare state is where the government provides support to those who are considered "in trouble".[48] Security state is a community where essentially the attitude is, "every man for himself".[49] The shift from welfare state to security state made poverty criminal, dangerous and parasitic.[50] People who were in trouble, became the troublemakers.[51] Criminalizing and demoralizing poverty ensures that no worker will quit working when unhappy with work, work environment, or wages, because the stigma and the challenge of being unemployed even briefly is much greater than the discomfort of remaining a working class citizen. This explains why there is a drastic increase in poverty, but also a drastic decrease in the empathy for the poor. Those who are unable to meet capitalist demands are marginalized. These groups can include immigrants and refugees, elderly, prisoners, persons with

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[41]Stephen Gaetz., Tanya Gulliver-Garcia., and Tim Richter. *The State of Homelessness in Canada 2014.* (Toronto: The Homeless Hub Press, 2014)   http://homelesshub.ca/resource/state-homelessness-canada-2014

[42] Katherine Beckett and Theodore Sasson, "The War on Crime as Hegemonic Strategy: A Neo-Marxian Theory of the New Punitiveness in U.S. Criminal Justice Policy," in *Of Crime and Criminality: The Use of Theory in Everyday Life*, ed. Sally S. Simpson (Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications, 2000), chap.4, p. 61-79.

[43] Ibid.

[44] Ibid.

[45] Ibid.

[46] Ibid.

[47] Ibid.

[48] Ibid.

[49] Ibid.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Ibid.

disabilities, youth, women, and homeless individuals. Focusing on homeless individuals for the purpose of thesis, the common attitude is that homeless people are homeless because they are lazy. It instills they idea that they reside in a particular community, it will make the rest of the community look lazy, and therefore they are often pushed away from residences and businesses. From this attitude stems the concepts of "out of sight, out of mind" or "not in my backyard (NIMBY) syndrome" as a way of dealing with homelessness.

One of the methods in which the marginalized population has been dealt with by societies and the government as a consequence of "NIMBY," is through the use of the Broken Window Theory; Frequently seeming to be adopted in Metropolitan Vancouver and Lower Mainland BC. The Broken Window Theory states that if a broken window is not fixed immediately, then soon the rest of the windows will be broken.[52] The Broken Window theory adopts that idea that chaos and dysfunctionality attracts more chaos and dysfunctionality.[53] For example, Graffiti would attract more rowdy teenagers who will create more graffiti, pan handlers will attract more pan handlers, and homeless people will attract more homeless people. The theory is used to address unwanted social behaviours such as the presence of homelessness. Hence if a community allows one or two homeless people to linger around, soon the community will be faced with an infestation of homeless people. Businesses, fearing the loss of their clientele use the Broken Window Theory to adopt an "out of sight; out of mind" approach. The housed citizens fear the loss of value of their property and use the Broken Window Theory to adopt a "not in my backyard (NIMBY)" attitude. The problem is that homeless people are no longer considered part of the community and are often relocated as a temporary solution through the use of the Broken Windows Theory.

Neoliberalism and Marginalization:

Zigmunt Bauman in *Wasted Lives* engages with the issue of marginalization.[54] Bauman begins by discussing the role of depression in a state of unemployment. Modernity, synonymous to neoliberalism, he explains is the desire to make the world what it could be as opposed to seeing it for what it is; being rapidly on the move for the next change.[55] This process of creating a product, which is what the world should be, leaves behind by-product, or dispensable waste. This dispensable waste is various groups of marginalized individuals who are seen as leeches of the society. They are called redundant, rejects and human wastes; shameful secret that needs to be eliminated.[56] Efficiency, market demands and competitive pressures frequently leave marginalized groups feeling left behind with the economic progress. Marginalized groups are stripped away of their self-confidence, their self-esteem, and their ability to survive. With the

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[52] Werner J. Einstadter, and Stuart Henry. Criminological Theory: An analysis of its underlying assumptions. 2nd ed. (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006.) 140

[53] Ibid.

[54] Bauman, Zygmunt. Wasted Lives: Modernity and its Outcasts. (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2004.).

[55] Ibid.

[56] Ibid.

Welfare State being phased out, the inability to participate in the market growth is increasingly criminalized.[57] Modernity, and globalization of market leave no breathing room for individuals to wait, rest, and procrastinate.[58] Those not involved in the growth of the market are lazy and undeserving. Skill sets determine hierarchy within modernism.[59] Waiting rooms are developed to create and maintain power dynamics and variation in privileges of various members in the community. For example, the waiting room at a doctor's office clearly separate the privileged doctor from mediocre patients. Marginalized people being already left out of the market driven society fall at the lowest level of hierarchy.[60]

In discussion around hierarchy Wendy Chan in Criminalization of Poverty: Welfare reform and policing welfare in Canada, demonstrates the reality of living on social assistance (welfare).[61] According to Chan, in 1980s, the Canadian government's debts grew out of control, and as a result, neoliberal polices arose in the form of public policy. These policies favoured marketplace and consumerism. Consequently, the new dominant ideology lead to the compulsion of being self-sufficient and inability to fit into the new dominant neoliberal state caused people to become out casted and labelled as undeserving and lazy.[62] She emphasizes that neoliberalism continuously increases the gap between the rich and the poor due to the fact that people's failure to adjust to the new system is due to their own actions and poor decision making as opposed to inadequate government support. Despite the constantly decreasing quality of government social support, with the increased rates of poverty, there is also decreased empathy for the poor.[63] Furthermore the poor have become the public enemy and a target of discrimination.[64]

Welfare amount in British Columbia is set so the person on Income Assistance barely survives and the discomfort of living on Income Assistance would force them to get off of income assistance.[65] In spite of this, when it comes to saving money, Welfare is the first place where budget cuts take place. In 2002, 36 welfare offices closed down, 459 full time employments were eliminated in order to save $581 million dollars.[66] Income assistance only covers 45% of an individual's living cost, however while on welfare, single individuals are

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[57] Ibid.

[58] Ibid.

[59] Ibid.

[60] Ibid.

[61] Wendy Chan. "The Criminalization of Poverty: Welfare Reform and the Policing of Welfare in Canada." In Canadian Criminal Justice Policy: Contemporary Perspectives, edited by Karim Ismaili, Jane B. Sprott and Kim Varma. (Don Mills: Oxford University Press, 2012.).

[62] Ibid.

[63] Ibid.

[64] Ibid.

[65] Ibid.

[66] Ibid.

prevented from obtaining employment by restricting earned income to $100.[67] Single parents are expected to return to work with children as young as 3-4 years old without sufficient childcare subsidy.[68] There is also a wait period of several weeks before an individual receives income assistance.[69] Welfare recipients that fail to adhere to the Ministry's rules often face penalties such as reduction of welfare benefits. While most scholars agree that welfare fraud only constitutes 3-4% of the case load, the ministry invests much of its funds investigating welfare fraud. Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation employs over 100 investigators in order to investigate welfare fraud.[70] Despite the Freedom of Information and Protection of Privacy Act, many welfare recipients state that the Ministry breaches their privacy on a regular basis and has them on constant surveillance.[71] Of all welfare recipients, women and persons of colour are most at risk of harm.[72] They are more frequently accused of welfare fraud and experience harsher impacts as a result. When accused of welfare frauds, the facts and evidence are frequently contradicting and convoluted.[73] The threat of being guilty of welfare fraud often forces women and single mothers to return to abusive relationships in order to avoid facing homelessness.[74] Persons of colour are frequently victims of stereotyping and their work ethics are often in question.[75] They are more often accused of welfare fraud as they are considered more undeserving.[76] Jeffery H. Reiman demonstrates this in his book called The Rich get Richer and the Poor get Prison.[77] Reiman draws attention towards white collared crime and how lenient and flexible the law is when it comes to its punishments as opposed to blue collar crime, and highlight that the current criminal justice system is designed to punish the working and the marginalized class. This is especially true when it comes to regulation of physical space as people who often need to violate these laws are people who do not have a physical space where they can simply "be".

How society deals with homelessness is compared to cannibalism and bulimia by a researcher named Jock Young.[78] He says that primitive societies used to treat outsiders and deviant behaviour in an anthropophagic manner; by swallowing them and making them a part of

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[67] Ibid.

[68] Ibid.

[69] Ibid.

[70] Ibid.

[71] Ibid.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Ibid.

[75] Ibid.

[76] Ibid.

[77] Jeffery Reiman, and Paul Leighton. *The Rich Get Richer and the Poor Get Prison: Ideology, Class, and Criminal Justice*. Abingdon: Pearson Education Inc, 2013.

[78] Young, Jock. "Cannibalism and Bulimia: Patterns of Social Control in Late Modernity." *Theoretical Criminology* 3, no.4 (1999): 338-339

themselves. In other words finding ways to connect and integrate people into the society. Modern societies, he says are more anthropoemic in a sense that they vomit out the deviant and the stranger. In other words outcast and deter anyone who is different or doesn't seem to belong. There are two concepts at play here. First is the level of tolerance for difference, and second is the level of tolerance for difficulty. Earlier societies had a form of unity or solidarity where people were intolerant of deviance and were strict on social norms as they lived in small pockets of communities where everyone knew everyone, and everyone was co-dependant. If a community member behaved outside the norms, the community saw that as a challenge to overcome society and they forced individuals to conform to their norms. Modern societies, post industrial revolution, communities have become more diverse due to globalization and more tolerant of difference, change and deviance. Simultaneously, they have become more self-sufficient and independent and less co-dependant. Therefore they are more accepting of diversity, however have lost the ability for the most part to deal with difficulty or challenges as a community.

Law and Space:

Don Mitchell, in The Annihilation of Space by Law: Anti-Homeless Laws and the Shrinking Landscape of Rights, explores the role of anti-homeless laws in controlling public space as a result of globalization.[79] The synonymous terms, globalization, neoliberalism, and modernism are "the process of integration of economies across international boundaries".[80] As such, the borders are being decreasing in importance and the physical public spaces are being compressed. In order to generate capital, cities work towards making themselves more attractive for businesses and tourists and in the process annihilating space.[81]

Space is annihilated through laws intended to eliminate the homeless as opposed to homelessness though restriction towards basic human behaviours of homeless people.[82] Homeless people are not allowed to *be* on private property without the expressed permission of the owner, therefore public space is a common and only place where homeless population is simply allowed to *be*.[83] Through controlling their basic needs, homeless people are now unable to exist even on the public space. These basic needs include the need to sleep, use the washroom facilities, even siting around on park benches. Mitchell explains homeless people and less privileged community members are needed for the growth of cities in order to create a contrast and generate productivity and capital.[84] For there to be privileged individuals there must be

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[79] Mitchell, Don. "The Annihilation of Space by Law: Anti-Homeless laws and the Shrinking Landscape of Rights." In The Right to the City: Social Justice and the Fight for Public Space. (New York: The Guildford Press, 2003.) 167.

[80] Ibid.

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] Ibid.

[84] Ibid.

unprivileged individuals. For there to be wealth, there must be poverty, for some to have constitutional rights and freedoms, some must be denied these rights. Despite the homeless population being needed, they are not wanted and are considered undesirable, hence they face constant relocation to different parts of the city. This leads to the monopoly and negotiation of insecure public space and the anti-homeless laws regulating the existence of homelessness.[85] Much of the public space regulation is influenced by NIMBY attitude and media representation of homelessness.

NIMBY can fit under both Neoliberalism and Law and Space themes. Timothy A Gibson in NIMBY and the Civic Good compares homelessness issue to a toxic waste disposal issue where community members rise against the unwanted matter being *deposited* in their neighbourhood.[86] This NIMBY pressure when rises from several neighbourhoods preventing the government to take action is called the NIMBY syndrome. He refers to Smith and Marques (2000)'s definition of NIMBY movement as:

> Extreme opposition to local projects characterized by (1) parochial and localized attitudes toward the problem [to be addressed by the facility], which exclude broader implications; (2) distrust of project sponsors; (3) limited information about project sitting, risks, and benefits; (4) high concern about project risks; and (5) highly emotional responses to the conflict.

In this definition, *problem* can be replaced with homelessness, *project* can be replaced with homeless prevention, and *conflict* can be replaced with the tension between stably housed and homeless people generated from fear, uncertainty and the need to protect their own property. Such is expressed in Making Sense of NIMBY: Property, Power and Community Opposition to Homeless Shelters by the author, Vincent Lyon-Callo, who refers to NIMBY syndrome as "selfish, or misguided, prejudicial stereotypes".[87] In the same article, he states that a report by U.S. Conference of Mayors called NIMBY syndrome a "hostility and fear, based often on ignorance," and the National Law Center on Homelessness and Poverty called NIMBY Syndrome a "result of misinformation that could be remedied through education and communication".[88] Media has also been a contributor of the NIMBY syndrome.

A Canadian study collected data by comparing four newspapers (Globe and Mail, Calgary Harald, Vancouver Sun, and Vancouver Province) that had most articles on homelessness from August 2007 to July 2008.[89] Most articles were found in Calgary Harald

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[85] Ibid.

[86] Timothy A. Gibson "NIMBY and the Civic Good." *City and Community.* 4, no. 4 (2002). 832

[87] Vincent Lyon-Callo. "Making Sense of NIMBY: Poverty, Power and Community Opposition to Homeless Shelters." *American Anthropology Association.* 13, no. 2 (2002):184-185 .

[88] Ibid.

[89] Representation of Homelessness in Canadian Newspapers: Regulation, Control, and Societal Order by Barbara Schneider, Kerry Chamberlain, and Darrin Hodgetts.

numbered at 255, followed by Vancouver Sun (227), Globe and Mail (152), and Vancouver Province (131); 765 in total. The newspapers over all demonstrated more emphasis on individual deficits as opposed to societal and structural causes of homelessness. Only 24.4% articles identified causes of homelessness, and only 18.7% articles included quotes by homeless people. Another study showed that more frequently than not, homelessness appeared in the media was triggered by social problems such as crime.[90] Journalists often use and rely heavily on expert interviews to frame homelessness. Homeless people are more frequently quoted in soft news and experts are more frequently quoted in hard news).[91] The researcher of this study is interpreting soft news to be coverage of social programs and stories and hard news to be reporting crimes and incidents. This can also contribute to negative perceptions of homelessness as homeless voices are often left out in hard news. While on topic for crime related news when looking at law and space, a subject that naturally comes up is law enforcement. Although this study does not go in depth about public and private policing and law enforcement, the researcher would still like to address common issues around police privatization; security guards and private security industries.

Pivot Legal Society raises an important issue surrounding Vancouverites not inquiring about the practice standards, oversight and accountability within the private security industry.[92] Private security guards are often ill-trained and frequently engage in malpractice. Usually, they begin working with less than 2 weeks of training.[93] In 2007, Pivot Legal Society recruited 154 people from downtown eastside to complete survey on interactions with private security guards. Surveyed individuals reported frequent interactions with the private police as frequently as on a daily basis. Many of them reported being told to leave the public property and being harassed and followed as they were exciting.[94] Followed by the survey conducted in 2007, two focus groups were created in 2008 for follow-up questions. Recruitment for surveys was conducted at community centres and social service agencies, and parks and sidewalks thought the neighbourhoods. Private security has no legal rights or authority on public spaces above and beyond those as citizens'.[95] However, when employed to guard private properties, security guards have the same rights as private property owners and are able to evict under the Trespass Act.[96]

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[90] Rachel Best. "Situation or Social Problem: The Influence of Events on Media Coverage of Homelessness." *Social Problems* 57, no. 1 (2010): 79, 86, 87.

[91] Barbara Schneider. "Sourcing Homelessness: How Journalists Use Sources to Frame Homelessness." J*ournalism* 13, no. 1 (2011): 75, 76.

[92] Darcie Bennett, David Eby, and John Richardson, and Kevin Tilley. Security Before Justice: A study of the impacts of private security on homelessness and under-housed Vancouver residents. (Vancouver: Pivot Legal Society, 2008.)

[93] Ibid, 2

[94] Ibid, 9-10

[95] Ibid, 12-14

[96] Ibid, 12-14

According to Pivot Legal Society:

> "… [negative] impacts of the expansion of private security services are felt most profoundly by those living on the margins. The findings also show the need for rigorous monitoring and accountability mechanisms in order to ensure that policing bodies, whether public or private, carry out their work in a just, equitable, accountable and efficient manner rooted in respect for the rights and dignity of all people regardless of race, ancestry, socio-economic status, or mental and physical ability".[97]

Another issue that is brought to light is the city employing private police instead of public police to deter marginalized groups from loitering in public spaces. If the private police has no more rights than a regular citizen, employing them to patrol public places can be deemed problematic as they do not have the legal authority to ask individuals to leave.[98] This is an ethical issue and creates grounds for redefining the term public to exclude marginalized groups. Pivot legal society recommends (a) Homelessness is a structural problem and until more shelters and affordable housing are built, the city must provide homeless people with places of rest, (b) a full investigation of private policing and their impact on marginalized populations prior to future public funding of private policing, (c) legal rights education for public, (d) social justice training for all private policing personnel, and (d) implementation of accountability mechanisms in forms of better training and development of independent organization to investigate complaints.[99] The connection between private security and homelessness is that not only is it used to regulate public spaces, but it also legitimizes NIMBY attitude in the community by criminalizing basic human needs of homeless people through the act of ticketing and putting them in financial hardship.[100] This is done through "bad laws" previously mentioned including Safe streets Act and Trespass Act which are created to be vague in order to leave it open to interpretation by law enforcement officers. Although in some cases ticketing is justified, in most cases it's a combination of enforcing "bad laws" and "bad enforcement".

Advocacy:

Randolph R. Myers and Tim Goddard in *Pyrrhic Victory? Social Justice Organizations as Service Providers in Neoliberal Times*, demonstrate the role and value of social services through "data collection of semi-structured face-to-face interviews with directors and managing staff,

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[97] Ibid, 27-28

[98] Ibid

[99] Ibid

[100] Bellot Chesnay, and Marie-Eve Sylvestre. "Taming Disorderly People One Ticket at a Time: The Penalization of Homelessness in Ontario and British Columbia." Canadian Journal of Criminology and Criminal Justice 55, no. 2 (2013): 2,3,15

textual data, and site visits at 12 organizations in United States".[101] The 12 organizations, although not identified in detail, are located in Los Angeles, Oakland, San Francisco, Seattle, Chicago, New York City, and Washington, DC. These organizations focus on youth crime and delinquency prevention programs.[102] Target youth for these programs being 'incorrigible, youth beyond help' the organizations focus on minority youth who live in communities known for their juvenile law enforcement and high incarceration rates.[103]

The twelve social justice organizations with like philosophies of street crimes being "conditioned and reinforced by current social and justice system policies" developed programs and mission statements that "linked poverty, mass imprisonment, and concentrated violence with broader issues of social injustice and historically rooted US race relations".[104] Youth empowerment and youth voice is an important element of what the organizations do as they believe youth should have a voice in decisions about services and laws that impact them.[105] While some organizations demonstrate a greater focus on services and some on campaigns, a staff member from one of the organizations addressing the justice system makes a powerful statement.

> The real question for me is not how we can get to their table… [but] how do we build our own table? It ain't their table if it's about our life. It's our table. And, those [in power] should recognize that they should be privileged enough to get to sit there and hold those spaces until we take 'em.[106]

Another staff states:

> They told us to apply for government money. Being that we are well known, we probably could have got the grant, but we couldn't ethically think about how do we take grant money from these people who are trying to destroy us… And what are they paying for? Our silence? Our Complicity?[107]

Myers and Goddard following the radical views of advocates go on to explain how if advocates become "too activist" they endanger their funds from philanthropies and state contracts. According to them, the reality is that although having an uncompromising attitude towards social justice is admirable, the organizations that are intended to be 'helping' or have the power to make change are not on the advocacy side and often have criminalizing and punitive

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[101] Randolph R. Myers and Tim Goddard Myers, "Pyrric Victory? Social Justice Organizations as Service Providers in Neoliberal Times,".*Social Justice* (2015): 62-78.

[102] Ibid

[103] Ibid

[104] Ibid

[105] Ibid

[106] Ibid

attitudes.[108] Another danger they state that exists with advocacy services is that they contribute to neoliberal state.[109] As a result more and more state support becomes privatized and the burden on non-profits to provide social services drastically increases.[110] This also puts education at risk of increased injustice if education becomes fully privatized.[111] Furthermore, if education is privatized, consequently there will also be a development of privatized or market based social services which could "fracture" the system of social services as many youth in crisis may be left out from accessing the services.[112]

The Advocacy services and Non-profit organizations willingly enter a state of oppression recognizing that contrasting neoliberal state is partially why they exist. However, their organizational foundation and structure is not strong enough to compete with the bureaucracy and hierarchy required to run a state or nationwide services.[113] Myers and Goddard conclude that although employment policies, poverty policies and economic development need attention, the most urgent task where attention is currently required is "working against mass incarceration, and reduce youth crime by lowering levels of surveillance and punishment".[114] This article relates to homelessness because many advocacy programs for homeless people face similar dilemmas or challenges, and working with marginalized populations, they are exposed to vulnerable persons and need to prioritize services.

Although this study is impactful, a more local study conducted in Toronto Ontario published in Journal of Advance Nursing collect data on what homeless people think their health and health needs priorities are.[115] The purpose of the study is to advocate for the voices of the homeless community. The study employs a descriptive and exploratory design where homeless people were interviewed about their health. Most frequently mentioned medical conditions include seizure disorders, chronic respiratory diseases and musculoskeletal problems, as well as the difficulties of obtaining dental care. Other mentioned concerns were related to low income with minimum wage being $7 at the time of the research, lack of privacy and restrictive rules in shelters impacting dignity and self-worth, lack of feeling of safety, issues around mental health and addictions, and feeling invisible or not feeling connected to the community. The study suggests that the nurses take on more of a social reformer role and their practice should include care of marginalized populations. In addition to this report, the need for diversity in services is also reflected in a local report conducted in Surrey, BC. The report called The Homelessness and

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[108] Ibid

[109] Ibid

[110] Ibid

[111] Ibid

[112] Ibid

[113] Ibid

[114] Ibid

[115] Daiski, Isolde. "Perspectives of homeless people on their health and health needs priorities." *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. 58, no.3, (2006) 273, 278-280

the Vulnerably Housed in Surrey: Exploring Variations in Needs and Experiences is a result of a survey conducted in Surrey, BC in June of 2013.[116] 102 out of 124 invited participants completed the survey. The participants are classified as vulnerably housed or homeless. The study "1) Assessed the degree of in/stability in the living situation of persons who are vulnerably housed; 2) Identifying the living conditions of the vulnerably housed; 3) Identifying factors that are perceived to contribute changes in housing situation; 4) Identifying community-based resource and service utilization and the needs of the vulnerably housed; and, 5) Identifying perceived barriers to accessing needed community-based resources and services. Upon conclusion of the study, the researchers found that people who are vulnerably housed and people who are homeless share a lot of the same challenges and recommend broad policies. The researchers also recommend policy initiatives that focused on affordable and livable housing for both groups. Vulnerably housed individuals were more likely to use free meal services and food banks. Drop in community centres were heavily used by both groups and the researchers suggested community centres should be used more frequently to build connections between marginalized populations and the community to create a sense of belonging. The researchers suggests further research to be conducted on a broader scale.

Momentum:

Simply proposing solutions is not enough. In order to prevent good solutions to become shelved for long term, it is necessary to implement and update them. The researcher of this thesis was unable to find information on momentum relating to addressing homelessness, however the information on creating business moment is not scarce and is equally transferable to homeless prevention or any other objective.

The article by a social media expert for small businesses, Amanda Brazel, on creating an upward momentum is the simplest and most transferable method compared to several that the researcher found.[117] According to Amanda, momentum can be created by knowing where you are, knowing where you want to go, knowing why you want what you want, and creating an action plan or map and start taking action. To explain these steps, the first two determine a starting point and an end goal which are extremely important. This lays out a foundation for strategic plan and a timeline for organizers to follow. The third step is creating awareness about why it is truly important to take action and what is the deeper motivation behind it. Deeper motivation can be an emotional need, or any other need that generates ongoing action. Knowing why we want what we want can keep us going when faced with challenges or barriers. This can related to circumstantial necessity for social change. Finally, without proper strategy, there will be a lack of foundation to build moment upon. This requires meticulously creating a strategic

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[116] Lyon, Dooley, and Natalie Gagnon, eds. *The Homeless and the Vulnerably Housed in Surrey: Exploring Variations in Needs and Experiences*. Surrey: The Centre for Interdisciplinary Research: Community Learning and Engagement (CIR:CLE), 2014.

[117] Amanda Brazel Social Media Management Services. "5 Breakthrough Steps to Create Unstoppable Momentum in Your Business!." Accessed June 17, 2016. http://www.amandabrazel.com/5-steps-to-create-unstoppable-momentum-in-your-business/

plan or planning tool with realistic goals and timelines and mechanisms that enforce accountability and the ability to follow through.

Approaches:

While it is evident that homelessness is a phenomenon stemming from the rise of neoliberalism in the 20th century, addressing the issue of homelessness is a bigger challenge. Repeatedly, it is found that historically speaking, homeless people have been marginalized and out casted, treated as a human waste, and labelled as lazy and underserving. They often face victim blaming in the form of being called addicts among other things. Homelessness also brings to light the issue of law and public space. Metropolitan Vancouver and Lower Mainland in BC are known for their inhumane treatment of the homelessness. British Columbia must look at various cities around the world that have successfully addressed homelessness without "relocating" the problem. To look for a good example of addressing homelessness, Metro-Vancouver needs not to look far.

Medicine Hat city in Southern Alberta made a pledge in 2009, to eliminate homelessness.[118] In 2014, they claimed to have reached their goals. The housing first program in Alberta addressed homelessness with the help of the city. The city provided funds to build housing and Housing First eliminated homelessness by simply giving homeless people a home.[119] According to mayor, Ted Clungston, it costs the tax payers $20,000 a year to house a homeless person, whereas it costs $100,000 a year to keep a homeless person on the streets.[120] Much of the city's challenges was battling ignorance and victim blaming that blamed homeless people for being lazy, and underserving addicts. However, now that the city has reached a point where more tax dollars are being saved, and no person spends more than 10 days being homeless.[121] Even the mayor, who used to campaign against giving "homeless addicts" a house, has come around and put behind the old attitude and accepted this to be the most cost effective and humane way of dealing with homelessness.[122]

There are several other examples of places that have nearly ended homelessness. For example, the state of Utah, USA, also dealt with homelessness by simply providing homeless people a permanent house with "no strings attached".[123] Likewise, New Orleans nearly ended

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[118] "Medicine Hat becomes the first city in Canada to eliminate homelessness," CBC News, May 14, 2015, http://www.cbc.ca/radio/asithappens/as-it-happens-thursday-edition-1.3074402/medicine-hat-becomes-the-first-city-in-canada-to-eliminate-homelessness-1.3074742

[119] Ibid

[120] Ibid

[121] Ibid

[122] Ibid

[123] Natasha Bertrand,"Utah found a brilliantly effective solution for homelessness," Business Insider, February, 19 2015, http://www.businessinsider.com/this-state-may-be-the-first-to-end-homelessness-for-good-2015-2

veteran homelessness,[124] and Finland nearly ended long-term homelessness.[125] Hence, in pursuance of a way to deal with homelessness, in Metropolitan Vancouver and Lower Mainland BC, we must not forget that we are not alone. However, we will not be able to accomplish our goals to eliminate homelessness, lest we remember that those who did eliminate homelessness won against *invisible influences* in their region. We must identify our local forces and combat them accordingly. The above noted locations that have nearly ended homelessness (or forms of it) are only examples and are not intended to suggest that Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland of British Columbia should adopt the exact same processes to deal with homelessness. Every community is unique and has different strengths and weaknesses. What works for one community, may not work for another. Before mentioned locations are intended to demonstrate that addressing homelessness is certainly possible and there are many ways of accomplishing it. It is a motivational piece to instigate action and thought processes.

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[124] Bob McDonald, "Ending Veteran Homelessness," Huffington Post, December 14, 2015, http://www.huffingtonpost.com/bob-mcdonald/ending-veteran-homelessne_b_8773690.html

[125] Connor Friesen, "Ending Homelessness in Finland," Growth, August 22, 2011, www.webgate.ec.europa.eu/socialinnovationeurope/en/magazine/interviews/ending-homelessness-finland

Investigative Method

A wide range of resources are available in various forms discussing homelessness. These range in their quantitative, qualitative or hybrid approaches to research as well as in the number of organizations participating in, partnering for, and sponsoring the research. This is particularly true of Security Before Justice by Pivot Legal Society[126], a qualitative/quantitative hybrid study that interviews homeless people regarding their experience with security guards and engages in quantitative analysis. Likewise in The Vancouver Homeless Count 2015 by Matt Thompson[127], the City of Vancouver has been the primary body that spearheaded the homeless count, a quantitative research, using the database of BC Housing. Not unlike these first two reports, only with an exceptionally diverse range of supporting organizations, Winnipeg Street Consensus 2015 Final Report by We Matter. We Count.[128], is also a quantitative research. Security Before Justice highlights the power dynamics between private security guards and the homeless population highlighting how security guards harass and mistreat homeless population with unjustifiable force exercising the authority that they do not have. The Vancouver Homeless Count 2015, as suggested in the title is a report counting homeless people in Metro-Vancouver. Their inclusion criteria is people living without a shelter, people living in temporary accommodations, people living at a house where they do not pay rent, and people without a fixed address. It appears to exclude individuals who have a residence but are living in unsafe conditions. The Winnipeg Street Consensus 2015 report is a homeless count in Winnipeg that presents a wide range of quantitative data in a visually appealing manner and explains the data in a simplified form that is easy to understand. Thus far, The Winnipeg Street Consensus 2015 is the most significant report that the researcher has identified during this study due to the diverse range of organizations involved, the extensiveness of the research itself, as well as the exceptional presentation of it. The role of this study, an Honours Thesis, is to bridge the qualitative gaps within these quantitative reports. It is further intended to complement the existing research conducted on homelessness.

As aforementioned, the primary research question in this study asks how the actors involved in advocacy, organizing, service provision, and policy development (a) understand the

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[126] Bennett, Eby, Richardson, and Kevin Tilley. Security Before Justice: A study of the impacts of private security on homelessness and under-housed Vancouver residents. (Vancouver: Pivot Legal Society, 2008.).
http://d3n8a8pro7vhmx.cloudfront.net/pivotlegal/legacy_url/253/securitybeforejustice.pdf?1345765598

[127] Metro Vancouver Homeless Count. "Results of the 2014 Homeless Count in the Metro Vancouver Region: A Report of the Greater Vancouver Regional Steering Committee on Homelessness." Accessed December 15th, 2015. http://stophomelessness.ca/wp-content/uploads/2014/07/Results-of-the-2014-Metro-Vancouver-Homeless-Count.pdf

[128] Nino, C. M., and M. Godoy, eds. *Winnipeg Street Consensus 2015 Final Report*. Winnipeg: We Matter. We Count., 2015. http://streetcensuswpg.ca/wp-content/uploads/2016/01/WSC_FinalReport_Jan15_2016_WebVersion.pdf

nature of homelessness, and (b) understand the forces that shape public policy regarding homelessness in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland of BC.

Parenthetically, related questions that follow the primary question are as follows:

• While many ideas on addressing homelessness are frequently proposed and many adopted, why do many of them lose momentum when it comes to the implementation of services, programs, campaigns and movements. What are the key ingredients necessary to successfully implement any policy or program?
• What key factors and influences have historically shaped policymaking in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland around the issue of homelessness and related social justice issues?
• What are the social and political forces that shape government / public approaches to the issue of homelessness in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland?

The study consists of qualitative research method involving 10 semi structured interviews of professionals involved in homelessness public policy making, service provision and advocacy. The interviews are transcribed and coded as open and closed coding followed by detailed analysis. The research is divided into two phases.

Phase 1 of the thesis, *Survey of Policy Recommendations and Actors involved in Homeless Prevention*, involved a review of relevant literature and a scan of field for policies that impact homelessness and people that work in the field of homeless prevention in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland of British Columbia. The researcher admitted policies that are currently impacting homelessness and participants that are knowledgeable about homelessness and involved in homeless prevention. Further considerations included strategic planning of the federal, provincial and municipal government, as well as current government implemented policies and funded programs and services. In addition to the recommended / implemented policies and services, the researcher looked at key reoccurring themes as well as the manner in which homelessness has been framed by various sources. Phase 1 of the thesis allowed the researcher to chart the findings in the table below and give credible substance and foundation to the phase 2 of the research, which involves semi-structured interviews followed by coding and data analysis.

Table 1 organizes participants into two groups: "Policymakers" and "Advocacy and Service Provider". Policymakers are participants that are engaged in municipal or provincial governance, and Advocacy and Service Providers are engaged in homeless prevention programs and services

Table 1: Overview of Participants

	Policymakers	Advocacy and Service Providers
Names and Affiliation	David Eby, MLA Vancouver Point Grey	Soraya Vanbuskirk, Program Manager Sources BC
	Kristin Patten, Social Planner City of Surrey	
	Jennifer McCaffery, Coordinator Surrey Homelessness and Housing Society	

The participants are overwhelmingly policymakers in order to ascertain the reasons and influences that cause disconnect between the rising homeless populations and insufficient quantities of quality services and programs to assist homeless people. It is however necessary to also understand the challenges and concerns of advocacy and service providers so one participant in that category is also interviewed. The participants were also chosen for the Metropolitan Vancouver's regional and different government levels diversity, but also their selection was depended upon the timeliness of their response and the writer's ability to accommodate them within the research time frame.

Jennifer L. Schulenburg's The Dynamics of Criminological Research has been the primary source for research methodology application in this study. According to Schulenburg[129], there are various means of data collection. These include, interviews, focus groups, questionnaires, surveys, and more. Owing to the limitations in the time frame in which the study is conducted, it would not have been feasible to conduct surveys as part of the research since the researcher's ability to have a large enough sample size for generalizability of the research would be restricted. Questionnaires did not seem to fit in the scope of research and seemed rather unnecessary and redundant. The researcher opted out of the idea of a focus group in order to prevent participant responses being influenced by other participants. The researcher was primarily concerned about the authenticity of the responses. Consequently, the researcher opted for interviews but did not necessarily discriminate against group interviews provided that the participants were belonging to one group, organization, or were partnered in the particular project that they were being interviewed on (i.e. interviewing committees).

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[129] Jennifer L. Schulenberg. The Dynamics of Criminological Research. Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2016.

The researcher opted for semi-structured interviews for the Honours Thesis. Semi-structured interviews are beneficial when confronted with contradictory evidence.[130] Semi-structured interviews in particular were useful for this research project as they provided the researcher with a proper structure through a series of questions that spearheaded core themes that can later be drawn when coding, while providing the researcher with the flexibility to ask follow up questions, change the order of questions, and skip questions. Semi-structured interviews were also chosen for their narratives in order to accommodate the personal experiences and stories of the interview participants. A structured interview would not have allowed for more detailed insight that can be chanced upon through follow up questions. Likewise, an unstructured interview could deviate from the core themes that the researcher is interested in exploring. The researcher also avoided focused groups to prevent participants' responses being influenced by each other during the interview, and to prevent few participants having more dominant voices in the research over the rest of the participants.

Honours Thesis Student Researcher drew on various authors' works when opting for Semi-Structured interviews. Few key works extend to Andrea Tainton's Honours Thesis[131], "A Communities Perceptions and Attitudes towards Neighborhood Policing" at Nottingham Trent University[132], and Isolde Daiski's "Perspectives of Homeless People on Their Health and Health Needs Priorities" in the Journal of Advanced Nursing[133]. In the first, Andrea Tainton "evaluates the impact of neighborhood policing" focusing on the perceptions of key stake holders and members of the community. In the latter, Isolde Daiski produces a report demonstrating the inclining rate of health concerns amongst homeless populations along with the underrepresentation of the views of homeless populations. Both sources employ semi-structured interviews as a mechanism for primary data collection. According to Daiski, semi-structured interviews were chosen for the descriptive and exploratory design of the research[134]. Tainton states that the semi-structured interview method was chosen to gather the attitudes and perceptions of the community. She further outlined that semi-structured interviews allow for a framework for an interview while giving the researcher the flexibility to change questions and giving the participants the opportunity to answer questions on their own terms or ways.

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[130] Schulenberg, Jennifer L. The Dynamics of Criminological Research. Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2016. p. 184-185.

[131] Although, A Communities Perceptions and Attitudes towards Neighborhood Policing by Andrea Tainton is a about neighbourhood policing, the researcher chose her research as a model for semi-structured interviews because like this study, her study is also an honours thesis. Furthermore although not relating to homelessness, her research is still about a community service or program.

[132] Anthea Tainton, "A COMMUNITIES PERCEPTIONS AND ATTITUDES TOWARDS NEIGHBOURHOOD POLICING," *Internet Journal of Criminology* (2010) http://www.internetjournalofcriminology.com/tainton_communities_perceptions_and_attitudes_towards_neighbourhood_policing_nov_2010.pdf

[133] Isolde Daiski. "Perspectives of homeless people on their health and health needs priorities." *Journal of Advanced Nursing*. 58, no.3, (2006).

[134] Ibid, p. 273

In light of the above articles, the researcher of this study found semi-structured interviews to be significant and relevant for this research as well.

Isolde Daiski also co-authors "Homelessness in the Suburbs: Engulfment in the Grotto of Poverty" with Nancy V. D. Halifax, Gail J. Mitchell, and Andre Lyn. The said research is a project undertaken by the Health and Education Department of York University studying the lived experiences of homeless people in Greater Toronto Area, Ontario. The researcher of this study finds the research by the Health and Education Department of York University to be not just another example of semi-structured interviews, but also finds it relevant due to its focus of public policy, welfare and poverty. Furthermore the way in which the research is formatted and the semi-structured interviews are incorporated into the article, made the research an ideal model and helped frame the honours thesis.

For the purpose of this research four participants have been interviewed. The participants were chosen for their diversity in jurisdiction, and roles in homeless prevention. All participants were essentially asked the following ten questions in approximately the same sequence, along with additional follow up questions as needed:

1. Before we begin, I want to review our confidentiality procedures. [Co-investigator will refer to participant's decision regarding confidentiality, as indicated on the Informed Consent Form].
   a. [For participants who have elected to remain confidential] How would you like me to describe your position, your job, and your organization? We should agree on a title and organization description that is generic enough that you will not be identifiable.
   b. [For participants who have elected to be identified] I would like to confirm that you wish to be identified by name. How would you like me to describe your position and your organization?
2. How did you come to be involved in work in the area of homelessness / homeless prevention?

According to the Homeless Hub, homelessness describes the situation of an individual or family without stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect, means and ability of acquiring it. It is the result of systemic or societal barriers, a lack of affordable and appropriate housing, the individual/ household's financial, mental, cognitive, behavioural or physical challenges, and/ or racism and discrimination.

2. What is your opinion of this definition?
3. Do you think that current homeless prevention programs and services adequately address the needs of homeless people?
4. What homelessness related issues or policy initiatives require most immediate attention?

    a. How should bylaws and public policies be changed to effectively address homelessness in the long-term?

    b. Are these steps likely to be taken in the near future?

    c. Are there other jurisdictions that you look to as examples to be followed?

5. What are the key factors that contribute to successful development and implementation of policies and programs for homeless people?

    a. How does one create and maintain a momentum of such policies and programs?

6. What voices (sectors, groups, and individuals) are most influential when shaping public policy around homelessness?

    a. What are the implications of the disproportionate influence of certain voices for homeless?

7. A number of laws - for example, the *Safe Streets Act* and *Trespass Act* - are used to regulate the behaviour of marginalized populations in public spaces. In your experience, how do these Acts and other law enforcement and security initiatives impact homeless people?

8. What is your experience with public perception of marginalized populations such as homeless people?

    a. What is your opinion of the NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) perspective?

    b. How do we create a shift from Out-Of-Sight and Out-Of-Mind to In-Sight and In-Mind?

2. In your opinion, what forces shape the public perception of homelessness?

    a. Do these perceptions need to be changed?

10. Thank you very much for participating in this study. Before we conclude, I want to return to the issue of confidentiality:

    a. [For participants who have elected to remain confidential] Bearing in mind our earlier decision regarding pseudonyms, is there anything that we talked about today that you think might allow you to be identified indirectly? [If 'yes', co-investigator will discuss steps to mitigate this risk].

    b. [For participants who have elected to be identified] You indicated that you wish to be identified by name. Is there anything that we talked about that could, if attributed to you, have negative implications for you (for example, workplace implications)? Would you prefer that I use a pseudonym to identify you?

Target groups:

The research consists of 8-10 research participants. These participants are experts in the field of homelessness, public policy, or both.

The target groups selected to be the participants for the research include a) members of advocacy organizations, service delivery organizations, or other organizations directly involved in work related to homelessness in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland, and b) members of legislative assembly, relevant governmental committees / committee members, and policymakers directly involved in work related to homelessness in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland.

Inclusion/Exclusion Criteria:

Prospective interview participants selected for the research met the following criteria. 1) They must be 19 years or older, 2) They must have the capacity to give informed consent on their own, 3) they must primarily reside and/or be engaged in homeless prevention related work and advocacy in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland BC, 4) must be willing to meet at Vancouver Public Library, Surrey City Centre Library, any KPU Library, or their officers not including home officers and 5) must be well informed about and engaged in homelessness related issues.

Prospective interview participants were excluded from participation if they met any of the following criteria. 1) Their participation would present a real or perceived conflict of interest to a member of the research team.

Method for Finding Participants:

The research participants for this thesis are recruited through non-probability sampling to gain greater control over the sampling process.[135] This allows the researchers to select respondents with greater knowledge of the research topic. The thesis is intended to provide better knowledge based support to actors involved in homeless prevention as opposed to the public in general. The Honours Student researcher used purposive sampling to accomplish non-probability sampling for this research.[136] The participants were purposely selected to gain a better insight of the research topic. Successful participants were engaged in social or advocacy and politics that influence public policy on homelessness. According to Schulenburg, purposive sampling[137]:

  • Is ideal when a sampling frame doesn't exist but a subset of the population is easily identifiable.
  • Is advantageous when conducting exploratory research or case studies, targeting hard-to-reach populations, or examining deviant cases.
  • Cannot generalize findings but can achieve a deeper understanding
  • Is a more systematic selection process but remains subjective with no controls for representativeness

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[135] Jennifer L. Schulenberg. The Dynamics of Criminological Research. Don Mills: Oxford University Press Canada, 2016. 117-118

[136] Ibid. 119-121

[137] Ibid.

- Can lead to oversampling of more accessible subgroups in the population

In addition to their expertise, specialization, and field experience these participants are specifically chosen in order to mitigate any real or perceived conflict of interest. The researcher has frequently come in contact with marginalized population through working as a security guard at various sites including university, city hall, public library, shopping centres, high profile sites etc., and working as a Community and Disability Support Advocate assisting clients who are homeless or at imminent risk of homelessness. Therefore all interviews were restricted to professionals working in the field of homeless prevention and politics. A homeless individual actively engaged in advocacy for homeless people would not have been excluded had there been that opportunity present.

Data Analysis

With the consent of the participants, all semi-structured interviews were recorded through a voice recording device. Post interviews, these recordings were transcribed on to the computer and printed for coding. The researcher conducted qualitative data analysis for phase 2 of the research, and engaged with some quantitative data presented in the literature and scan of field for phase 1 of the research. The researcher used open and closed coding as part of the data analysis. Primary coding was the open coding of the transcription where the researcher went through the interview transcriptions and drew out any reoccurring key themes, and concepts that stood out. The researcher then engaged in secondary coding which was closed coding used to draw out the key themes and concepts that the interview questions and phase 1 of the research were designed to investigate.

Limitations:

This study focuses on homelessness in the light of public policy, advocacy, and services provision. Although the thesis slightly touches on the interactions of the homeless with police officers, security guards and businesses, individuals belonging to these groups have been excluded from the shortlist of interview candidates. This particularly advantageous as accommodating these groups would have provided conflicting data, and would not have necessarily increased the researcher's ability to unfold various influences impacting policymakers' decisions. Additionally, this study does not research various homeless groups such as homeless families, youth, or veterans. Nor does the research study the depths of physical and mental health or addiction in homelessness. The researcher is also not seeking to interview homeless people. Focusing strictly on semi-structured interviews, the thesis also excludes surveys, structured interviews, unstructured interviews, and focus groups. The researcher also attempts to remain mindful of her own perceptions and biases relating to homelessness. In order to mitigate these perceptions and biases, the interview questions were carefully designed to prevent asking leading questions and receiving slanted or swayed responses subconsciously intended to please the researcher. The research is restricted to 8-10 months (approximately 2 university semesters). Such time constraints limit the student researcher's capacity in terms of

the depth and scope of the research. Therefore the generalizability of this research is good for the exploratory nature of the subject matter. Given the small sample size and purposive nature of the sample prospects, the generalizability of this research is limited.

Findings and Analysis

The researcher employed an analytic comparison for data analysis. Recalling the research methodology, the study is comprised for four semi-structured interviews that were transcribed, and coded for reoccurring themes. Prior to diving into data analysis, the participants are deserving of special mention. For the purpose of this study, the following participants were interviewed:

1. Soraya Vanbuskirk, Program Manager for Sources BC – Newton Resource Centre
2. Jennifer McCaffery, Program Coordinator of Surrey Homelessness and Housing Society on behalf of VanCity Community Foundation
3. Kristin Patten, Social Planner for City of Surrey
4. David Eby, Member of Legislative Assembly for Vancouver Point Grey

All four of the participants of the study have granted, via written consent, permission to be identified. Soraya Vanbuskirk, Jennifer McCaffery and Kristin Patten have expressed that anything they say is their own opinion and these participants are not interviewing as representatives of and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of or public standing of the organizations and groups that they are affiliated with.

Through the coding process, the researcher has identified five key reoccurring themes drawn from interviews. These themes slightly deviate from the original themes that were outlined in the literature review:

1. Conceptualizing Homelessness
    1. Discussion of different definitions and their implications
    2. Homelessness and poverty
2. The Status Quo and its implications
    1. Framing the issue: 'crisis intervention vs. problem management'
    2. Discussion of how your participants described the current situation
    3. How does the current state of homelessness impact homeless people?
3. Context and Emerging Trends
    1. Neoliberalism
    2. Economics
    3. Major trends
4. Forces that Shape Policy
    1. Overview of forces that shape policy
    2. Discussion of barriers
5. Responding to Homelessness: Responsibility, Solutions, Momentum
    1. Responsibility
    2. Audience
    3. Momentum
    4. NIMBY

Conceptualizing Homelessness

The researcher provided the participants with two definitions:

1) The first definition is taken straight from the Homeless Hub's website state that, "Homelessness describes the situation of an individual or family without stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the prospect, means or ability of acquiring it. It is the result of systemic or societal barriers. Lack of affordable or appropriate housing. The individual's / household's mental, financial, cognitive behavioural or physical challenges and / or racism and discrimination".

2) The second definition is taking from an article. Homelessness is an extreme form of poverty, characterized by inadequate housing, income and social support, people defined as homeless include those who are absolutely homeless, and those who are at risk of homelessness. The absolutely homeless might be living in shelters, outdoors, in public or semi-public spaces, with friends or relatives, um, couch surfing, who are at risk of homelessness who may be precariously housed, living in hotels, rooming houses, apartments and transitional housing, but may potentially lose their housing due to eviction, inadequate income, or fleeing violence.

These are the two of many definitions that are commonly used. The difference between these definitions is that the first one focuses on barriers that lead to homelessness, while the second definition focuses on different types of homelessness and homeless conditions.

David Eby agrees with certain parts of both definitions but does not necessarily lean towards one definition or the other. According to David, "in [his] work [he has] always defined homelessness as somebody either living in an emergency shelter, or living in the street, or outside somehow on a full time basis". He does not include living with family, couch surfing, rooming houses, being under housed, or at risk of homelessness to be the same as being homeless as it undermines the reality of people who are actually homeless and living on the streets as their situation is so much more dire. No place to store belongings is also a key factor that resonates with homeless people. David's working definition is more aligned with the definition used by Metro-Vancouver Homeless Count.

> [in] terms of policy I think we need to be pretty specific because when you say homeless and you include all these groups, it lets a lot of the politicians off the hook, because they say we're taking action on homelessness, we're opening five new emergency shelters, well in my opinion that's not actually homelessness, that is simply temporary shelter for a large number of homeless people who will still be homeless after a they do that. And so, I think we need to be kind of specific about defining what we mean. The current provincial government does this all the

time, they say that they have created 10,000 housing units, but what they include in housing units are emergency shelter spaces, mats on floors, and it's just not acceptable. So I think it's really important to be clear about what we're talking about in order to, avoid politicians from not taking action and making it look like they are by using words that could mean different things. – David Eby.

David does agree with the second part of the first definition that describes the causes of homelessness. However the definitions above may be useful for certain types of audiences, but are not suitable for policy recommendations as the policies for dealing with absolute or street homeless people are different than policies for dealing with people who are at risk of homelessness. Furthermore, having a broad definition made sense when the homeless population was lower, but currently the absolute homeless population is so great that it needs its own category now. His recommendation for separating policies for dealing with people who are at risk of homelessness and people are actually homeless contradict the recommendations provided in the report, The Homeless and the Vulnerably Housed in Surrey: Exploring Variations in Needs and Experiences.

Soraya Vanbuskirk finds value in both definitions, but prefers the first definition because it defines the person instead of the type of homelessness and includes the concept of being at risk of homelessness, which for a homeless prevention program is significant because "it's an important component of the homelessness continuum". We can plug holes in the system, but we also need to turn the tap off. The second definition still holds value because including different types of homeless circumstances is also necessary, because when defining homelessness, different types of homelessness often gets excluded. For example, couch surfing, rooming houses or being precariously housed in hotels are often excluded in the definition of homelessness. Soraya also adds sub-standard housing under the definition of homelessness as many individuals are paying rent for housing units that are inhabitable. Soraya also likes different barriers that lead to homelessness incorporated into the definition, but she leans towards the first one once again because the second definition refers to homelessness as an extreme form of poverty. According to Soraya, sometimes poverty is not have to be extreme when it comes to homelessness. Soraya's definition of homelessness contradicts the definition used by Metro Vancouver Homeless Count and is more in line with the broader definitions used by a variety of literature.

For the first definition, Jennifer appreciates that "it [includes] an explanation of the causes, and that those causes are not based on some fault or failing of a person". This is significant because of how homelessness is frequently represented in the media where more emphasis is created on the individual deficits rather than societal problems. Jennifer finds the extreme form of poverty to be a key and fundamental piece in the second definition. She resonates with the second definition a little more since it better fits in with her line of work, although in her work, the definition of homelessness is flexible and her work does not necessarily involve defining homelessness. In addition, Jennifer also introduces into the interview, the concept of being right-spaced.

> [Right spaced means] human rights based; that we all have the right to basic food, shelter, and that we still come to these social issues around poverty with this really, quite deep, underlying notion of who is deserving. So if it becomes right spaced, then it doesn't matter because there's this line of humanity and humanitarian treatment that everybody deserves it. – Jennifer McCaffery

Kristin Patten shows no preference towards the first or the second definition. In the first definition, she does like homelessness categories. What stands out the most in the second part of the first definition is systemic barriers and racism and discrimination. Kristin Patten highlighted the importance of having multiple definitions and reassuring that it is okay to have different definitions for different purposes. She provides an example of the definition of homelessness used for the Metro-Vancouver Homeless Count and how it serves a specific purpose. The literature that this thesis has mostly focused on has heavily emphasised conceptualization and attempted to find an ideal way to define homelessness. Because of this reason, the research finds Kristin's idea about becoming comfortable with many definitions to be innovative and unorthodox.

> [For] the homelessness count there's a very particular and specific definition of homelessness that is kind of agreed upon for the purpose of doing the homeless count and so it's not as broad as some of these other things but that's because you couldn't count something that. It's something that everybody recognizes, and doing the homeless count is you're not counting a lot of people who are precariously housed or at risk of homelessness or couch surfing and it's an undercount. I totally recognize that but for the purpose of actually being able to do a count in any way shape or form it's a very specific definition and then you know the count is not to actually count the number of homeless people it's an indicator that can be good for identifying trends so I think that there is never going to be one definition of homelessness and because it's going to be used in different ways for different things and sometimes it's having agreement or clarity. For this purpose the reason this definition, this is why, that's what's important than having one agreed upon definition of homelessness for everything. – Kristin Patten

The Status Quo and Its Implications

Not unlike Jack Layton, David describes homelessness as crisis that requires immediate intervention because in Canada we have gone from having few homeless people known in the community to the streets being overrun by homeless people. We have systemic issues that result in "complete release from prison with nowhere to go, and people with mental health not getting treatment and being taken advantage of living outside, people with active addictions that live from high to high and break into cars or sell themselves for sex in between another hit, these are structural long term issues that require intervention, and not sort of a management response". So far homelessness related initiatives have had sort of a management response because of how tent cities are being managed in city parks and how homeless people are being navigated through

various channels (i.e. building more shelters and counting them as housing) that do not lead to homeless people being put in stable housing with the necessary support systems. David mentioned how currently we are responding to crisis as it arises. For example the government allocated 15 million dollars towards dealing with homelessness in Maple Ridge, BC, after everyone gathered and camped out in the city square, while other municipalities that have not camped out yet and therefore have not been provided the same level of funding. Another example is support workers not noticing that a homeless person is dead for five days in supportive housing after the person has been housed. Dealing with homelessness as big issues arise instead of being proactive in dealing with homelessness, will result in "patch work policy response". David Eby also frames Safe Streets Act as a policy that is impulsive and short-sighted that stems from finding a temporary solution to the frustration of dealing with challenges that surround homelessness. His perspective is not very different than Michel Foucault who frames history in a way that it puts more control in the hands of people. The idea that small series of events persuade people to make particular decisions in the moment creates what we know as our present further compels us to feel more in control of influencing policy changes around homelessness.

Soraya describes homelessness as crisis that requires intervention and problem that needs management both at the same time. For individuals who are living and dying on the streets, it is a crisis. However, fixing foundational systemic problems is a long term problem that requires effective management. Many of the issues that Soraya addresses directly relate to Wendy Chan's research on Criminalization of Poverty. The researcher feels that Soraya would strongly resonate with the research conducted by Wendy. There are significant overlaps between issues raised by Wendy and issues raised by Soraya.

> I do feel that we have a crisis… We have deeper societal problems and homelessness is only a symptom of other societal problems; it's accumulation of them. [We] as a society blame that individual. But often we have much more systemic problems, such as not having affordable housing, not having adequate welfare rates, [and] we don't have readily available education for marginalized individuals. I mean essentially, you have to have some form of income to get an education, [weather it is] parents helping, or getting a loan, but if you've crossed off all of those opportunities, then that person doesn't have that opportunity. So, we have foundational systemic problems that need to be addressed. And, so the people on the street are in crisis. Where it's the long term [issue] is, [where] those are the foundational pieces that need to be addressed. So… crisis is urgent for the individual, [as] people are dying on the streets. That's a crisis. We have foundational systemic problems that are going to perpetuate the issue of homelessness unless we are addressing homelessness in the long term. – Soraya Vanbuskirk

According to Jennifer McCaffery, disproportionate voice can lead to marginalized people feeling unheard and can sometimes as a consequence lead to aggression. This aggression would

likely result in hard news where once again homeless people would be left out of conversation because it is the field experts that are often interviewed during hard news according to studies on media portrayal of homelessness.

> [Homeless people] are getting the message that they are not valued, and that can make it really difficult for all the reasons that lead to this place of being homeless. They're already suffering and [when] you're getting this clear message that you're not worth being alive almost, it makes it a barrier to pulling yourself back in a place where you can have income and you can keep yourself stably housed. – Jennifer McCaffery

Jennifer does not finds homelessness to be a crisis because there will always be people who are going to become homeless. This is a broader systemic issue about how we choose to create our government and public policies on an ongoing basis. Although Isolde Daiski in her article on nursing services being extended to marginalized populations does not outright identify homelessness as a crises that needs intervention or problem that needs management, the underlying approach of the article and Jennifer's point of view are very much in line with each other. It's the tone of the article that suggests homelessness is an underserved population that should also be served.

Kristin considers the issue of homelessness to be a crisis. She states that homelessness is created because of our policy choices as a society. For instance, closing mental health services, praising houses at over-priced amounts, determining income assistance shelter rates or creating residential schools. We need to start making different choices as a society. According to Kristin current homeless prevention programs and services are not adequately addressing the needs of homelessness due to being extremely under-resourced. Under resourcefulness is an issue that most if not all organizations face. One of the studies discussed in the literature review highlighted US non-profit organization that started seeking non-government funding because having to constantly compete with other government priorities can often lead to counter productiveness. This highlights the necessity of efficient funding for housing and homeless prevention programs.

> If we keep tinkering around the edges of homelessness, then I mean it's always going to be a problem and an issue unless you kind of make it more a central in what we do; just like healthcare. – Kristin Patten

Context and Emerging Trends

David Eby, Soraya Vanbuskirk, Jennifer McCaffery, and Kristin Patten, all indicate the lack of resources and money allocated by the government to be a barrier to effective policy work. According to David Eby, management of homelessness is not a stand-alone issue, but rather is strongly connected to housing and real estate in Metro-Vancouver. The homes this year are selling for 40% more than they did last year. As the value of the properties increases, so does the

price of properties leading home owners to evict tenants in order to sell their homes. With many people evicted at the same time, there are not enough rental units available to accommodate the needs of all the people looking for rental units leading many to become homeless. This housing market trend is also creating a shift towards East as housing in the west becomes unaffordable. Solving homelessness also requires solving issues around rental housing and real estate. David's perspective on real estate in Metro-Vancouver in many ways reflects Zigmund Bauman's idea of globalization and his concept of borders disappearing which allows home owners to move east. Dawn Mitchel also speak about the shrinking space where there is physical space available, but none where homeless people can exist that lose their homes in the process of investors buying and flipping properties or holding onto the property for the value to go up.

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> So the rich people who used to live here (Vancouver Point Grey), now are living around Main Street, Commercial Drive. And the slightly less rich people used to live around Main Street Commercial Drive, now are living in Burnaby. And the slightly less rich people living in Burnaby, now they are moving even further out to New West and the South Fraser all the way up to Valley, to Chilliwack. And so all these things start to happen and that's why you see homeless people in Maple Ridge (and the rest of Metro-Vancouver) because they have been evicted from the basement suites they used to live in. – David Eby

Soraya Vanbuskirk states that there are a variety of agencies doing great work for homeless people. However there is a lack in resources available needed to provide services to individuals. These resources include lack of funding to provide the necessary quantity of services to meet the needs of diverse groups of people, and also to hire enough staff to deliver the necessary services. However most importantly, there is an urgency in the need for housing and this is at the corner stone of everyone that works in the advocacy field.

Some challenges that arise around the availability of housing are finding permanent housing that is subsidized, and affordable. Another barrier to finding stable permanent housing is income assistance rates which are $375 for a single individual without a provincial disability designation. Ironically, as mentioned in the literature review, the income assistance rates have not been changed since Wendy Chan conducted her research and remain still the same as Soraya verifies the shelter portion.

If the person doesn't have disability, they only have such a small portion for support to live on as it is [and] that too is going into [the] shelter cost so they really become even more vulnerable. They become more vulnerable in more complex ways. Not only are they at risk of losing the housing… but they are not eating properly, and they are not included in community activities, because they can't do it or they can't afford the transportation. So those resources that we're looking for is to bring up their standard of living, to a place that allows them to feel included in the community and feel valued and important and being able to contribute. At this point people who are homeless don't feel connection to the community and don't feel connection to uh, to themselves as being valuable and important in the community. So consequently, they

stay on the fringes, and because of their resources being financial resources, they are not in a position to do anything differently. – Soraya Vanbuskirk.

Other issues frequently faced by homeless people mentioned by Soraya include addiction services and recovery homes. According to Soraya, there are not enough addiction services available for homeless people. As a result it can be very discouraging for homeless people to make positive choices about addressing addictions related issues but having to wait one to two weeks before receiving the services. Likewise, there are select few government recognized recovery homes in metro-Vancouver to help individuals stay free from addiction, however, most of them are unregulated and illegitimate recovery homes that evict people once the rent or monthly supplement has been paid. Soraya's perspective here reflects both Zigmunt Bauman's ideas from Wasted Lives and Randall Amster's ideals in Lost in Space. Both authors highlight the loss of connection between marginalized populations and the community and how through globalization, people have become dispensible.

Jennifer McCaffery informed the researcher that the municipal government is expecting a national strategy and there have also been calls for provincial strategy "that is going to alight resources, and align focus on how to tackle this". Jennifer further states that the Federal government will soon be working on a National Housing Strategy, however, she does not foresee any action on the provincial level in the near future. The City of Surrey has been a supporter of THIS Plan – Their property reduction plan. That along with the master plan for housing homeless are two important policy documents that guide City of Surrey's work when dealing with homelessness. Currently the real estate market is out of control and when this happens, marginalized populations are heard even less. Jennifer says that people would like to think that homelessness does not exist. This out of sight out of mind response comes from a sense of responsibility which is quite overwhelming towards people when there's not a personal connection to the people they see. This is a fundamental piece to the NIMBY syndrome where people know homelessness exist, they know it has to be dealt with, but they do not want it dealt with in by locating homeless people in their neighbourhoods. It brings us back to the toxic waste analogy previously mentioned in the literature review.

According to Kristen, City of Surrey is working on an affordable housing strategy.

Kristen highlights how we have individuals currently in supportive housings ready to move into regular housing for independent living, but are unable to because there are not enough rental housings available. Although there are various programs and support services available, they are usually under-resourced. According to Kristen, recently, the federal government has been absent for about 20-25 years as they simply pulled out of housing. Kristen is referring to the 20th century when as a way of getting rid of debt, the government adopted neoliberalism to become the dominant ideology and put more weight on the shoulders of the housing market without the social and moral obligation that comes with it.

In Canada we generally say that the market should take care of the housing and then we then we fill around the edges, but our assumption is that everyone is going to get housed to the market and then we do little bits of tinkering. That kind of ideology is so embedded that anything different is difficult to really get policy and resources and real momentum behind. – Kristin Patten

Forces that Shape Policy

Interviewing David Eby, the researcher identified a variety of forces that influence the shaping of public policy. The influences include looking at triage (who is in the worst situation to prioritize solutions for), receptiveness towards crime control responses (Safe Streets Act and Trespass Acts) by the frustrated public and business owners, visible street disorder (garbage, syringes, smell, and people present without purpose), and the real estate market being the largest invisible influence. There are also influences that act in an official capacity to shape policy. These influences included the Housing Master, CEO of BC Housing (Shane Ramsey), and Large service provider and activist groups.

Interviewing Soraya Vanbuskirk, the researcher found the following to be potential influences shaping public policy in the area of homelessness. Soraya suggests that the voting public has a lot of weight behind their opinion as well as the middle management in beurocracy in government. The researcher interprets the middle management in beurocracy in government to be people directly engaged in the development of policy recommendations. Another group that has a lot of power is NIMBY. Soraya, not unlike David Eby, finds NIMBY groups to have legitimate concerns and expresses that she is upset by their attitude as they are simply protecting their own interest. Soraya believes that NIMBY can be great advocates and can use their strong voices to get the government to take action. Upon being asked about businesses, she stated that she does not like to place them under the umbrella of NIMBY as there are some businesses that do great work in terms of advocating for addressing homelessness, however most businesses and Business Improvement Association are not influential in addressing homelessness effectively. They primarily lobby for the government to deal with homeless people but feel that it is not their job to find the most effective way of doing this.

Jennifer finds that municipality has a strong and positive voice or influence. In general, business communities and developers have an interest in addressing homelessness. However homeless people themselves seem to lack legitimacy making their voices often left out and unheard. Other factors that can have strong influence is violence or death. A violent death of a homeless woman took place around 135A street where there is a concentration of homeless populations may have been a source of influence for policy changes. One of the forces that shapes public policy, especially when it comes to NIMBY is fear. NIMBY people are often making decisions from a place of fear for their wellbeing.

Kristin speaks about the Supreme Court decision around people camping in city parks becoming the front and centre issue and the impacts of it having a ripple effect across municipalities.

All four participants have outlined several important (in)visible influences. In the literature review, although NIMBY and businesses were accounted for, these are several new influences have emerged through data collection. One of the influences that did not come up during the interviews is the media.

Responding to Homelessness: Responsibility, Solutions, Momentum

In terms of responding to Homelessness, it is important to determine who is responsible for addressing homelessness and the audience that need to be kept in mind throughout the process.

David Eby suggests that we need to be proactive and not wait for a big incident to take place such as protest or death to take action. There also needs to be a larger analysis for funding and resources of the rest of the province. We need to solve homelessness and not regulate and manage it. David recommends implementing Standards of Maintenance Bylaw, currently enforced in Vancouver, province wide. This bylaw "describes the minimum rental housing standards in which the city can go on and make repairs and build them back if the owner is not keeping the place up to the minimum standard. And this prevents from loss of existing rental housing through the city bylaw", Says David Eby. He highlights recognizing that there's a disproportionate of First Nations homeless people due to systemic racism (history of residential schools and colonial reserve policies) and suggests empowerment of First Nations people and culturally appropriate services and support housing. David also emphasizes not leaving addiction or mental health issues in children untreated for a long period of time and providing job training programs for homeless youth 's integration into the community so addiction and mental health does not become who they are. It is also important not to generalize and put all homeless in one category, and provide services that are diverse and meet their unique individual needs.

> At the municipal level, cities need to take steps to protect existing rental housing. They need to protect rental housing from conversion to urban [development], then need to protect rental housing from being torn down and then replaced with housing that's not affordable. On the provincial [and federal] level, there needs to be money dedicated to a … building new social housing units and supportive housing units. Housing units where there is mental health support, where there is addictions support, where there's a very clear length between someone's mental health status or addiction status, and whether or not they're living out in the streets… Because if just give someone a room they'll be back on the streets shortly after. There also needs to be provincial and federal money going into mental health and addiction treatment generally to stop people from ending up homeless… before [they] lose [their] job, before [they] lose [their] family, before [they] end up on the street. – David Eby

According to David Eby, the current homelessness crises is due to the government stopping the funding of social housing with mental health and addictions supports in them in 1990's. Furthermore he also talks about how policies that impact homeless people cannot be short sighted and use Crime Control mechanisms. Homeless people need to be treated in a way that's both dignified and respectful. For people wanting to advocate for more effective polices, they need to consider their audience and have concepts that are precisely defined and not be over-inclusive or vague. Creating opportunities where homeless people can share their stories is another way to generate empathy and compassion. David Eby notes that although sharing stories is a powerful way of creating a shift, it is an unfair burden on the homeless people to have to share their very private and personal stories.

In regards to NIMBY, David Eby stated that NIMBY problem is getting worse on a regular basis. However, NIMBY people have legitimate concerns about people in their neighbourhoods with addiction and mental health issues with no social support, and issues around syringes, defecation, and lack of cleanliness. He finds that the government is not taking the necessary steps to address these concerns and if they did, it would ease many of the concerns that people have.

> [The provincial government] can't come and say, don't worry, there's going to be lots of great services, we're going to have nurses, we're going to have doctors, we're going to have security. Not only will you not notice that this facility is here, that this low bearer housing facility is here, but people are actually going to be active and helpful and healthy members of the community again, and you're going to see that they contribute to the community. They can't say that, because it's not true. – David Eby

From Soraya's interview, the researcher gathered that like David Eby, it is the leaders in the community that have to lead by example.

> I think that, that shift, comes from our leaders to say that this is important and we are going to put the dollars behind it, and we are going to make the effort, and more importantly we are going to account to you the success of that. Because we are not hearing any accountability, so, the City of Surrey as example, they have a community plan that they created a number of years ago but we haven't heard any updates on how they're doing on the homeless component. Like, have those houses been created, have we had a reduction, you know, so I think that education piece is about having the leaders, walking the walk, talking the talk, following up and being accountable to it, to the people in the community, to be the ones to say this is our community, we're all in the community, and we all can contribute to this being a better community and this is how we're going to do it, and then this is how we're going to prove it by being accountable. – Soraya Vanbuskirk

In terms of addressing homelessness and creating a positive momentum, Soraya suggests increased shelter portion for Income Assistance, diversity and variety in affordable housing,

housing availability of housing subsidies, resources that allows homeless people to feel connected to the society and feel valued, more mental health and addiction services, and inclusion of people with lived experience in policy development. For people wanting to support homeless people, Soraya suggests being flexible with homeless people and not adding more barriers and hoops to jump through, and being mindful of their sense of safety and security. Including the voices of the homeless people again is the most important

Jenner McCaffery suggests that we need more strategies at the provincial and federal level. The policy and programs need to be "right spaced". She talks about a public awareness campaign by her organization in print media. The city provides free advertising space on their electronic bill boards and on their bus shelters. The campaign focuses on stories of people with lived experiences with the goal of humanizing homeless people. She states that when addressing homelessness we need to ensure public safety is always a priority, and that being said, homeless people deserve a chance because "they may have all kinds of amazing skills that they're not getting to use that they can if they have a chance".

The researcher is inferring from Kristin's interview that she believes it is government's responsibility to take control of the housing. Kristin proposes an alternative model based on housing practices in Singapore. According to Kristin, "Singapore made the decision in the 60's they were going who put significant government resources into housing. So 90% or 83% of the population lives in public housing and most of that is ownership". Although Kristin is not suggesting that we replicate that exact process, but rather understand that there are many alternatives such as finding ways to control the cost of housing and living. Other solutions proposed by Kristin (some already in the planning process) include affordable housing strategy for the municipality, program that target both street homelessness supportive housing but equally target the economy market rental housing, services to meet people's unique needs and diversity of housing options. Three specific and most urgent policy recommendations include youth transitioning government care to provide youth with support after they are cut off from government benefits once they turn 18, providing culturally appropriate programs for urban Aboriginal communities, and increasing income assistance for a better housing affordability.

Not only do the participants raise some important moral and ethical questions around homelessness and leadership needed to address homelessness, but many of their ideas for change reflect the different components of momentum previously discussed. Most important of them being, having a plan or strategy. During interviews, the participants also mention hygiene and health risks associated with having homeless people in the neighbourhood, emphasizing that NIMBY groups are justified in their concerns and an effective leadership will address these concerns when it comes to homeless prevention.

Throughout the study, interviews is the first time when the researcher hears the experts speak about NIMBY syndrome as not being completely unreasonable and acknowledging that their concerns are legitimate. Whereas in the literature review, the researcher found that there is no scarcity of academic data that calls NIMBY groups ignorant, or uninformed or other things of

similar sort. One thing that was in common amongst all participants is that none of them were critical of the neoliberal state, or involvement of businesses in lobbying against homeless services being present in the community. Upon being asked every single participant about their opinion on the impact of businesses influencing the government in homeless prevention related matter, they all made a similar statement that businesses want homelessness addressed but they don't involve themselves in details of how it has to be done and that there are some good business associations that are contributing to homeless prevention. No particular businesses or associations were named. Furthermore there is significant amount of data available to suggest that business actually do get involved in the details of how to end homelessness. A vast majority of them support criminalization of poverty, they lobby against homeless shelters and low income housing in their neighbourhoods, and they tear down affordable housing and build unaffordable housing I in its place creating systemic barriers that make it difficult for homeless people and people in poverty to survive. The participants also redirected the blame back onto the municipal, provincial and federal government and were quick to move away from the subject of businesses. If they did speak negatively about the businesses, the fault was redirected onto the government for better regulation, but no moral obligation was placed onto the shoulders of businesses or NIMBY syndrome.

Discussion:

The discrepancies in the opinions are evident through literature review and interviews conducted for this study when it comes to conceptualization of homelessness. How one choses to define homelessness depends significantly on the work that they do in relation to homelessness. So as an example, a social worker or outreach worker would use a different definition than a politician or government agent engaged in policy work. They almost speak different languages. A key message that is drawn from this study is being precise in our language. People engaged in policy work and people engaged in service provisions speak different languages. In order to create effective policies, it is critical that all concepts be clearly defined and precise terminology be used for clarity and accountability.

In order to accomplish this, organizations need to start with specific achievable goals in mind and work backwards to develop definition(s). For example, saying we want the government to address the housing situation for homeless people and people with poverty is not specific enough. Neither does putting all the issues together into one "Homeless Issues" category bring us closer to solutions. Although many issues are interconnected and overlapping, they still need to be addressed one at a time and the following steps need to be followed. First a specific problem needs to be identified (i.e. # of homeless people in Downtown Vancouver, Burrard Area). Second, create a specific objective (i.e. developing supportive housing and housing at least 15% of this specific homeless population by [insert specific month and year]). Third, develop a transition strategy and partner up with other organizations. Fourth, draft a proposal for the government bearing in mind who your audience is. The proposal must include an objective, an issue with background information, consequences or neglect and related research, potential solutions, deadline, how the outcome aligns with pre-existing strategic planning, and avenues for follow up. The term government is too broad so the following government agents and/or agencies can be targeted: Local MLA, Relevant City Committee, Rich Coleman, Ministry of Natural Gas Development and Minister Responsible for Housing (for BC), and Amrik Virk, Minister of Technology, Innovation and Citizens' Services (for BC).

The study called "The Homeless and the Vulnerably Housed in Surrey: Exploring Variations in Needs and Experiences" in its recommendations suggested that people who are homeless and people who are vulnerably housed have the same needs and therefore the policies that address their concerns should be rolled into one. The interviews for this Honours Thesis suggested otherwise. Since unlike that study, the researcher interviewed people directly involved in public policy work as opposed to people on the receiving end of policy enforcement, the researcher will proceed with the new findings that the policy for those two groups do need to be kept separately for accountability. Because policies for dealing with people at imminent risk of homelessness are different than people who are visibly street homeless, these two categories need to be separated when setting goals. However it is perfectly fine to combine these categories for other purposes such as providing services to homeless people as a homeless prevention agency. Proposing to partner up with different government sectors will make those sectors more receptive to proposals and will be a way to keep them accountable. Partnering with other

agencies will create a greater impact and more resourcefulness. It is crucial to define everything clearly and ask targeted questions. The researcher's initial goals where to create a universal definition of homelessness, however by the end of the research, the researcher came to the conclusion that having multiple definitions is more beneficial than one universal definition due to the complexities that are intertwined with homelessness. Having different definitions based on different goals can allow us to accomplish more by breaking down a big overwhelming task (addressing homelessness) into smaller tasks (targeting fewer issues at a time).

The researcher wanted to know if homelessness is a crisis that needs intervention, or an ongoing problem that requires long term management. Two participants said homelessness is a crisis and needs immediate intervention, one said it is a problem that needs management, and one said it is both crisis and a long term problem that needs management at the same time. Much like previously read material and research, the researcher did not find consensus on the matter by the participants. However, an important observation that came out of the interviews. Participants referred to homelessness as a crisis when they were talking about homeless people themselves and the barriers they face, and the risks that they are exposed to. They referred to homelessness as an ongoing long term problem, when they were talking about the government and policy changes because of how long it takes to create a systemic shift in processes. With that in mind, the researcher has decided that homelessness is indeed a crisis that requires intervention. Even though it takes time to change systems and create new policies, it is a result of a series of poor policies and practices and act of omission by the (mostly federal) government towards funding for housing and control over real estate market that has led to the current homeless situation and these government. So not only do we have a crisis homelessness, but also a crisis of poor policies, practices and control over market which needs to be addressed urgently. A complete and immediate overhaul of the housing system is required as opposed to Whack-A-Mole approach or as the participants described it "patch-work policy response" and "tinkering around the edges of the problem". Consequences of not taking action and controlling these crises, is as Don Mitchel stated in Annihilation of Space by Law: Anti-homeless Laws and Shrinking Landscape of Time, we will continue to have a rise in homelessness, which currently is record high in Vancouver[138], but the physical space in which they can exist will keep on reducing the way in which the real estate market is headed. It is unsettling to point out that during the interview, David Eby, MLA Point Grey Vancouver, pointed out how because of lack of affordable housing, rich people and slightly less rich people are moving to the East. During that conversation, there was not even a single mention of the middle class. In the current neoliberal state, rich are occupying more and more land while average working class can barely even afford to rent or find housing for rent and are becoming up homeless.

In the analysis for this study, various individuals and groups have been mentioned by the participants that have strong influence in shaping policies. However, all four participants agreed

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[138] [add proper citation]
 http://vancouversun.com/news/local-news/record-number-of-homeless-on-vancouver-streets.

homeless people are frequently left out when it comes to influencing policies. Being at risk community members and so vulnerable, Soraya suggests being patient and empathic towards homeless people. Which she says does not mean that we have to put up with bad behaviour, but we must attempt to at least help them feel safe and work towards making the feel connected to the community and give them a sense of purpose. What is important here is that we don't engage in stigmatization, or pass harsh judgements, and not let homelessness become an identity for the vulnerable members of our community. For the people who are against bringing homeless people into their neighbourhoods, i.e. NIMBY groups, David Eby suggests meeting people where they are. This means understand what their concerns are and addressing them accordingly. If their concerns are financial, showing them how housing homeless is more financially sound. If their concerns are around addiction and mental health, showing them how housing can help with that. Most importantly, reassuring them that if a shelter or temporary accommodation is built in the neighbourhood, community members are reassured that all the necessary support will be in place to help homeless people integrate into the community and follow through on the promise to create effective supportive housing. Kristin Patten explains how the City of Surrey works in partnership with various organizations and emphasizes the importance of partnerships and sharing resources. She also highlighted the importance of working with the market as opposed to against the market. The researcher agrees that partnership can be valuable in creating change. It is also wonderful if we can find a way for the market to continue to make money while making housing affordable for average working class and people in poverty. That being said, it is unlikely that the real estate market would be eager to jump on board if that requires that the government take more control over housing and market provided that it's the ideal solution to addressing the housing crises. In terms of partnerships, Housing First is an excellent example of a Federal housing program. Ultimately, when addressing the housing crises, the problem neither with people on the streets, nor with people at imminent risk of homelessness. The problem beings much further up the chain in how money travels within the real estate market and the regulations around it.

Some areas that this study did not explore in depth includes public and private policing. Although participants were asked their opinions on how homeless people are treated or impacted by police officers and security guards, no one in those fields was interviewed. Additionally, in this study, the idea of homeless people being internal refugees was briefly touched on, however this subject was not explored during the interviews. Both policing and homelessness and a comparison between the efforts of integration into the community between homeless people and refugees would be a good areas to explore as a follow up to this research. For this study, the researcher also did not seek to interview business owners/executives or members of Business Improvement Associations. Looking into how different businesses respond to homelessness is another area that can be valuable to explore in future research and was left out of this one to narrow down focus onto policy development.

In the literature review, neoliberalism is discussed in depth in terms of moving from a welfare state towards security state in the form of extreme individualism and market fundamentalism. As mentioned in the analysis, when discussing neoliberalism, it is fascinating to

note that not a single participant discussed moral obligation of the market. They all demonstrated criticism towards the government. Even participants belonging to different government bodies put the responsibility on the shoulders of a different party or level of governance. All participants were quick to deviate from the subject of businesses lobbying against homeless shelters and although had a lot to say about NIMBY syndrome, their comments presented NIMBY as genuine and justifiable form of expressing concern. This is a demonstration of hegemonic strategy where knowingly or unknowingly, participants like many other people were unable to bluntly or directly question the housing market. This is not to say that they weren't at all critical of market, they were. They mentioned market being out of control and the government needing to step in. They also mentioned issues with the housing market and opposed replacement of affordable housing with unaffordable housing as well as opposed inhabitable houses and inflated rent amounts. However they did not demonstrate too much criticism around NIMBY Syndrome or businesses lobbying for inhumane practices and laws around poverty and homelessness. One possible explanation of this is being immersed in neoliberal paradigm where through media and market practices, capitalism and neoliberalism has become normalized. Neoliberalism creates reification of the idea that the economy matters more than people and their lives and economic status is an indication of how much one contributes to the market. The greater the contribution to the creation and sustainability of the market, the greater the wealth. Another explanation for lack of interview data on business practices can also be explained as reasons for earning public trust. This may be for votes, or for donations, or for other forms of contributions by NIMBY groups and businesses who have strong voices in the community.

During the research not everything went as planned. To begin with, the research changed focus a few times during the first phase before the final decision was made on what the focus of research will be. This was because either the scope of initial research was too broad, or new ideas and directions for the research surfaced during the initial phase, and also because the researcher wanted to take a new and unique approach to discussing homelessness and decided deviate from subjects already researched in depth. During the second phase when approximately12-15 potential participants were sent invitations to participate, only three responded in a timely manner. One participant was able to connect me with someone else to be my fourth participant. So there was some snowball sampling which was unplanned. However, the researcher had already sent an invitation to someone in that same office previously, and did not get a response. The information of that participant was also publicly available so the researcher was able to make an exception. Another thing that did not go as planned was the time frame for research. It took longer than expected to receive Research and Ethics Board (REB) approval, to transcribe interviews, and to complete the analysis for the research. The most unexpected aspect of this research has been conceptualizing homelessness. Towards the beginning of the research, the researcher intended to create a universal definition of homelessness. By the end of the research, for the purpose of policy work, the research arrived at the conclusion that a broad all-inclusive definition is counter-productive and does not allow for accountability from the government.

Conclusion:

Evidently, homelessness is a complex phenomenon that changes definitions depending on what issue within homelessness is being discussed. In order to unpack this phenomenon, the researcher conducted a detailed literature review, and conducted four semi-structured interviews of four participants that play different roles in addressing homelessness. According to this research, there is major discrepancy in defining homelessness within literature and amongst participants of this research, alike. Different inclusion and exclusion criteria and set based on the goals being set when it comes to policy development, advocacy and service provision, or data collection. Homelessness is a crises because Metro-Vancouver's homeless population is constantly on the rise, currently being record high in Vancouver. Homeless people are dying in both streets and supportive housing and are not receiving the help they need to overcome addiction or for treatment of mental health due to lack of resources. In the current neoliberal state that we live in, housing is becoming out of reach even for the working or middle class and people are being evicted as the elite members of the community are occupying more space through real estate and privatization. NIMBY and the real estate market have the most negative influence on homeless policies. However according to participants, NIMBY groups have the potential to become strong allies through effective public education. It is also noted that the participants are not immune to neoliberalism and were not too critical of NIMBY syndrome or businesses that lobby against homeless services. From the researcher's personal experience as a former Disability Support Advocate, Ministry of Social Development and Social Innovation do not influence the policies in a positively manner either. On the other hand, campaign groups and activists are highly impactful and so are the organizations that provide services to homeless populations even though it doesn't always feel that way. Finally, there are individuals that have a lot of influence at the policy development stage. These people include CEO of BC Housing, Minister of Technology, Innovation and Citizens' Services, Minister of Natural Gas Development and Minister Responsible for Housing and Deputy Premier. MLA's and designated communities also have strong impact on the policy development. Ultimately, dealing with homelessness is everyone's responsibility. It's an overwhelming responsibility that no one wants to take upon themselves, but everyone needs to play a part in integrating homeless people into the community. That being said, individual or groups of community members do not have the capacity to maintain consistency across municipalities, cities, provinces, or the country. This is why the government taking the lead and setting the tone is important. This by no mean intends to suppress or discourage grassroots movements. The government has the power to create centralized housing strategies on federal, provincial and municipal levels that community members can take part in the implementation of. More importantly, the government has the capacity to replicate effective grassroots movements to other jurisdictions, but do so with the involvement and empowerment of community members not limit their powers through privatization. Pushing the government to take action and holding them accountable does require that the groups compromise on their definition of homelessness to communicate with the politicians where they are at and in their language while creating smaller categories within the broader concept of homelessness and resolve them one at a time. The research uncovered various groups and people who have (in)visible influence over homeless public policies. The researcher

opted out of listing these voices or forces or influences in order of most to least responsibility in order to eliminate blame. When one person or group is perceived to have more responsibility than others, then others are more likely to neglect responsibility. It is sufficient to say that everyone has responsibility to prevent marginalization in different ways. Once the ball gets rolling and community starts to see positive results, it is critical to maintain the good momentum. The researcher has developed a three part process based on the responses received form the participants. Following the process mentioned in the literature review, and keeping in mind to be specific and realistic and setting goals, being detailed in strategy or action plan with follow up mechanics for accountability, and including homeless people and making them a vital part of the process.

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Appendix A: Thesis Presentation Poster

Appendix B: Initial Contact Email

[Date]
Dear [Participant],
Re: Invitation to Honours Research Participation Good Morning / Afternoon.

My name is Fatima Zaidi and I am a Kwantlen Polytechnic University Criminology student conducting research as part of my Criminology Honours Program. My research is about how various individuals involved in advocacy, service provision, and policy work related to homelessness and / or anti-poverty in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland understand homelessness and the forces that shape public policy in this area. As part of my research, I am looking for participants who are able to take part in a single one-on-one interview lasting up to one hour at some point this month. Would you be interested in participating in this research? Should you be interested, please reply to this email, and I will follow up with a more detailed letter of invitation, project overview, and informed consent form. Should you want to verify the authenticity of this research, please do not hesitate to contact my thesis supervisor (and principal investigator for this project), Mike Larsen via email at mike.larsen@kpu.ca or via telephone at 604-599-3413, or call Kwantlen Office of Research and Scholarship at _____.

Thank you for your time. I look forward to hearing from you.

With Best Regards,
Fatima Zaidi

Appendix C: Invitation to Participate

[Date]

Dear [Participant],

Thank you for your interest in my research project, 'Homelessness Policy in Metropolitan Vancouver: Invisible Influences' (KPU Research Project # 2016-013). My name is Fatima Zaidi and I am a Criminology Honours student at KPU. I am completing this project under the supervision of KPU Criminology Instructor Mike Larsen.

The primary research questions that this project explores are: how do actors involved in advocacy, organizing, service provision, and policy development related to homelessness (a) understand the nature of homelessness, and (b) understand the forces that shape public policy regarding homelessness in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland of BC? I am hoping that by deepening my understanding of the forces, interests, considerations, and influences that shape homelessness policy, I will be able to contribute to future policy development, advocacy, and service delivery initiatives related to homelessness and anti-poverty.

As part of the research, you are invited to participate in a single one-on-one interview lasting up to one hour. I am conducting all interviews in person, in early April 2016. Interviews may be conducted in one of three locations: (1) a meeting room at a public library, (2) a meeting room at the KPU Library, or (3) your workplace (excluding home offices). Participation in this research is entirely voluntary, and there will be no monetary or other compensation offered.

I have enclosed a copy of the informed consent form for this project. This form provides additional information about the objectives of the research project, the nature of the research process, and issues related to confidentiality and consent. I have also enclosed a copy of the question script that I will be using during all interviews.

My completed Honours thesis will be published through KPU's Kwantlen Open Research Access (KORA) system, and the results of my research will be disseminated to all research participants. I anticipate that my findings will help individuals, groups and organizations involved in social work, campaigns, movements, advocacy and service provisions relating to homeless prevention.

Please respond via email (fatima.zaidi@kwantlen.net) at your earliest possible convenience, indicating your preferred interview location, date and time.

The attached consent form explains the research study that you are being asked to participate in. Please review this form carefully and feel free to contact me with any questions about this study. You may ask questions about and/or withdraw from the study at any time. If you agree to participate in the study, you will need to sign the consent form in person at the time of the interview (alternatively, you may email me a signed copy before the interview).

Should you have any questions or concerns, or want to verify the authenticity of this research, please do not hesitate to contact my supervisor and principal investigator, Mike Larsen via email at mike.larsen@kpu.ca or via telephone at 604-599-3413, or call Kwantlen Office of Research and Scholarship at 604-599-2373, or contact them via email at research@kpu.ca.
With Best Regards,
Fatima Zaidi

BA Criminology Student (Honours), KPU
Enclosures (consent form, interview question script)
Note: This research project has been approved by the KPU Research and Ethics Board, and is designated project 2016-013

Appendix D: Informed Consent Form

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RESEARCH ETHICS BOARD

Consent Form

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Title of Research Project: Homelessness Policy in Metropolitan Vancouver: Invisible Influences
Principal Investigator: Mike Larsen, Faculty, Criminology Department, KPU
Application #: _____

Voluntary participation:
Your participation in this research project is completely voluntary. You have the right to withdraw from the research study at any time. You should ask the co-investigator, Fatima Zaidi, any questions you may have about this research study. You may also ask the principal investigator, Mike Larsen, any questions that you have about the study. You may ask either or both members of the research team questions in the future if you do not understand something that is being done. The investigators will share with you any new findings that may develop while you are participating in this study.

This consent form explains the research study you are being asked to join. Please review this form carefully and ask any questions about the study before you agree to join. You may also ask questions at any time after joining the study. See below for persons to contact.

Purpose of Research Project: The primary research questions that this project explores are: how do actors involved in advocacy, organizing, service provision, and policy development related to homelessness (a) understand the nature of homelessness, and (b) understand the forces that shape public policy regarding homelessness in Metropolitan Vancouver and the Lower Mainland of BC?

Procedures: The project will explore these research questions through a qualitative research design involving one-on-one semi-structured interviews (with up to eight participants). As a participant, you are invited to take part in one interview.

The interview Interviews will last approximately one hour but may be shorter (depending on the length or brevity of participant responses). The co-investigator will pose questions using the prepared interview script as a guide. You will be provided with a copy of this interview script beforehand.

The results of this study will be published in the form of an honours thesis (prepared by the co-investigator), and may also be presented at one or more conferences and / or published in other formats (for example, a scholarly journal).

Risks of harm/Discomforts/Inconvenience: This study is unlikely to give rise to harm, discomfort, inconvenience, or perceived coercion.

The study has a small sample size (8 participants), and this means that there is an possibility that you could be identifiable based on responses that you provide during the interview. As discussed below, the default position of the research team is that all participants will be identified by pseudonym.

By consenting to participate in this research project, you have not waived your right to legal recourse in the event of research related harm.

Benefits [including compensation if any]: The research team believes that participation in the project will prove edifying, and that participants will benefit from contributing to the advancement of knowledge in this area.

You will be provided with a PDF copy of the final research report prepared at the conclusion of the project.

Participation in this project is entirely voluntary. No compensation will be provided.

Persons to Contact:
If you want to talk to anyone about this research study because you think you have not been treated fairly or think you have been hurt by joining the study, or you have any other questions about the study, you should call the principal investigator, Mike Larsen, at 604-599-3413. or call the Kwantlen Office of Research and Scholarship at 604-599-2373, or at research@kpu.ca. You may also contact the principal investigator at mike.larsen@kpu.ca.

Once you have read this document, or the document has been read and explained to you, and you have been given the chance to ask any questions, please sign or make your mark below if you agree to take part in the study.

Print Name of Participant:_____

_____   _____
Signature or Mark of Participant or Legally Authorized   Date
Representative

_____   _____
Signature of Person Obtaining Consent   Date

_____   _____
Witness to Consent if Participant Unable to Read or Write   Date
(Must be different than the person obtaining consent)

Signed copies of this consent form must be 1) retained on file by the principal investigator, 2) given to the participant and 3) placed on file in the Office of Research and Scholarship at Kwantlen Polytechnic University.

Recording: The co-investigator requests your permission to create an audio recording of the interview session. The purpose of this audio recording is to allow the co-investigator to prepare a detailed and accurate transcript of the interview session.

If you consent to the audio recording of the interview, the co-investigator will use a handheld device to create a digital audio file. This file will be transferred from the recording device to the co-investigator's password-protected personal computer as soon as possible, and the file will be subsequently deleted from the recording device.

The audio files will be shared with the principal investigator using a password-protected USB storage device. This files will subsequently be transferred to the principal investigator's KPU office computer, which is password-protected and located in a locked room.

When the principal investigator is satisfied with the quality and accuracy of a given typed interview transcript prepared by the co-investigator, both members of the research team will delete all copies of the audio file in question.

Should you decide not to consent to the audio recording of the interview, the co-investigator will take handwritten notes during the interview.

If you consent to the audio recording of the interview but decide, while the interview is in progress, to withdraw your consent for audio recording, you may instruct the co-investigator to terminate the recording process and delete any audio that has been recorded.

Do you consent to the audio recording of the interview session? Please indicate below.

- ☐ I consent to the audio recording of the interview session.
- ☐ I do not consent to the audio recording of the interview session.

Confidentiality: The confidentiality of participants and their data will be protected, with the following limitations acknowledged:

If the co-investigator identifies a serious risk of harm to a participant or to others during the study, she is obliged to disclose this information to the proper authorities.

The research team will not be using any enhanced encryption protocols as part of this study. All computers and web-based applications used during the study will be password protected, with the password known only to the research team member. The research team cannot guarantee the security of any devices or software used by participants (for example, computers or email accounts used for correspondence with the research team).

Bearing in mind the above points, participants will also be asked if they wish to be identified by name in the study report (see below).

Identification: The default position of the research team is that the confidentiality of all participants will be maintained, and that generic pseudonyms will be used to identify participants and participant organizations in the written research report. At the outset of the interview, we will agree upon pseudonyms to use in place of your name, title, and organization title.

However, if you wish to be identified by name in the study report, we will do so. When making your decision, please consider any potential employment risks that could arise should your interview responses be linked to your identity.

Do you wish to be identified by name and organizational affiliation in the study report? Please indicate below.

☐ I do not wish for my name or organizational affiliation to be identified in the study report (note that this is the default position of the research team).
☐ I wish to be identified by name and organizational affiliation in the study report.

Should you indicate that you wish to be identified but but decide otherwise prior to the publication of the final report, you may contact either member of the research team. The research team will then replace all identifying details (name, affiliation) with pseudonyms.

Where pseudonyms are used, a single copy of the data 'key' will be kept in a locked cabinet in the locked KPU office of the principal investigator.

[3 OUT OF 4 PARTICIPANTS INCLUDED AN ADDITIONAL CLAUSE STATING THAT ANYTHING THEY SAY IN THE INTERVIEW IS THEIR OWN OPINION AND DOES NOT REFLECT THE OPINIONS OF GROUPS AND ORGANIZATIONS THEY WORK FOR/WITH.]

Appendix E: Interview Questions

1. Before we begin, I want to review our confidentiality procedures. [Co-investigator will refer to participant's decision regarding confidentiality, as indicated on the Informed Consent Form].

    a. [For participants who have elected to remain confidential] How would you like me to describe your position, your job, and your organization? We should agree on a title and organization description that is generic enough that you will not be identifiable.

    b. [For participants who have elected to be identified] I would like to confirm that you wish to be identified by name. How would you like me to describe your position and your organization?

2. How did you come to be involved in work in the area of homelessness / homeless prevention?

According to the Homeless Hub, homelessness describes the situation of an individual or family without stable, permanent, appropriate housing, or the immediate prospect, means and ability of acquiring it. It is the result of systemic or societal barriers, a lack of affordable and appropriate housing, the individual/household's financial, mental, cognitive, behavioural or physical challenges, and/or racism and discrimination.

3. What is your opinion of this definition?

4. Do you think that current homeless prevention programs and services adequately address the needs of homeless people?

5. What homelessness related issues or policy initiatives require most immediate attention?

    c. How should bylaws and public policies be changed to effectively address homelessness in the long-term?

    d. Are these steps likely to be taken in the near future?

    a. Are there other jurisdictions that you look to as examples to be followed?

6. What are the key factors that contribute to successful development and implementation of policies and programs for homeless people?

    e. How does one create and maintain a momentum of such policies and programs?

7. What voices (sectors, groups, and individuals) are most influential when shaping public policy around homelessness?

    f. What are the implications of the disproportionate influence of certain voices for homeless?

8. A number of laws - for example, the *Safe Streets Act* and *Trespass Act* - are used to regulate the behaviour of marginalized populations in public spaces. In your experience, how do these Acts and other law enforcement and security initiatives impact homeless people?

9. What is your experience with public perception of marginalized populations such as homeless people?

    b. What is your opinion of the NIMBY (Not In My Backyard) perspective?

    c. How do we create a shift from Out-Of-Sight and Out-Of-Mind to In-Sight and In-Mind?

3. In your opinion, what forces shape the public perception of homelessness?

    a. Do these perceptions need to be changed?

Thank you very much for participating in this study. Before we conclude, I want to return to the issue of confidentiality:

    g. [For participants who have elected to remain confidential] Bearing in mind our earlier decision regarding pseudonyms, is there anything that we talked about today that you think might allow you to be identified indirectly? [If 'yes', co-investigator will discuss steps to mitigate this risk].

    h. [For participants who have elected to be identified] You indicated that you wish to be identified by name. Is there anything that we talked about that could, if attributed to you, have negative implications for you (for example, workplace implications)? Would you prefer that I use a pseudonym to identify you?