Garden Place: Who Belongs Here?

Individuals' Attitude Towards Hamilton's Homeless
Population

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Abstract

Like many other countries, it was during the 1980s that homelessness emerged as a social problem in New Zealand. It first became a prominent issue in cities like Auckland, Wellington, and Christchurch. However, in later years surveys and census readings indicated that the homeless population increased in many other cities throughout New Zealand - including Hamilton. As years passed, the number of homeless individuals increased in Hamilton, along with their tendency to congregate within the Central Business District - specifically in the popular town square known as Garden Place. Subsequently news articles emerged highlighting the congregation of the homeless in Garden Place. Media portrayals labelled these homeless men and women as a 'problem' for businesses and city users' alike. As a result many expressed a need for a solution to the homeless who congregate within Garden Place. Garden Place was thus chosen as the prime area of study within this research. In addition, although conscious of the potential emergence of the contestation of this public space, and irrespective of media portrayals, this study was developed to further examine the expressed (through interviews) and observed attitudes that individuals have towards Hamilton's homeless in Garden

Place, and to gain an understanding of why individuals held such views. It is proposed that an important barrier to resolving or dealing with the issue of homelessness is our *attitudes* towards homeless individuals. These perceptions and attitudes are important because they determine the way we think about social problems and the solutions we offer to solve them. To gain an understanding, and tap into the emotional and textual aspects of responses on how individuals perceived this particular issue, the qualitative approach was chosen for this research. Participant observation of Garden Place, and semi-structured interviews with twenty willing pedestrians and four business managers within Garden Place were also conducted. As a result, findings showed that participant responses conveyed more negative attitudes towards the congregation of the homeless in Garden Place, as compared to positive attitudes. Such attitudes were based on the construction of homeless people as non-deserving of the right to this

public space because they either do not 'fit' into the normal activities for which this space is intended or they do not live up to the imagined depictions of such spaces. In addition, solutions offered suggested that the homeless be 'moved along', out of Garden Place, which favoured what to do *about* the homeless rather than what to do *for* them. Therefore this research also aims to offer additional approaches to addressing this issue of homelessness within Garden Place, which can be implemented and achieved with a more positive stance on the issue.

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Chapter One: Introduction

Setting the Scene: Why Conduct this Research?

Thinking back, it is hard to pinpoint the very moment I became interested in the issue of homelessness. Instead, I would say a number of experiences have lead me to this point.

When my family and I first moved to New Zealand about twelve years ago, it seemed to me that poverty or homelessness did not exist in this country. Everything seemed green, clean and perfect. However, as my excitement of being in a new country subsided and life continued as usual I realised that homelessness and poverty existed in New Zealand like any other country. The only difference is that it seemed to be less obvious. Over the past few years, however, the number of hidden homeless throughout New Zealand has risen. It is no longer an easy issue to ignore but instead an issue to be acknowledged and dealt with.

During the four years I have been in Hamilton, the number of homeless individuals I see in the Central Business District has significantly increased. It is through my trips on the bus, commuting through town, and working within the CBD in the vicinity that the homeless usually congregate that my experiences with some of Hamilton's homeless individuals developed. During this time I noticed a particular stance from domiciled individuals towards the apparently homeless. I would hear the disparaging comments individuals would make about the homeless who were spending their time within Hamilton's CBD. I would see a number of homeless individuals sitting on the side of the street, with a hat in front of them begging for money. I saw a number of people walk past the homeless as though they were invisible. Whilst working within the CBD customers would come into the store and complain about the homeless who congregate in and around Garden Place and outside other stores, complaining that town 'was not the same' anymore.

News articles then started to emerge surrounding the homeless issue in Hamilton. In 2011 reports highlighted that although the issue was growing in Hamilton, a lot of residents try to pretend that the homeless do not exist as a lot of people feared them (Brennan-Tupara, 2011). Later reports stated that residents felt safer in New York than they do while walking through Garden Place (Broderson, 2013), and as recently as last year, reports were still being made surrounding the fear and intimidation Hamilton residents felt while occupying Garden Place. A news reporter retells an incident related by a resident: "while walking through Garden Place doesn't worry me it worries my female friends. One once told me of a homeless women screaming in her direction, but the homeless woman was actually screaming at a homeless man right behind my friend. The incident still left her in shock" (Clarke, 2014, para.3). Consequently, through media portrayals these homeless men and women have been labelled as anti-social vagrants, intimidating, verbally abusive scavengers and beggars, and a 'problem' not only in Hamilton but specifically in Garden Place (Bowen, 2013). Retailers within Garden Place have also expressed the need for a solution to the homeless who scare away their customers (Bowen, 2013). All this made me realise that town was divided into two groups, the homeless and 'us'. We all occupied the same space, but we were not viewed the same; neither were we treated the same. As a result these encounters, experiences, and news reports shaped my interest on the issue in Hamilton and paved the way for this current research.

Therefore, conscious of the potential emergence of the contestation of this public space, and irrespective of media portrayals, this study was developed to further examine the expressed (through interviews) and observed attitudes that individuals have towards Hamilton's homeless in Garden Place, and to gain an understanding of why individuals held such views. I propose that an important barrier to resolving or dealing with the issue of homelessness is our *attitudes* towards homeless individuals. These perceptions and attitudes are important because they determine the way we think about social problems and the solutions we offer to solve them. Thus, this attitudinal influence on personal and policy responses has played a huge role in driving, developing and moulding this research. It is also important to note here that although the homeless population can include women, children or families, this research focuses specifically on the

most visible form of homelessness, who are known to the public as 'rough sleepers', as they are constantly in plain view of the public when they congregate within Garden Place. In addition, it is also important to note that media reports are not the prime focus of this research, but these reports in themselves are a form of judgement because of what the media chooses to cover and how they do so. This in turn has the potential to shape public attitudes towards homelessness. Therefore media representations and framing will be briefly canvassed within this research.

Coming from a Guyanese background, I remember hearing this popular Guyanese proverb growing up; 'One, one dutty build dam', which simply means, 'Every little bit adds up'. Before I was set on the direction my research was going to take

I remember my supervisors once telling me that it does not have to be something huge but the fact that it is something that shines more light on the issue, is a good starting point. Therefore this research did not propose to solve *all* the problems related to homelessness in New Zealand, but it aims to shine a different light on homelessness and pave the way for more positive approaches to addressing this issue, specifically in Garden Place.

Overview: What to Expect within this Research.

By engaging in relevant scholarly literature chapter one of this study takes a look at the importance of defining homelessness as it is the central focus of this research. It also looks at the emergence of homelessness as a social problem and more specifically its emergence within a New Zealand context. Chapter one also takes a look at the legitimising role of the media as it brought the issue of homelessness to the fore, making it the topic of different depictions: through the media's framing of the homeless population, and of controversy. As the congregation of the homeless in Garden Place is also seen as creating a boundary between 'us' and 'them', this is linked to In-group and Out-group relations. Such relations aim to exclude those who do not 'fit' into the norm of society. Therefore, to further make sense of this contestation these intergroup relations will also be looked at within chapter one.

Following these discussions, it is known that the exclusion of the homeless within public spaces is not a new practice, therefore the next section within chapter one takes a look at how these intergroup boundaries serve to govern and secure the exclusion of the homeless within public spaces. This section also looks at where these exclusionary practices stem from, and how individuals have fought to maintain the excluded position of the homeless within public spaces. Therefore exclusionary practices such as the 'examination and gaze', labelling of the homeless as 'deviant' or through the *criminalization* of the homeless, will be touched within this chapter. Chapter one then concludes with a further look into the current study by further highlighting why this research was conducted.

Chapter two takes a look at the methodology adopted for this research in order to address the research aims. This chapter begins with a discussion of the overall approach adopted for this research, and why it was chosen. Following this is a detailed discussion on the data collecting methods, why they were chosen and a detailed look into how they were conducted. A reflective interlude on what worked, what did not and what was learnt throughout the data collecting process is also incorporated into this chapter. The final section of chapter two takes a detailed look at the data analysis process - highlighting techniques that were used and themes that emerged. To conclude this chapter, a further reflective interlude is also integrated to highlight what worked during data analysis, what did not, and what was learnt.

Chapter three of this thesis presents the research findings from both pedestrians and business managers within Garden Place, providing a detailed account of the 'story' that emerged from all the data that were collected. It is in this chapter that we become familiar with the attitudes individuals have towards the homeless who congregate in Garden Place, why they hold these views and the 'solutions' they offered to address the homeless 'problem' in Garden Place.

After all findings are presented and analysed chapter four takes a shift to a more general discussion section on the findings. Following these discussions, chapter four then offers possible solutions to the issue by presenting examples of constructive ways to address this social phenomenon. It covers solutions that have

been developed and implemented within countries such as America, Canada and the United Kingdom to address their homeless issue. Conversely, this chapter also discusses the possibility of implementing similar approaches within the city of Hamilton, which fosters more positive solutions *for* Hamilton's rough sleepers, rather than the 'move on' approach. The final section within chapter four of this thesis then provides concluding remarks about the overall research as well as possible areas for further study, coupled with a brief discussion of the limitations of this research, regarding what worked and what did not.

However, prior to any further discussion on the current study, as homelessness is the central focus of this paper it is important to start with a discussion on the varying definitions of the issue as it reminds us of what homelessness is and the importance of defining and understanding such an issue.

Defining Homelessness

From the perspective of immediate action, definitions identify who is eligible to receive whatever assistance is available. From a research perspective, definitions identify who should be counted and described. And from a policy perspective, definitions identify who should be planned for and what policies will be most relevant to the type of assistance needed. (Murphy & Toblin, 2011, p.9)

There has been on-going debate surrounding the definition of homelessness. It is a term so complex that for policy makers and researchers there is no single definition that is universally accepted (Leggatt-cook, 2007). In saying that, the aim of this section is not to provide a clear cut definition of homelessness, but to briefly look at varying definitions that exist around the issue, and to highlight the importance of defining such an issue as it also influences who we understand to be homeless and how those individuals are addressed.

There is a stereotypical assumption that homelessness refers exclusively to rough sleepers. This assumption tends to evoke images of the 'bag lady', the 'hobo' and the 'bum' on the side of the road, the street kids or panhandlers, or the single

middle-aged alcohol-dependent man living under a bridge or in parks. However, what it means to be homeless and what constitutes homelessness is a much more complex social phenomenon that stretches far beyond those stereotypical assumptions.

Should a person who is homeless for one night be included? Should a person who is living in grossly sub-standard housing be included? Or what about someone who is doubled-up with family or friends? As highlighted by Toro (2007), these questions surrounding the definition of homelessness further exemplify the complexity of the issue. However, Chamberlain and Mackenzie's (1992) definition has been a useful model in recognizing homelessness, by identifying categories of Primary (rough sleepers), Secondary (individuals between forms of temporary shelter) and Tertiary (individuals in uninhabitable housing) homelessness. The limited agreement on the definition of homelessness has thus resulted in various definitions adopted in different countries that have used aspects of Chamberlain and Mackenzie's (1992) definition to describe what homelessness means to them.

For example, Mapstone (n.d) provides an insight into how different countries define homelessness. In the United States of America, homeless children and youths are defined as individuals who lack a fixed, regular, and adequate night-time residence. In Dublin a person is defined as homeless if there is no accommodation that is available for him/her, together with another person who normally resides with him/her. Stockholm's definition of homelessness refers to a person who does not have his or her own dwelling, or is not living in someone else's home permanently and must resort to living in temporary placements. The definition also includes someone who lives on the streets. Mapstone (n.d) stated that in Australia, a person is homeless if he or she has inadequate access to safe and secure housing. In India a person is homeless if they do *not* reside in 'census houses', in other words a structure that has a roof, such as pavement dwellers or squatters whose settlement is not recognised as a 'slum' (Tipple & Speak, 2005). In New Zealand however, an official definition of homelessness was established in July 2008 and defined as "living situations where people with no other options to acquire safe and secure housing: are without shelter, in temporary

accommodation, sharing accommodation with a household or living in uninhabitable housing" (Statistics New Zealand, 2009, p.96).

In her thesis on Homelessness Mueller (2009) highlighted the importance of defining homelessness as it can have positive and negative impacts on society and those affected. She stated that a positive impact is the ability to estimate the extent of the problem, yet on the other hand, the inability to robustly define homelessness impacts on the quality and quantity of statistics of homeless people. Scheiner (2001) also added that defining the issue of homelessness is important for it determines how the homeless population is portrayed and consequently how and what policies, resources and programs are implemented. Moreover, she believes that definitions of homelessness are often measures of public attitude. For example, definitions that include the 'worthy' homeless on one hand, such as families, children or people suffering from mental and physical handicap, and the 'un-worthy' homeless on the other hand, such as the drug abusers, alcoholics or ex-criminals (Scheiner, 2001), influences who is helped and who is over-looked as it then becomes an area for exclusion and the selective distribution of resources.

Although they may vary from country to country, definitions of homelessness matter. It is believed that with a succinct yet sufficient definition it will aid in increasing our understanding and awareness of the issue.

This brings us to the next section of this chapter; is homelessness new, or is it simply an old issue that has been given a new name? (Rochefort & Cobb, 1992). How did it become defined as a social problem, and when did it emerge? These are questions that exist around this issue and will be addressed in the following sections of this chapter. Later, concluding with a brief look at its emergence specifically in a New Zealand context.

The Anatomy of a Social Problem

Sisco (2008) maintained that a social problem is not the result of an intrinsic malfunctioning of society but is instead the result of a process of definition in which a given condition is picked out and identified as a social problem, (p.19).

Blumer (1971) further added that a social problem does not exist for a society unless it is recognised by that society. Therefore, this lends the question of how then do social problems arise? These insights suggest a number of important implications. Firstly it suggested that social problems are selective and not all phenomena become public problems (Stern, 1984).

There is vast array of literature of instances where negative social conditions in certain societies were left unnoticed and unattended. These were instances where one society's conditions were perceived as harmful, but did not appear as 'problems' to other societies. Blumer (1971) also highlighted the fact that social conditions may be ignored at one time, yet at another time become matters of grave concern regardless of any change in their make-up. To illustrate the first implication let us take a look at the issue of poverty as discussed by Jacob, Kemeny & Manzi (1999).

The 1950s and 1960s in the United States of America were seen as decades of high employment, economic growth and rising living standard. However, at the same time there remained large sections of the population who suffered considerable deprivation (Jacobs et al, 1999). The focus at the time was not on these deprived populations; instead focus was disproportionately on the 'problems' of prosperity, how children of the working class were coping with their middle class school environment as compared to their working class origins, or debates and fretting over whether workers were becoming 'bourgeois'(Jacobs et al, 1999), and the like. It was not until the late 1960s that debates emerged around the 'rediscovery' of poverty (Stern, 1984). This further illustrates the selective process that social problems undergo. While some are "choked off, others are ignored or avoided; some have to fight their way to respectable status, while some are rushed along towards legitimacy by a strong and influential backing" (Blumer, 1971, p.303).

Other implications relating to the rise of social problems are highlighted by Stern (1984), specifying the four steps that comprise the career of a social problem; its legitimation, the mobilization of forces to attack the problem, the development of an official solution, and the implementation of the plan. Once a dire social

condition has been recognised its birth as a social problem then emerges. However, Blumer (1971) proposed that if the social problem is to move along its course, it must acquire social legitimacy in order to be taken seriously and become an arena of public discussion.

A social problem's legitimisation can stem from civic organisations, legislative chambers, the church, the school, the press or other Media of communication (Blumer 1971). Rochefort & Cobb (1992) also suggested that regardless of how serious the consequences of an issue is, if there is no dramatic increase in its awareness it languishes outside the realm of public action. If however it passes the stage of legitimisation, it becomes the "object of discussion, of controversy, of differing depictions and of diverse claims" (Blumer, 1971, p.303). This results in the mobilization for action on the social problem. Following this stage, ways to tackle the social problem are discussed within society through the development of an official solution so that what once emerged from the early stages becomes a distant memory (Blumer, 1971). The final stage is the implementation of the plan in hopes that it will solve the social problem.

The Emergence of the 'Invisible' Population

Homelessness is an historical social issue that existed since the 1700s (Cronley, 2010), but in keeping with Blumers (1971) discussion on the selective process social problems under-go before their emergence as social problems, homelessness was not perceived as a social issue requiring societal attention until much later.

The nineteenth century in America saw the rise in urban centres that required a large manpower pool which was provided mainly by immigrant workers (Rochefort &Cobb, 1992). However, due to a series of major economic dislocations many were left jobless and homeless (Rochefort & Cobb, 1992). As a result, during the late 1890s skid row communities began to emerge (Cronley, 2010). These were rundown parts of the city that the homeless sought for refuge and shelter. As Sisco (2008) noted it was during this time that stereotypical

imagery and terms for the homeless began to arise. The 'hobo', 'tramp', and the 'bum' were stereotypical terms for these migratory workers in the United States.

The beginning of the twentieth century saw a dramatic increase in homelessness due to the depression in the 1930s (Rochefort & Cobb, 1992). This also resulted in many becoming unemployed for long periods of time, further resulting in the formation of shantytowns, or skid row communities in many cities. Even though this population was reduced by the post-World War II 'prosperity' it was not eliminated, and although urban renewal displaced many of the shantytowns, the homeless packed up and moved to other declining areas of the city (Rochefort & Cobb, 1992). Due to their isolation in these areas their existence remained unnoticed and their needs unattended. Their confinement in rundown areas meant people did not have to see them, therefore they remained a 'hidden' population, which only grew as time went by.

As stated by Maguire, Sheha & White (2012) homelessness continued to rise in the second half of the twentieth century in the wake of urban gentrification, reduced availability of low income housing, mass deinstitutionalization of persons with severe mental illness or developmental disabilities, diminished personal support from families & kinship networks, and the loss of what had once been close-knit neighbourhoods, (p.4). It was during this era that homelessness began to take front of stage and gained the recognition it required. By the 1980s homelessness finally emerged as a social problem. It is interesting to note here the power of definition, as well as Blumers (1971) contention of the fact that a social problem does not exist unless it is recognised by that country. To illustrate, skid row communities and shantytowns that emerged in America were classified as a 'homeless issue'. In contrast, if we take a country such as India, where some parts of the city have shantytowns - otherwise known as 'slums', they are considered to be indicative of poverty rather than of homelessness.

However, to continue, as discussed earlier in this chapter Blumer (1971) proposed that if a social problem is to move along its course it requires social legitimacy. In the case of homelessness, a combination of elements brought the issue to the public agenda increasing awareness of it. One such element was media interest.

With many receiving their news primarily through television reports a New York Times poll reported that half of all Americans found out about the problem of homelessness by watching television (Rochefort & Cobb, 1992). It is through this medium that homelessness received most of its attention becoming the object of discussion, controversy and different depictions. More attention was given to the issue, and research on what homelessness is, who the homeless are and what causes homelessness increased. In addition, with increased research a new face of homelessness became visible, shifting from the earlier imagery of alcoholics, 'tramps' and drug addicts, to collectives such as women, youth, children, the elderly, families and marginalised ethnic or migrant groups (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007).

As homelessness passed through the stage of legitimisation, the mobilization of forces to attack the issue, development of a solution, and its implementation became the prime focus for many government agencies and policy makers. Society began to realise that "homelessness itself was not new, what was more recent was an understanding of the extent of the phenomenon and its visibility" (Minnery & Greenhalgh, 2007, p.264). With increased visibility came the realisation that the problem is growing and will continue to grow unless something is done about it.

Homelessness then became an issue that was not only limited to developing countries. Instead, its rapid growth and visibility became apparent in many developed nations such as America, France, Great Britain, Canada, Japan and Australia (Toro, 2007). Its emergence in these countries and increased visibility further means that more individuals will be forced to witness and confront homelessness, putting it on the public agenda for consideration.

Homelessness: A Social Problem in New Zealand

For many years, New Zealand has enjoyed a reputation as one of the best housed countries in the world and has been popularly portrayed as a 'Pacific paradise' (Kearns, Smith & Abbott, 1991). Unfortunately, the problem with that statement is the gap between myth and reality.

Since the 1860s New Zealand was beginning to experience severe housing deprivation. It was reported in the 1864 *Otago Daily Times* that Dunedin and Auckland had 'filthy back slums' (Parliamentary Library, 2014). By 1903 these cities were reported as having 'ruinous and insanitary' houses, and during the Great Depression of the 1930s overcrowding increased (Parliamentary Library, 2014). In the 1960s there was an increase in groups of individuals experiencing housing difficulties, such as those escaping domestic violence situations, those who lost their jobs and could not afford accommodation, and unmarried women with children (Parliamentary Library, 2014). By the 1970s a survey of Auckland found that there was a lack of access to adequate housing and increased situations of overcrowding (Parliamentary Library, 2014). Consequently, like many other countries around the world, New Zealand has long standing problems associated with housing and it was during the 1980s that homelessness emerged as a social problem in New Zealand.

Though the issue maintained a low profile for many years, in 1991, 594 people were classified as having 'no fixed abode', in 1996 the numbers had risen to 960 people, and in 2001 the census recorded 2,409 people with no fixed abode (Leggatt-Cook, 2007). It was not until the early 2000's that there was more publicity and discussion over homelessness. With increased attention, homelessness became a prominent issue in cities such as Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch. For example, in 2003 the death of a well-known Wellington homeless man, Robert Jones, who has spent most of this time in Wellingtons inner city for two decades, made headline and raised alarms surrounding the issue of homelessness within Wellington (Al-Nasrallah, Amony, Blackett, Chan, Moore, Oldfield, O'Sullivan, Senanayaka, Simpson, Thrupp & van Rij, 2005). In Auckland, homelessness received attention due to the fact that the homeless were perceived as threats towards Aucklanders and visitors to the city, and studies conducted on the issue concluded that homeless people conflicted with the desired image of the CBD (Leggatt-Cook, 2007). In Christchurch, in 2005 there was a fire at Cashel Chambers where young homeless individuals were squatting (Leggatt-Cook, 2007). This incident also brought the issue of homelessness to the fore. Whether reports of these incidents evoked feelings of sympathy or dismay

towards homeless individuals, the fact that it happened provides further evidence of the existence of homelessness in New Zealand.

However, Wellington, Auckland and Christchurch were not the only cities experiencing homelessness; as published by the Parliamentary Library (2014) numerous surveys indicated that by 2013 the homeless population had increased in many cities throughout New Zealand. These included Invercargill, Palmerston North, Rotorua, Tauranga and Hamilton. An Auckland City Mission street count in 2013 concluded that there were 68 individuals who were sleeping rough. In Christchurch, 738 individuals occupied a men's homeless shelter, whilst 138 women were found in a women's shelter. In Invercargill, 12 people were sleeping rough, 9 in Palmerston North, 23 in Rotorua, 30-40 chronically homeless in Tauranga and 117 in Wellington (Parliamentary Library, 2014). In Hamilton there were an estimated 30 individuals who were sleeping rough and 400 who did not have housing security (McCarty, 2012). However, the number of homeless has increased in Hamilton in recent years, due to the decline in affordable and emergency accommodation (Harris, 2012) reaching an estimate of 700 individuals in 2015, who range from rough sleepers to couch surfers (Irvine, 2015). With such numbers any claim of New Zealand being the best-housed country in the world was visibly in need of revision. According to Leggatt-Cook (2001) although New Zealand does not appear to have a homeless problem on the scale experienced by large cities overseas where sidewalks are filled with the homeless, where the homeless are seen congregating around fires in downtown ghettos, or where panhandlers line the streets. Contrary to what was once a popular belief, homelessness in New Zealand does exist and has become widespread enough to require study and a serious call for action.

Increased attention from media and local government should suggest and highlight the growing concern about homelessness (Parliamentary Library, 2014). However it is believed that although homelessness is rising, reports conducted as recently as 2012 highlight that when it comes to funding, thinking and government action towards the issue New Zealand remains behind other countries (Killgallon, 2012). To illustrate, in countries such as Australia, the USA or the United Kingdom homelessness has been recognised as a serious societal issue that

requires early intervention (Richards, 2009). Within these countries and most other European countries it is believed that having early intervention strategies to address the issue can lead to savings in public expenditure, such as corrections and justice or mental health (Richards, 2009). However, according to Richards (2009), in New Zealand homelessness has a low profile as a policy issue, which has resulted in the absence of effective policy direction, leaving service delivery towards the homeless fragmented. This may be due to the fact that the number of *literally* homeless people in New Zealand remains low overall (Leggatt-Cook, 2007). However, regardless of how small the numbers may seem in comparison to other countries experiencing homelessness, the fact that there are numbers to count is a sure indication that it is a problem that requires societal attention and action in New Zealand.

Although the issue of homelessness resulted in increased attention in the 1980s, the *type* of attention given to the issue is also important to consider because the way in which homelessness is socially constructed also has a huge influence on the way that societies understand, evaluate and respond to homelessness (Johnson, 2009)**.** It is here we further witness the role media have played in bringing the issue of homelessness to the fore. Thus the following section takes a look at this legitimisation journey of homelessness via media attention, highlighting how this issue has been depicted as it became the topic of discussion and of controversy, and how these depictions, like definitions, have the power to influence attitudes and responses to the issue.

In the Media Spotlight: Legitimisation of Homelessness

It is believed that the media is a powerful and influential translator of issues such as homelessness as it constitute a shared symbolic resource for who is homeless, why those people are homeless and what happens when a person is homeless (Hodgetts, Cullen & Radley, 2005). Consequently, from a journalistic perspective, homelessness and the other issues surrounding it make for very compelling stories (Calder, Richter, Burns & Mao, 2011). As a result the volume of cumulative news coverage surrounding the issue increased its salience. Furthermore, homelessness and who the homeless are, began to gain discursive resonance

(Remillard, 2012) as it moved from the margins of public awareness to front of stage (Sheilds, 2001).

Since the official debut of homelessness, journalists originally used the term 'homeless' to distinguish between the stereotypical alcoholic vagrant of skid-row communities and the newly de-housed poor (Remillard, 2012). These journalists typically characterised the newly de-housed poor as victims of structural and policy changes who were displaced by forces beyond their control - and thus depicted them as the 'deserving poor' (Remillard, 2012). On the other hand, the stereotypical vagrants of skid-row communities were depicted as the 'hobos', the 'tramps', idlers or dropouts, and placed into the category of the 'undeserving poor' (Remillard, 2012). Evidently the two groups of homeless were labelled as either 'lackers' or 'slackers', with lackers referring to those who lack housing opportunities due to forces beyond their control and deserve support, and slackers as those who fail to help themselves and are seen as less deserving (Zufferey, 2014). As decades progressed exposure to the problem increased and a particular type of 'knowledge' surrounding the issue also increased, and as a result depictions of the 'deserving poor' were soon short lived. It was from here on that homelessness became decreasingly communicated as a result of structural causes and increasingly presented as a result of personal deficiency as the media further played a strong role in reinforcing the personal deficiency rationale for those labelled homeless (Remillard, 2012). Although the new face of homelessness, such as families, women and children still existed, large emphasis was placed on the 'visible' homeless who lined the streets, slept in parks and congregated in urban areas. The media then used this to display a 'picture' of who the homeless are and who is likely to become homeless. Such accounts of the homeless has become common place in many societies, and as many turn to the media as a primary source of information not only are individuals introduced to the homeless population, but also provided with 'selected' details about their circumstances and explanations for their plight (Schneider, Chamberlain & Hodgetts, 2010).

By 1986 the issue of homelessness had become a routine narrative for television news (Shields, 2001). As homelessness was seen as making compelling news stories, television firstly required compelling subjects to attract its viewers'

attention. The media would achieve this by using a homeless person for its hook, whose human face belonged to someone who was either mentally ill, an alcoholic or a drug abuser (Zang, 2000). Furthermore, films such as *Down and Out in Beverly Hills* (1986), *The Fisher King* (1991), *Palms* (1993), or television series such as *Seinfield* (from 1989 to 1998) (Forte, 2002), presented mediated depictions of the homeless which were largely unflattering, and as audiences continually turn to the media their plight is further revealed to the wider public. In return, members of the general public began to use this information to make sense of the homeless experience and stipulate certain strategies for their responses to the homeless (Hodgetts et al, 2005). The media was then seen as a source of information that bridged the gap between one's mediated experience and one's walking-down-the-street experience with the homeless (Richter, Burns, Chaw-kant, Calder, Mogate, Goin, Mao & Schnell, 2011). As the media's personalisation of the issue conveyed one of agency, rather than structure (Zang, 2000) this had a large influence on how individuals understood the issue of homelessness. Thus, from the mid-eighties onwards notions of personal failure and individual responsibility reflected and were embedded in neo-liberal ideology.

Although individuals do not have to believe everything that is presented by the media, whether it is via television or newspaper articles, we cannot ignore the fact that the media is firmly anchored into the web of culture, making it hard to isolate its legitimizing role within society (Couldry, 2010). Similarly, although its content is articulated by individuals in different ways the media's power to present stories around the issue influences society's views of the homeless as it becomes the narrative for what 'everyone knows' about the topic, and it in turn frames understandings of homelessness. Thus, this following section takes a look at how the media has played a role in *framing* the issue of homelessness and how these mediated discourses contribute to the social construction of the homeless population, as it further influences public attitudes and perceptions surrounding individuals who are labelled homeless.

In the Media Spotlight: Framing

Goffman (1974) first introduced the concept of frames to describe a process by which individuals recognise a particular event and make sense of it by utilising one or more frameworks of interpretation. These frameworks are seen as rendering what would otherwise be a meaningless aspect of the scene into something that is meaningful, (p.21). In other words, framing can be seen as turning something meaningless into something meaningful by attempting to interpret and organise the information presented. What we are presented with on multiple occasions is what we then deem as 'reality', as fact. It is how we draw conclusions and shape understandings.

Entman (1993) later added that to frame is to select some aspects of a perceived reality and make them more salient in a communication text, in such a way as to promote a particular problem definition, causal interpretation, moral evaluation, and treatment recommendation. This definition also provides an example of how framing works through media representations, and can be looked at more specifically through the framing of homelessness. An example of how such framing works is presented by Calder et al (2011) stating that news media can present a story related to individuals who are homeless in many ways. Newspapers, television, and radio are influential voices for informing the public and for framing opinions on social issues, and in the process, have the potential to distort perceptions of the social characteristics of homeless people. This idea is also supported by Schneider et al (2010), who claims that although media coverage often aims to tell the 'story' of a particular individual who is homeless, these individuals are generally displaced from their own stories as journalists twist these narratives to present aspects of the story that they 'think' the public will want to read. By simply presenting an image of a homeless man sitting on the door step of a store drinking some form of liquid in a bottle wrapped in a brown paper bag, the media conveys a particular message to the public about homelessness and the characteristics of that homeless person. The audience will later construct a frame of homeless individuals based on that image presented to them. From that image one could construct a frame of the homeless as 'drunks'. However, the same image can take different frames depending on how the

individual interprets such an event. Ultimately, there is less awareness of the process of framing as one becomes engrossed in it (Rettie, 2004). Eventually, frames can become an unconscious depiction and interpretation that individuals form of the world and the people around them.

How the media achieves this is seen through the various types of framing homelessness undergoes; these are highlighted by Calder et al (2011) as episodic, thematic, sympathetic, unsympathetic, deviance, conflict, dependence, attributions, seasonal and solutions frames. Drawing on the work of Iyengar (1991), who distinguished between thematic and episodic, where thematic focused on the roots of social problems and social responsibility - bringing public attention to homelessness as a social problem requiring intervention. Episodic frames displayed images of the homeless that result in the homeless being blamed for their situation and its consequences. For example, in Canadian news media coverage of the death of an infant in a homeless shelter, the mother was labelled

as a 'bad' parent (Calder et al 2011). Studies conducted by Shields (2001) found that the news often favoured episodic frames over thematic frames by a ratio of 80 to 20. As a result, what was predominantly presented to the public offered explanations of personal deficiency for homelessness rather than explanations relating to structural causes.

Sympathetic versus unsympathetic frames of the homeless either present the homeless in a positive light which evokes feelings of sadness which may stereotype them as victims, or in a negative light such as deviant frames, which typically focuses on what the homeless have done wrong (Calder et al 2011). This can be seen through a *Toronto Star* article that reported a homeless man's death that focused more on his previous convictions for having sexual relations with minors rather than his death and what may have caused it (Bill & Moloney, 1997). The conflict frame includes stories of conflict between homeless activists, service providers, business people and other community members, and typically tends to use 'we' that excludes the homeless, locating them as 'others' and contesting their right to use public spaces (Calder et al, 2011). As mentioned earlier within this chapter, such reporting's can be seen through news reports closer to home, where it was concluded that the homeless in Auckland were not the desired 'image' of

the CBD (Leggatt-Cook, 2007). Such conflicts can also be seen through a *Montreal* article where a city official claimed homeless youth sharing the space with urban dwellers needed to 'respect them' but failed to refer to other urban dwellers also needing to respect the homeless (Calder et al, 2011).

The dependence frame simply displays homeless individuals as dependent on social assistance programs and portrays certain groups as social burdens. As the *Montreal* article example is further used here, inner-city Street youths were described as requiring additional funding for additional workers to manage this group effectively (Calder et al, 2011). The Attributions frame looks at explaining the causes of homelessness by either framing it as a structural problem or an individual problem. In a Canadian context, Calder et al (2011) highlights how an article commends Toronto for an initiative that supplied safe and affordable housing to the homeless but also blamed those involved by stating, most of the individuals that were helped did not want to live in a 'project', (p.10). Whilst these reports link issues of homelessness as relating to structural causes, they simultaneously blame the homeless for their plight. When coverage of the homeless is absent for most of the year, during the holiday seasons such as Christmas, Thanksgiving or New Years, networks join forces to praise those with kind acts of generosity who assist the homeless (Shields, 2001). These can also be witnessed in movies around Christmas time. Such reports are considered seasonal frames, which gives its audience a reason to sympathise with the homeless but rarely ever address 'solutions' to the issue (Calder et al 2011). These types of framing techniques are considered the central nodes for the organisation of ideas by firstly selecting, excluding, emphasising, and elaborating certain aspects of a story.

In summation, framing of the homeless through the media can often be linked and understood in relation to a make-up mirror. When used by individuals this mirror often distorts the face of its user by not only highlighting but magnifying their 'blemishes' and 'imperfections' (Snow, Anderson & Koegel, 1994). Similarly, the framing of homelessness through media portrayals highlights and magnifies the 'blemishes' of the homeless population, and as a result often displays a distorted image of their characteristics. More notably, Calder et al (2011) also highlighted

the fact that although the public may gain an understanding of the issues of homelessness and rally to address systematic factors underlying the issue, alternatively, individuals may also be led to believe that a person who is homeless is a burden, dangerous or a nuisance to society, and effective solutions may be seen as 'law-and order' resolutions, (p.13). Ultimately, media framing can be further understood as a constructive process that contributes to the production of what is considered social reality. This construction of the issue of homelessness is thus seen as multidimensional, as it produces a constructed 'type' of people who are responsible for and affected by their conditions, constructed conditions promoted as a social problem, and constructed solutions to the problem (Forte, 2002). Although the partiality of media reports is not the prime focus of this research, it is however important to note that what the media choose to cover, and how they present it to the public is in itself a form of judgement, that in turn, also has the potential to shape public attitudes towards homelessness. Inevitably they cultivate labels and frames the general public give to the homeless which almost exclusively leads to negative perceptions, stereotypes and attitudes towards them.

These perceptions and attitudes will be discussed further in the following sections of this chapter, as it highlights the division of our social world, where the homeless are on one side and housed individuals are on the other. This division also produces and shapes In-group and Out-group relations, fortifying the boundaries between 'them' and 'us' as it aims to exclude those who do not fit into the 'norm' of society, as is the case with the homeless.

In-group Out-group Relations: Boundaries between 'Us' and 'Them'

According to Giles & Giles (n.d) an in-group is simply understood as a group which an individual strongly identifies with, conversely, an out-group is a group which individuals do not identify with. However in some cases even though an individual may claim to identify with a particular group, it does not mean they are placed or accepted within it. These in-group and out-group relations are an inevitable feature of social life and an example of its emergence can be seen as stemming from structural functional theory which explains the origins of groups

in the context of conflict over scarce natural resources (Sumner, 1906). Brewer (1999) goes on to add that if there is a scarcity in an environment individuals were required to band together in groups to successfully compete with each other for survival resources. The individual who was seen as bringing more resources to the group was seen as belonging within the group and was more liked than the other individual who was rendered less useful. However, intergroup biases are not always considered as a result of competition and rivalry. Instead, such group conditions could arise where the individuals did not know each other; have any conflicts of interest, or any pre-existing animosity towards one another (Ratner, Dotsch, Wigboldus, Knippenberg & Amodio, 2014, p.897). As a result, in-group and out-group relations can arise simply through the distinctive differences in language, dress codes, traditions, beliefs and values, which consequently form the 'norms' for what is deemed acceptable within society. These 'norms' are important features as they create the 'us' and 'them'. With the 'us' being the in-group and 'them' being the out-group as they are seen as possessing certain characteristics and displaying particular behaviours that deviate from the 'norm'.

Historically, racial and ethnic minorities have been the out-group of choice in many research projects (Lee, Farrel & Link, 2004) on in-group and out-group relations. However, recently research has also begun to focus on out-group relations that also include homosexuals, older people, the mentally ill, or individuals with physical disabilities (Lee et al, 2004). For the purpose of this research however, this section specifically focuses on the homeless as members of the out-group. On the other hand, the in-group that is spoken of within this research are domiciled individuals whose values, beliefs and behaviours are prescribed as the 'norm' within society.

Because of the reliance individuals have on the media to present news about the homeless, most individuals are now ostensibly familiar with the homeless issue as stereotypical information is broadcast to members of the in-group. This results in a skewed commonly shared knowledge of the homeless population. Furthermore, as this stereotypical information becomes wide-spread, members of the in-group are told what characteristics are associated with this out-group (Castelli, Tomelleri & Zogmaister, 2008). As a result homeless individuals are judged based on one or

more attributes deemed undesirable by in-group members (Lee et al, 2004). Any previous indifference is replaced with denigration and contempt for the out-group which does not necessarily lead to direct conflict, but instead these emotions of disgust and contempt are associated with avoidance rather than attack (Brewer, 1999). Consequently, contact between the in-group and out-group is resisted as hostility towards the out-group is developed. The homeless are then constructed as 'deviant' and a threat to the 'norm' of the in-group. In turn this evaluation of behaviours serves as an important function for the management of the in-group image as a whole (Castelli et al, 2008), and even though members of the in-group may display negative characteristics or behaviours these negative traits are 'humanized' and excused for being 'only human' (Koval, Laham, Haslam, Bastian & Whelan, 2011). On the other hand, the out-group is perceived as lacking 'human' qualities. This process is known as '*Infrahumanization*' (Koval et al 2011), and it explains why flaws of the out-group are heavily depicted and magnified within society and seen as belonging predominantly to that group only.

Due to the fact that personal difficulties are not concealed while living on the streets, their presence further serves as a constant reminder of their 'out-group' status and reinforces stereotypes towards the homeless (Lee et al, 2004), as they are further labelled as alcoholics, possessing poor physical and mental health, drug users, lazy, dangerous, or having weak or absent family ties. Although these stereotypical views of the out-group are not held by all domiciled individuals, public attitudes as a whole can be best described as unfavourable towards this group.

As in-group and out-group relations are embedded within society, it further constructs an 'us' and 'them' which excludes the homeless, and with the absence of positive sentiments towards this group it causes negative attitudes and perceptions towards them. Brewer (1999) argues that as a result out-groupers such as the homeless are less likely to be helped, more likely to be seen as provoking aggression, less likely to receive the benefit of the doubt in attributions of negative behaviours, and likely to be seen as less deserving of public welfare, (p.438). In the following section we witness how these intergroup boundaries

serve to govern and secure the exclusion of the homeless and how such exclusion is exercised within public spaces.

Homelessness & Social Exclusion in Public Spaces

Social exclusion has come to dominate in discourses on social division, and the homeless have been profiled as one of the most significant groups who are socially excluded (Horsell, 2006). There exists a multitude of definitions surrounding the concept of social exclusion: however Horsell (2006) describes the concept as being a process in which individuals or groups are partially or wholly excluded from participation in the society in which they live (p.215). Such exclusion exists because of the boundaries placed in many aspects of society. An example of such exclusionary practices may be evident in shopping malls, churches, or schools who possess strongly defined boundaries where internal homogeneity and order are valued (Sibley, 1995). Efforts can be made to maintain these boundaries by excluding any objects or people who pose a threat to or who do not fit into the shared classification of that space constructed by the dominant group (Sibley, 1995).

Similarly, such exclusionary practices are largely exercised within public spaces. It is in these spaces where those who 'behave' or 'belong' are welcomed (Malone, 2002). As Sibley (1995) later highlights, such exclusionary practices are not only based on the appropriate users and use of a public space, but also the need for the purification of these spaces. As a result, such acts of social exclusion can have implications for homeless individuals. With the absence of a private property, a place to call their home, the homeless find themselves navigating within public spaces in ways that challenge domicile individuals' understanding of the intended uses of these spaces (Forrest, 2012). Consequently, homeless individuals then find themselves the focus of moral censure who the public view as threats to the moral and social order of cities (Malone, 2002). They are not only viewed as irrelevant nonentities, but are deemed undeserving of fairness, sacrifices and in some instances, community resources (Udvarhelyi, 2014). Such social divisions between 'us' and 'them' create a world in which the homeless are perceived in an ambivalent manner; this is otherwise known as a *dual-reality*.

This world as described by Mendel (2011) is a place in which the homeless commonly exist in but due to the fact that they are located in the margins of society, they are also beyond this world, looking at it from a distance. Similarly, domiciled individuals who are located within the margins look at those outside from within and also from a distance. It is through this dual-reality that the contrast between 'us' and 'them' becomes striking. The homeless feel so far from this 'other' world that any chance to be included within it becomes distant. Such a battle for inclusion on the one hand, and the exclusion of the homeless on the other, is commonly seen in public spaces. It is here we witness efforts to further push the homeless into the margins of these areas.

This exclusion of the homeless can be further understood through the 'examination and gaze' as discussed by Foucault (1977). An example of such examination and gaze can be witnessed within public spaces as it is an apparatus of uninterrupted examination where individuals are observed, more specifically the homeless. These individuals are not only observed by the police but also by domiciled individuals who perceive them to be a threat to public safety because of the negative way they have been represented (Forrest, 2012). Although by definition public spaces are for 'everyone', not everyone is accepted within this sphere. Ultimately, these barriers and constructed boundaries prohibit equal participation in these spaces especially for the homeless. This can be linked to Malone's (2002) argument that community members are often uncomfortable with uncertainty and difference and the unconforming other (being the homeless) in city streets. As the homeless congregate within these spaces, some of their behaviours are considered a hindrance that disrupts the flow and order of things, and make many city dwellers nervous as they exhibit behaviours construed as 'different' from mainstream society (Malone, 2002).

Therefore, conducts such as eating, sleeping, or urinating, that are common behaviours of every-day-life, are deemed to be 'abnormal' when done in public. It is important to state here that the simple act of 'sleeping' is not constructed as abnormal, but sleeping on a public bench or alley way is. Psychologist Roger Baker (1968) calls this concept *'Behavioural Settings'* - for it is not the behaviour which is abnormal but the setting in which it takes place. An example is also

proposed by Kawash (1998), who witnessed a homeless man folded up on a subway train seat, covered in a tattered plastic bag, sleeping. She recalled passengers who entered the train looking for a seat cringe and veer away as they spot the sleeping figure, leaving nearby seats empty around him. Subsequently, such private acts conducted in public render those activities visible, and as a result are viewed disapprovingly under the gaze of domiciled individuals. However, Gans (1995) points out that such behaviours conducted in public are not generated from a lack of moral capacity, but from poverty-related pressures, causing the homeless to improvise with public spaces in order to serve private needs. Moreover Koenig (2007) states that as a consequence their presence in public space is made 'illegal' by laws defining life-sustaining activities carried out in public spaces as 'disorderly conduct'. Subsequently labelling their behaviours as 'deviant', this in turn evokes a threat to the homeless body by legitimising its spacial oppression. At this point, for the homeless their dual-reality becomes even more distant as they battle to perform the most basic functions of life.

Deviance can be divided into two theories: Consensus theory and Conflict theory, as Koenig (2007) provides a useful definition for both theories:

> Consensus theories are based on the premise that there is a shared understanding in society about values, norms, what constitutes violations of norms and how violations should be punished and controlled. Conflict theories are based on the premise that there is no underlying agreement about what constitutes norms or violations of norms and that deviance is socially constructed based on the interest of those who hold or exercise power in society (p.73).

For the purpose of this research the latter theory of deviance is adopted as it is through such thinking that domiciled individuals hold the power over the homeless to define what is 'normal' and exercise these powers by excluding the homeless, because of their 'deviant' behaviour within society. Constructing the homeless as 'deviant' is thus incomplete without a parallel construction of homelessness as a 'criminal act'. An example of this can be seen in Hungary where efforts to efface the 'homeless problem' resulted in the banning of living in

public spaces, public urination, picking through garbage or begging (Udvarhelyi, 2014) and as a result of this there was a reported 800 cases where homeless individuals were arrested. This tells us that society will focus on what the homeless have done wrong by 'violating' laws, instead of realising that these laws have been enacted to appease the fearful public who may find homeless people intimidating, or more accurately, 'perceive' homeless people to be violent. Such intents are clear, and Mitchell (1997) highlights this intent as an act to control behaviour and space such that homeless people simply cannot do what they must do in order to survive without breaking laws. As a result, survival itself is criminalized as anti-homeless legislation becomes less about crime prevention and more about crime invention. This gives rise to the *criminalisation* of homelessness. For example, a particular behaviour such as panhandling is not inherently criminal: instead it only becomes criminal when it is constructed as an act of 'crime' by those who have the power to do so. To illustrate, a report by the National Law Centre on Homelessness & Poverty (2014), has found that throughout the United States of America in efforts to address the homeless issue many states are criminalizing homelessness by imposing city-wide bans on camping in public, and on begging, sitting and lying in public spaces. Sharing food with the homeless has also been prohibited in 9% of the country's cities and 18% of cities have imposed bans on sleeping in public spaces. While these are efforts believed to address the issue, in actuality it worsens the problem. Koenig (2007) goes on to argue that when we stigmatize the homeless as 'deviant' it is not always through the consequence of their behaviour, because others behave in a similar manner and are not stigmatized by it. Rather the labelling of the homeless as 'deviant' is simply because their behaviour and presence is disapproved by others.

Such disapproval of the presence of homeless people can also be demonstrated through the concepts of *Urban Ideology* and *Aesthetic Ideology* as described by Koenig (2007). He argued that a city produces an '*Urban Culture*' known as the '*Urban Ideology*'. The culture that the city produces is all that the city represents, from that urban culture. However an '*urban problem*' can arise and an example of this is homelessness. As a result residents within the city are concerned for its urban culture, as it is now perceived to generate crime, erode property values and attract the 'undesirables' (Koenig, 2007). Debates then surround the issue on ways

to prevent this 'urban decay', and the socio-pathology of Not-In-My-Back-Yard (NIMBY) also becomes a feature of discussion with community members and government agencies and policy makers. Such examples are evident in the South Australian context where homeless individuals were seen congregating in parks consuming alcohol in view of other individuals who use the area. As a result Adelaide implemented a ban on the consumption of alcohol in parkland areas, now known as 'Dry Zones' (Horsell, 2006). Another example can be seen in Los Angeles where policy designs were implemented to prevent the continued congregation and visibility of the homeless in areas within the city. These included the decrease in public lavatories, 'bum proof' benches, and sprinklers that drenched homeless sleepers at random times of the night (Horsell, 2006). These efforts were not only to exclude the homeless from spaces occupied by domiciled individuals, but also to move the urban problem 'out-of-sight'. This resonates with the aesthetic ideology, which focuses on a city's 'professed' image as compared to its 'actual' image.

> Remember when cities were walkable and nature wasn't miles away? [...] imbued with the beauty and amenities of an historical capital city and blessed with magnificent nature all around us, Victoria is full of life. From superb cuisine to museums and galleries to our glorious beaches and outdoor adventures we offer a truly remarkable experience and escape from the hurried world (Koenig, 2007, p.114)

This image of Victoria as a beautiful paradise is an example of the Aesthetic Ideology, where urban problems, such as homelessness, are 'nonexistent'. By promoting a positive and inviting urban culture, one that excludes the homeless, the city is made to look as though it has no problems. Similarly, while walking through the streets of Hong Kong one might notice individuals holding high-end luxury bags, face peering at their latest smartphone, or individuals rushing to their next shopping or business appointment (Robert, 2015). As further described by Robert (2015) any sign of homelessness is hidden in this seemingly successful metropolis. However, if given a birds-eye view of some of Hong Kong's skyscrapers - many of their homeless population are found on their roof tops residing in small shacks made of corrugated iron (Robert, 2015). Meanwhile,

below the city aims to convey a falsified image to city dwellers and visitors that homelessness is non-existent. With such ideologies we are confronted with the fact that while aesthetic ideologies dominate the imagination of the perceived image of a city, it also displaces any momentum for progressive social change (Koenig, 2007). For the homeless, their presence is disapproved by others, therefore are also hidden. As a result any efforts to address the 'urban problem' effectively, falls outside the margins of positive public discourses where homelessness can be meaningfully talked about.

When the public gaze upon the homeless from within their dual-reality, what do they see? They witness the homeless 'not doing much' and conclude that they are 'lazy'. They witness the 'scruffy' looking homeless person and conclude that they do not make any efforts to keep themselves clean. They see the homeless asking for money and conclude that they make no efforts to get a job. Ultimately, for many domiciled individuals the homeless are seen as lacking the moral capacity to participate in mainstream society, refusing to fit into a 'normative' routine of conventional social life (Forrest, 2012). As Forrest (2012) stipulates, the regulatory gaze under which they are viewed combined with the normative discourses on homelessness work together to deny the homeless access to the public sphere even if they can visibly insert themselves in material public spaces. This leads me to the final section of this chapter as it centres on the current study.

The Present Study

At night, a homeless individual might be lucky enough to find a shelter - a place where there is roof over their heads, where warm blankets are provided and a bed which symbolises a good night's rest. However what happens during the day when these individuals have to leave the shelter, where do they go? And what do they do?

Garden Place is both a thoroughfare and a destination with people running errands, on their way to work or other commitments, having lunch, reading a book or just catching up with friends. Used by many on a daily basis, this square is seen as the heart of the city as it was created to be used by the general public for

various commercial and recreational activities. However, in recent years, as the number of homeless individuals increased in Hamilton, Garden Place has also become a prime area where many homeless have been seen spending their days. As a result, Garden Place became more than a physical setting - it also became a location featured in media framings of homelessness in Hamilton and the cultivation of public attitudes and expectations (Groot, Hodgetts, Chamberlain, Radley, Nikora, Stolte & Nabalarua, 2008) within this area. Subsequently, the social legitimacy of the congregation of the homeless in Garden Place stemmed from media reports which then made this issue the topic of discussion, controversy and various depictions. Through media portrayals these men and women were labelled as anti-social vagrants, beggars, and verbally abusive scavengers (Bowen, 2013) who pose a threat to domiciled individuals and business managers who also occupy the area. Ultimately this created a division between the homeless and domiciled individuals within this public space as the congregation of the homeless was also seen as a 'problem' for many, who have then expressed a desire for the mobilization of action to solve this issue.

With a developed interest in the contestation of this public space within Hamilton, the prime focus of this research was centred on this popular square known as Garden Place. Irrespective of media portrayals this research was developed to further examine the expressed (through interviews) and observed attitudes that individuals have towards Hamilton's homeless within Garden Place. These attitudes are important to address and understand because they also have a huge influence on the way we view homelessness and ultimately the solutions we offer to solve such issues.

Prior to any discussion on the findings that emerged from this research; the next chapter of this paper takes a detailed look at the methods adopted for this study, highlighting why each method has been chosen and how they have been used as their role contributes to the overall research.

Chapter Two: Methodology

Overview: What to Expect within this Chapter

This research adopted the Qualitative approach, and the data collecting methods chosen within this approach for this study were Participant Observation and Interviews. Willing pedestrians and business managers were the target collectives for this research as pedestrians often frequent Garden Place therefore come in contact with the homeless, and business managers often experience the homeless congregating outside their stores in Garden Place.

Prior to any detailed discussion on how Participant Observation and interviews were conducted within this research setting, this chapter takes an initial look at the Qualitative approach - highlighting why it was chosen. The research setting will then be described, giving a brief look into its history and what it looks like today. A detailed section on what participant observation is, why it was chosen as a data collecting method, what is observed during this process and how it is documented, followed with discussions on ethical considerations of this process will also be looked at. Following these sections a detailed description of how participant observation was conducted within this research as well as pedestrian and business manager interviews. After each section a reflective interlude will be provided. The final section of this chapter will look at the data analysis approach that was used for this study: the thematic approach, providing a detailed description on how all the data was analysed. From transcripts and the generating of initial codes, to identifying, isolating, and defining frames and themes within interview responses. To conclude this chapter a reflective interlude of the data analysis process will also be provided.

The Qualitative Approach

"Qualitative and quantitative research methods are often presented as two fundamentally different paradigms through which we study the social world" (Brannen, 2005, p.173). However, research can be conducted which incorporates the two approaches, or they could work effectively independently. When deciding what method to adopt for this research it was imperative to decipher whether my research aim can be better answered or looked at with qualitative or quantitative lenses. Qualitative methods are often appropriate if the aim of the research is to understand how a community or individuals within it perceive a particular issue (Bricki & Green, 2007). In addition, Bartos (1986) also stated that rather than focusing on objective measureable behaviour and attitudes, qualitative research tends to deal more with the emotional and textual aspects of responses. For this reason, given the goal of this research, which was to examine the expressed and observed attitudes individuals hold towards Hamilton's homeless within Garden Place the qualitative approach was chosen. With the various data collection methods adopted within the qualitative approach it was expected that they would work together to provide a deeper understanding of such experiences and attitudes which do not easily lend themselves to quantification, as it answers the what, how or why of this phenomenon rather than how many or how much (Bricki & Green, 2007).

According to Flick (2002) in the social sciences 'qualitative research' is used as an umbrella term for a series of approaches as it allows for a number of ways to collect and analyse data. For this research the data collection methods that seemed appropriate to incorporate were observations and interviews. Direct participation in, and observation of the phenomenon of interest may be the best research method in order to fully understand the complexities of many situations (Bricki & Green, 2007), as it generates words rather than numbers for data analysis. Hence, participant observation was chosen to witness the interactions between domiciled individuals and the homeless in Garden Place, in the hope that it would help gain a better understanding of the attitudes individuals hold towards the homeless. Such data collection methods can also be useful in overcoming discrepancies between what people say and what they actually do (Bricki & Green, 2007).

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Therefore, links between observations and interviews were anticipated. There are two basic types of interviews in qualitative methods that range from semi-structured, to a more structured interview process. These can be conducted individually or as group interviews, which are typically known as focus groups. For this research the individual approach was adopted, with a semi-structured interview process conducted with both pedestrians and business managers. However a more extensive interview process was expected from business managers. A more detailed look at participants' recruitment, procedure and ethical considerations for both pedestrians and business managers will be discussed independently of each other later in this chapter.

Firstly, given a better understanding of the approaches adopted within this research, the proceeding sections of this chapter will now go into more detail on how this research was conducted, beginning with a brief look into the chosen research setting by discussing its history, what it looks like and what it is used for today, and why it was chosen as the setting for this research.

Research Setting

In the middle of Hamilton is an open area of paving and lawn known as Garden Place. In the late 1930s it was carved out of a hill upon which Waikato Institute of Technology (WINTEC) is currently sited (KeteHamilton, 2008). According to KeteHamilton (2008), the area that was bulldozed away was known to pre-European Maori as Te Kopu Mania O Kirikiriroa, which is translated as the 'smooth belly of Kirikiriroa'. Throughout the district the soil within this area was famous for its fertility allowing for the development of many cultivations of kumara, and fern root. As KeteHamilton (2008) further stated, the lower parts of the hill were generally swampy areas where taro were planted and cultivated, and numerous water springs could be found. However, In July 1881, Te Ao Katoa, a Ngati Koura high priest of the cult of lo, was believed to have performed one of the last ancient rituals on this hill during his visit with King Tawhiao, to remove the tapu from the hill so that the Mauri of the hill can no longer be desecrated by the housing being developed on the hill (KeteHamilton, 2008).

According to Rice (2011), from the early 1950s until the 1990s Garden Place was lined with shops and offices, with car parking dominating the area, proving very popular with retailers and shoppers. However, the car park was eventually closed and Garden Place was laid out with trees and a grassed area, and nowadays restaurants, cafes, a library, shops and residential dwellings in the form of apartments instead of houses can be seen within the area. Figure 1 shows what Garden Place looks like today.

Figure 1: Garden Place, Hamilton, New Zealand

Garden Place is not only an area occupied by domiciled individuals; instead many of Hamilton's homeless can also be seen spending their days within this area. Given this, Garden Place was thus chosen to be the prime area of study for this research, as it is here we witness the contestation of this square, contradicting the idyllic setting the photo suggests.

Now that the research setting has been established, observation needs to be conducted within the area in order to understand the complexity of this contestation. Therefore, as mentioned earlier participant observation was chosen in order to see the interactions (or lack of) between domiciled and homeless

individuals within Garden Place. Therefore, prior to any further discussion of how participant observation was conducted, let us firstly look at what participant observation is, why it was chosen, what is observed and documented during this process, and lastly, ethical considerations that play a huge role in this qualitative approach and this study

What is Participant Observation

Participant observation is a data collecting method in qualitative research. According to Kawulich (2005) it is a method that has been used for over a century and one of the first instances of its use involved the work of Frank Hamilton Cushing, who in 1879 spent four and a half years as a participant observer living with the Zuni Pueblo people, learning the language and participating in their customs. It is a method which requires careful observation, a degree of objectiveness, detailed note taking, listening, a certain amount of impression management, a non-judgemental attitude, time, and a lot of patience. It involves the systematic description of events, behaviours, and artefacts in the social setting chosen for study (Kawulich, 2005). Depending on the settings under study, or what the researcher has set out to find, participant observation may also involve some levels of quantification. For example this could involve counting the number of males and females in a particular setting, number of different ethnicities at a particular gathering, or the number of people that enter a site. As a result participant observation may not only produce qualitative but numerical data.

Participant observation as a qualitative method, is almost always used with other qualitative methods, which could include either interviews or focus groups (Mack, Woodsong, MacQueen, Guest, Namely, 2005), as it provides a context for sampling, open-ended interviewing, or the construction of interview guides and questions (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). The integration of other methods can either inform or confirm what was observed. According to Mack et al (2005) it can also improve the design of the other methods, determine whom to recruit for the study and how best to do so. When conducting interviews or focus groups, researchers may be guided by the cultural understanding gained through participant observation. Prior to the commencement of participant observation the researcher

needs to establish the stance they will take within the setting; therefore entry into the research setting can either be *covert* or *overt*. On the one hand, in covert entry the researcher does not make an announcement to individuals within the area that they are engaged in a research project. On the other hand, in overt entry the researcher makes it clear that research is being undertaken.

Despite the name, participant observation does not necessarily have to involve participation. The researcher can decide to participate and observe. For example, the researcher can adopt the persona of a homeless person, living a homeless life by day and/or night and incorporating observations while doing so. Otherwise the researcher may just observe a particular setting. For example, how individuals interact with each other on a bus, presenting the image of an 'insider' while remaining, inevitably an 'outsider' (Mack et al, 2005). Such strategies range between pure observation and full participation, and as highlighted by DeWalt & DeWalt (2002) Spradley developed a typology to describe this continuum. This degree of participation of the researcher and the researcher's membership roles are presented in Table 1.

Table 1: Continuum of participant and membership roles in participant observation (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002)

Continuum of Participation	*Membership roles*
Non-participation	No membership role
Passive participation	No membership role
Moderate participation	Peripheral membership
Active participation	Active membership
Complete participation	Full membership

According to DeWalt & DeWalt (2002), *nonparticipation* occurs when knowledge of the phenomenon is acquired by observing from outside the research setting. This can stem from watching television, or reading documents or newspaper articles. No interaction takes place between individuals during this process, but important information can be acquired. On the other hand *passive participation* exists when the researcher is within the research setting but purely acts as an

observer (see bus example previously stated). As DeWalt & DeWalt (2002) noted, those being observed may not even be aware of the fact that they are under observation, as the researcher takes up the role as the 'spectator' or the 'bystander'. *Moderate participation* is when the researcher is identifiable as a researcher but does not actively participate and occasionally interacts with individuals within the setting. *Active participation* is when the researcher learns cultural rules and behaviours by engaging in almost everything that the people are doing (DeWalt & DeWalt, 2002). Lastly, in *complete participation* the researcher partially adopts an analytical stance recording observations in field notes, but fully integrates, becoming a member in the group that is being studied (DeWalt & DeWalt 2002). Determining the degree of participation and level of membership is one of the crucial decisions required within participant observation, which is usually determined by the researcher, and in relation to the research aims.

In summary DeWalt & DeWalt (2002) provides a good explanation of what participant observation is as they stated, "Participant observation involves immersing yourself in a culture or setting and learning to remove yourself every day from that immersion, so you can intellectualize what you have seen and heard, put it into perspective, and write about it convincingly" (p.29).

Why participant observation

Imagine sitting at a mall eating lunch and you notice someone spill their drink on themselves, standing at the bus stop and you see kids on the other side of the road laughing and playing together, sitting on a train and you notice almost everyone is on their cell phones. In a way, we are all participant observers without even realising. It dawned on me how much one can learn from just observing alone, and if this is the case, why not incorporate it into my study? As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter, it was those observations I made while commuting to and from work that triggered my decision to integrate observation into my research study. Observation is not only part of our everyday lives but can play a special role in qualitative research. Such methods can provide researchers with ways to check for nonverbal expression of feelings, determine who interacts with whom, or grasp how individuals communicate with each other (Kawulich, 2005).

Participant observation as a data collection method was chosen to increase the validity of this study by augmenting the interview data. Incorporating such methods allowed for a better understanding of the research setting under study and the attitudes and interactions between domiciled individuals and the homeless, within Garden Place. According to Kawulich (2005) validity is stronger with the use of additional strategies such as interviewing, document analysis, surveys, questionnaires or other quantitative methods. Therefore, participant observation was also used as a data collection method because of its ability to provide some links between what was observed and what may come out of interviews between pedestrians and business managers. To illustrate, Max Weber provides a good argument using an example of a 'wood chopper'. Here he stated that a man may be witnessed chopping wood and one could conclude that the motives for his behaviour could be that he is working for wages, steaming off a fit of rage, or chopping for the supply of firewood for his own use (Weber, 1994). Therefore what he is doing is clearly observable but the question of 'why' he is doing it still remains. Such a question can only be answered by *asking* him. Similarly, if pedestrians were observed avoiding eye contact with a homeless individual sitting on the side walk, their reasons for doing so are not obvious. It is not enough for the researcher to draw subjective conclusions as to why the pedestrian avoided eye contact, instead by *asking* (hence interviews) the pedestrian why, it provides a more accurate and clearer interpretation and understanding of their behaviour.

What to observe and how to document what is observed

In participant observation there are endless numbers of behaviours and interactions that can be observed. For example, one might focus on the behaviour of students on a school field during the lunch hour, interactions between men and women at a local bar or the length of time females spend in a clothing store as compared to males. These lists of observations are endless and they vary, but ultimately depend on the research objectives. However, general categories of information such as appearances, verbal behaviour and interaction, physical behaviour and gestures, personal space, human traffic and those who stand out (Guest, Namely & Mitchell, 2012) can be useful to note regardless of the research topic (see appendix A).

Conducting participant observation requires the ability to observe what is actually happening rather than what one would expect to see. Once observations have been made, information, otherwise known as field notes must be recorded. The importance of such field notes are emphasised by Dewalt, Dewalt & Wayland (2000) stating that the only way to record day to day observations, including events, behaviours, overheard conversations and casual interviews is through the use of field notes. There is no set amount of time a researcher is required to stay at a site - instead the researcher should stay long enough to gather all the data they need and later expand all field notes. These can be handwritten or computer typed.

This provides a chance to reflect on the day's observations and also aids in making sense of what was observed.

Earlier in this chapter it was mentioned that participant observation does not always include participation by the researcher. Therefore, if the researcher wishes to purely observe, there are also guidelines that need to be taken into consideration so that the research is conducted in an ethical manner. These ethical considerations will be discussed next in the following section of this chapter.

Ethical considerations: Who am I and what am I doing here

Mack et al (2005) make a valid point about participant observation by bringing to the fore the importance of being discreet enough about who you are and what you are doing that you do not disrupt normal activity, yet open enough that the people you observe do not feel your presence is compromising their privacy. If the researcher's main aim is to observe, under normal circumstances there is no reason for the researcher to announce their arrival. However, if the researcher is approached at any time by a member or members of the community within the area of study and asked their reason for being there, the researcher should be honest, use their judgement, and disclose any information that needs to be shared. As Mack et al (2005) further stated that the researcher should never be secretive or deliberately misleading about the research project or their role in it. However, if approached and asked by a community member to leave because their presence may be compromising their privacy, the researcher is to do so without hesitation.

Ethical considerations: Maintaining confidentiality

Mack et al (2005) note that maintaining confidentiality means that participants can never be linked to the data they provide. To ensure this Kawulich (2005) offers the suggestion that individual identities must be described in ways that community members will not be able to easily identify participants. For example, if the researcher described a participant as a 'forty year old male who works at the Warehouse as the store manager', then that level of detail could make it easy for community members to identify that particular participant. However, if the researcher described the participant as a 'male who appears to be in his forties and works at a local retail store', it would be harder for community members to identify this participant. Mack et al (2005) further added that the researcher should refrain from recording other identifying information such as the names and addresses of people they may meet during participant observation.

The following sections will now take a look at how participant observation was conducted during this study concluding with a reflective interlude on what was learnt, what worked, and challenges faced during this process.

How I Carried out Participant Observation

Upon deciding to incorporate observation as a data collection method within this study I found myself asking the what, how, when and who. What do I observe, how do I observe, when do I observe and whom do I observe? A once effortless action suddenly appeared complicated. Therefore, prior to the commencement of my observations I wanted to find out more about the site I was going to be observing, I visited the scene more often to make initial observations and to get a better feel of the ambiance within the area, to further familiarise myself and become more comfortable being within Garden Place.

The question of what to observe then becames top priority. I had to make sure I really understood my research in order to understand my purpose within the area. As mentioned previously, Guest et al, (2012) provided guidelines on what to observe during participant observation and this proved very useful for me.

Categories such as appearance, verbal behaviours and interactions, physical behaviours and gestures, personal space, human traffic, and people who stand out became my main points of focus, which I expanded on during observations. Keeping in mind the aim of this research, I developed a set of questions before conducting any observations (see appendix B), these questions were to further provide somewhat of a guideline so I knew what to take note of and why I was doing so. They covered broad areas such as where the homeless congregated, their behaviours displayed within the area, and the interactions between pedestrians and the homeless. As I had to make sure my expectations did not affect my observations these were not questions I followed religiously but they gave me a sense of direction before going into observation, while keeping an open mind to any other occurrences that may take place on site. It was important to make sure that I recorded what was actually taking place, instead of my subjective views. Establishing shorthand conventions was another aspect I had to consider prior to observation. A lot could be missed if I had my head stuck in the book writing every observation out word-for-word, therefore I had to decipher how I was going to abbreviate certain occurrences. As stated earlier ethical considerations is another aspect that needs to be considered even though the researcher is simply observing; therefore I told myself if approached I will be honest, I will use judgement and disclose what I need to, I also recited what I would say if I was approached (see appendix C).

Now that the site was selected, what I would observe was established, shorthand conventions were recognized and ethical considerations were thought of. I presented myself in a casual manner and made my way down town with my field note book and a pen on the 4 August 2014 for the first set of observations. On that paper I noted the site, date, observation start time and observation end time and continued this process for all other observations. I adopted the 'covert' approach as a 'passive participant' acting purely as an observer within the area. All observations took place during the day between 10am and 3pm as these were previously observed to be the busiest time of the day where many gathered in Garden Place. There were a total of five observations that lasted between 30mins and 1 hour. For each new observation day I made sure to change my position, and for the last few observations notes were taken on my phone instead of my field

note book. After each observation I made sure to expand my notes as soon as I returned home by typing them onto a word document; on the one hand presenting what I had observed and on the other hand including my subjective interpretation. After notes were expanded they were shared with my supervisors for review. This process of observations continued until the 4 September 2014. However, I often found myself reviewing my field notes throughout my research as a process of reflection on observations in order to make sense of what was observed.

Reflective interlude: What was learnt, what worked and challenges faced

Once I knew what I was going to observe and the nerves of commencing my data collection process subsided I found participant observation to be quite an insightful and enjoyable process. It was simply like 'people watching' which many of us do every day - the only difference was that I was 'people watching' for a purpose.

Due to the fact that my research involved 'covert' participation, observation issues of how to 'blend' within the setting became crucial. I began asking myself questions to ensure I will be able to blend in; do I look too young, do I look too old, will my ethnicity draw attention, what do people normally do within this area, etc. However, by taking into consideration the fact that Garden Place is popular for the diversity of its user population I began to realise that my presence was not going to draw as much attention as I initially feared it would. To further ensure that I was being discreet as possible the times and days I observed varied so that suspicion was not drawn to myself. I also realised that because I was a sole researcher it was a lot easier for me to 'blend' in, rather than a big group of researchers being present. Eating or using my phone also helped because I was at least doing what I notice people do within the area. That is part of the reason why I began to record my observations on my phone instead of my field notebook; otherwise it would have only been a matter of time before others started noticing and wondering what I was writing in the book.

The weather also had a role to play during observations as it influenced how busy the setting became. For example, I noticed that on rainy days there was minimal foot traffic within the area and homeless individuals often sought shelter within the library or areas other than Garden Place. Therefore on days like those observation time was reduced as there was little interaction to be observed. Throughout this process of observation other issues pertaining to this method became apparent. I realised that sometimes some aspect of the setting was missed because observations were based on my individual interests in the setting and certain behaviours within it; as who was observed, what was observed, when it was observed, and how it was observed was directed by my research aim and questions. Furthermore, there was also the issue of identifying who was actually homeless within the area. However, due to the fact that I spent my initial months prior to the commencement of this research working within the CBD I witnessed a few homeless individuals on my way to and from work. Each day I saw the same faces, and same people walking through town, begging, or sitting on the sidewalk. When this research began the same people were observed congregating within Garden Place. In cases where I was unsure I found myself judging by their appearance, though my field notes also reflected this by stating 'the apparently homeless', or 'who seems to be homeless'. There was also the concern of the fact that the information I collected was not a representation of what 'always' happens in Garden Place, so it could not be easily generalised. However it was still an insightful method that enabled me to learn a lot about the setting and what happens within in - creating that opportunity for understanding. Regardless of the fact that this is a small scale study of observations within a very specific area I believe that it provided verifiable data on some aspects of human behaviour.

Now that observations were made, it was time to begin the process of interviewing pedestrians and business managers within Garden Place. The interview process for these collectives will be discussed independently from each other as their rationale, process and recruitment slightly varies. The next section firstly looks at the interview process with pedestrians, including a detailed look into its rationale, process, recruitment and ethical considerations. A look into interviews with business managers' rationale, process, recruitment and ethical

consideration will follow, concluding with a reflective section on what was learnt, what worked, and any challenges faced throughout both sets of interviews.

Pedestrian Interviews

For the purpose of this research the individual approach was adopted for both pedestrians and business managers. The semi-structured interview process was conducted with pedestrians. This approach was chosen because it was easier to conduct an interview with pedestrians 'on-the-go' if the questions were shorter and less formal. All interviews with pedestrians were conducted in Garden Place, at various times of the day commencing on the 23 September 2014.

To begin interviews I randomly approached pedestrians beginning with a brief introduction to myself and the project- verbally stating the research goals. If pedestrians were willing to partake their consent was given simply by saying 'yes' (see appendix D). While taking into consideration any potential risk or discomfort participants may feel as well as ethical considerations, prior to the commencement of the interviews I always made sure to approach pedestrians with a smile. In order to initially ease any discomfort, and after explaining the research I assured pedestrians that their anonymity will be guaranteed as their names will not be asked or known, and any information they provide will be kept anonymous. Pedestrians were told that they were able to withdraw or decline to answer any specific questions, and given the opportunity to ask any questions they had pertaining to the research. Once consent was given the interview began. Broad areas such as: homeless behaviour, experiences and interactions with the homeless and individual's views on space sharing with the homeless, were covered. (see appendix E). It is important to note here that a total of twenty plus pedestrians were approached throughout this interview process, but not all were interviewed. I recall a small number of individuals whose interview I had to cut short either because they had to leave or it turned out that they were not locals within the area or from Hamilton therefore they did not have much to say regarding the issue. Also to my surprise, throughout the whole interview process with pedestrians I was only rejected once, by an individual who claimed they worked for the government so they did not want to answer any questions.

The interviews with pedestrians were estimated to take approximately five minutes. However the duration of an interview process varied with each pedestrian as some had more to say than others, or where individuals did not want to be recorded, therefore their responses were handwritten. After each interview pedestrians were told that they will not be receiving any final copies of the research report, but small business sized cards were left with each participant which included contact information for me and my supervisors if participants wished to ask any further questions pertaining to the research (see appendix D). Pedestrians were also told that a summary of the research findings could be sent to them if they wished. Given this information, no pedestrian followed up on the interview or requested a summary of findings; neither did they contact my supervisors. However one pedestrian did email me with more detailed information pertaining to their views on the issue. After each interview the next step was to transcribe the data collected, or expand notes from pedestrians who did not want to be recorded. Transcripts were then sent to supervisors, and on each document the date, site, interview start and finish time as well as interview number was included (see appendix I).

Business managers Interviews

A more extended interview process was adopted for business managers as I anticipated they had a lot to say about the homeless issue in Garden Place. Given the fact that these are well established businesses and whether they were new or old to the area I believed a more extended interview process was needed. Older businesses could comment on how things used to be within the area compared to now, while new businesses could still comment on the current issue within the area. All interviews were conducted with business managers within Garden Place, and the time and date was set according to their availability. The first interview commenced on the 17 December 2014.

To begin interviews business managers whose store was situated in Garden Place were approached. I introduced myself and the project. An information sheet (see appendix F) further explaining the research goals was also left with business managers as they were given as much time as they needed to read through and to

later email me stating whether they were willing to participate or not. A consent form (see appendix G) was also left with business managers and was collected before the commencement of any data collection should they decide to partake. After an extended length of time (e.g two weeks) I found myself following up on the businesses that were initially approached as time passed and there was no feedback in relation to their willingness to participate. In the end four managers emailed me to say that they were willing to partake.

I assured participants that any information they provided would remain anonymous and any identifying details about them or their business would not be used. Business managers' rights were also reiterated before the commencement of the interview. They were informed of their rights to withdraw or decline to answer any questions at anytime during data collection. Once consent was given the interview began, covering broad areas such as witnessed homeless behaviour, interactions with the homeless, any affects the homeless have on business, and solutions offered to solve any issues (see appendix H).

Interviews with business managers were expected to take approximately 30 minutes, but the duration of the interview varied depending on the length of feedback they provided for each question. The length of some interviews also depended on whether business managers allowed for the recording of their interviews as one business manager did refuse; therefore I was required to write everything out on paper using the techniques of short hand conventions and bullet points that were later expanded after the interview. Similar to pedestrians, business managers were told that they will not be able to receive individual copies of the final research report however myself and my supervisors emails were included in the information sheet should business managers wish to ask any further questions pertaining to the research. If requested a summary of the research findings was also presented. After each interview the task was to transcribe the data collected and provide a copy to my supervisors. On each document the date, site, interview start and finish time as well as interview number was included (see appendix I). Although about seven business managers were initially approached, only four agreed to participate, and these interviews with business managers were conducted until the 17 February 2015.

Reflective interlude: What was learnt, what worked, and challenges faced

Interviewing participants was a very important aspect of this research as it allowed for the investigation of the issue in an in-depth way. It allowed me to discover how individuals think and feel about the issue, along with the opinions they held and why. However, prior to the commencement of participant interviews I was quite nervous. To me interviews are like speeches; it may get easier the more you do, but the initial nerves are always there. I have been approached by a number of individuals while commuting through town who have wanted to interview me, and now that it was my turn to interview strangers on the street it was a somewhat daunting thought. However in the name of research it had to be done.

One of the main disadvantages of this method is the fact that it can be very time-consuming to set up an interview, conduct the interview and then transcribe it. In relation to setting up interviews with pedestrians, it was easier than I thought it would have been. One issue I feared the most with these collectives was whether or not I was going to be rejected as I approached them and explained my purpose for doing so. On the other hand, whilst trying to set up interviews with business managers it came with its fair share of rejections, and a bit of a 'waiting game'. Due to the fact that business managers were approached a few weeks before Christmas and New Years, I was rejected by a few of them simply because they did not have the time. These rejections did not hinder me, I persevered and in return I managed to set up a few interviews. However, for those who agreed to be interviewed I did have to wait longer than expected to conduct the interviews as it was based around their schedules. Nonetheless, when interviews were conducted with both business managers and pedestrians being prepared with questions, as well as a recording device made the process seem a lot easier and faster. Due to the fact that participants' own words were recorded I found interviews to be very useful as they provided more detailed information about personal feelings, perceptions and opinions; and in the process highlighted individual attitudes.

As noted by Roulston, DeMarrais & Lewis (2003), learning about interviews and conducting interviews are two different tasks. As the theory side of things forms the basis of our learning, the practical side of things is where one's learning truly begins. In conducting interviews with pedestrians and business managers I have not only learnt a lot about interviews, but by putting myself out of my comfort zone I have also learnt a lot about myself. Although I am not a confident public speaker I was still able to display confidence when needed during interviews. I was able to take initiatives, become competent with audio devices, as well as thinking critically and on the spot. If asked what I would do differently if I was to conduct these interviews again I would say, follow up on more responses made by participants, and to go into these interviews with more confidence in my abilities because in the end nothing is ever as bad as it may initially seem.

Following the data collection process, the next step was to collate all data collected and analyse each text. The following sections of this chapter highlight what approach was adopted for this process and how it was implemented. To conclude a brief reflective section will be included highlighting what was learnt, what worked and challenges faced throughout this process.

Data Analysis: The Thematic Approach

According to Burnard, Gill, Stewart, Treasure & Chadwick (2008) there are two fundamental approaches to analysing qualitative data: the deductive and inductive approach. The former approach involves using a predetermined framework to analyse data. Burnard et al (2008) further states that the approach is useful if the researcher is already aware of probable responses from participants. The latter however uses the actual data itself to derive the structure of analysis, refraining from using a predetermined frame work of analysis (Burnard et al, 2008). Therefore inductive analysis was adopted as an analytical approach for data within this research, and although there is a variety of available inductive approaches to analysing qualitative data (Burnard et al, 2008) thematic analysis, which arose out of grounded theory, was adopted as the most appropriate data collecting method within this approach.

Thematic analysis was chosen as it allows for the reporting of experiences, meanings, and the reality of participants, as it works either to reflect reality or unravel its surface. As a whole this qualitative analytical approach involves the search across data sets - whether interviews or focus groups, or a range of texts, to find repeated patterns of meaning (Braun & Clarke 2006), by analysing transcripts, identifying themes, and presenting examples of those themes from the text. It is a process which develops over time and should never be rushed. The following sections will look at how thematic analysis was applied in order to analyse all data collected within this research.

The Thematic Approach: Analysing transcripts

A dictaphone was used for the recording of all interviews throughout this process. After the completion of each interview data recorded was transferred and saved onto my password protected computer system in preparation for the transcription process. I made a verbatim account of each interview, including all verbal and non-verbal utterances, including coughs, sneezes, pauses, etc. (See appendix I for layout).

After each transcription I replayed the recording and re-read what was typed to ensure that the transcript reflected an accurate account of what was said. This process was repeated for all interviews conducted with business managers and pedestrians. The next step was to familiarise myself with all data, therefore expanded notes from each observation and transcripts from interviews were printed out and read repeatedly, actively searching for meanings and patterns, and taking notes of any initial ideas.

The Thematic Approach: Generating initial codes

Braun & Clarke (2006) highlighted the fact that thematic analysis, much like any other data analysis process is not linear, instead movement is recursive; moving back and forth as needed. This was evident whilst trying to produce codes from all data sets that reflected recurring patterns or meanings. Initially, through the reading and re-reading of transcripts data were broken up into various categories

based on interview questions and the reoccurring responses that emerged from participants. Figure 2 provides an example of initial categories made.
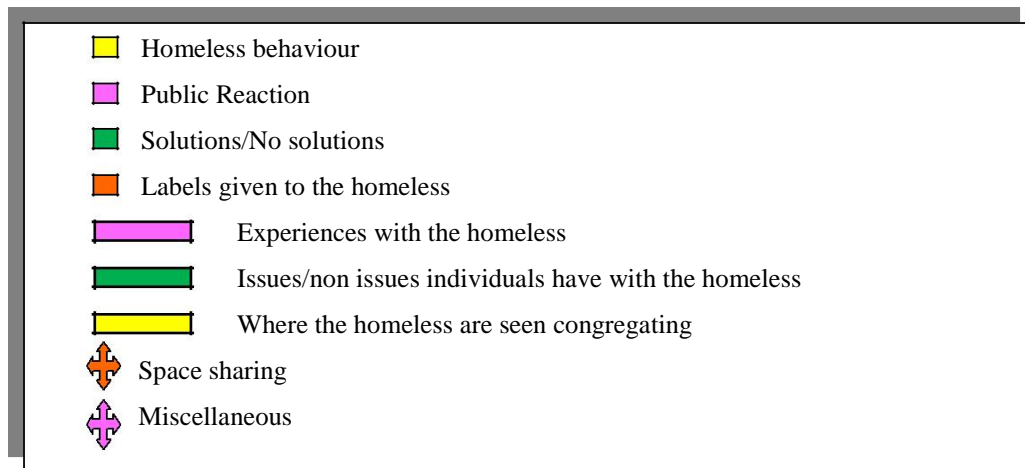
Figure 2: Categories based on recurring responses and interview questions

Responses that related to each category were highlighted and grouped accordingly. Table 2 provides an example of some responses based on these categories.

Table 2: How responses were grouped into categories

Categories	Response examples
Homeless behaviour	"Smoking dope" "Sit around, ask for money or cigarettes from people" "Um they keep to themselves mostly" "Kind of congregating in this area" "They're a bit aggressive sometimes." "They appear to be socialising like any other group of people would"
Public reaction	"People get a bit sacred" "I'm concerned about them because sometimes some of them are not mentally okay" "Nah not really, I just usually ignore them" "It's pretty sad ay that they have chosen this place to hang out while everyone is trying to get on with their lives and their just sitting there"
Solutions/no solutions	"Yeah I don't know, you do wonder if people are doing anything about this but something should be done" "Um places for them to stay or go and free life courses to get them on their feet again" "I don't think anything needs to be done […] obviously we're here during the day, they are here the whole time" "Garden Place […] um they shouldn't be here"
Labels given to homeless	"Quite often I think that they are maybe rehabs or do drugs or quite damaged", I have noticed them being a bit smelly" "[…] half of them drink, take drugs […] whatever"
Experiences with the homeless	"No, I don't approach them" "They are sleeping there out at night in my colleagues carpark, one day about 3'o'clock in the afternoon one smashed her glass

	window"
Issues/non issues	"I know the businesses down here have a real reaction cause they're standing in their doorways" "It's really impacting our business" "We want town to look like town […] this problem needs to be solved" "It's where all the tourist and other people hang out so […] it's not really a good sight to see the homeless […]"
Where the homeless congregate	"Always that café bar over there, they just come and sit in their seats" "They kind of just hang out in the big open space I think, where any benches are they just sit there" "Yeah I don't think that this place would be where they would come […] but it actually is"
Space sharing	"To be honest they're entitled to this place just as much as anyone else, just as long as they keep to themselves and don't disturb anyone its fine" "Um I don't mind sharing that space with them, it's alright […] but that's just me" "Why say Garden Place, might as well say homeless place"
Miscellaneous	"No we are not really political people […] we are just artist so what can we do" "It's hard really, you feel sorry for them but you don't cause you don't know their situation do you"

This coding process allowed me to work systematically through all data sets, writing notes on each text being analysed and using highlighters to indicate similar groupings. Meetings were also set with supervisors to go through ideas that were identified and figure out where to from there. The next process involved searching for themes within collated and coded data. It is at this point where codes were further analysed to see how they can form an over arching theme. It was here

that I paused, took a step back, and reviewed my research aim, what was I looking to find out and what responses best reflects this? Therefore I broke my aim down to further understand what was coming out of the data. Consequently, from taking a step back and linking the research aim and what was learnt from transcripts there was a realisation that themes were either grouped in a positive or negative light. For example, I took the first part of my aim: *Attitudes towards homeless individuals*, and found that attitudes were either positive or negative. In addition the reasons individuals held certain views were either positive or negative. Lastly, the solutions they offered to solve the issue were, yet again, either positive or negative. Therefore a thematic map of responses was developed grouping positive and negative responses. Figure 3 provides an example of how this map was developed and examples of the type of responses evident within each group.
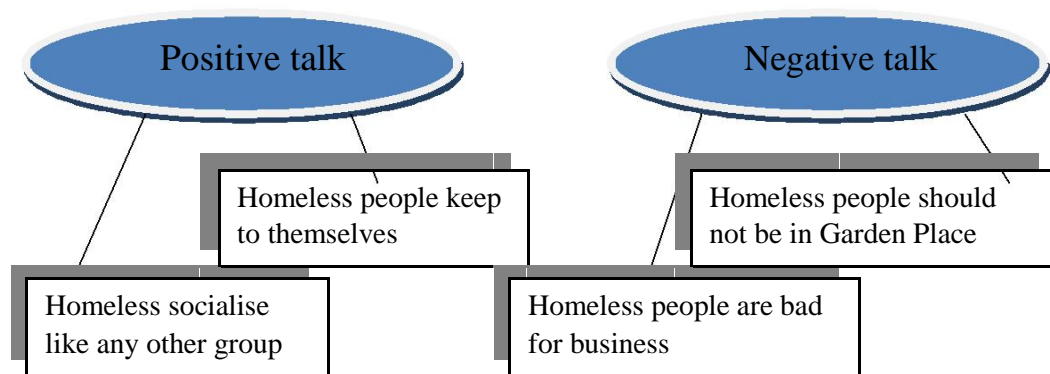
Figure 3: Example of how thematic map was developed

It became apparent that domiciled individuals' attitudes towards the homeless were a reflection of how they understood homelessness, in other words, how they defined homeless individuals. As a result this understanding was a reflection of the 'labels' they gave the homeless. These labels were later understood to be 'frames'; as they are the things that frame and shape individuals views of the homeless, and are also important because they limit individuals' views ruling in or out certain responses to homelessness. A list of these frames were collated and grouped into the positive or negative category, consequently highlighting more negative stances as compared to positives. Figure 4 shows some of the frames that derived from participants' responses.

- Homeless people are rehabs
- Homeless people are damaged
- Homeless people are neglected through the medical system
- Homeless people are aimless/lost
- Homeless people are dangerous
- Homeless people are nice
- Homeless people do not belong in public spaces
- Homeless people lack encouragement
- Homeless people lack family connections
- Homeless people are lazy
- Homeless people bring city image down
- Homeless people are smelly
- Homeless people are not educated
- Homeless people need support
- Homeless people are mentally ill
- Homeless people are regular people
- Homeless people have poor life skills

Figure 4: Frames derived from participant responses

Given the fact that Garden Place was the focus of this research and the aim was to find out individuals' attitudes towards the homeless who congregate within the area, one particular frame recurred in a number of interview responses; *'the homeless do not belong in public spaces such as Garden Place'*. Therefore this frame was adopted as the main theme, and from this theme a number of frames were derived as they highlighted individuals' attitudes towards the homeless in Garden Place, why they held those views, and solutions offered to solve the issue.

The Thematic Approach: Identifying, isolating and defining frames

Now that codes were made and various frames and themes were analysed it was time to identify the frames that came out of the main theme. These frames of the

homeless as described by pedestrians and business managers needed to be identified to understand why those views of the homeless existed. Through continued analysis several such understandings were identified.

From there a few frames were selected and all the bits of that text that reflected it were collated. For example, 'homeless people are dangerous' was a frame that was selected and all the participants' responses that reflected their fear of the homeless were noted. This process was repeated for all the frames that were collated. For each frame a detailed analysis was conducted in order to identify the 'story' that each frame was telling and how it fits into the overall 'story' of the research; relating to its aim and questions. For example, each frame's text that explained how it 'works' was considered in relation to how it constructs homeless people (e.g dangerous), what seems to be shaping these views of the homeless (e.g concerns for public safety) and the type of responses to homelessness that were associated with this particular framing (e.g homeless closely policed or removed from the area). Such analysis then became the driving force for the next stage which involves the final analysis and write-up of the report, including data extracts which was aimed at producing an interesting, coherent account of the 'story' that the data tells within and across frames (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.93).

Reflective interlude: What was learnt, what worked and challenges faced

Data analysis was probably the hardest and longest stage of this research. I encountered a number of obstacles, but with that came learning. Beginning with the transcription process; the weather on the day that the interview was recorded impacted what was heard on the device. For example, there were a few instances where it was windy therefore it was sometimes hard to decipher a participant's feedback. Also during interviews with pedestrians when listening to the recording some of their voices were lost due to background noise. Therefore during the transcription some aspects of participants' responses were lost from the data.

Having to read the data repeatedly in order to familiarise myself with it was another long process, but it was imperative to ensure I knew and understood what was coming out of all my data sets.

The best part of data analysis for me was the coding. It was exciting to group responses into categories, ideas, themes or similar patterns because this process enabled the story of my data to unfold. I made lists, keys, highlighted data, brainstormed, produced mind maps, all in efforts to get to the essence of what my data really meant. Having to go back and forth during the coding was the exhausting part, but it was very important to get these patterns and meanings right. Meeting with my supervisors and discussing the themes that were coming out of my data was very helpful as it enabled me to progress by narrowing my themes, which in turn narrowed my focus. This analysis process involved a lot of critical thinking to bring-forth the theories that were grounded in the data themselves.

Initially, data analysis was quite daunting. I had a lot of information and it seemed overwhelming. However a good starting point was to begin by picking out a data set, reading its verbatim transcripts and identifying possible themes. The more I repeated this process, the less overwhelming it became. This was a technique I was advised on and it became very useful throughout this process. Although qualitative data analysis is a complex and time consuming process it is a vital aspect of any research project. If done well proves advantageous and rewarding in the end. Analysis gave my research meaning and given the time and effort required and invested I hope that there is a possibility that what emerged from it serves a wider purpose.

The following chapter provides a detailed account of the 'story' derived from the data collected. It is at this point that we become familiar with domiciled attitudes towards the homeless, and the solutions offered to address the 'problem' within Garden Place.

Chapter Three: Participant Responses

Have you ever experienced a world where everyone just wants you to go somewhere else…move you on? No-one cares about you or wants to know how you got there. Nothing is free, not even if you're lucky enough to score a bed in the Night Shelter at $10 ($70 a week). You have to leave in the morning to forage for food and walk until you are so tired you have to find somewhere to drop. You feel blessed when someone smiles at you. It is survival at primary level so you go where your needs are met; the inner city, where the social services are, the missions, the unlikely potential for work, and the food. (New Zealand Herald Online Forum, 2008)

Situated in the middle of town, Garden Place is frequented by hundreds on a daily basis. Some are on their way to or from work, others running errands, while some are just out for a quick lunch. Garden Place is not an area for only domiciled individuals to occupy, but has also become a 'home' for a significant number of homeless individuals. Due to their congregation in Garden Place news articles emerged surrounding the homeless issue in Hamilton labelling these men and women as a 'problem' for businesses and city users, as anti-social vagrants, intimidating, and dangerous (Bowen, 2013). These framings of the homeless tend to shape the public's opinion on such social issues, and public opinions, then determines how the homeless are responded to and treated within society. However although the media plays a substantial part in framing homelessness it is not the only influence. According to Calder et al (2011), research has shown that people are influenced not only by their personal status and beliefs but also by their contact with homeless people. Therefore, individuals also frame homelessness based on their observations and interactions with homeless people, and it is these observations that were the driving force for this research.

Through participants' personal observations of the homeless who congregate in Garden Place, this research has highlighted how these individuals have drawn on

shared frames of the homeless while trying to make sense of this complex social phenomenon. These frames have led to the construction of homeless people as non-deserving of the right to public spaces because they either do not 'fit' into the normal activities for which this space is intended or they do not live up to the imagined depictions of such spaces. Although each individual had their own reasons behind such framings, the majority of responses led back to the notion that the homeless should be excluded from Garden Place, because it is in this space where the lifestyles, interests and norms of city users and residents clash with those of the homeless, subsequently representing a 'battle ground' (Bergamaschi & Rubertis, 2014).

Therefore, the aim of the following sections of this chapter is to explore the various ways in which domiciled individuals have framed the homeless in Garden Place. In addition, individuals' attitudes towards the homeless will also be highlighted. The type of responses associated with each framing will be analysed and discussed using examples from pedestrians who frequent Garden Place and business managers within the area.

Public Space: A Place of Contestation

According to Steffen (2012) the last forty years have witnessed radical changes in the ways that capitalist cities govern themselves. This urban governance was a political project to re-establish the conditions for capital accumulation, and the revitalisation of the central business district was at the top of this agenda (Steffen 2012). Consequently, the business sector leveraged public resources in order to build sports stadiums, festival centres and tourist amenities that turned into areas of privileged zones of spectacle entertainment and consumption (Steffen 2012). However, in the late 1980s when homelessness emerged as a social problem their presence on city streets became a threat to the corporate sector's agenda of revitalisation (Steffen 2012). It is here that we turn to the re-definition of these established public spaces as either private, semi-private, or quasi-public (Doherty, Busch-Geertsema, Karpuskine, Korhonen, O'Sullivan, Sahlin, Tosi, Petrillo & Wygnańska, 2008), all in efforts to privatise the public realm, restricting its use by certain members of the community.

For the purpose of this section of the thesis our focus turns to the re-definition of a public space as 'quasi-public'. These are spaces described by Doherty et al (2008) that are legally private but are part of the public domain, such as shopping malls, campuses, squares, sports grounds and privatised transport facilities, p.291. Such spaces are accessible to all, but access can be denied if an individual(s) does not 'fit' into the mould of these spaces, including individuals who have violated specific rules and regulations. Therefore, these quasi-public spaces can be deemed as having implications for the homeless due to the shaping of their rules and use of access restrictions. As Amster (2003) highlighted, once domains of private property began to dominate the cultural and physical landscape, vagrancy was seen as a threat to the order of things. As a result quasi-public spaces in which domiciled and homeless people came in contact were not neutral; instead these spaces became sites of contestation over rights to the city (Hodgetts, Stolte, Radley, Leggatt-Cook, Groot & Chamberlain, 2010). An example from Sweden is Nordstan:

> Nordstan is a huge shopping mall covering eight city malls in the centre of Gothenburg. Located close to the central bus and railway station it is an accessible public space for all city inhabitants and visitors. Proving to be a popular and beneficial area of mixed land use the city is populated not only by shoppers but also by a large number of non-consumers. These included the substance misusers, the young and homeless people. As a result, the congregation of these groups were frequently construed as a social problem for Nordstan as it affected their shoppers within the area and travellers to the city (Doherty et al, 2008).

Similarly Garden Place is a prime example of a quasi-public place that is accessible to all city inhabitants and visitors. It is a square that is well-known for the diversity of its user population. It is located close to a central city shopping mall as well as many restaurants, cafés, and the central transport centre. Garden Place serves as an access route for travellers and commuters. It is populated by many shoppers and non-consumers and has also become a place where the young, substance misusers and the homeless congregate. Due to the congregation of these

marginal groups, in particular the homeless, it is seen, at least in some quarters, as a 'problem' that needs to be fixed. As some pedestrians note:

It's probably not the best image to have people loitering around with no kind of purpose, or just there killing time. Just to see that everyday it's probably not the best thing − (Ped1)

I don't know, it would be nice not to see them hanging around here all the time − (Ped2)

It's not a good look, the public don't like to see them − (Ped3)

A local business manager also states:

Garden place is a family area, not a homeless area. So if the homeless are here, others won't come − (BM3)

Such statements highlight the division and exclusion that takes place in these urban spaces. Although the homeless may see these spaces as areas that allow them to experience belonging and move out of marginal areas (Hodgetts, Stolte, Chamberlain, Radley, Nikora, Nabalarua & Groots, 2008) their efforts for inclusion can easily be dismissed or rejected by domiciled individuals. For example when pedestrians were asked if they witnessed the homeless in Garden Place approach others or whether they keep to themselves, common responses were:

I just ignore them really − (Ped4)

Some of them are getting that way, but it don't bother me, I just tell 'em to bugger off − (Ped5)

Subsequently, Garden Place has become an area of contestation of rights to the city, highlighting who is included and excluded. However, as the homeless search for inclusion within these areas, we see how such spaces also transform into a 'home' for the homeless.

Transforming City Centres into 'Homes'

Helm (2008) proposed that with the lack of privacy of a (safe) home, public spaces are often used by individuals who need to convert these spaces into private ones. Without a 'roofed' place to call their home, homeless people turn to the streets for shelter and survival. These public spaces become a place where they manage their day-to-day lives and where survival resources can be sourced. Essentially these public spaces are seen as 'home' for the homeless, a place where they can carry out their daily activities just like the rest of us, but instead, in the public eye.

An example of how the homeless use public spaces to their advantage can be seen through railway stations. They provide shelter and a relatively safe place to sleep, as well as bathrooms where they are able to wash. Other examples given by Bergamaschi & Rubertis (2014) are church entrances where they can ask for money, fruit and vegetable markets or nearby garbage cans where they might find something to eat. However, the presence of homeless people is observable not only in railway stations, churches, dead-end streets, degraded neighbourhoods or outside city areas. Instead, city centres have also become prime areas where the homeless congregate and use for their survival. Just as the arcades and corners of narrow streets are attractive to the homeless because they can easily be transformed into temporary beds (Bergamaschi & Rubertis, 2004), city centres are attractive because of what they can provide for the homeless. As Doherty (2008) noted, public spaces for homeless people provide economic possibilities, as well as a meeting place for the exchange of information and socialising. In addition they are seen as places of safety, places of shelter, and also provide access to toilets, drinking water and a source of sustenance in the form of left-over from food retailers (p.295). This further highlights the fact that the homeless specifically choose spaces that work to their advantage and aid in their survival.

For the homeless in Hamilton, Garden Place has become one of such places that provide them with these survival opportunities. There are benches where the homeless can sit and socialise with each other, a grassed area that provides a place where they can sleep, and the water feature in the middle of Garden Place

provides drinking water. With cafes and restaurants within the area Garden Place also provides a source of sustenance for the homeless in the form of leftover food. The influx of domiciled individuals within the area on a daily basis may provide the homeless with monetary gains as they use the area for begging or busking. A library in the area also serves as a place for shelter on cold or rainy days, as well as access to toilets. Such advantages for the homeless have not escaped the notice of local business managers:

If a customer comes, leaves a drink on the table and walks away we would see them coming over to drink the drink […] they also take the left over cigarette butts that are left in the ash tray − (BM3)

[…] it's a good place Garden Place, they have free chairs for them to hang around on, everything happens in this area. So they have a reason to choose to stay here […] it's like their community, you know what I mean? This is the meeting zone − (BM4)

The observation I describe below also highlighted how the homeless occupy this area, as well as treating it as part of their 'home':

I arrive at the scene and sit on the stage like feature at Garden Place. It is an overcast day but the sun is trying to peep through the clouds. I notice a homeless man walk out towards the fountain, then places his hand out so the water touches it, he has a huge smile on his face. He walks away […] stops […] goes back to the fountain, splashes the water, he laughs and smiles as he walks away again. My attention then shifts to three homeless individuals who walk towards the youths hanging outside an internet café. They all greet each other and start talking.

Another homeless man walks past me; he's holding a newspaper with a drink tucked under his arm. A homeless man approaches him. He stops and shows him something in the newspaper. He then continues walking towards the set of stairs opposite me, takes a seat with other homeless individuals and begins reading. I take my attention off them. Looking around, a homeless man is sitting on the ground behind me, leaning up against the wall, drinking a drink. Wardens are wandering through Garden Place. I look behind me to see what the homeless man was doing. He is gone, but his bottle was left on the ground. Garden place gets quite busy now; people are walking by, young and old. I notice a couple of

the homeless are still talking to the youths at the internet café, having a smoke. Smoking seems to bring the two groups together. As I look around, a lady who appears to be homeless walks past the exact same place the homeless man was sitting behind me, and picks up the bottle he left behind. I see her place the bottle in the rubbish bin.

Such observations illustrate that although Garden Place is filled with a diverse range of individuals who also use the area as a meeting place for having lunch, various activities, commuting to and from work and for general socialising, the homeless do not use the area only for their survival and economic advantage but also as a way of integrating with society. It is here we see that Garden Place has become their 'meeting zone', a place to exchange information, a place to socialise, and a place to just be 'at home'. However the possibility of creating this sort of stability depends on the attitudes and tolerance of domiciled individuals who share these spaces with the homeless.

The final scene of my observation, where the homeless woman places the rubbish left behind in the bin, displays similar behaviours as a housed individual would who strives to keep their living environment clean by taking out the trash. Similarly, homeless individuals are observed treating Garden Place as their living environment they aim to keep clean. However, ironically, when flipped around and the homeless are seen through the lens of domiciled individuals, this situation can also reflect the 'broken windows theory'. It argues that if a window in a building is broken and left unrepaired all the rest of the windows will soon be broken (Amster 2003). Similarly, for domiciled individuals the congregation of the homeless in city centres will flourish if it goes unchecked. The unchecked homelessness is, in effect, the first 'broken window'. Therefore, Amster (2003) concluded that we ought to recognise the importance of maintaining intact communities without broken windows, in other words; maintaining communities without 'broken people' (p.207). Consequently, these assumptions shift our focus to 'people' as the trash, spaces as filthy and the need to clean up these 'broken people' and spaces (Toft 2014). Therefore, for domiciled individuals who also occupy Garden Place it becomes a case where it is not the actual litter that we need to clean up but the 'people' within this area. For example, when pedestrians

and business managers were asked how they felt sharing the space with the homeless in Garden Place, some stated:

Umm, it makes Garden Place quite dirty − (Ped2)

It's a bit of a shame to see them. It's a pity they don't have somewhere else to go. They sort of umm, can make the place look a bit untidy to be honest (Ped6)

And a business manager concluded:

Hmm […] they shouldn't be here − (BM2)

However for domiciled individuals such calls to relocate the homeless out of Garden Place fail to realise that there is literally nowhere else for them to go. For example, we are aware that shelters were built for the homeless to occupy, but in Hamilton there is only one left standing. According to Brennan -Tupara (2011) in 1995 there was a fire at the Empire Hotel in Frankton which resulted in its closure. Following that the Grand Hotel closed in 1996 followed by the Riverview in 1997. In 1998 the Post Office Apartments were sold, and later Anchorage was also closed down. Recently there was a Lodge in Hamilton East that housed a number of homeless that was also sold for development purposes and converted to student accommodation (Harris, 2012), and today the Hamilton Christian Night Shelter is the last homeless 'hotel' in town (Lynch, 2014). In addition, within these shelters, there are also only a limited number of beds available, and as a result it becomes a first-in-first- serve situation, where others are unfortunately turned away. Although these shelters function to occupy and provide the homeless with a comfortable place to sleep, it is important to note that they are only available during the night, when day breaks the homeless have to leave. They cannot go back to the shelter and they do not have a 'home'. Ultimately the street is the only place left for the homeless to turn to, with Garden Place being their prime area of choice. Evidently, their presence has not escaped the notice of business managers, city users and residents. Therefore, the presence of the two group, domiciled and the homeless, have continued to stir debate over who belongs in the area and why. To justify the removal of the homeless in Garden Place responses included how the homeless were impinging on 'their' space, their fear and discomfort towards

the homeless, issues of public safety, the importance of urban image and how their presence affects families, businesses and customers. Ultimately, findings showed that domiciled individuals expressed need for the homeless to be removed from Garden Place. This was a solution offered to make Garden Place more welcoming, attractive and safer for all (with the exception of the homeless) to use and enjoy.

Such responses will be further explored in these following sections as we witness the shift from a space once intended for the public to share and enjoy, to marginal groups like the homeless, deemed unworthy of access to this space and positioned as non-members of the community.

Reclaiming Part of the City: Eliminating Fear and Discomfort

There are many anticipated uses of an area like Garden Place. It is a space intended for the public to share, to enjoy, and to use for many recreational activities. On the other hand, with the absence of a fixed abode, the homeless have turned to Garden Place as a space they use for domestic purposes, rather than an extra space for recreational or other activities. As one business manager recalls:

Like once I came out from dinner, it must have been about three four weeks ago
and this is right by the casino, where BNZ is, the homeless people had a tent out,
the gas is going, they were cooking out there.
It's like they set up their home [...] I was like s*** this is right beside Skycity
it's like one of the places to be [...] − (BM4)

Such statements highlight the ease with which behaviours conducted by the homeless are looked upon disapprovingly, whereas when domiciled individuals conduct similar behaviours in public it is easily accepted. For example, a person could be fundraising by having a BBQ going in the exact location selling sausages and no one would have a problem with it. In return a number of individuals would support them. On the other hand, such responses as made by the business manager highlights that the homeless are gazed upon disapprovingly even when they carry out simple acts such as eating. Such tension between the presence of the homeless using Garden Place for domestic purposes and the intended use of such spaces has also aided in the contestation of this space. This results in the view that the

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homeless essentially and partially privatise these spaces if they treat it as their home, (Laurenson & Collins, 2007) stripping away its designation as a public domain by carrying out what is seen as private acts in public spaces. This assumption results in homeless people's use of Garden Place being seen as problematic to pedestrians and business managers because it involves the appropriation of the public realm. As business managers state:

You want to have a city where people walk through, instead you see a whole lot of homeless people, you know? It kind of feels like they are over taking part of the city […] − (BM4)

There are a lot of customers that I talk to that don't like homeless people and a lot have chosen not to eat here if they are hanging around −(BM2)

As a family you are walking through and you see all these homeless people, it doesn't seem right − (BM4)

Such perceptions of the homeless in public spaces gives rise to the view that the homeless owned parts of the city because it is being taken from other community members, and leads to the conclusion that reclaiming Garden Place needs to be the prime focus for community members. As they later propose:

It needs to be more child friendly, where families can come, once that starts happening the homeless will move out, because two people can't stay in one area […] −(BM4)

Consequently, Garden Place is a space believed to belong to the domiciled and any visible homeless in the area are deemed 'out-of-place'. For domiciled individuals, activities such as sleeping, washing or eating that are seen as safe and domestic in the private domain, when conducted in public become dangerous, threatening and polluting (Wardhaugh, 1996). For example when participants were asked what behaviours they often noticed from the homeless in Garden Place they recalled:

Looking through rubbish and just like sleeping on benches − (Ped2)

Sleeping on the benches, asking for money, some of them aren't the nicest about it − (Ped4)

Ahh sitting around, asking for money, walking around, intoxicated, picking up cigarette butts and sleeping − (Ped7)

Well basically just hanging around here doing nothing to be honest , and the begging is getting worse − (Ped5)

And a business manager stated:

Ah, just sitting around, you know, they look like they have obviously come together to sleep − (BM1)

Consequently, homeless people were not only seen as impinging on 'domiciled space', but the behaviours sometimes associated with their presence are also disapproved, and sometimes seen as a threat to those who use Garden Place. As a pedestrian state:

[…] like they start fighting and arguing. That's bad you know, because people just want to relax but then there's that sort of intrusion all the time − (Ped8)

And a business manager concludes:

Basically people don't feel like coming in to Garden Place, and if they do they feel like they are going to be attacked by homeless people − (BM4)

However, what domiciled individuals may fail to realise is that for the homeless the occupation of this space is not to 'own it' *per se* but instead, their own survival requires them to temporarily claim a public space for their own private usage (Wardhaugh, 1996). Unfortunately, this results in pedestrians and business managers feeling fearful and a sense of discomfort when the homeless congregate in Garden Place, resulting in the homeless being framed as 'dangerous'. It is through such framing that we witness the attachment of negative deviant behaviour to those who hold less privilege within this society, further demonstrating the binary divides of the deserving and undeserving, the normal and the deviant (Toft, 2014). That is, on the one hand people may believe that the

homeless have chosen that lifestyle and it is due to individual causes, on the other hand homelessness is seen as stemming from structural causes. However, when thinking about homelessness and crime, "viewpoints become less polarized, as people may want the homeless to be helped in a less abstract way, but may simultaneously view them as dangerous and prone to criminal behaviour" (Donley, 2008, p.16). As Donley (2008) adds, public perception frequently seems to equate homelessness and crime, and such perceptions are evident in a number of responses from pedestrians:

I don't really know what they are like, so if I refuse something they could go like real mental − (Ped4)

It's like sometimes they come towards you and it's like do you dodge them […] their look sorta scares you − (Ped9)

Um makes me feel kind of uncomfortable, don't really wanna walk near them − (Ped7)

And a business manager adds:

[…] If they are hanging around it can be intimidating − (BM4)

As a result, many people are afraid of the homeless, or more specifically afraid of what they perceive the homeless population to be, as these perceptions, the visibility of the homeless, their behaviours, demeanour and their appearance make many people nervous. In turn domiciled individuals have expressed a call to remove the homeless from Garden Place. However it seems as though such efforts are not to prevent intimidation or assault, but rather to create a public space where they can move unhindered. This also lends support to Laurenson & Collins (2007) contentions that the exclusion of the homeless is less about crime prevention than about the right of housed individuals to be left alone in urban spaces. As one business manager exemplifies:

Why say Garden Place […] might as well call it Homeless Place − (BM3)

In other words, as Helms (2008) stated, it is about securing the safety and pleasure of consumers and 'decent' citizens, (p.11). To illustrate these points' efforts to rid city centres of the homeless from downtown areas in order to make the visible homeless invisible can be seen in Berkeley California:

> "Whether they are scared or just plain fed up, plenty of people in the nation's most famously liberal city want the homeless swept off Telegraph Avenue" (Amster, 2003, p.203)

> In Cleveland, Ohio efforts to remove the homeless from down town areas are also evident:

> *"In a move to attract holiday shoppers downtown, Mayor Michael R. White had ordered stepped-up police patrols, who were aimed at keeping city streets safer. White claimed that this 'crackdown' is designed to move poverty "out of sight", so they (shoppers) will have a peaceful shopping season" (Amster, 2003, p.203)*

> Such sentiments are not new. In 1994 the "Prime Minister, John Major, said that beggars were offensive 'eyesores' who needed to be removed from the streets of Britain" (Wardhaugh, 1996, p.701).

In Garden Place, similar efforts are being called for to create order within the area and move the visible homeless out of sight. As a business manager proposed:

We want the problem solved and town to look like town […] police should get involved more to move them along − (BM3)

However a pedestrian adds that the involvement of police is not enough and suggests a more severe 'solution' to move the homeless along:

[…] because every now and again the police will arrest them and like half an hour later they are back. So it's a bit of a waste of time. Strain on their resources, you know […] and what for? But what I would do is forcefully take them away − (Ped8)

However, such a response fails to take into consideration basic civic and human rights. To strip the homeless of that is like saying they are not deserving of it. While pedestrians and business managers may not *all* intend for the homeless to have nowhere to go, each would rather the homeless occupy someone else's space. However, sweeping dirt under a rug does not mean that the floor is clean. Similarly if the homeless are simply 'moved along' or 'taken-away' from Garden Place it does not really address homelessness. If we move something that 'bothers' us from our yard to our neighbour's yard, chances are they would move that exact same thing to the next neighbour's yard. In effect, all this is doing is giving the 'problem' to someone else to deal with. It fails to solve anything and in actuality it prolongs it. Such calls to control behaviour and spaces results in the "creation of a world in which a whole class of people cannot be, simply because they have no place to be" (Taylor, 2013, p.199). Consequently, the homeless population are deemed 'out of place', homelessness is framed as 'criminal', and as a result they need to 'disappear' (Taylor, 2013). In contrast, if the homeless are simply 'taken away' there has to be aims of taking them somewhere better.

Reclaiming Part of the City: The Importance of Urban Image

The previous section highlights one of the factors that contributes to the framing of homelessness as arising from ideas of immorality, illegality and invocations of disorder, which for domiciled individuals' calls for processes of enforcement, criminalization and regulation of the homeless (Amster, 2003). In this section, our focus now turns to another factor, the urban decay image that leads to processes of sterilization and sanitization (Amster, 2003) of public spaces.

According to Amster (2003) mainstream publications intended to be sympathetic to the homeless often contribute to a mindset which belittles their value and character within society, and is also often associated with dirt and decay images of the homeless. Subsequently, efforts to restrict the use of city centres from the homeless shifts to concerns of health and safety, economic considerations and aesthetic concerns in terms of preserving and protecting the 'quality of life' of the community (Amster, 2003). These efforts are driven by the prevailing mood amongst business leaders, city officials and the general public that if a city is

made to *look* as though it has no problems, then it has none (Laurenson & Collins, 2007).

Like mannequins in shop windows whose presence symbolises the identity of a shop, what the shop has to offer as well as its target market, city centres can be viewed as a window to the city. It symbolises the identity of a city, what the city has to offer as well as its target audience, becoming a place of character and consumption. Similarly, Garden Place can be seen as the window to Hamilton city, displaying its identity, what this city has to offer and its target market. However, because the homeless are framed as not belonging in the city centre, their presence is seen as distorting the 'positive' image that is meant to come out of Garden Place. As some participants note:

[…] obviously they don't have a home so they are not very clean people…
it makes Garden Place quite dirty − (Ped2)

[…] such things are big things for a city like Hamilton […] seeing people around
like this; it doesn't bring a good image. To me I thought that everyone here would
be like people living in homes you kno w, people having good lives − (Ped10)

Therefore this visibility of poverty evident in Garden Place is seen as conveying to the public the 'problems' that exist, and the only way to make the city look as though it has no problems is to efface the presence of the homeless altogether. Consequently, their exclusion from Garden Place is aimed at displaying a more innovative, positive and desirable image (Bergamaschi & Rubertis, 2014) that is more welcoming, clean and attractive. As our business managers state:

People go to the big city to enjoy the views and have coffees and stuff, they
wouldn't want to see homeless people hanging around − (BM2)

Garden Place should look good […] nicer things should be in Garden Place so
it looks better − (BM3)

These concerns pertaining to the image the homeless give Garden Place also revolve around issues of commercial vitality and preventing urban decay in the

eyes of business owners who fear losing their customers, and the stunting of tourism and shopping within the area. As they note:

There is a lot of customers that I have talked to that don't like the homeless people and some even choose not to come in here and eat if they are hanging around − (BM2)

Tourism is actually getting affected in Hamilton because of that […] because it's the negative image you get out of Hamilton − (BM4)

As a consequence, the homeless are deemed bad for business and Hamilton is seen as incapable of attracting new services, customers and businesses, and in the process is failing to face any growing competition from suburban commercial centres and other cities. As the business manager's state:

If nothing happens soon, we will leave Garden Plac e, then who will be here? […] they will just lose business − (BM3)

Some customers choose not to come in here if the homeless are around so it has a very bad impact on business − (BM2)

Pedestrians also expressed similar concerns:

I know that businesses down here have a real reaction, cause they're standing in their doorways […] taking away their clients − (Ped11)

[…] I suppose they do give the city a bit of a name, especially from the retailers and shoppers point of view − (Ped12)

Therefore, the homeless are further framed as unworthy' of access to, and use of, this quasi-public space because this marginalised group is seen as compromising the improvement of the city's image. This fosters a tendency to advocate acts of restriction to 'cleanse' public spaces in order to eliminate consumers' fears of encountering homeless people, promote consumption, enhance property values and in the process attracting more capital (Laurenson & Collins, 2007). As a business manager proposed:

There needs to be more organised functions that would attract more people to come down and actually enjoy Garden Place. At the moment

families don't come in, so they need to attract more families ." (BM4) "People are reluctant to come here, they usually go to the Base or Chartwell. So something needs to be done with or for businesses, something that will attract more tourists into town. Once that happens others will start coming into Garden Place – (BM4)

However, Mather (2014) suggested that the homeless situation was far from the CBD's biggest problem, instead town is not vibrant enough and $45 million should not be spent on a 'dying city'. Therefore, if the CBD has little to offer families, attract tourists and improve business it may have little to do with the presence of the homeless. Instead other factors should be considered, such as free parking. The lack of free parking in town may push families to go to shopping centres such as the Base or Chartwell which provide them with ample free parking that allows them to shop at their leisure. Therefore, perhaps it is not the homeless who are to blame for the demise of the city centre, but they serve as a convenient scapegoat. Evidently these interview responses highlight the ease with which blame is placed on the homeless without considering other possible factors that could be contributing to the decline in downtown Hamilton. In turn, calls to restrict the use of Garden Place from the homeless in order to 'cleanse' and improve the quality of town affects not only the homeless, but indirectly affects other community members. It creates a falsified vision of Garden Place where individuals become engrossed in the aesthetic ideology of a place where if the homeless are excluded and made to believe that they should not exist within this space the dreams of prosperity and social harmony are then within arm's reach. In contrast however, the homeless in Garden Place can also contribute to a positive public sphere, and harmony as the observations described below:

I arrived at Garden Place at around 12:57pm, entered a café to purchase food, and took a seat outside to begin my observations. From where I was seated there was a homeless man to my left. He was playing the guitar. His guitar case was open in front of him and read 'DONATIONS PLEASE […] Thank you'. I noticed almost everyone walk past him minding their own business, looking straight ahead and avoiding eye contact. Another homeless man approaches him and they began talking. After some time the two men began to play a song. One plays the guitar while the other sings. Singing: 'big wheels keep on turning, Proud Mary

keeps on burning, and we're rolling, rolling, rolling on the river […]' I recognised it was a Tina Turner song called Proud Mary. They looked like they were making the most of their situation and having a lot of fun. A lady with two young children, a boy and a girl, came and stood opposite the homeless men as they sang. To my surprise, the kids then started to dance, even the lady joined in. As the little boy danced, it appeared as though he was overwhelmed with excitement; he fell to the floor, and got back up. When the song ended one of the homeless men said to the kids 'hello how are yous […] having a good day?' The boy nodded. The homeless men smiled and laughed and said 'chur'.

Such interactions between the homeless and domiciled individuals are rare, but it happens. Hypothetically speaking, if society adopts the mentality of that child in my observations who saw no barriers between himself and the homeless men and engaged with them, then negative perceptions, stereotypes and fears could be eliminated towards this group of people. Instead efforts are continually being made to exclude and relocate the homeless from Garden Place, from what domiciled individuals see as their 'territory', seeking to shift the 'problem' somewhere else.

NIMBY: A Case of Order and Control

Homelessness is continually framed in terms of undesirability and public order resulting in a call to clear these spaces of the homeless in order to attract 'decent citizens'. One business manager suggested a 'solution' in the form of restriction and exclusion of the homeless, proposing;

I would stop them from coming through Hamilton's Central Business District so maybe create a new law to stop homeless people, just lik e in Auckland − (BM2)

The law referred to is the Public Safety & Nuisance Bylaw that came into force on the 26 May 2014. It addressed issues relating to public nuisance and safety to ensure city inhabitants and visitors can freely enjoy public spaces (Heart of Auckland City, 2014). The main objectives of the law were to promote public safety, protect against public nuisance and minimise offensive behaviour in public

spaces. A similar Bylaw also came into effect in Hamilton on the 15 December 2014, which also addressed protecting the public from nuisance, promoting, protecting and maintaining public health and safety and minimising the potential for offensive behaviour in public spaces in Hamilton (Hamilton City Council, 2014). By implementing these laws it illustrates that the control of public spaces reflects a profound change in the construction of homelessness which has serious consequences on policies (Tosi, 2007), particularly towards the homeless. Although neither of the Bylaws specifically mention homelessness, they directly affect the homeless because under these laws begging or sleeping in public spaces becomes an offence (Leaman, 2014). Ultimately, such policies fall in favour of domiciled individuals and overlook the issue of homelessness and how to address it effectively. To illustrate one pedestrian mentioned:

Last I knew there was a group that feed the homeless every night but then the council stopped that − (Ped4)

This group was established to feed the homeless in Hamilton every night in Garden Place from 5:30pm to 7:30pm if their application for a permit to do so was approved by the council. However, businesses and the public alike were concerned about such activities if their application was approved, as it was seen as having the potential to result in the rise in anti-social behaviour within the area (Leaman, 2014). Therefore, according to Mather (2014), the council stated that their role as a regulatory authority is to ensure rules are set for the benefit of the 'community'. As a result their permit was declined by the council in efforts to protect the public from potential offensive behaviour from some of Hamilton's homeless (Mather, 2014). Such remarks further illustrate how the homeless population in Hamilton is positioned as non-members of this community. It also highlights how our attitudes towards the issue have the power to influence policies addressing homelessness. It is evident that negative responses result in policies that fail to address the problem. Negative attitudes not only restrict but also violate their rights to public spaces and diminish their ability or opportunity to make contact with domiciled individuals and to gain a sense of connection and inclusion within society. However, some pedestrians do understand that the homeless also have the right to this space as they state:

[…] there's nowhere for them to go − (Ped13)

I mean it's a public space, everyone's entitled to come here and enjoy the scenery −(Ped14)

Obviously we are only here during the day […] they are here the whole time − (Ped15)

Realising this and viewing Garden Place as an all-inclusive area is an attitudinal change that can be achieved if we shift the way homelessness is stereotypically viewed. More positive responses have the potential to foster more effective solutions to the issue and in the following sections alternative view points from participants on this issue are explored.

Alternative Viewpoints: They Belong here Too

Most responses have illustrated negative attitudes towards the congregation of the homeless within Garden Place which in turn offered negative solutions. Positive responses were rare, but they were evident in these findings as some pedestrians expressed the need to address the issue with a more positive approach. For example:

I would build a hostel . Sort of like you know […] how they have the women's refuge […] instead a building like that where the homeless can come and then in that there will be um ways […] um people in there, on-site, that can help them with whatever is wrong with them you know. They might need help with literacy or something. Something to get them in the right direction, but for a start a warm shower, you know, a hot meal and a roof you know. It could be something as simple as that − (Ped16)

This response further illustrates how a positive perspective on the plight of the homeless results in more constructive ways to address homelessness, one that provides them with their most basic need - a roof over their heads. Another example of such positive sentiments is evident in one particular response that stood out when a pedestrian was asked if they were bothered by the presence of the homeless, they stated:

Not really, I mean it could be you in the future maybe so yeah − (Ped17)

Such a response reminds us that homelessness could happen to anyone. It shifts our focus from the homeless as a 'problem' and situates us in their shoes. In turn it has the potential to shift our responses about homeless individuals from ones that are disapproving of their presence to ones that accept it, as another pedestrian plainly highlights:

Well it is a free world; they have the right to be there […] − (Ped18)

Even though individuals may feel that it is important to address the homeless in more positive ways, it is evident that many may feel they are not equipped to, as illustrated by these responses:

[…] at the end of the day they're there, what can you do? − (Ped5)

We cannot do much because we are not really politic al people, we are just artists so […] − (Ped19)

These remarks lead me to address such responses with a simple quote that resonates quite well: "If you think you're too small to make a difference you haven't been in bed with a mosquito" (Lifewise, 2009). In other words, this quote suggests that no problem is too big or too small to handle. Instead what dictates how we handle it and how well we do so is the mindset we have going into it. For example, one pedestrian simply highlights how an attitudinal change can make a difference. It may be simple but effective all the same:

The community should help out, lend a hand, maybe acknowledge them, make them feel like 'people' and not just walk past them, you know. I think that would help, because then they will feel like they belong − (Ped18).

This chapter attempted to explore the attitudes domiciled individuals have in relation to the congregation of the homeless in Garden place by presenting, analysing and discussing interview responses of both pedestrians and business managers within the area. The next chapter provides a more general discussion

relating to the research findings, by taking an alternative route with aims of putting interview responses into perspective to understand why individuals held such views. In addition, it highlights how attitudes do determine the way we think about social problems and any solutions offered to solve them. It also aims to highlight the need for more positive responses to the issue which will draw more positive solutions. Therefore this following chapter also aims to provide examples of more positive approaches towards dealing with the issue of homelessness. Finally, a concluding section will be provided along with the limitations encountered within this study.

Chapter Four: Taking an Alternative Route

General Discussion

Although the homeless may not always be the explicit target of exclusion in such public spaces, the impact is disproportionately felt by homeless people because of their reliance on public space for conducting their daily activities. As Amster (2003) highlights poor people with homes are at least 'out of sight' if not 'out of mind'. Lacking private spaces however, the homeless find themselves in plain view of the public, and as a result are subjected to the most direct forms of public persecution and official exclusion. Bergamaschi & Rubertis (2014) further emphasized, that the traditional complementarities between the use of private space and the use of public space, which works correctly for domiciled individuals, fails completely in the case of homeless people. Consequently it is through participants' responses that we have witnessed the "function of binary oppositions between exclusion and inclusion, homeless and housed, dirty and clean" (Hodgetts et al, 2008, p.933), and the process of 'othering'. Subsequently, one could argue that perhaps, for domiciled individuals, the problem with the homeless is not that they exist but that they are highly visible (Laurenson & Collins 2007). Therefore, findings suggest that their visibility has resulted in an overt antipathy from society. Participants' responses also suggest that perhaps the threat is more one of *perception* than reality (Amster, 2003). It is how individuals have perceived the homeless that has had an influence on their attitudes towards them which then determines how they are treated. Consequently these perceptions have rendered the homeless inferior and requiring disciplinary measures. They are perceived as less of a person, who are not 'real' citizens, and instead a threat to other members of the community. This has resulted in the framing of the homeless as not belonging within Garden Place, because not only are they believed as unable to fit into the 'normal' activities for which this space is intended, but they are also seen as unclean, dangerous and their presence devalues the city's image.

During my observations of Garden Place I have noticed domiciled individuals socialising with each other, eating, walking around or just sitting on the benches. Similarly the homeless have been observed doing the same, yet their behaviour is gazed upon disapprovingly. One reason for this is the fact that many domiciled individuals fail to look at the behaviours of the homeless in the situational context in which they are embedded (Snow et al, 1994). These findings have suggested that the homeless are instead condemned and judged for the situation they are in. A reason for this is highlighted by Takahashi (1996) who explored representations of homeless people and argued that representations are often created when the productivity of a person is used to measure their worth as a citizen. Therefore, witnessing the homeless in Garden Place 'sleeping', 'sitting around', or not 'doing much' has resulted in them being framed as un-worthy or non-members of the community simply because they do not adhere to the 'norms' of society. In effect this attitude is not a productive approach, because their situation calls for understanding rather than judgement. For example, the homeless sleep in public spaces because they do not have a bed, they carry out private acts in public because they do not have a private space of their own, and they congregate in public spaces because they have nowhere else to go. Therefore, rather than framing all homeless individuals negatively by focusing on what they are doing 'wrong' and magnifying their 'blemishes' individuals could take these blemishes, situate and contextualise them in order to understand their situation better, which in turn could give us a more balanced analysis of homelessness. If this is done it creates a more adaptive picture of homelessness, one that recaptures their humanity, by putting their 'blemishes' in perspective.

It is also important to note that homelessness is a person's *situation*, not *who* they are, and although their situation impacts upon who they are, it is not *all* that they are (Harris, 2012). In other words, although some homeless individuals can be smelly, dirty, intimidating or disruptive, their appearance or behaviour does not represent the homeless population, neither is it confined to it (Harris, 2012) because many domiciled individuals also display similar characteristics.

Therefore, by generalising such descriptions as belonging exclusively to the homeless and ignoring our flaws, it further results in the framing that paints the

homeless as the ones who are problematic and contributing to urban decay. This further places them outside of the arena of positive consideration and effective policies. As Tosi (2007) argued, by de-socialising the problem and reducing it to a principle of 'order', rather than striving to meet the needs of the homeless, it attempts to eliminate homelessness by directing efforts to make homeless people invisible. It results in the 'move on' approach, which calls for the homeless to move somewhere else, but this is not a solution to homelessness, instead it is a 'temporary fix', that is counterproductive, further constrains initiatives to tackle the issue, and simply gives the impression of having 'solved' the problem (Harris, 2012). In order to address the issue of homelessness we need to start with a change of perspective in order to engender a change in attitude. Once that is changed it will enable us to look at more effective and constructive ways of addressing the homeless issue in Hamilton instead of moving the 'problem' along for someone else to complain about.

Such change in perspective is a form of *perspective-taking*. It happens by actively imagining another's viewpoint and suppressing prejudice and stereotypical thoughts (Wang, Tai, Ku, & Galinsky, 2014). Perspective takers tend to see more of themselves in others and as a result this reduces negative evaluations of this stereotyped group and increases a willingness to engage in contact with them. It is also evident that our opinions have the potential to influence our behaviours and attitudes. This as a result is crucial for the lives of homeless people because the way we frame and perceive them not only influences how they are defined, but also any policies and responses towards this group. Many domiciled individuals do not have direct contact and experience with homeless individuals. Instead, they may rely on the media for cues or community messages. Thus it is important to ensure that the way we construct homeless individuals has the potential to display them in a more positive light which results in effective ways of tackling the issue, rather than fostering reactions of sheer avoidance, intergroup bias and the negative stereotypes that come with it.

In summation, these findings highlight that participants had more negative than positive attitudes towards the congregation of the homeless in Garden Place. These findings have also suggested that public attitudes and opinions do affect

policy responses to the issue of homelessness and the more negative the responses are the less effective solutions will be. However, although rare, positive attitudes towards the congregation of the homeless do exist, as demonstrated within these findings. These will now be taken to offer more effective solutions to the issue. Instead of complaining about the homeless and looking for ways to 'move' them along and where to move them to, we can start taking them as they are and where they are and start looking at what to do *for* the homeless, instead of what to do *about* them. Thus, the next section of this chapter takes a look at possible solutions by offering examples of more constructive ways of dealing with this issue.

Did Someone Say 'Positive Solutions'?

Public attitudes and perceptions tend to generalise and place the homeless into the 'un-deserving' blanket. This in turn has affected the homeless population and their calls for help. With a lack of definite numbers on the homeless population and co-ordinated strategy from the Government, services are left fragmented and New Zealand's response to homelessness lags behind other developed countries (Rothwell, 2012).

In Hamilton city, specifically in Garden Place it is evident that the 'move on' approach to Hamilton's homeless out of this public space has become an approach that is favoured among businesses and the public alike. While some members of the public believe they have the right to move through Garden Place without the visual imposition of the homeless. It is also argued that the homeless deserve the right to this space. By definition the word ("public", 2002) encompasses various meanings, such as, 'for use by everyone', 'the community', 'people in general', or 'unrestricted'. Therefore if a public space is for everyone and is defined as unrestricted, then why strip it from its original meaning? As a result, balancing the civic and safety rights of community members while still trying to serve the needs of this disadvantage group has proven a complex situation (Harris, 2012). However, some cities have managed to address this issue, and the following sections provide examples of these initiatives that have been implemented in American, Canada and the United Kingdom.

Housing before Treatment: The 'Housing First' Approach

A positive plan started back in 2005 when the city of Utah's leaders asked themselves what the chronically homeless have in common (Moskowitz, 2015). Although typical representations of the homeless could lead to responses such as drug addictions, alcoholics, dangerous or intimidating, the strikingly obvious answer was instead: the lack of a home (Moskowitz, 2015). Therefore their simple solution to address homelessness was to give homes to people without them. While many cities are criminalising the homeless making it illegal to beg, sit on footpaths or lay on benches, Utah took a different path. In the process they became the leaders in a progressive policy implemented to help the homeless (Moskowitz, 2015).

Utah's city officials realised that at the end of the spectrum there were individuals who may be homeless for a few days or weeks and after checking out of state-funded beds, clinics or hospitals they got on with their lives. While on the other end of the spectrum lie the chronically homeless, the rough sleepers, who usually have deeper problems that prevent them from obtaining jobs, stable housing, or are shuffled between state-funded programs (Moskowitz, 2015). Evidently, they realised that this was a waste of state resources, so instead of "piling on state-run service after service, hospital visits, prison, drug treatments and shelter stays, they found it was cheaper to simply give homeless people homes" (Moskowitz, 2015, para.11). As described by Lloyd Pendleton, the director of the homeless task force, it was a simple pilot project that took the most challenging group of homeless individuals and placed them into homes. Twenty-two months later, all seventeen individuals were still housed. From there, city officials became believers that it was an effective program that could end homelessness in Utah. Individuals were then either placed in regular apartments with landlords, while other buildings were renovated specifically for the long-term housing of the homeless (Queally, 2015). For example, Palmer Court was an old holiday Inn in Utah that was converted into housing for the homeless (Queallay, 2015). As for James Wallberg, a 'Housing First' recipient, checking out of the shelters at 7am and left to wonder the streets

until 4pm was no longer an issue for him, and having a place to call his own made him feel blessed (Queally, 2015).

After individuals were taken off the streets the 'Housing First' program believed that it was a lot easier to then deal with other underlying issues that cause homelessness, such as addictions or mental or physical health problems. These efforts to address the homeless problem in Utah has proven effective as Lloyd Pendleton highlighted, that it only costs them $8000 a year to provide housing compared to the $20,000 they were originally spending on traditional services, such as drug treatment and shelter stays for the homeless (Moskowitz, 2015). The program has also contributed to a 74% drop in chronic homelessness in Utah since 2005 (Moskowitz, 2015). Therefore, this program is walking proof that housing the homeless first before treatment can be an effective program if executed. This program has not escaped the notice of other cities such as Charlotte, N.C who has taken Utah's example and replicated their own Housing First model (The Charlotte Observer, 2015), and in Canada, the city of Hamilton has formally launched their 'Housing First' program in June this year (Bennett, 2015)

I believe that this program is much more effective than the 'move on' approach to please the public, while city officials think of other ways to deal with the issue. It is also cost effective in the sense that city officials do not have to spend time implementing bylaws that criminalise the homeless and the police do not have to spend time arresting the homeless, given that it can be a strain on resources. By implementing such programs it highlights a progressive move towards actually doing something *for* the homeless, rather than moving them somewhere else on the streets. It provides them with a place to carry out their own private act - in private.

Housing before Treatment: The People's Project

Such a plan to address homelessness was established by the 'People's Project' in 2014 in Hamilton, New Zealand. With hopes for a more positive approach towards addressing homelessness the People's Project set up office in Hamilton's CBD with plans to end homelessness by 2016. The project uses the 'Housing First'

approach which recognises that by providing individuals with accommodation first and foremost, it enables the opportunity to quickly provide other services that address the things that lead to homelessness (Irvine, 2015). Therefore the People's Project aim is to connect those who are sleeping rough with accommodation and other wrap-around support they may require (Irvine, 2015). However, the project cost about $360,000 a year to run, but with no government funding they rely on charitable organisations such as Trust Waikato, the Wise Group, and the Hamilton City Council who is paying their lease for only two years (Irvine, 2015).

Implementing the 'Housing First' approach in Hamilton is a more productive step towards addressing the issue. If we take the homeless shelter for example, the homeless have to leave these places at certain hours in the morning and are left to wonder the streets, and city officials in Hamilton are left with the dilemma of trying to please the general public who complain about their presence, as well as trying to do something about the homeless. If the 'Housing First' approach is implemented effectively, city officials are able to take the homeless off the streets and place them into homes. This not only pleases the general public in the sense that they can move around in public spaces without the 'visual imposition' of the homeless, but it also affects the homeless because we are addressing their needs in a more effective manner.

If we can find the means to build new apartment buildings, there is a possibility that one of those can be transformed into hostel buildings for the homeless (as suggested by *ped16*). However the year 2016 is fast approaching and for the program to be executed effectively in Hamilton, there needs to be more support towards the cause if we are to make this strategy work at a local level, especially in the form of funding and more backing from the council, but the community can also play a role. With a positive change in attitude comes a willingness to help.

Killing them with Kindness

Efforts to implement the 'Housing First' initiative can flourish in Hamilton with backing and funding which can come from the Government, the council, or simply other community members. With more positive attitudes towards the

homeless, individuals may be more inclined to do something for the homeless instead of about them. An example of such initiatives was established in the United Kingdom called 'Killing them with kindness'. The campaign proposed that instead of individuals giving money to those who beg they can donate it instead and all proceedings will go to charities for the homeless (Thames Reach, 2015). If such campaigns were enforced and publicised in Hamilton, those who want to do something for the homeless, but feel they are not equipped to (for example, see *ped5/ped19*) can do so and make a difference. It results in a situation where it becomes a community effort and the more the community is 'for' the cause the more efforts will be made to address it. Proceeds from such campaigns could then slip into the People's Project (and other charities) to help fund this initiative and fight to end homelessness in Hamilton by 2016.

In turn a hostel or an apartment could be built for the homeless, a place that provides them with a roof over their heads, a place that provides them with safety, a sense of community and somewhere to feel welcomed and call 'home'. Once that is accomplished we can then tackle the other issues that affect the homeless, such as helping them into jobs, or with other health care problems. While these plans are being put into place to address the issue, in the meantime city officials could remove the idea that bylaws will solve the homeless issue because all this is doing is criminalising homelessness which will cause the city expense and instead prolong the issue. An all-inclusive response to the presence of the homeless in Hamilton will play an important role in convincing policy makers to act responsibly. In return instead of trying to move the problem somewhere else it enables us to see that their survival also depends on having access to public places. Media reports surrounding the homeless who congregate in Garden Place could also play a part by covering more positive stories surrounding the presence of the homeless in city centres. In the hopes that by presenting a positive shift on the issue it will encourage more positive responses. Furthermore, suggesting and implementing positive solutions to address the issue of homelessness is not impossible. Therefore the only way to address it is not to complain about it, establish bylaws that criminalises it, or move it 'out of sight' in order to 'manage' it. Instead to address homelessness is to look at ways to *END* it. To end it, progress can begin at a local level, with community organizations, and

participation of community members within the community as well as city officials who take on the role of a positive facilitator rather than a despotic force. Such efforts could start off small but will have the potential to be replicated in other cities around New Zealand that may face similar issues relating to homelessness. Where there is a will there is a way, and all it takes is for people to be motivated to do something positive and the need to care for the homeless, then, action can begin.

Concluding Remarks

This research was conducted to examine the expressed and observed attitudes domiciled individuals held towards the homeless in Garden Place. Through conducting interviews with willing pedestrians and business managers within the area it was not long before these attitudes and perceptions of the homeless became evident. From a place that once celebrated diversity, Garden Place was now seen as an urban space that displayed a 'negative' image of Hamilton city due to the congregation of its homeless population. Gazed upon disapprovingly, attitudes displayed by many conveyed more negative sentiments than positive. Therefore this research sought to highlight the power of one's attitude towards homelessness, to explore causes for the attitudes displayed and ultimately offer solutions to solve this issue.

Throughout this research we are also confronted with the importance of defining homelessness because it influences who is helped and who is overlooked as definitions have the potential to place the homeless population into the deserving or undeserving categories. Such categories then influence the attitudes we hold towards the homeless population and efforts we make to help them. As we continually turn to the media we are further influenced by their discussions surrounding homelessness and the various depictions of the homeless population. In turn we internalise such reporting's which then create and construct our attitudes towards the homeless population, any homeless issues, as well as our understandings of homelessness. Therefore it is imperative that the attitudes we hold towards the homeless are ones that results in the positive mobilization of action to solve the issues of homelessness by developing positive solutions. By

focusing on solutions that eliminate the boundaries between 'us' and 'them' and the exclusionary practices towards the homeless within public spaces we can foster a more progressive social change.

If for a second we tried to put ourselves in the shoes of the homeless it could change the way we view homelessness. In other words, we need to start with a change in perspective in order to engender a change in attitude. Once that is changed it will enable us to look at more effective and constructive ways of addressing the homeless issue in Hamilton instead of moving the 'problem' along for someone else to complain about. We as housed individuals occupy Garden Place temporarily and go back to the comforts of our own home; for the homeless however, this is not their reality and their occupation and use of public spaces serves as their means of survival. If efforts are made to remove the homeless from these spaces then that strips away their chances of inclusion and survival within society. Therefore I propose that we could start looking at what we can do *for* the homeless instead of what to do *about* them. By shifting our minds, it shifts our attitude, which ultimately shifts our focus. Further study surrounding this issue could perhaps do more to give a voice to Hamilton's homeless individuals by telling their side of the 'story', what brought them to the streets, how life is like on the streets, and how they would like to be helped out. Such research approaches meet the homeless where *they are*, rather than where we think they *should be* which could offer an alternative viewpoint on the issue, and solutions from a homeless individual's perspective.

If homelessness is looked at through the lens of stereotypical assumptions then how will they be provided with the acknowledgement, encouragement and the support they need? The language we use to describe the homeless, the ways in which they are depicted, the attitudes we hold towards them and the judgements we pass on homeless people can change the world we live in. I do not claim that our change in attitudes will provide *all* the answers to the issue of homelessness, but I do believe that it is a major contributing factor that shines a different light on homelessness and paves the way for a more positive approach to addressing this issue, specifically in Garden Place.

Limitations

There were particular limitations of this study that have been mentioned within this thesis, more specifically in chapter two. Therefore this section aims to bring them all together in one cohesive form beginning by taking a look at the limitations of the methods adopted within this research. Participant Observation was a method that came with its fair share of limitations. While we are aware of the fact that Participant Observation is a method that is conducted within research for extended periods of time (e.g years), this research was limited to a timeframe of a year. Therefore validity of this research is limited because observation within the area was not conducted over a long period of time. In addition the days and times observation took place varied, therefore it cannot be generalised that what was observed during a specific time is a representation of what *always* happens within the area. This is also a small scale study with focus on a very specific area so it is not representative of the entire population's experiences with the homeless or attitudes towards them.

Being a sole researcher is also another limitation during observations as some interactions within the area may have been missed while my attention may have been draw to other occurrences. Another limitation of this research is its reliability - as what is observed cannot be checked or repeated. Regardless, while limitations are evident within this data collecting method it was chosen because of its ability to provide primary data on aspects of human behaviour as it displayed the ability to highlight nonverbal expression of feelings, which in turn indicates attitudes. Interviews were chosen in conjunction with observations in hopes that it lends a voice to what was observed, and provide a more accurate and clearer interpretation and understanding of observable behaviour within the area. The sample of participants that were interviewed was small and therefore cannot be generalised as the voices and attitudes of the entire city. They did however, provide answers to the research aims by indicating the type of attitudes that exists surrounding this social phenomenon.

Overall, conducting this research has been an enjoyable process, with its fair share of hurdles. It has also left me with added transferable knowledge and skills in

regards to conducting various aspects of research. It is hoped that the findings that have emerged coupled with the solutions offered within this study serves a wider purpose. Whether it is in regards to further study surrounding the issue or a more progressive move towards positive approaches in addressing Hamilton's homeless situation.

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Appendix A

What to observe and how to document what is observed

Category	Includes	Researchers should note
Appearance	Clothing, age, gender, physical appearance	Anything that might indicate membership in groups or in sub-populations of interest to the study, such as profession, social status, socioeconomic class, religion or ethnicity
Verbal Behaviour and interaction	Who speaks to whom and for how long; who initiates interaction; languages or dialects spoken; tone of voice	Gender, age, ethnicity and profession of speakers; dynamics of interaction
Physical behaviour and gestures	What people do, who does what, who interacts with whom, who is not interacting	How people use their bodies and voices to communicate different emotions; what individuals' behaviour indicates about their feelings towards one another, their social rank or their profession.
Personal Space	How close people stand to one another	What individuals' preferences concerning personal space suggest about their relationships
Human Traffic	People who enter, leave, and spend time at the observation site	Where people enter and exit; how long they stay; who they are (ethnicity, age, gender); whether they are alone or accompanied; number of people

| People who stand out | Identification of people who receive a lot of attention from others | The characteristics of these individuals; what differentiates them from others; whether people consult them or they approach other people; whether they seem to be strangers or well known by others present |

Figure 5: What to observe and how to document what is observed (Guest, et al 2012)

Appendix B

Observation Questions

- Where do the homeless congregate?
- How are they behaving?
- How many of them are present within the area?
- How do they act towards each other?
- How do they act towards pedestrians?
- How do pedestrians act towards them?
- Are the two groups interacting with each other?
- Who are most likely to approach the homeless?
- Who are more likely to approach the homeless?
- Do pedestrians ignore them? (eye-contact etc)

- Distance (if any) kept between the two groups as they walked past each other
- Who is mainly present within the area and what are they doing?
- Is the police present/ if so how often?

Appendix C

How I explained myself If approached

"I'm Shevon from the University of Waikato conducting research on individuals' attitudes towards the homeless in Garden Place. So I am here because I am making preliminary observations of interactions within the area as this contributes to the overall research"

Appendix D

Participant Information Sheet 'script' for pedestrians

Individual attitude towards Hamilton's Homeless in Garden place

Hi there,

I'm Shevon from the University of Waikato and I'm conducting research on people's experiences with the homeless in Garden Place. If you have a few minutes to spare I would like to ask you your views on the issue.

(.....await pedestrians' verbal consent) Then proceed...

Before we begin I would like you to know that you have to right to refuse to answer or respond to any question that is asked of you. You may also withdraw from this interview at anytime during the interview process. All information collected from you will be anonymous. It's important to note that your responses will be noted and all information provided by you will be stored securely on private USB and computer systems accessible only by me.
I welcome your participation in this study; do you have any further questions? ... We can now begin when you are ready.

(After interview) Business size cards that will be left with participants will have the following information:

Thank you for your participation in this study. My supervisors; Dr Maxine M Campbell and Dr Neville R Robertson, and I, will be glad to answer any further questions you may have about this research at anytime. If you would like a summary of this research, please let me know. Listed below are our contact details.
Supervisors:
Dr Maxine M Campbell: maxine@waikato.ac.nz   Ph 856 2889
Dr Neville R Robertson : scorpio@waikato.ac.nz   Ph 856 2889
Researcher:
Shevon Barrow : shev1951@hotmail.com

Appendix E

Broad areas that were covered in order to guide pedestrian interviews

- Have you noticed any people who appear to be homeless within the area?
- What have you noticed them doing?
- Have you ever had any direct interactions with the homeless in Garden Place?
- Tell me about these
- How do you feel sharing this space with them day-to-day?
- Do you think anything needs to be done about the homeless that spend their days in Garden Place? (if anything)
- What suggestions can you offer, and why?

Appendix F

Participant information sheet for business managers

Attitudes towards homeless people in Garden Place

This research has received ethical approval from the University of Waikato School of Psychology Ethics Committee

Date approved: ***

Reference number: ***

WHAT IS THIS PROJECT ABOUT?

As part of a second year Masters of Applied Psychology programme in Community Psychology, my research thesis focuses on the issue of homelessness.

It aims to explore individuals' attitudes towards Hamilton's homeless. This information will be obtained by conducting interviews with willing participants about their experiences and views of the homeless who are often seen in Garden Place.

As a Business manager within Garden Place I ask for your participation as you may have some valuable insights and experiences to share.

It is hoped that the findings of this research will provide a better understanding of our individual attitudes towards homeless people. These perceptions and attitudes are important to understand because they determine the way we think about social problems and the solutions we offer to solve them

My research will be overseen by Dr Maxine M Campbell and Dr Neville R Robertson.

WHAT WILL HAPPEN

I would like to interview you on site at a time that suits you.

TIME COMMITMENT

Each interview is expected to take approximately 30 minutes.

PARTICIPATION

Participation is voluntary; therefore you have the right to refuse to answer or respond to any specific question that is asked of you. You may withdraw from the

interview at anytime during the interview, and up to four weeks after the interview.

If you want to withdraw please contact me within four weeks, and any information recorded about you from our research will be deleted. Please note that it will not be practical to remove your information from our data after four weeks from collection. If you request it, I will send you a written record of the interview. If you wish to take part please contact me within a week of receiving this information sheet.

ANONYMITY

All information collected from you will be kept anonymous. For example, the name, location, or other obvious identifying details about you or your business will be suppressed. All information provided by you will be stored securely on private USB and password protected computer systems accessible only by the researcher.

FURTHER INFORMATION

This research has been approved by the Psychology Research Ethics Committee at the University of Waikato.

Reference Number (upon approval)
Committee Chair:

Associate Professor John Perrone
Ph: +64 7 838 4466, extn 8292
Room: K. 1.08
School of Psychology

My supervisors, Dr Maxine M Campbell and Dr Neville R Robertson, and I will be glad to answer any further questions you may have about this research at anytime. Listed below are our contact details.
Supervisors:

Dr. Maxine M Campbell: maxine@waikato.ac.nz
Dr. Neville R Robertson : scorpio@waikato.ac.nz

Researcher:
Shevon Barrow: shev1951@hotmail.com

The final report of this research will be submitted to the University of Waikato School of Psychology. If you wish to read this, a copy will be kept at the University library; it will also be available electronically. I can also send you an executive summary of the final report if you wish.

Appendix G

Business manager Consent Form

Research Project: Individuals attitudes towards Hamilton's Homeless in Garden place

Please complete the following checklist. Tick (✓) the appropriate box for each point.	YES	NO
1. I have read the Participant Information Sheet (or it has been read to me) and I understand it.		
2. I have been given sufficient time to consider whether or not to participate in this study		
3. I am satisfied with the answers I have been given regarding the study and I have a copy of this consent form and information sheet		
4. I understand that taking part in this study is voluntary (my choice) and that I may withdraw at anytime during the interview, and can withdraw from the study up to 4 weeks after the interview, without penalty		
5. I understand that my participation in this study is confidential and that no material, which could identify me personally, will be used in any reports on this study.		
6. I have the right to refuse to answer or respond to any specific question that is asked of me		
7. I know who to contact if I have any questions about the study in general.		
8. I agree to the recording of my interview		
9. I am aware that I can view a written record of my interview upon request		

Declaration by participant:

I agree to participate in this research project. If I have any concerns about this project, I may contact the convenor of the Psychology Research and Ethics Committee (Associate Professor John Perrone, Tel: 07 838 4466 ext 8292, email: jpnz@waikato.ac.nz)

Participant's name (Please print):

Signature: Date:

Declaration by member of research team:

I have given a verbal explanation of the research project to the participant, and have answered the participant's questions about it. I believe that the participant understands the study and has given informed consent to participate.

Researcher's name (Please print):

Signature: Date:

Appendix H

Broad areas that were covered in order to guide business manager interviews

- Have you noticed any people who appear to be homeless within the area?
- What have you noticed them doing?

- Have your business had any direct interactions with the homeless (If so tell me about these)

- What sort of affect does the homeless have on this business? (Whether positive or negative, if any)
- How do you as a business feel about sharing this space with the homeless?

- Do you think anything needs to be done about the homeless that spend their days in Garden Place? (if so what suggestions can you offer)

Appendix I

Transcription Layout

Date: (*interview was conducted*)

Start Time: (*time interview started*) End Time: (*interview end time*)

Site: (*Garden Place*)

           Transcription- First Interview (*Dictaphone number*)

Person description: (*what interviewee looked like*)

Interview process (*questions and answers)*

Researcher:

Participant:

Figure 6: Example of transcription layout