‘I feel like my luck's going to run out soon’:

Youth Citizenship and Housing Responses to Homelessness in South Australia

by

Sharyn Goudie

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Abstract

The rise of Youth Housing Models (YHMs) can be attributed to a demand for medium term supported housing options for young people who are unable to rely on ongoing economic and habitual support from their families. This thesis explores the foundations of YHMs and the increasing trend for responses to youth homelessness to go beyond housing and include connection to education and employment. In order to understand this shift in public policy, this thesis seeks to unfurl what it means to be a 'good citizen' in modern Australian society and how this definition impacts on the service options available to young people experiencing homelessness.

Throughout, the voices of the young people who reside in these YHMs provide a touchstone to connect theory with practice, resulting in the identification of four main focus points. These are: initial perceptions of the YHMs for the young person and service providers, the role of housing and home as a foundation for citizenship, the way YHMs affected the development of young people's independent living skills and the aspirations and realities for the young person after they leave the YHM.

Overall, YHMs have the capacity to provide necessary support to young people who are no longer able to reside in the family home, however, this research found that to be effective YHMs need to offer a home rather than solely a roof over the young person's head. According to the young people interviewed, this sense of home was best provided by having someone on site they could contact as needed and a physical structure that allowed for both common areas and individual space. The young people also valued support to develop practical skills as well as build capacity to identify and articulate their needs in a way that allows them to ask for support when needed. But most importantly, there was demand for housing support to last beyond twelve months, providing the young person time to stabilize themselves and find the sort of employment that would allow them to afford a safe and stable housing alternative.

List of Abbreviations

ABS	Australian Bureau of Statistics
ACOSS	Australian Council of Social Services
AIHW	Australian Institute of Health and Welfare
CaLD	Culturally and Linguistically Diverse
CBD	Central Business District
CCCA	Commonwealth's Court of Conciliation and Arbitration
CIM	Compulsory Income Management
DCSI	Department for Communities and Social Inclusion (South Australia)
DFC	Department for Families and Communities (South Australia)
DHS	Department of Human Services (Federal)
HHA	HYPA Housing Adelaide
HHS	HYPA Housing Smithfield
HPAP	Homeless Persons Assistance Package
HREC	Human Research Ethics Committee
HYPA	Helping Young People Achieve (a subsidiary of Service to Youth Council, Inc.)
JSA	Job Services Australia
LGBTIQ	Lesbian, Gay, Bisexual, Transgender, Intersex, Queer
NAHA	National Affordable Housing Agreement
NGO	Non-Government Organisation
NYC	National Youth Commission
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
RGWR	Reference Group on Welfare Reform

SAAP	Supported Accommodation Assistance Program
SACE	South Australian Certificate of Education
SACOSS	South Australian Council of Social Services
SEIFA	Socio-Economic Index for Areas
SHS	Specialist Homelessness Services
SJYS	St John’s Youth Services
SIB	Social Inclusion Board
SIU	Social Inclusion Unit
TER	Tertiary Entrance Ranking
UN	United Nations
UtLaH	Unable to Live at Home
YHM	Youth Housing Model

Declaration of Originality

I certify that this work contains no material which has been accepted for the award of any other degree or diploma in my name, in any university or other tertiary institution and, to the best of my knowledge and belief, contains no material previously published or written by another person, except where due reference has been made in the text. In addition, I certify that no part of this work will, in the future, be used in a submission in my name, for any other degree or diploma in any university or other tertiary institution without the prior approval of the University of Adelaide and where applicable, any partner institution responsible for the joint-award of this degree.

I give permission for the digital version of my thesis to be made available on the web, via the University's digital research repository, the Library Search and also through web search engines, unless permission has been granted by the University to restrict access for a period of time.

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SHARYN GOUDIE

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Introduction

There continues to be a demand for further research examining youth homelessness and the associated housing responses. Reasons for this demand are not least because young people under 25 continue to constitute the largest group within the Australian homelessness population. As of the 2016 Australian Census, young people aged 12 – 24 years of age made up 24% (27, 683) of all people experiencing homelessness (Australian Bureau of Statistics (ABS) 2018a). Common reasons young people have a particular vulnerability to homelessness include the difficulties they face in finding suitable accommodation due to a lack of affordable and appropriate housing stock, high bond and establishment costs, low income, discrimination based on age, and a lack of references (Beer et al. 2005; Coleman and Fopp 2014; Johnson et al. 2015). However, to understand why a young person becomes homeless and what interventions can assist them to move out of homelessness, it is necessary to look beyond simply the provision of affordable housing.

Factors such as access to affordable housing, the complex interactions that a young person has with society, friends and family, as well as issues of identity and experience, mean that there will always be instances where people with similar circumstances may take different life trajectories. Because of this, the reasons a young person becomes homeless, their experiences while they are homeless and how they exit homelessness, are diverse (Bower et al. 2018; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al., 2010; Mayock et al., 2011; McLoughlin 2011; National Youth Commission (NYC) 2008). This has meant that a one size policy response is inadequate.

One of the most recent public policy responses to youth homelessness has been the development of Youth Housing Models (YHMs). YHMs are defined here as providing medium to long term independent housing with additional support to engage in education, employment or other civic participation. The implementation of YHMs vary and may include the provision of 24-hour on-site staff support, outreach case management, the use of mentors, and/or connections with vocational opportunities. However, the common thread with each YHM is the provision of support by a Non-Government Organisation (NGO) and an expectation for the young person to be engaged in education and/or employment (Commonwealth Government of Australia 2008b; Haggerty 2007). It is this emphasis on economic participation that is a key element of this research.

Another key element of this study has been the ability to use diverse localities to compare and contrast different YHMs. The five YHMs examined in this research include an Adelaide Central Business District (CBD) based model that had been in operation for over two decades, a Northern suburbs model operating since 2012, a government funded and NGO operated YHM in Western Adelaide, a community run model based in the inner West and an unfunded NGO model unrestricted to a set geographical location, but instead providing outreach support to young people in their home.

The funding of many of the YHMs was made possible because of a shift in public policy. The majority of the YHMs examined are connected to the 2008 Australian Government White Paper, *The Road Home: a National Approach to Ending Homelessness* (Commonwealth Government of Australia 2008b). The White Paper outlined a number of ambitious targets for reducing homelessness, including halving overall homelessness by 2020. Operating parallel to these homelessness and housing initiatives was the introduction of an Australian Social Inclusion Agenda that targeted "…locations of concentrated disadvantage; jobless families and children at greatest risk of long-term disadvantage" (Social Inclusion Board (SIB) 2010, p. 6).[1]

It is this combination of homelessness, housing and social inclusion agendas that created the setting for the development of YHMs. South Australia was identified as an ideal location as it was the first Australian state or territory government to include a social inclusion framework and one of the few Australian states and territories that used the establishment of the 2009 National Affordable Housing Agreement[2] (NAHA) to reform its Specialist Homelessness Services (SHS) sector.

These reforms to SHS led the South Australian Government to increase investment in YHMs. However, due to the relative newness of YHMs there has been limited research into not only their efficacy but also the impact of YHMs regarding young people's experience of citizenship. Guided by the following research questions I uncover how the connection between public policy and citizenship intersect.

[1] Many of these Australian social inclusion targets built on South Australia's social inclusion initiatives which began in 2002 with an initial focus on homelessness, youth justice, disability, mental health, Aboriginal health and wellbeing, drug abuse and school retention (Cappo 2010: 5).

[2] NAHA is an agreement by the Council of Australian Governments (COAG) that commenced on 1 Jan 2009. NAHA is supported by National Partnership Agreements on social housing, homelessness, and Indigenous Australians living in remote areas (Department of Social Services 2019)

Research Questions

The thesis addresses three themes

1. How has the history of Australian public policy impacted on current understandings of citizenship and how has this influenced the current responses to young people who experience homelessness?
2. What is the influence of the dimensions and circumstances of the young people who access YHMs, taking into account the young person's biographies and demographic backgrounds?
3. What are the specificities of YHMs in metropolitan Adelaide, including the values and visions of the services, their implementation, and also the impact of locational factors on the YHM's perceived success?

I adopt citizenship theory as a 'theoretical map' throughout this study to navigate the expectations of young people in modern Australian society, and to explore the impact on the way that YHMs promote or downplay normative ideals of citizenship. In Ancient Greece the concept of citizenship implied civil, political and economic participation that was confined to a select population excluding women and slaves (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 362). I unpack how Australia's public policy has managed concepts of citizenship that balance between government obligation to provide a minimum level of support and the obligation of this population to earn this support (Gerrard 2019; Lister 1998; Mendes 2017). Furthermore, I investigate the way these policy decisions have reduced young people to 'citizens in the making' and in turn how this has affected the way young people view their own role in society (Smith et al. 2005, p. 236).

Guided by the scholarship of Ruth Lister and Iris Marion Young, I go beyond structural and institutional explanations of citizenship to focus on identity. The concept of identity requires an understanding of its definitions as *categorical* (labels given to people) and *ontological* (labels people give to themselves) (Clapham 2003, p. 65). In particular, I look at the way that categorical identity is influenced by the stigma associated with homelessness and how ontological identity can be influenced by people's experience of trauma.

The study is timely given that both public policy and cultural language place people outside the workforce under increasing restrictions and surveillance (Mendes 2017). Young people are particularly susceptible to paternalistic policy as they remain excluded from being recognised as 'full' citizens until they reach economic independence (Bessant 2018). That is, citizenship is associated with workforce participation. Seemingly there is a dichotomy in Australian policy

whereby there is an ‘active’ and ‘passive’ concept of citizenship and that by receiving welfare you forgo your rights as an ‘active’ citizen (Clapham 2003, p.124; Gerrard 2017; Smith et al. 2005:440).

In the case of young people in the 21st century, the ‘normative career’ for young people to transition to traditional notions of adulthood has been disrupted through a lack of easy access to employment and affordable housing (Bessant 2018; Furlong 2015; Johnson et al. 2015; Woodman and Bennet 2015). Young people in particular face higher levels of unemployment, increased casualisation of the workforce and, for many jobs, increasing educational requirements to obtain entry level positions (Campbell 2013; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Price and Grant-Smith 2018; Walsh 2011). Furthermore, employment that is available to young people is predominately part-time or casual, with evidence of greater workforce instability for young people compared to older workers (Campbell et al. 2013, p. 13; Walsh 2011).

As opportunities for financial security diminish, significant numbers of young Australians are being forced into the private rental market and other forms of non-permanent and potentially unsafe accommodation due to limited access to social or affordable housing (Davidson et al. 2018). For many young people on low incomes, the private rental market can be one of the most expensive of all housing options. It rarely provides long-term stability and is often discriminatory in its requirements of young people (Beer et al. 2005; Coleman and Fopp 2014; Johnson et al. 2015).

Furthermore, there is an increasing demand for supported accommodation services that assist young people in the transition into independent living (Coleman and Fopp 2014; Johnson et al. 2008; Steen and MacKenzie 2017). This has meant that more young people with less complex needs and barriers are finding themselves homeless - they are young apprentices, students and low-income earners who, in the absence of family support, are struggling to afford the basics of life and are increasingly at risk of becoming homeless. Under the Labor Rudd/Gillard/Rudd governments between 2007 and 2013 there was a dramatic increase in funding in the Australian housing and homelessness sector (MacKenzie 2017). These policy decisions not only impacted on what services were provided, but also the expectations of the people receiving the service.

By answering and investigating these research questions within the context of citizenship I address gaps in current literature in two ways. First, by providing insight into the circumstances and experience of people living in youth accommodation and their transition to independent living; and second, by critiquing the nature and extent to which YHMs reinforce modern

Australian society's definition of citizenship. In doing so, I provide important evidence of what constitutes best practice within YHMs as well as a considered analysis of locational factors that can influence the outcomes for the young person.

I also offer a deep socio-political analysis using a combination of research methods to investigate the circumstances and experiences of young people in negotiating the transition from supported accommodation into independent living. The empirical data gathered in this study has been used to offer a better conceptual understanding of youth homelessness and policy recommendations that will assist services to support young people to negotiate the path to sustained independent living. Through these recommendations I aim to provide a framework for developing responsive and sustainable service delivery models and practice that promotes the needs of this youth cohort.

Outline of the thesis

In **Chapter One** I review the literature related to youth homelessness including exploration of how it is defined and the intersection of individual and structural issues that can lead to youth homelessness. I also examine the role of a young person's identity formation and its association to stigma. Based on this understanding of youth homelessness, I outline a public policy landscape and how this led to the adoption of YHMs.

In **Chapter Two** I provide an analysis of the discourse that underpins these policies. In doing so, I outline Australia's public policy history, beginning with the Harvester Judgment of 1907 and ending with the Rudd/Gillard Labor Government's Social Inclusion policies one century later. Through this analysis of Australia's public policy, I provide insight into the intersection between public policy decisions and the experiences of citizenship on a day to day level, while also highlighting how public policy can shape notions of what it is to be a 'good citizen'. I conclude by outlining an alternative model of citizenship based on differentiated universalism that offers an opportunity to expand a young person's skillset and their capacity to engage in society.

In **Chapter Three** I outline the methods utilised to understand the YHM's impact on a young person's experience of citizenship. I then provide detail of each of the five YHMs across metropolitan Adelaide, exploring their commonalities and unique attributes. Within this context, I outline the qualitative and quantitative data techniques employed in this research and the challenges and ethical implications of research with a vulnerable cohort such as young people who experience homelessness.

In **Chapter Four**, I examine the dimensions and circumstances of those young people who access YHMs. In doing so, I firstly explore the biographies of the young people leading up to entering the YHMs and their perceptions of homelessness and clarify the impact that experiences of homelessness have on a young person.

In **Chapter Five** I examine the structures of the YHMs and how their physical composition influences a young person's first impressions, their ability to create home, feelings of safety and how they engage with other tenants. The second element of this chapter takes into account the YHM's location and explores the implications of geography and local community on the young person's experience of citizenship.

In **Chapter Six** I provide evidence of the less tangible areas of support that young people receive in the YHMs. These supports are divided up into four main areas – building relationships, developing independent living skills, connections to education and employment, and fostering leadership.

The final discussion chapter, **Chapter Seven,** explores what options young people have when they leave the YHM, including an examination of what the young person and the YHMs consider a 'successful' outcome. This is provided within the context of four specific case studies of the young person's alternative exit points from the YHM, taking into account the young person's future aspirations and how these intersect with their notions of citizenship and the realities they face once they left the YHM.

Each of the previous chapters sets a foundation for **Chapter Eight** in which I outline a range of recommendations to inform current and future responses to young people experiencing homelessness. The aim of these recommendations is to increase young people's opportunities for mutually beneficial engagement in society even when faced with the difficulties associated with homelessness. These recommendations lead into the **Conclusion** which reviews and illustrates how the YHMs interact with Australian public policy discourse and the implications of this for a young person's experiences of citizenship.

Chapter One: Literature Review

Introduction

Youth Housing Models (YHMs) are the most recent phenomenon in housing responses for young people who experience homelessness. These models have a dual role to accommodate young people as well as encourage the young person's engagement in education and/or employment. The increase in YHMs occurred at a time when high rates of youth homelessness continued to create significant demand in an already overstretched homelessness sector (Commonwealth Government of Australia 2008, p. 30; Steen and MacKenzie 2017). The purpose of this chapter is to examine three concepts that underlie youth homelessness and how as a society we perceive young people:

1. how youth homelessness and its causes are defined in a theoretical sense;
2. the role of public policy in responding to youth homelessness; and
3. the development of YHMs.

Defining Young People

For the purpose of this research, and in recognition of the public policy landscape, I use the UN's definition of young people being those aged 15 to 24 (United Nations 2011). I acknowledge that the definition of what it means to be a young person is a socio-cultural construction that differs over time and place to reflect societal and community expectations (Mallett et al. 2010, p. 7). Understanding how a young person is categorised in terms of age is important as it may impact on the services available to them, public policy decisions and expectations of their citizenship obligations (Mallett et al. 2010).

The way that public policy intervenes in relation to issues that affect young people has changed over the past forty years. These changes centred on a decline in what is considered a young person's 'normative' transition from education to employment. In the face of a changing experience for young people in the 1980s and 1990s the concept of 'risk' frameworks were promoted. These risk frameworks aimed to identify and intervene in cases where a young person was unlikely to make a normative transition to economic independence and assist them to 'build resilience' (Giddens 2013; Beck 1992).

By the 2000s critics argued that risk frameworks problematised youth and encouraged coercive public policy that ignored the failure of structures to be responsive to the needs of the young person (Batterham 2017, p. 2; Bessant 2018; Wyn and White 2015, p. 35; Woodman and Bennett 2015, p. 56). Furthermore, it was argued that rather than define a young person's citizenship by their ability to transition to economic independence, there needed to be greater emphasis on a young person's participation, belonging and the way that they develop their identity (Furlong 2015, p. 22; Harris 2015, p. 95; Watson and Cuervo 2017; Wyn and White 2015, p. 31). These debates of whether it is more important for policy to respond to structural, individual or identity factors is echoed within the way that homelessness is defined.

Defining Homelessness

> "While the pathways to homelessness are varied and unique, one thing that unites all young people in this situation is their attempt to secure housing at a very young age, with minimal or no family support, limited resources and very little experience with independent living. These challenges become more complicated the younger one is, and if one faces discrimination based on sexual orientation, gender, or because of racism, problems become compounded." (Gaetz & Scott 2012, p. 6).

As highlighted by Gaetz & Scott, there is significant diversity in how a young person experiences homelessness. Youth homelessness is a public issue and was most notably brought to the Australian public's attention in 1989 through Brian Burdekin's Human Rights and Equal Opportunities Commission Report *'Our Homeless Children'* (Coleman and Fopp 2014; MacKenzie and Coffey 2012, p. 8). What commonly became known as the 'Burdekin Report' demonstrated that youth homelessness was not a homogenous experience and equally the impact of homelessness differed across young people (Johnson and Chamberlain 2008, p. 564).

The increased attention to homelessness was not only specific to young people; shortly after the Burdekin Report and the raising of youth homelessness on the National agenda, Chris Chamberlain and David MacKenzie developed a cultural definition of homelessness. Previously, homelessness was more commonly associated with stereotypes of the 'old man on the park bench' (or 'primary homelessness' as defined below in Figure 1). This concept became more problematic in the late 1970s as a growing number of young people, women and children were also identified as experiencing homelessness (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992, p. 279; Hulse et al. 2011, p. 15).

By adapting a 1960s definition of homelessness, Chamberlain and MacKenzie acknowledge that to have a 'home' involves more than simply a roof over one's head. The community standards of what it is to have a home and the temporary nature of many housing options led to differentiating between primary, secondary and tertiary homelessness (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992).

FIGURE 1 A MODEL OF HOMELESSNESS BASED ON SHARED COMMUNITY STANDARDS EMBODIED IN CURRENT HOUSING PRACTICES

Culturally recognised exceptions: where it is inappropriate to apply the minimum standard — e.g. seminaries, gaols, student halls of residence etc.	**Marginally housed:** people in housing situations close to the minimum standard
	Tertiary homelessness: people living in single rooms in private boarding houses—without their own bathroom, kitchen or security of tenure
	Secondary homelessness: people moving between various forms of temporary shelter including: friends, emergency accommodation, youth refuges, hostels and boarding houses
	Primary homelessness: people without conventional accommodation (living on the streets, in deserted buildings, improvised dwellings, under bridges, in parks etc.)

SOURCE: CHAMBERLAIN AND MACKENZIE 1992, P. 291

As outlined in Figure 1, Chamberlain and Mackenzie equate *Primary homelessness* with a person sleeping on the street, a situation also described as 'rough sleeping'; *Secondary homelessness* refers to the less visible population of those accessing supported accommodation and couch surfing; and finally, *Tertiary homelessness* refers to those who are accessing boarding houses and who therefore lack secure tenure and access to private amenities such as their own bathroom or kitchen (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992). Each of these elements emphasise that even where people are not living 'on the streets' it is necessary to recognise the negative effects of living in transitional accommodation which may not meet community standards of comfort and/or privacy.

Since Chamberlain and MacKenzie's work, the definition of homeless continues to evolve in three ways. First, there is a shift away from focusing solely on the physical structure (i.e. the bricks and mortar) of the housing and instead increasing recognition of individual aspects of homelessness. These individual aspects include the threat of violence and trauma that may come with not having stable accommodation or living in an unsafe home (Horsell and Zufferey 2018; McLoughlin 2011, p. 40).

Second, there is greater recognition of the different cultural experiences of homelessness for Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians (Brackertz and Wilkinson 2017; Memmott and Nash 2014). These experiences may include spiritual homelessness, overcrowding, a poor standard of housing and increased transiency compared to other cultural groups (SIB 2003, p. 8; Memmott and Nash 2014). In particular, 'spiritual homelessness' refers to the disconnect between an individual and their homeland, kinship network, or inability to live in a space that reflects the social and cultural needs of the individual (Brackertz and Wilkinson 2017).

Third, there is ongoing work in the way homelessness is quantified. Part of the push for quantifying the number of people who are homeless was related to the Federal Rudd Labor Government's call to reduce homelessness by 2020 in its 2008 White Paper into Homelessness. This policy driver led the ABS to develop an alternative definition of homelessness in 2012, resulting in significant ramifications for the way homelessness is enumerated in Australia (Chamberlain and Mackenzie 2014, p. 84).

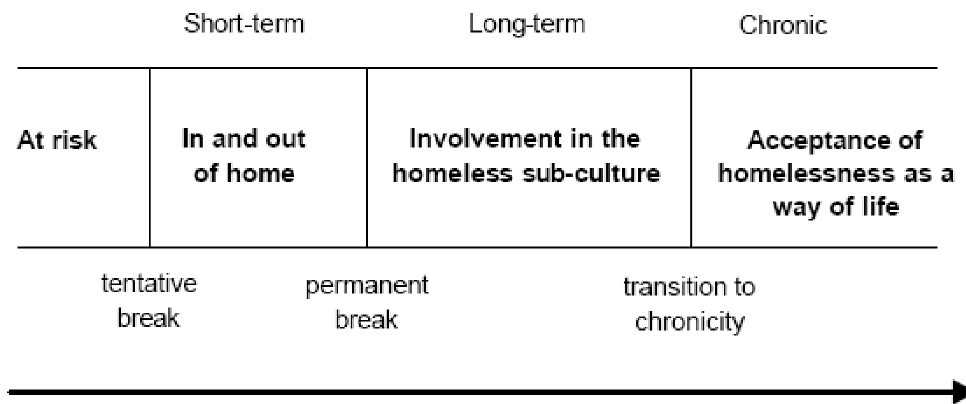
These changes have led to criticism that the ABS' method has the potential to undercount young people's experience of homelessness as it lacks recognition of young people's movements in and out of homelessness, for example, through couch surfing (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2014; Horsell and Zufferey 2018; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014). The ABS has acknowledged that their definition is limited - particularly in the areas of youth homelessness (ABS 2012, p. 60; ABS 2018a) - and as such, creating an accurate definition that is measurable is currently a gap.

While debate on the best way to quantify and define homelessness continues, this is only one part of understanding youth homelessness; another is comprehending the reasons why young people become homeless in the first place. Since youth homelessness was identified as an issue in its own right in the late 1980s, significant research has gone into understanding how a young person becomes homeless (Beer et al. 2005; Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1998, 2004; Farrugia 2010, 2016; Fitzpatrick 1999; Fitzpatrick et al. 2012; Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Jacobs 2014; Mallett et al. 2010; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2011; 2014).

Often referred to as the youth 'pathway' into homelessness (Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010), the term denotes that experiences of homelessness are rarely linear, with young people moving in and out of it over time and hence there is potential for intervention at various points (Johnson and Chamberlain 2014). Unlike adults, young people will rarely experience one significant event that will lead them to leave the family home and move into long term

homelessness. Instead, there are often signs that a young person is ‘at risk’ of homelessness before they make a ‘permanent break’[3]. Chamberlain and MacKenzie visually illustrate the model as seen in Figure 2 below:

FIGURE 2: YOUTH HOMELESSNESS PATHWAY



SOURCE: CHAMBERLAIN AND MACKENZIE 1998, P. 70

What Chamberlain and Mackenzie illustrate in the model is that becoming homeless at a young age is not a certain predictor of chronic homelessness. There are many interconnecting factors that influence a young person’s experience. Despite this diversity of experience, there are common *structural* and *individual* factors that impact on the chances of a young person becoming homeless, how they experience homelessness and the likelihood of the young person ‘getting out’ of homelessness.

Here, I refer to *structure* as macro social and economic factors such as contact with government services, poverty, unemployment, housing affordability and demand, and family structures. These *structural* issues then intersect with *individual* experiences commonly associated with personal characteristics[4], how the young person experiences and responds to the trauma and stigma associated with homelessness, and the impact of this on the way a young person forms their identity (Anderson 2003; Farrugia and Gerrard 2016; Fitzpatrick 1999; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010, p. 20).

[3] Acknowledgement of the range of intervention points that occur before a young person has a ‘permanent break’ from the family home was crucial in leading to further development of early intervention and prevention. These ramifications are discussed in further detail in the context of policy responses in Chapter Two.

[4] Personal characteristics here refer to specific factors such as family support, age, gender, sexuality, cultural background, and experiences of mental illness and substance abuse.

Structural factors

a. *Poverty*

Out of all the structural issues associated with causes of homelessness, poverty is identified as one of the most pertinent (Johnson et al. 2008, p. 204; Johnson et al. 2015, p. 9; McNamara 2015, p. 218). More than one in eight people (13.2%) live below the poverty line in Australia, including one in six children (17.3%), with Australia remaining 14th out of Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD) countries in regards to incidence of child poverty (Davidson et al. 2018, p. 12; UNICEF Office of Research 2016, p. 4).

Part of the reason that Australia still experiences such high rates of poverty are twofold. First - as will be outlined further in Chapter Two - Australia's current social welfare system relies heavily on family and informal supports to meet the needs of individuals. For young people unable to rely on family, their only financial support options are either through welfare support or employment, both of which have become increasingly difficult to access.

i. Welfare Support

There are a range of barriers to accessing welfare support in Australia and for those who do receive benefits the monetary value is low (Mendes 2017). In 2015 it was estimated 78% of those receiving Australia's main employment benefit were experiencing poverty (Davidson et al. 2018, p. 15). Unlike the Age Pension, Australia's main unemployment rate (Newstart) has been frozen in real terms since 1994 despite clear increases in the costs of living within the same period (Davidson et al. 2018; Mendes 2017). As of November 2018, the Newstart allowance is $550.20 a fortnight, equating to 66% of the Age Pension (Department of Human Services 2018a; 2018b). The gap between the Age Pension and Newstart has been consistently argued as unsustainable with ongoing campaigns to raise the rate of Newstart (Australian Council of Social Services (ACOSS) 2018; McClure Report 2014, 57; Mendes 2017, p. 234). The allowance available to young people is even lower.

The primary welfare assistance available to young people aged 15 – 22 in Australia is Youth Allowance and the Independent Rate of Youth Allowance[5] which currently sits at $445.80 a

[5] To be eligible for Youth Allowance, a young person and their family need to be means tested and the level of income is provided on a sliding scale depending on whether the young person is continuing to reside at home or is living independently. Means testing is only excluded if it is proven that the family relationship has broken down to a point that it is not possible for the young person to reside in the home or likely to receive ongoing financial support from the family due to family breakdown (Department of Human Services 2018d).

fortnight and is just 53% of the Age Pension (Department of Human Services 2018a; 2018c). As these figures reveal, even those young people eligible for the full rate of Youth Allowance receive the lowest financial rate of support in comparison to recipients of other allowances and pensions, (ACOSS 2013, p. 14; Johnson and Jacobs 2014, p. 45; McNamara 2015, p. 218; Murphy 2011, p. 15; South Australian Council of Social Services (SACOSS) 2011, p. 31; Saunders 2005, p. 18;). These low rates place young people below the poverty line in Australia and do not acknowledge that the ability to get off welfare and into work is becoming increasingly difficult with the rise of part-time, casual or precarious employment.

ii. Employment

Access to employment is a critical factor in reducing the potential for experiencing homelessness (Chigavazira et al. 2013, p. 4). Young people are particularly vulnerable as they continue to experience higher rates of unemployment than other groups and at the time of writing the participation rate of 15 – 24 year old people sat at just 67.6% with an unemployment rate of 11.2% (ABS 2018a; Bessant 2018, p. 793).

The employment available to young people is predominately part time or casual, with evidence of greater workforce instability for young people in comparison to older people (Campbell 2013, p. 13; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Price and Grant-Smith 2018, p. 55; Walsh 2011, p. 1). Growing casualisation of the workforce over recent decades has reduced the protective factors of employment, leading more people to be at risk of exploitation and poverty even when they are employed, with little evidence that casual positions lead to more secure work in the future (Bessant 2018, p. 792; Campbell and Burgess 2018, p. 50; Murphy et al. 2011, p. 96; Saunders 2005, p. 32; Walsh 2011, p. 1).

In light of this combination of limited welfare assistance, low pay, both un- and under -employment, and casualisation, young people in general experience higher rates of poverty and earnings insecurity. For those unable to rely on the ongoing support of family, they face the same high cost of living as others, while only receiving a proportion of the income. The loss of family support is highlighted further for those who rely on support from the child protection system.

b. *Contact with Child Protection*

Although none of the young people interviewed as part of this research identified as been under Guardianship of the Minister[6], one of the YHMs was earmarked by funding bodies as a transition point for young people leaving care. By the time my study began the young people who had been a part of this transition were no longer at the YHM and there are no immediate plans to take any more referrals. The strong association between contact with child protection and youth justice services and experiences of homelessness means that it is worth considering why members of this group may not have stayed in the YHMs long term and also YHMs are suitable for this particular cohort.

The consequences of receiving intervention for child protection issues are also offset by not receiving support when needed. A recent inquiry into child protection services in South Australia found that despite there being statutory responsibility for children up to the age of 18, those defined as Adolescents at Risk[7] were often screened out of receiving support even in cases which would have been considered worthy of intervention if the person was younger (Child Protection Systems Royal Commission 2016, p. 123). As a result of the lack of child protection intervention many of these young people rely on SHS which in the past have been found to be "...a 'stop-gap' child protection service" (NYC 2008, p. 130).

Nevertheless, there is evidence that those who have been placed under the Guardianship of the Minister have an even higher chance of experiencing homelessness once they age out of care. The reasons for this reflect the fallibility of services rather than any potential shortcomings of the young people (Johnson et al. 2008; Liddiard 2013[8]; Mallett et al. 2010, p. 171; Mosslehudden & Mendes 2007, p. 1; NYC 2008, p. 125; Nyland 2016).

Along with higher experiences of homelessness young people under care orders also have a higher likelihood of entering the youth justice system (Baldry 2014). These issues are also reflected in the high number of those who have been victims of abuse, have a cognitive impairment and/or mental health or substance misuse issues, and who are overrepresented in

[6] In South Australia a child may be placed under the Guardianship of the Minister in cases where Child Protection Authorities decide that the child's safety or wellbeing is at risk staying in the home. In the case of a young person who is under the guardianship of the minister a decision has been made that the State will act as guardian until the young person turns eighteen.

[7] Adolescent at Risk refers to where "the notification identifies an adolescent at risk of harm from their own behaviour or a set of circumstances, such as homelessness, drugs or alcohol, family conflict, self-harm or suicidal ideation" (Child Protection Systems Royal Commission 2016, p.119)

[8] Recent research involving 77 care leavers found that 61% were homeless at the time of interview and 95% had been homeless at some point (Liddiard 2013)

youth justice systems (Australian Institute of Health and Welfare (AIHW) 2012; Baldry 2014). This overrepresentation in juvenile justice can be related to police becoming default mental health workers as a lack of service coordination leaves people without clear referral pathways, particularly when they present with complex needs and are already homeless (Baldry 2014). Added to this, a lack of housing options and appropriate system support often means that young people leave youth justice services without any accommodation (Chigavazira et al. 2013, p. 41; Johnson et al. 2015, p. 26).

c. *A lack of affordable housing*

An increase in housing costs has hit those on low incomes the hardest. Young people in particular have difficulty accessing affordable housing as they attempt to amass bond and establishment costs on a low income, as well as facing age discrimination and a lack of tenancy references (Beer et al. 2005; Coleman and Fopp 2014; Johnson et al. 2015, 10). With the dream of home ownership becoming less and less unattainable in Australia, young people's options are confined to public housing or private rental, both of which are increasingly limited (Flatau et al. 2017; Davidson et al. 2018, p. 14).

The rising costs of housing in comparison to young people's incomes has meant that private rental is out of many young people's reach (Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Toohey 2014). Between 2006 and 2016 South Australian median rental prices (in current dollars) jumped from $239 to $295 a week, while incomes remained steady (ABS 2018c). Rising private rental costs reflect the housing boom which saw the cost of housing across Australia rise by 147% between 2001 and 2011 (Lunn 2011, p. 1).

As with many other States and Territories in Australia, South Australia's public housing stock has continued to reduce in number, and what is available has been sequestered for those considered in greatest need (Groenhart 2013; Toohey 2014). The reliance on tenants who are predominantly on the lowest income levels has also led to reduced revenue for Housing SA and increased difficulty for government to maintain stock (Toohey 2014, p. 192). This reduction in public housing has led to an increase in the waiting period for even those identified as most in need[9] and this has increased pressure on the private rental market (Kemp 2012, p. 1; Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2016; Wood 2017, p. 202). For those who are unable to enter the housing market in any way, there has been an

[9] Category One is defined as "People in urgent need of housing and have long-term barriers to accessing or maintaining private rental or housing options - eg privately renting" (Government of South Australia 2018)

increased reliance on families to fill the gap and the need for more young people to stay in the family home for longer.

d. *Family*

In the context of this study, the concept of family is divided into two separate components - the *structural* (focused on the dissolution of the nuclear family) and the *individual* (the ability for family to provide ongoing support). Within the structural context, an increase in family breakdown since the late 1970s has consistently been identified as leading to a growth in the numbers of young people who experience homelessness (Barker 2012, p. 6; Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Mallett et al. 2010). Two major reasons are often flagged as the causes of family breakdown – normative family conflict and adverse childhood experiences (Fitzpatrick et al. 2012; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010).

In the first instance – normative family conflict - issues within the family stems from factors such as the dissolution of the nuclear family, increased formation of blended families, cultural implications of first and second generation migrants, and conflict related to young people's emergent sexuality (Johnson et al. 2008). In these cases, the conflict is considered 'normative' as it coincides with the young person seeking greater independence and the desire to leave the restrictions of home.

The second major reason for family breakdown is adverse childhood experiences. This could mean that a young person has experienced 'home effectively leaving them', predominately though an environment that includes significant physical, sexual and/or emotional abuse (Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010). Evidence demonstrates that reasons for the breakdown of the nuclear family model may result in differing ways that young people go on to experience homelessness, with those from the second group who have lived with adverse childhood experiences being more likely to go on to experience chronic homelessness (Chigavazira et al. 2013; Fitzpatrick et al. 2012; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010).

In either scenario the loss of significant familial relationships may also result in a loss of trust and norms of reciprocity, which may result in the young person overemphasizing their self-reliance and independence (Barker 2012). This has implications for the way a young person seeks assistance and engages with the community in the future (Barker 2012, p. 3; Johnson et al. 2008, p. 56-57; NYC 2008, p. 87; Walter et al. 2016, p. 357; Watson and Cuervo 2017).

Some of the explanations for these differences can also be understood in the way that the structural factors outlined above intersect with individual experiences.

<u>Individual experiences</u>

Despite the significant structural factors outlined above, it is individual experiences that are often over-emphasised by the mainstream population and media as the cause of homelessness (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004, p. 9l; Farrugia 2010, p. 72; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015). This section examines these assumptions by breaking down common personal experiences often attributed to causing a young person to become homeless.

Individual experiences are divided here into age; being of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander (ATSI) origin or of a Cultural and Linguistically Diverse Background (CaLD); gender; those identifying as lesbian, gay, bisexual, transgender, intersex and/or queer (LGBTIQ); mental health issues, and/or substance abuse. While this section separates out a number of personal characteristics, it is increasingly common for young people who experience homelessness to present with a combination of these factors (Keys et al. 2004, p. 11). For these reasons when examining these characteristics it is important to consider them within an intersectional analysis and also how they pertain to structural or social organisation (Martin 2014; Watson and Cuervo 2017).

a. *Age*

As outlined previously, Chamberlain and MacKenzie developed an alternative youth homeless pathway that illustrates the specific challenges young people face in comparison to those on alternative homeless pathways (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1998, p. 70). These challenges result in a young person being more likely to be marginally housed than other population groups. Being marginally housed describes a range of situations including experiencing overcrowding, couch surfing, residing in boarding houses and supported accommodation, but ultimately it is a situation that results in an increased instability, or 'cycling', between housing types (Chigavazira et al. 2013, p. 4, 15).

This housing instability creates a rocky foundation from which young people need to build relationships and engage in education and employment. Additionally, young people are at a stage in their life where they are still developing emotionally, physically and psychologically. The implications of disrupting this period of change and growth are reflected in the evidence that the younger a person is when they first experience homelessness, the greater the likelihood

that they will experience multiple experiences of homelessness throughout their life (Fitzpatrick et al. 2012; Johnson 2015; Scutella and Wooden 2014).

b. *Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples*

Prior to colonisation the Indigenous people of Australia had their own clear organisation of social beliefs, customs and territories (Memmott and Nash 2014). After colonisation Aboriginal Australians faced involuntary dispersal, massacres, and laws specifically instituted to control every aspect of their lives resulting in dispossession and spiritual homelessness (Coleman and Fopp 2014; Memmott and Nash 2014).

As a direct result of Australia's colonial history Aboriginal and Torres Strait Island peoples are disproportionally likely to experience intergenerational and primary homelessness making up 23% (53,301) of SHS users in 2014-15, despite only representing 3% of the Australian population (AIHW 2015; Barker 2012, p. 6; Chigavazira et al. 2013, p. 4; Coleman and Fopp 2014, p. 23; SIB 2003, p. 13). Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples are also more likely to be taken into care under child protection and/or to live in both formal and informal kinship care before turning 18, experience higher rates of unemployment and family violence (Brackertz and Wilkinson 2017; Flatau et al. 2013; Memmott and Nash 2014).

Overcrowding is another issue often highlighted as leading to homelessness. Family structures within Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander communities often extend caring responsibilities beyond parents, to also include members of the community. When these obligations are constrained within Australia's nuclear housing structures it can result in a "…loss of control over privacy and the ability to maintain avoidance relationships" (Brackertz and Wilkinson 2017, p. 6; 10). For these reasons, appropriate responses to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander peoples require a reconsideration of the provision of housing and greater understanding of spiritual homelessness, obligation and connection with community (Memmott and Nash 2014). Unfortunately, an underinvestment into Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander specific support means this group continues to face unnecessary barriers (Flatau 2017).

c. *Cultural and Linguistically Diverse Background (CaLD)*

People from CaLD Backgrounds are another group that have an increasing profile in homelessness statistics. Similar to Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander Australians, people from CaLD backgrounds are often required to adapt to Australia's "dominant nuclear design

of houses" that are not suitable to 'multi-generational' or 'multi-family' households (Brackertz and Wilkinson 2017; Couch 2017). Along with overcrowding, young people from CaLD backgrounds face challenges relating to arriving with limited supports, conflicting cultural norms, low language skills, and the effects of trauma (Tually et al. 2012, p. 27; Ziersch et al. 2017, p. 3).

Those who have entered Australia as *humanitarian entrants*[10] make up a disproportionate number of CaLD young people who become homeless (Barker 2012, p. 6; Couch 2017; Tually et al. 2013; Ziersch et al. 2017, p. 2). Humanitarian entrants are often invisible to mainstream services as their status restricts access to some supports. For example, many homelessness services require a young person to be receiving an income from Centrelink; for those ineligible to receive Centrelink while their situations are been assessed, they may find themselves excluded from services. They can also be invisible within their own local communities as they may couch surf or rely on insecure networks (Couch 2017, p. 2). Even when still residing with families or visa sponsors a young person is likely to experience multiple moves making it difficult to make consistent and ongoing connections with education and the greater community (Couch 2017, p. 3).

Another challenge that all CaLD young people face is their duality. For humanitarian entrants, duality refers to the confusion that arises when the need to flee a country considered home, as well as the reality of becoming separated from family and loved ones, is counterbalanced with insecurity and disconnection within their current supposedly safer environment (Ziersch et al, 2017, p. 6). Further promoting confusion and a loss of identity is that CaLD young people often experience the contradictory expectations when supporting older family members to navigate the new cultural environment while at the same time being required to 'remain loyal to their ethnic values' (Couch 2017, p. 4). The emergent sexuality of the young person is a common example where culture can clash with the individual young person's identity.

d. *LGBTIQ*

As previously noted, one of the drivers of family breakdown that leads to homelessness is the family response to young people's emergent sexuality (Rosario 2012, p. 4). Despite awareness that people identifying as LGBTIQ are over-represented in the homeless population, there is

[10] Here, *humanitarian entrant* refers to those who have sought humanitarian assistance in Australia including resettled refugees, and asylum seekers who arrive in Australia prior to having their refugee status assessed (Tually et al, 2012; Ziersch 2017, p. 2)

limited research into how housing and homeless support services respond to this group (Rosario 2012, p. 2). What is known is that many of the current homelessness services are not accessible or appropriate for LGBTIQ youth (Oakley and Bletsas 2013).

The majority of homelessness services are based on a male/female binary resulting in some young people finding they are unable to 'fit' with service criteria or that they face potential harm from other service-users when accessing these facilities (Rosario 2012, p. 13).). This lack of reliable service response creates an additional gap and challenges for young people who are often coming to terms with their identity and facing exclusion and lack of acceptance from a range of institutions (Oakley & Bletsas 2013).

e. *Gender*

The limitations of the design and structure of homelessness services is also reflected in issues of gender. While there is not a substantial difference between the number of males and females who become homeless, there are marked differences between pathways of how they become homeless and experience homelessness. For example, although family breakdown is the most common reason for both males and females to access SHS, young men have a higher rate of being evicted or asked to leave, while for young women the experience of domestic violence is the main catalyst for accessing SHS (AIHW 2018; AIHW 2018b; Martin 2014, p. 98; Murray and Theobald 2014). These reasons for accessing SHS also have implications for how different genders experience homelessness.

While males predominantly make up those who 'sleep rough', females comprise the majority of SHS users. Part of the explanation for this variance is the additional vulnerabilities that females experience when living 'on the streets' that result in them being more likely to couch surf, stay in unsafe housing situations or remain 'hidden' (Horsell and Zufferey 2018; Martin 2014, p. 96). However, it is also possible to attribute the gender imbalance of SHS to the quantity of services available to each group. Females have a much higher number of SHS to access than men when both domestic violence and generic SHS are combined (Johnson et al. 2015, p. 25).

f. *Substance Misuse and Mental Health*

Evidence suggests that mental health and drug and alcohol misuse is only a causal factor for a small percentage of the homeless. In the case of young people, there is increasing evidence that suggests once a young person does become homeless the issues of substance misuse and mental

illness are likely to be exacerbated by the experience of homelessness and the length of time someone is without stable accommodation (AIHW 2016; Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Chamberlain 2011; Mallett et al. 2010; Rosenthal et al. 2007). Substance misuse is more likely to become a strategy for coping with homelessness or in the case of young people a way to quickly acculturate themselves with others experiencing homelessness (Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Chamberlain 2011).

Similarly, in the case of mental health issues, evidence suggests that rather than mental health issues *preceding* homelessness, more people develop mental health issues *after* becoming homeless (Fitzpatrick et al. 2012, p. 13; Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Chamberlain 2011; Mallett et al. 2010; Rosenthal et al. 2007). And people who have pre-existing diagnoses (particularly bi-polar and schizophrenia) are less likely to become homeless presumably because of additional support systems (Johnson 2015). Recent evidence identifies that having a combination of both substance misuse issues and homelessness results in a higher experience of poor mental health than those who are only experiencing homelessness (AIHW 2016, p. 10). Underlying issues of mental health and substance misuse is the growing evidence of how trauma influences the way people manage stressful situations.

Identity, Stigma and Trauma

In this final section, I examine the role of *identity* and specifically how the impact of *stigma* and *trauma* influence a young person's identity and the way that they perceive homelessness. The concept of identity requires an understanding of its definitions as *categorical* (labels given to people) and *ontological* (labels people give to themselves) (Clapham 2003, p. 65). In particular, I look at the way that categorical identity is influenced by the stigma associated with homelessness and how ontological identity can be influenced by people's experience of trauma

Whether the young person embraces or distances themselves from their homeless identity, they will often blame themselves (or their families) for their situation and overlook any potential structural issues that could be attributed to their current situation (Farrugia 2010, p. 73; Farrugia 2016; Johnson et al. 2008, pp. 56-7; Mallett et al. 2010, p. 167; Walter et al. 2015). This potential to blame oneself reflects societal attitudes to homelessness and the people who experience it. A particular perception that this young cohort has to manage is that they 'chose' to leave. Yet reasons for family breakdown are often so multifaceted and complex that individual agency and the ability to actively choose to stay or leave the family home are significantly or entirely constrained.

The stigma associated with homelessness has implications for a person's sense of identity and their relationship with the rest of the community (Bower et al. 2018; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Goffman 1963; Watson and Cuervo 2017). It is necessary to recognise that even with a generic stigma attached to homelessness, intersectionality means that individuals may experience this stigma and associated inequalities differently (Bower et al. 2018, p. e243; Watson and Cuervo 2017). For the purpose of this study, I look at two broad ways a young person manages the stigma with some choosing to 'pass' as part of the mainstream population or, alternatively, the young person subsuming themselves within the homeless identity (Johnson et al. 2008, p. 232-3).

Often the choice of one over another is mostly related to where a young person seeks acceptance. For those who choose to differentiate themselves from other homeless people, this differentiation is often achieved with an 'us and them' mentality towards other homeless people and by attempting to remain connected with 'mainstream' (i.e. non-homeless) institutions and friends (Crawford et al. 2014; Mayock et al. 2011, p. 817).

Alternatively, for young people who embrace the stereotypical ideas of homelessness, there is a desire to seek acceptance from people in similar circumstances and amplify their disconnection from the mainstream population (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015, p. 2220; Johnson et al. 2008, p. 55; Walter et al. 2015). These actions may initially assist the young person to feel less isolated as they connect with their peers, however, it may provide a barrier to getting out of homelessness in the future (Crawford et al. 2014).

Added to the stigma of homelessness, a young person is often dealing with trauma that both precedes and continues through their experience of homelessness. The trauma that young people who become homeless carry can be complex in nature and there is increasing evidence that underlying experiences of childhood trauma have ongoing impacts for people who experience homelessness (Barker 2012; Fitzpatrick et al. 2012; Martin 2014; Robinson 2014; Scutella et al. 2012).

Complex trauma most often refers "…to a period of exposure to multiple trauma events, such as in the contexts of childhood sexual and physical abuse and neglect, torture and combat, and to the resulting intensified forms of psychological, physiological and developmental suffering likely to emerge for survivors." (Robinson 2014, p. 164). What is clear is that the trauma associated with these situations both increases a person's chances of becoming homeless as

well as their chances of experiencing more chronic, longer term homelessness (AIHW 2012; Chigavazira et al. 2013; Keane et al. 2018).

The trauma experienced by a young person may then be further exacerbated by their experience of homelessness, access to homelessness services (or lack thereof), and by society's treatment of them, resulting in increased difficulty in 'getting out' of homelessness (Farrugia 2010; Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2014). The impact of trauma can impinge on a person being able to enact basic survival strategies such as developing healthy relationships, managing their emotions and effectively problem solving (O'Donnell 2014, p. 61). Instead alternative survival strategies – such as 'distrust, aggression, disorganisation, substance abuse and self-harm' – used by young people to survive multiple traumas can later be seen as problem behaviours by services and the broader community (Keane et al. 2018, p. 370; Robinson 2014, p. 174).

Therefore, improving and providing opportunities to create a space where individuals can feel secure, work on self-regulation and develop further competencies can play a key role in improving a young person's wellbeing and connection to wider society (Kinniburgh et al. 2005). A successful trauma informed approach also requires staff be supported to identify strategies to manage their own self-care and specific supports are provided and promoted within the workplace (Procter et al. 2017, p. 19).

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The previous three sections have illustrated that the complex interactions between structural factors and individual experiences and the way they shape the young person's perception of themselves means that the potential for an individual to experience homelessness is never easily defined or pre-determined (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004, p. 8; Farrugia and Gerrard 2016; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010).

The complexity associated with causes of homelessness and intervention points has led to differentiating public policy responses since its establishment as an issue in the late 1980s (Coleman and Fopp 2014). In the next section I demonstrate the way that policy responses have influenced the opportunities that young people have in cases where they experience homelessness. In Australia funding for housing and homeless related services is predominately allocated by the Federal Government and then distributed by State and Territory governments. In order to provide a context for the development of the YHMs in question, the next section

explores the recent policy responses to homelessness at a Federal and South Australian level and how this has impacted on the resources available.

Specifically, the final section of this chapter outlines recent policy decisions relating to housing, homelessness and social inclusion and how these decisions have resulted in the increased popularity of YHMs. A critique of these policies and the framework from which they are developed will be conveyed in Chapter Two. However, it is first necessary to provide an overview of the current youth housing and homelessness sector, beginning with the Federal Government and followed by the South Australian Government. This housing and homeless policy overview will set the scene for a discussion of the increased popularity of housing models that ultimately resulted in additional funding support for YHMs.

Policy responses to Youth Homelessness

> "We point to evidence which suggests that policy responses to homelessness [in Australia] have been inconsistent, see-sawing between ignoring the issue of homelessness altogether and attempting to regulate and control people experiencing homelessness" (Coleman and Fopp 2014, p. 23)

The above quote from Coleman and Fopp illustrates the changing responses to homelessness in Australia. Various community and non-government groups had responded to homelessness since colonisation, however, it was not until 1974 that the Australian Government officially responded to homelessness (Coleman and Fopp 2014; Gerrard 2017). Currently, both Federal and State Governments in Australia are responsible for policy in housing and homelessness. Federal Governments have oversight of funding for responding to homelessness, however, each state allocates this funding in line with the specific needs of their region. In this section I outline key policy points that have influenced responses to youth homelessness and ultimately resulted in the development of YHMs.

Federal Government

In Australia the first piece of national legislation in relation to support for the homeless occurred in 1974. At this time the Australian Government introduced the Homeless Persons Assistance Act which provided funding for the Homeless Persons Assistance Program (HPAP) (Coleman and Fopp 2014). This was followed by the Hawke Labor government overseeing the 1985 consolidation of homelessness services across Australia under the Supported Accommodation Assistance Program (SAAP) Act (Coleman and Fopp 2014, p. 28). Funding

for SAAP was later bolstered again in response to the 1989 'Burdekin Report', prompting the Hawke Labor Government to commit to an unprecedented $100 million through the Social Justice Package for Young Australians (MacKenzie and Coffey 2012, p. 8).

The Social Justice Package for Young Australians aimed at providing an increase in youth accommodation in addition to improvements to the then Young Homeless Allowance (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2003) and was cemented into Australian legislation with the passing of the Supported Accommodation and Assistance (SAA) Act in 1993[11]. However, commitment to these changes faltered with the election of the Howard Coalition Government in 1996. Over the period of the Howard Coalition Government (1996 to 2007), SAAP funding per client reduced from $3,150 to $3,090 despite increased costs of living and evidence of a rising demand for homelessness support (AIHW 2008, p. 88). Ultimately, it was not until the election of the Rudd Labor Government in 2007 that the second major transformation of the homeless system occurred.

In 2007, just months after being elected, the newly formed Rudd Labor Government released the Green Paper *Which Way Home?* which began a consultation process to identify appropriate responses to homelessness in Australia (Commonwealth of Australia 2008a). This Green Paper process resulted in a White Paper entitled *The Road Home: a National Approach to Ending Homelessness* (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b), which outlined a number of ambitious targets for reducing homelessness, including halving overall homelessness by 2020. At its core, the White Paper advocated three strategic responses for preventing homelessness:

1. *Turning off the tap:* services will intervene early to prevent homelessness;

2. *Improving and expanding services:* services will be more connected and responsive to achieve sustainable housing, improve economic and social participation and end homelessness for their clients;

3. *Breaking the Cycle:* people who become homeless will move quickly through the crisis system to stable housing with the support they need so that homelessness does not recur (Commonwealth of Australia, 2008b, p. ix)

The above responses were backed up with substantial financial investment, including an additional "...$623 million to increase the supply of affordable housing to 50,000 by 2012"…

[11] The SAA Act outlined the services to be provided to Australians who were homeless and at risk of homelessness. States and Territories were then provided with funding to provide services within the SAA framework that met the needs of their specific populations.

with the potential for a further 50,000 homes to be made available after July 2012 (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b, p. 48). In addition to an increase in houses built, there was also a range of tax credits for new rental properties (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b, p. 48), and a commitment to invest "...$150 million over five years to provide a pool of 600 additional houses for homeless individuals and families across Australia" (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b, p. 48).

These financial commitments were bolstered by the subsequent development of the NAHA in January 2009, which encompassed previous SAA legislation and affordable housing initiatives and resulted in a further $6.6 billion allocated to expanding public housing nationwide (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2009, p. 59; Toohey 2014). Despite ongoing issues within the Labor party and a switch of leader from Rudd to Julia Gillard in 2010 (and back again in 2013), homelessness continued to be a focus of the Federal Labor Government. Furthermore, these housing and homeless policies were predominately supported by Australian State and Territory Governments (Steketee 2011), including the South Australian Rann Labor Government. However, with a change in government in 2013, there was also a shift in focus and subsequent reduction in funding (Flatau et al. 2017; MacKenzie 2017).

South Australian Government

The Federal Government's housing and homelessness policy agenda aligned well with the Rann Labor Government's own housing and homeless agenda that had been in effect since 2003. At this time, the South Australian Government developed a Social Inclusion Unit (SIU) that wrote a report *"Homelessness – Everybody's Responsibility*" outlining 37 recommendations to reduce homelessness in South Australia (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 36; SIU 2003). However, it was not until the NAHA (and the additional funding associated with it), that South Australia was able to respond to many of the report's recommendations, particularly in the case of increasing long term housing options for young people.

Like other Australian states and territories, South Australia's housing responses for young people predominately revolved around the Youth SAAP system which provided a continuum of crisis, long-term, and outreach accommodation (MacKenzie 2017). However, the high demand and growing complexity of young people presenting led other young people with less multifaceted needs to begin avoiding SAAP services. A lack of exit points and problematic behaviours of the young people also made it more difficult for services to move beyond a primarily crisis response (Coleman and Fopp 2014; Johnson et al. 2008). It was this need for

an early intervention diversion and an affordable housing exit point from SAAP that led to support for YHMs at a policy and service levels began to grow (Coleman and Fopp 2014, p. 31; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014, p. 109; Steen and MacKenzie 2017).

Policy in practice: Foyers, Youth Housing Models and In-Between

The development of the NAHA not only provided an increase in funding but also greater opportunity for innovative service provision. From this emerged new youth housing models that had elements of engagement in education and employment built into the foundations of the model itself. Support for the development of these education and employment focused models were promoted through South Australia's 2006 Thinker in Residence, Rosanne Haggerty, and in the Federal Government's White Paper into Homelessness (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b, p. 30, 47; Haggerty 2007, p. 9).

The South Australian Government took the opportunity NAHA provided to overhaul its entire SAAP (now entitled SHS) and affordable housing sector. Along with all SHS being put up for tender, new service agreements were developed that targeted outcomes as well as outputs and specific funding was provided to create a variety of innovation projects (Cappo 2010, p. 30). These innovation projects included an *Aged Homelessness Service*, *Common Ground,* and *Regional Assertive Outreach* and, more importantly, for young people *Ladder St Vincent Street* and *Uno Apartments* were also funded and developed (Department for Families and Communities 2011, pp. 24-5). Both of the latter models sought to provide longer-term housing assistance for this youth cohort, however, it was the development of *Ladder St Vincent Street* – with its provision of on-site support, mentoring and goal of linking young people with training, education and employment opportunities – that saw the first implementation of a Foyer style model in South Australia (Department for Families and Communities 2011, p. 24).

The concept of the Foyer became a catchall in the housing and homelessness sector for any services that provide a mix of housing, education and employment assistance to young people. Initially developed in France after the end of World War II, Foyers provided accommodation and informal support to young people who moved from the country to the city to pursue education and employment (Gaetz and Scott 2012, p. 17). Later adopted in the UK, the Foyer model was adapted to specifically support young people at risk of homelessness (Beer et al. 2005, p. 43; Steen and MacKenzie 2017). In the UK, Foyers are not only recognisable through their links to housing, education and employment particularly for young people but also through the way in which they are implemented (Gaetz and Scott 2012, p. 5; Steen and

MacKenzie 2017). To this end, the UK based Foyer Federation has sought to ensure consistency across models with the establishment of an accreditation system and the 'three tests of Foyerness' that ask the questions.

1. A safe, balanced community of 16-25 year olds in transition
2. An integrated offer that covers housing, education, employment and personal development skills
3. A relationship that tailored a 'something-for-something' deal between the young person, service and locality, on which the offer of accommodation depended (Foyer Federation 2019)

The Foyer model is relatively new to Australia[12] and as the set-up of Foyers changed from France to the UK, they again have been adapted to the needs and political landscape of Australia (Beer et al. 2005, p. 2; Flatau et al. 2017; Steen and MacKenzie 2017). For example, Foyer-type services in Australia are still more likely to be reliant on federal and state government funding (Flatau et al. 2017). Therefore, the different ways in which Australia has implemented these housing models has necessitated a change of name as it is not accurate to refer to all as Foyers (Gaetz and Scott 2012, p. 22). To avoid confusion with the official Foyer model outlined above, I refer to the service examples that are the focus of this thesis as Youth Housing Models or YHMs.

Conclusion

The way that young people are defined and understood within society has considerable implications for the development of service responses and future policy. The concept of what defines a young person is regularly conceived within the framework of the transition from young person to adulthood. In this context, being a young person is seen as problematic and something that needs to be overcome in order to achieve the 'normalcy' of adulthood. Adulthood, therefore, becomes the epitome of what it means to enter mainstream society and 'full' citizenship. However, young people face a range of challenges that reduce their ability to achieve this 'full' citizenship of adulthood, all of which are made even more complicated when a young person also experiences homelessness.

[12] The earliest example of a foyer in Australia being the Miller Live 'N' Learn Campus developed in New South Wales (NSW) in 2002

It is an intersection of both structural factors and individual experiences that lead to young people experiencing homelessness. On a structural level, contact with government services, poverty, reduced access to affordable housing and employment, and family breakdown all interact with young people's ability to meet traditional ideals of adulthood. However, these structural factors also interrelate with individual factors such as age, gender, cultural background, mental health issues, substance misuse and ultimately how the young person reacts to stigma and the development of their identity. It is this interrelation of structural and individual experience that means responses to youth homelessness need to go beyond the provision of housing.

Services such as YHMs are still limited by public policy that dictates funding amounts, target groups, and contractual obligations. It is for these reasons that it is important to understand how public policy decisions are made and what values underlie this decision-making. In Chapter Two I will draw on a range of relevant Australian public policy, ultimately creating a framework from which it is possible to effectively critique YHMs.

Chapter Two: Concepts of Citizenship

Introduction

This chapter outlines how concepts of citizenship have informed Australian public policy. There is a connection between the measures that are being undertaken within Youth Housing Models (YHMs) and expectations for young people in terms of being a citizen. In Ancient Greece the concept of citizenship implied civil, political and economic participation that was confined to a select population excluding women and slaves (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 362). Over the past century Australia's concept of citizenship has focused on the balance between government obligation to provide a minimum level of support and the obligation of this population to earn this support (Gerrard 2019; Lister 1998; Mendes 2017).

This shift in the experience and expectations of citizenship is broadly evident across five moments in Australian history. These moments have not just shaped what it means to be a citizen, but what is perceived to be a 'good' citizen. I argue that the reliance of citizenship being associated with wage earning has had a significant influence in public policy, specifically it has resulted in a welfare state that is a tool of paternalism which can limit individual freedoms arguably for their greater good.

To explore this I commence with the handing down of the Harvester Judgment which in effect aligned citizenship with the wage earner. The second key moment is the establishment of the modern welfare state informed by TH Marshall. I then outline the tension inherent with the concept of the wage earner and the expansion in a shift in public policy to one of mutual obligation and the emphasis on citizenship responsibility over rights. The fourth moment reveals the expansion to what was arguably punitive and restrictive policies with the introduction of Compulsory Income Management (CIM). Finally I consider the adaption of Social Inclusion as policy as the fifth key moment in Australia.

By examining how concepts of citizenship have historically influenced Australian public policy I explore beyond legal, structural and institutional explanations of citizenship and also show how concepts of citizenship impact on an individual's sense of identity (Kymlicka & Norman 1994, p. 369). Identity here is defined as *categorical* (labels given to people) and *ontological* (labels people give to themselves) (Clapham 2003, p. 65). Specifically, I provide evidence of the way current definitions of citizenship reduce young people to 'citizens in the making'

(Smith et al. 2005, p. 236). Guided by the scholarship of Ruth Lister and Iris Marion Young, I investigate the potential need to embrace an alternative concept of citizenship that offers the possibility of a more socially just lived experience for young people and particularly for those who also experience homelessness.

The Harvester Judgment

When in 1907 Justice Higgins of the Australian Commonwealth's Court of Conciliation and Arbitration (CCCA) established a 'living wage', the resulting Harvester Judgment became Australia's first example of wage regulation (Conciliation and Arbitration Act 1904). More than affecting wages, the Harvester Judgment would also have long lasting impacts on the way Australians viewed the rights of the citizen. To understand the significance of the Harvester Judgment it is necessary to reflect on the decision's social and political context.

Throughout the industrial revolution of the eighteenth and nineteenth century the growing wealth of individuals and businesses was considered to be in harmony with the greater needs of society. Any form of government intervention was perceived as undermining individual merit and reducing benefits for society as a whole (Keynes 2010). Subsequently, in the late 1800s, wages were predominantly negotiated directly between employers and unions with no government oversight (Hancock 1979; Macarthy 1967).

Changes in the 1880s and 1890s, including the introduction of machinery, an economic recession and high unemployment, meant employers had the upper hand over workers. Employers began undermining unions by increasingly hiring non-unionised unskilled labour. The unions responded with intensified use of lockouts and work stoppages (Hancock 1979; Macarthy 1967, p. 69). These disputes began to affect the larger economy and society leading to government increasing its oversight of industry.

State Arbitration courts were established in the late 1890s in an attempt to reduce the disruption of the disputes (Hancock 1979, p. 3). The courts' impartiality was tempered by the requirement to have legal counsel, meaning that unions often found it unaffordable to bring cases forward. Plus, the courts' were also unable to rule on situations for employees who worked across States – for example shearers and shipping workers (McCallum 2005).

The limitations of the State Arbitration courts led to specific reference to the provision of a compulsory Federal Conciliation and Arbitration power within Australia's Constitution. How this conciliation and arbitration power would be enacted was debated heavily in parliament and

it was not until 1904 that the CCCA came into law (Hancock 1979). JB Higgins had been one of the biggest proponents of the CCCA and in 1907 he would become its second president. One of the first cases Higgins presided over was for a number of businesses seeking exclusion from the Excise Tariff Act 1906. What started as a case about Tariffs would result in the basis for Australia's first minimum wage (McCallum 2005).

The Excise Tariff was introduced to help counter the effect of machinery on employment levels and the conditions of workers. Businesses were able to get an exemption from the tariff if they could prove that bringing in new machinery had not affected the conditions of workers and employee wages remained 'fair and reasonable'. Higgins sought to more clearly define the term 'fair and reasonable' and used this definition to create a standard based on "the cost of living as a civilised being" (Ex Parte HV McKay 1907, p. 3).

The minimum standard that Higgins established was not relevant to all workers but rather it focused on unskilled workers who were not in a union. Calculations for the final monetary sum of this wage were based on evidence of the costs of living given by land agents, butchers, and also the household budgets of nine housewives (Ex Parte HV McKay 1907, p. 6). The wage set was based on a male bread winner model and assumed the costs of living for a worker, his wife and three dependents (Jamrozik 2005; Smyth 2010a).

Ultimately, Higgins' decision was overruled by the High Court after extensive lobbying by employers who felt the minimum wage was too generous (Hancock 1979, p. 4). Despite this, Higgins continued to use his Harvester Judgment calculations for the 'minimum wage' in future rulings and these calculations would provide the basis of Australia's minimum wage until the 1960s (Hunter 1988, p. 148).

By providing a set minimum wage the Harvester Judgment ensured affected workers a basic income that was independent of the capacity of the business. The provision of a minimum wage helped to promote progressive legislation in regards to workers' compensation and also the establishment of aged and disability pensions for workers. The Harvester Judgment bridged the gap by enforcing a minimum income that did not require funding by the government and also took pressure off the government to implement any other public policy; ultimately a reliance on the minimum wage provided an alternative to citizenship rights (Bessant et al. 2006, p. 67; Castles 1994, p. 10; Fenna 1998, p. 25; Jamrozik 2009, p. 98).

Although the Harvester Judgement provided a minimum wage that benefited many, at its heart it was more focused on seeking industrial peace than addressing basic inequality in the market

(Higgins 1915, p. 3; Jamrozik 2005, p. 94; McCallum 2005). Higgins had seen the increasing industrial actions by unions as unnecessarily disruptive to the market and felt that a minimum wage would assist in reducing the tensions between employers and workers. This focus on dispute resolution over citizen's rights explains some of the negative consequences of Harvester – that is, the ongoing disenfranchisement of anyone who did not fit the Anglo male bread winner model.

The expectation that the male would 'provide for the family' dominated wage reform for decades and resulted in a 'protectionist' approach that adversely affected women and Aboriginal Australians and which boosted the White Australia rhetoric of the time. For example, the 'male bread winner' model was later used to justify the 1912 decision to set women's wages at 54% of males. In this case women were only to be paid at the same rate as men when they were in direct competition for work and as a way of discouraging employers using women to undercut the male employee wage (Castles 1994, p. 15; Higgins 1915; Whitehouse 2004).

Australian Aboriginals were also excluded from receiving full pay. As declared 'wards of the state' Aboriginal people were placed by the Australian Government in a situation of enforced dependency. This dependency was used to justify Aboriginal people being provided lower wages for completing the same work as white men (McCallum 2005, p. 9; Whitehouse 2004, p. 209).

By gathering evidence of living expenses Higgins placed 'need' at the centre of the decision making for the minimum wage. As illustrated above, for women and Australian Aboriginals, the right to equal pay for equal work was undermined by a presumption of their 'need' for work. The emphasis on 'need' would have an ongoing impact on how incomes were determined in Australia with governments only seeking to intervene in 'the worst extremes of market inequality' and with support that would be limited to the bare minimum (Saunders 1998, p. 2).

The Harvester Judgment filled an important gap by providing a minimum standard of living at a time when there was limited oversight into worker's rights. However, the decision also supported the government to defer its own obligations and ignore the rights of those outside of the workforce. The Anglo male bread winner model enforced ongoing dependency and disenfranchisement of women and other minorities.

Marshall, Keynes and the Welfare State

The Harvester Judgment provided a positive shift in the perception of the role of government oversight within industry and the need for a safety net for individual workers. The impact of World War I and II and the economic depression of the 1930s further prompted the development of the Welfare State in Australia (Coleman and Fopp 2014, p. 24; Fenna 1998, pp. 31-2). The Welfare State would be informed by the thinking of economist John Maynard Keynes and sociologist TH Marshall.

From an economic perspective, Keynes sought greater transparency and regulation of the market to improve economic redistribution. Previous suggestions of wealth distribution was seen as a zero-sum game in which for someone to gain another person had to lose (Keynes 2010). Keynes argued instead that wealth redistribution could be a win-win scenario where resource sharing would simultaneously promote economic growth for businesses and individuals (Fenna 1998, pp. 26-7; Keynes 2018). A middle ground that sought to moderate rather than fully dismantle structures was well received in the post-World War I environment (Fenna 1998, p. 34; Jamrozik 2009, p. 24).

From a sociological perspective, TH Marshall argued that a citizen's worth did not have to be measured solely by their economic standing. Marshall identified that the introduction of collective bargaining, increased taxes for higher classes and mass production meant material prosperity alone was no longer a distinguishing factor between classes (Marshall 1949, p. 36). For Marshall, there was an opportunity to redefine class structures and move away from 'simply pacifying the destitute' by providing fundamental building blocks of citizenship for all people (Marshall 1949, p. 37; Jamrozik 2009, p. 24).

Similar to Keynes' concepts of economic redistribution, Marshall believed that the provision of equality and rights to all [public] citizens would lead to an engaged, literate, and nourished population, resulting in beneficial outcomes for all (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 353; Jamrozik 2009, p. 23). The one key difference between the two was that while Keynes sought to have greater monitoring of capitalism without dramatically changing the system, Marshall believed that full equality could not occur if there continued to be a dual focus on both the economy and social justice as the economy would always overshadow the needs of people (Marshall 1949, p. 38).

Marshall outlined three main elements that he believed every citizen should have access to – the legal, the political and the social – and each of these elements was attributed to a pillar of

society – the law courts, parliament and the welfare state (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 355; Marshall 1949, p. 32). The political and legal pillars of Marshall's concept of citizenship were largely undisputed, however, the social pillar and its connection to a welfare state has been more controversial. The significant impact on citizens associated with welfare state support – via both cash and services – meant that it had the capacity to be used for both 'social care' and 'social control' depending on how it was implemented (Jamrozik 2009; Marshall 1949; Mendes 2017, p. 83).

In Australia the consolidation of the welfare state occurred during the 1940s. At this point Prime Minister Chifley sought to create a 'safety net' by collating a range of State welfare responses under one federal umbrella (Murphy et al. 2011, p. 40). During this period the Australian Government assumed responsibility for the majority of welfare across Australia resulting in the 1946 expansion of Section 51 (xxiii) of the Constitution (Australian Constitution1946). Originally this section had only focused on the provision of age and invalid pensions, but after the expansion it also included:

> *"…maternity allowances, widows' pensions, child endowment, unemployment, pharmaceutical, sickness and hospital benefits, medical and dental services (but not so as to authorize any form of civil conscription), benefits to students and family allowances;" (Australian Constitution 1946 Section 51 (xxiiiA).*

Chifley's efforts were an illustration of wealth distribution with the expansion of benefits and support paid for by increased taxes across the community including by low income earners (Mendes 2017, p. 24; Fenna 1998, p. 26). The higher tax rates led critics to question if co-ordinating welfare at a federal level was simply a way to shift income from the States and Territories to the Federal government (Mendes 2017).

When in 1949 Menzies' Coalition government came to power, there was no wholesale reduction or dismantling of the provisions put in place by Chifley. However, there was a reduction in the emphasis on government support, with greater expectations placed on individuals to rely on their families and private charities (Mendes 2017, p. 25). The need for government support was also downplayed due to the perceived affluence of the 1950s and 1960s. However, by the late 1960s growing evidence illustrated that certain groups had been excluded from this affluence with Aboriginal people, migrants and pensioners experiencing poverty at a higher rate than the general population (Gerrard 2017; Mendes 2017, p. 27).

While the Coalition government initially attempted to blame poverty on individual poor decision making, this was not accepted by the general public, resulting in the 1972 election of the Whitlam Labor Government (Mendes 2017, p. 27; Wentworth, 1969, p. 1 – 4). The need to expand the welfare state was at the centre of the Whitlam Labor Government election campaign and within a year of the election unemployment benefits had been raised to the higher pension rate and in 1974 the Homeless Persons Assistance Act was introduced– acknowledging homelessness as requiring a government response for the first time (Coleman and Fopp 2014, p. 26; Mendes 2017, p. 33; Pixley 1993, p. 211).

As is demonstrated above, between the 1940s and 70s the contraction and expansion of the welfare state was determined by the government of the day. However, by the mid-1970s the concept of the welfare state would become unpopular with both the left and right of politics but for very different reasons. From the perspective of the left, Marshall's emphasis on employment and engagement in civic duties as the ideal form of citizenship excluded those who were not able to participate in these systems (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 355). Specific concerns related to the Anglo-centric viewpoint and lack of acknowledgement, inclusiveness or recognition of the way differences in class, religion, gender and ethnicity influenced an individual's ability to engage in these systems (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 355; Lister 2007, p. 49; Pateman 2000; Smyth 2010b, p. 118; Turner 1990, p. 194; Young 2011). By ignoring these differences it was felt that Marshall's concept reinforced rather than reduced barriers that many felt towards inclusive citizenship (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 358).

Feminist scholars also contested the public/private dichotomy arguing 'public' roles were only able to be fulfilled through the exploitation of those in the private sphere, such as women (Fenna 1998, p. 25; Lister 1998, p. 7). The consequence of this was that with any inclusion comes a marginalisation and exclusion of others (Lister 2007, p. 50). Marshall's oversight of those outside the 'public realm' reflected an overall paternalistic perception of society, particularly the relegating of females to be emotionally, physically and psychologically dependent on men (McIntosh 1981, p. 121; Pateman 2000, p. 142; Pixley 1993, p. 221).

From the right's perspective, both Keynes and Marshall were identified as architects of a model that created first, an untenable amount of intervention from the state and second, enforced greater welfare dependency. People from the right were sceptical of the growth in support services that occurred under the Welfare State, particularly those endorsed by Whitlam. Rather

than believing it was providing additional support for those receiving benefits, some argued its sole goal was to improve job opportunities for middle class social workers (Mendes 2017, p. 32).

The ideas of Keynes and Marshall were also seen as having too much emphasis on citizen rights without appropriate recognition of citizen's responsibilities (Fenna 1998, p. 26; Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 352; Lister 2007, p. 49; Pixley 1993, p. 220). Prior to 1974 full employment was very close to reality for both adults and young people (Bessant 2018, p. 789). Increased unemployment led some critics to argue that the welfare state was no longer providing a safety net but forcing people to rely solely on income security (Mendes 2017, p. 33). Throughout these debates there was an increase in neoliberal rhetoric with an emphasis on 'flawed moral characters'. From this perspective the issues of poverty and unemployment were solely a result of poor decision making by individuals and intervention by government was only creating greater problems (Jamrozik 2009: 44).

These criticisms of the welfare state have had ongoing implications for how policies are enacted and funded. In the face of changing economic and social environments, previous proponents of Marshall and Keynes began to water down the policies in order to appease the growing dissent from the right. The emphasis on employment and wealth as measures of a 'good citizen' continued and poverty increasingly became evidence of the failure of the individual rather than evidence of structural problems. Because these factors did not change the ongoing shaming of those on welfare was inevitable. The basis of the shame was that those who received welfare were 'shirking' their responsibilities – an equally unpopular attribute on both the left and the right of the political divide. This led to the development of Neo-Liberal ideals and set the foundations for public policies such as Mutual Obligation.

Mutual Obligation

The foundations of Mutual Obligation policy were evident as far back as the mid-1970s, coinciding with the end of the post-war boom and increasing globalisation leading to a recession and increased unemployment across Australia (Gerrard 2017; Jamrozik 2009; Marston, Moss & Quiggin 2010). The Keynesian ideology that promoted government spending on welfare faced a backlash as government's experienced increasing pressure to reduce expenditure across the board. The push to cut costs resulted in a re-evaluation of what minimum support Australian citizens could expect from government (Quiggin 2010, p. 20). Cost cutting measures were combined with increased expectations for welfare recipients to also 'give back'

to the society that supported them and the welfare state began a shift from social care to social control (Carey and Riley 2011; Mackenzie 2010; McClelland 2010; Mendes 2017; Quiggin 2010; Smyth 2010a).

When Malcolm Fraser came into power in 1975, he returned to Menzies' philosophy seeking to balance having a 'welfarist compassion' while concurrently reducing public expenditure (Mendes 2017, p. 34). However, many of Fraser's initiatives were not matched with financial backing and therefore schemes such as Family Income Supplement decreased in value over time. Additionally, the Fraser government increasingly targeted 'dole fraud' and tightened eligibility to reduce people's access to welfare support (Mendes 2017, p. 36).

Despite the limitations placed on welfare support under Fraser and his desire to try to balance support within limits, there was a growing resistance within his own party to any kind of welfare support. Echoing the growth of neo-liberalism in the United States and United Kingdom in the early 1980s, neo-liberals within Australia sought to influence Australian politics. When the Labor Party took power in 1983, there remained an expectation that any form of welfare be reduced rather than expanded and it was at this point that the foundation was set for increasingly restrictive Mutual Obligation policies over the next thirty years (Bessant 2004, p. 388; Mendes 2017, p. 57).

From 1983 – 1996, respective Labor Prime Ministers Bob Hawke and Paul Keating used three main strategies to quell the growing criticisms of the Welfare State and manage free market objectives while still retaining a social justice approach (Mendes 2017, p. 37). The first was an increase in means testing of welfare. Under a Hawke government asset tests on the aged pension for those over seventy years old was introduced. These payments had previously been universal and means testing created a new 'conditionality' to welfare and increased emphasis on the 'contract' between individual and State (Hamilton 2010, pp. 87-89).

Second, the Hawke Labor Government began investigating ways to require more from welfare recipients. In 1986, the government proposed a voluntary work for the dole scheme. The scheme failed before implementation due to the difficulty of convincing unions that work for the dole would not replace paid jobs, plus the significant establishment costs that would be justified for what would be a voluntary program (Pixley 1993, p. 212). Third, all welfare recipients received increased monitoring of their willingness to work. The perception that there were those who sought to 'get something for nothing' led to increased investigations into

welfare fraud throughout Hawke's leadership and continued when Paul Keating took over as Prime Minister in 1991 (Mendes 2017, p. 33).

Young people were at the forefront of these changes and experienced a combination of barriers to accessing welfare support. Up until the mid-1980s young unemployed people had been categorised in the same way as an adult who was unemployed. However, a shift in expectations meant that if a young person was unable to find work they would need to be involved in education or training instead (Mendes 2017, p. 193). In 1987 policy changes meant that sixteen to eighteen years olds became ineligible for the unemployment benefit and instead were given "…$25 for a job search allowance with a further $25 available subject to means test" (Pixley 1993, p. 215).

By 1994, the term 'reciprocal obligation' was introduced to public policy through Keating's Working Nation plan (Hamilton 2010, p. 89). The Working Nation plan established a framework for providing increased opportunities to help the long term unemployed. The obligation component was that unemployed people would take up any available employment and be willing to be paid at a lesser rate. Consequently, Australia's first training wage was introduced – a lower wage for training an unemployed person. Alongside the training wage was the introduction of case management for job seekers, an idea that critics believe was as much about surveillance of welfare recipients as it was about providing support (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 694; Hamilton 2010, p. 89; McClelland 2010; Mendes 2017, p. 193).

Despite the growing expectations of welfare recipients, the reciprocal obligation policies of the Labor Government in the 1980s and 1990s emphasised that while welfare recipients had responsibilities, the government also had a responsibility to ensure there were appropriate employment opportunities as well as government funded social protections for those who fell through the cracks (Hamilton 2010, p. 89). When the Howard Coalition Government was elected in 1996 there was a dramatic shift away from acknowledgment of responsibilities of government and an increased emphasis on the obligations of welfare recipients (Hamilton 2010, p. 91).

The term 'Mutual Obligation' was introduced during the Howard Coalition Government's reform of the Welfare State between 1996 and 2007. This term would go on to represent a change in how citizens were seen with individuals no longer considered to have a conditional right to welfare but instead being required to defend their need for support. There was increased examination of the behaviours of welfare recipients that placed them 'at risk' of becoming

dependent on welfare and this was used as a justification for greater interventionist policies (Hartman 2005, p. 63; McClelland 2010, p. 6). Once again, young people were the first to experience these restrictions with anyone aged between 18 and 24 who had been receiving unemployment benefits for more than six months required to complete Work for the Dole (Hamilton 2010, p. 92).

By 2000, prompted by the Reference Group on Welfare Reform (RGWR), more punitive requirements for those receiving welfare assistance were put in place. These requirements included increased evidence of recipients' job search activities (including a prescribed number of job searches per week and demand that a person take any job offered to them). They also resulted in a broadening of who was required to participate in work for the dole programs, expanding from young people to also include people receiving the disability support pension and parenting payments (Jamrozik 2005, p. 97; Saunders 2013, pp. 692-693). The underlying narrative throughout these changes to welfare was 'the virtue of self-reliance' and that a good citizen has a responsibility to be independent of anyone else's support (Hamilton 2010, p. 98). Seemingly, employment continued to provide the only avenue for respectable citizenship.

The impact of Mutual Obligation on the concept of citizenship was twofold. First, Mutual Obligation cemented a shift in responsibility for employment from the government to the individual. That is a change from government being accountable to provide an environment that promoted full employment to instead an "…emphasis on testing whether the unemployed are responsible for their situation" (Moss 2010, p. 131). At the heart of these changes was the elevation of self-sufficiency and an implication that requiring welfare benefits was a product of the individual's own poor decision making (Gerrard 2017; Hamilton 2010). Structural factors leading to a person requiring welfare support or limitations on an individual's capabilities to make the 'right' choices were downplayed and all responsibility for success or failure was placed on the individual (Mackenzie 2010, p. 115; Peel 2003, p. 69).

A secondary impact of Mutual Obligation was the privatisation of government employment services and the outsourcing of monitoring of welfare compliance to NGOs. When in 1997 the Howard Coalition Government tendered out the Job Network to the Non-Government sector many church agencies and other NGO's tendered to provide this service (McDonald 2010, pp. 217-8). However, tight guidelines meant that these organisations quickly found themselves constrained by government procedure and agenda resulting in NGOs needing to increase expenditure on administrative requirements to the detriment of face to face service delivery

(Cunningham and James 2014, p. 11). Additionally, NGO services were co-opted to monitor and penalise those who did not comply with Mutual Obligation requirements (McDonald 2010, p. 216; Murphy 2011, p. 33).

Being responsible for monitoring and penalising those who did not meet the government's growing obligations resulted in 'mission drift' for some organisations and the competition to tender for funding further reduced reciprocity and interdependence between services (Bulleen and Reynolds 2014; Carey and Riley 2011, p. 693; Cunningham and James 2014, p. 10; Fitzgerald et al. 2014, p. 511; McClelland 2010, p. 32). Further, the increasingly centralised funding pool for NGO's reduced their ability to provide services that were not dictated by the government (Flatau 2017; Young 2011, p. 116).

Increased emphasis on cost pressures and the dependent relationship of NGO's on government funding reduced their bargaining power resulting in diminished working conditions and pay for NGO employees (Cunningham and James 2014, p. 9; Fitzgerald et al. 2014, p. 520). Tenders became less focused on the needs of the individuals requiring support and more on the ability to provide services at the lowest cost (Cunningham and James 2014, p. 11; Fitzgerald et al. 2014, p. 514). For those services that attempted to operate outside of the government funding stream their reliance on volunteers and donations was used to delegitimise them as unable to meet increasing accreditation and bureaucratic requirements (Fitzgerald et al. 2014, p. 514; Young 2011, p. 116).

The impact of Mutual Obligation policies have been far reaching, not only affecting the individuals receiving welfare, but also the services originally designed to support welfare recipients. Also, the introduction of Mutual Obligation has reflected a changing discourse about government responsibilities to support those outside of the workforce, placing greater emphasis on the individual to prove that they are 'worthy' of support.

Mutual Obligation is still Federal Government policy, and as will be illustrated in the following two sections on Compulsory Income Management (CIM) and Social Inclusion, its reach continues to be evident, even under the guise of different names. Despite its continued use, critics of Mutual Obligation identify significant gaps in its fundamental concepts and its implementation. Specifically, Mutual Obligation's over-emphasis on personal responsibility ignored the dwindling employment opportunities in Australia. At the time Mutual Obligation was introduced, full-time employment was becoming increasingly difficult to obtain and maintain particularly in entry level and low-skill roles.

Growing casualisation of the workforce placed those such as young people and people in the shrinking manufacturing industry, who were already vulnerable to unemployment, in an increasingly precarious position (Howe 2010). By focusing attention on income recipients' 'lack of desire to work' the policy did enable the government to reduce its budget but it did not actually result in a decrease in unemployment. Consequentially, the punitive nature of Mutual Obligation policies meant already vulnerable groups were further pushed to the margins resulting in increased resources required from homelessness, emergency and mental health services (Mendes 2017, p. 172).

Despite the criticisms, Mutual Obligation policies of the Howard era continued to grow harsher throughout his tenure. In 2004, the Howard Coalition Government was re-elected with a strong show of support which resulted in the government holding power in both the House of Representatives and the Senate. The government used this to introduce legislation that would increase Mutual Obligation restrictions even further. There was also a growing push to not only restrict access and increase obligations for welfare recipients, but also to control how welfare benefits were used for recipients. One of Howard's last acts before the 2007 election defeat to Labor was to use the power of both houses to introduce CIM (Pocock 2010; Wear 2008).

Compulsory Income Management (CIM)

CIM was first implemented in Australia in 2007 as a key plank of the Northern Territory Emergency Intervention. The 'Intervention', as it became known colloquially, was declared as a response to the *Little Children are Sacred* Report on child sexual abuse in Northern Territory remote communities. Within a week of the release of this report, Prime Minister John Howard and Indigenous Minister Mal Brough used it as a justification to launch the Intervention and take control of seventy three Aboriginal communities across the Northern Territory (Altman and Hinkson 2010, p. 193; Brough 2007; Wild 2007, p. 116).

The rationale by the Government was that these communities needed assertive assistance in order to protect the wellbeing of children (Brough 2007). Under CIM any Indigenous person living in a remote community in the Northern Territory receiving welfare had fifty per cent of their income quarantined on the 'BasicsCard'. The 'BasicsCard' could only be used at accredited stores and prohibited the purchase of alcohol, tobacco, pornography and prevented money being spent on gambling. The underlying purpose of the card was to encourage spending on 'priority areas' such as food, rent and utilities (Brough 2007).

Income management in itself was not new in Australia, as voluntary forms of income management were already available to support people to manage their Centrelink benefits (Deloitte 2015 ii; Mendes 2014, p. 363). Prior to its compulsory form, voluntary income management had been available predominantly in the area of child protection and was sometimes used when a person was experiencing economic abuse from a partner or relative, or seeking to reduce substance misuse. In some instances it was also possible to have income management instituted for those who were considered vulnerable (for example young people under 16 or where mental health impacted on a person's financial management capacity)[13].

The major difference between previous forms of income management and the newer compulsory form was the legislative changes it required. The Social Security (Administration) Act clearly stated the intervention's role in promoting 'socially responsible behaviour' and signposted the government's shift to active paternalism (Social Security (Administration) Act 1999 (Cwth) – Section 123TB). The intervention also required the extension of the powers of the government over Aboriginal people beyond what had been seen in decades and required the Commonwealth to get an exemption from Australia's Racial Discrimination Act in order to specifically quarantine and manage the welfare receipts of only Indigenous Australians. This blanket approach was a shift in how income management had previously been provided.

Previous forms of income management had included a clear pathway to appeal decisions and the option of it being repealed as circumstances changed, but CIM offered no such options (Klein 2016). CIM also differed to Mutual Obligation policies. Mutual Obligation had increased expectations of what a person was obliged to do when receiving payments while CIM targeted 'core-income security entitlements' without exception (Lovell 2016, p. 436). Consequently, the government sought to address the perceived 'moral failings' of welfare recipients through enforcing economic discipline (Lovell 2016, p. 443; Mendes 2014, pp. 31-32; Mendes 2017).

Despite early evaluations of CIM finding it had limited success the initial rollout did not end with the Howard Coalition government. Under the Rudd/Gillard Labor government CIM was expanded beyond Indigenous welfare recipients to all of the Northern Territory and then into specific areas considered to be experiencing high social exclusion (and therefore areas of high reliance on government welfare support) (Bray et al. 2015, p. 376; Carey and Riley 2011, p.

[13] Place based income management had also been trialed in the early 2000s as part of the Cape York Welfare Reform. In this form income management was paired with a Families Responsibilities Commission which promoted community decision making and recognised the individual circumstances of families before instituting the income management (Klein 2016: 506).

696; Mendes 2017, p. 198). In this way, Labor took out the racial discriminatory elements of the CIM but still maintained the overall paternalistic structure of the strategy (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 696; McClelland 2010, p. 6).

Both under Labor and Liberal governments, the use of CIM reflected an increase in paternalism where anti-poverty policies contained a 'directive and supervisory' component that included behavioural requirements (Bray et al. 2015, p. 374; Mead 1997, p. 2). This paternalism reflected the increased emphasis on 'social contracts' which evolved from concerns about scarcity of government resources and expectations that welfare support be 'appropriately' utilised by its recipients (Klein 2016, p. 504; Lovell 2016; Mead 1997, p. 13). In many ways CIM was the natural progression of Mutual Obligation policies that focused on behaviour management. However, the arguments that CIM would target funding where it was needed and reduce welfare dependency proved to be untrue. Since its inception there have been multiple evaluations of CIM and these have consistently demonstrated four major limitations of the program.

First, one of the major criticisms was that although the rationale for the intervention was based on the emergency issues related to the *Little Children are Sacred Report*, many of the issues raised in the report were not new and had previously been raised in multiple other investigations with no response from the government (Wild 2007). Furthermore, the intervention contradicted the majority of the report's recommendations, particularly that any response be completed in consultation with the communities affected (Mendes 2014, p. 369; Mendes 2017, p. 173; Wild 2007). Instead, CIM was paternalistic at its most damaging – demeaning recipients and repeating a history of coercion for an already disenfranchised population (Altman and Hinkson 2010, p. 190; Wheelahan 2010, p. 169).

Second, while CIM was seen as a way of targeting funds more efficiently, the actual cost of implementing CIM was extremely high and required a dramatic increase in bureaucratic systems (Mendes 2017, p. 204). Furthermore, this expansion of administration requirements went beyond government and into other support organisations with NGO's recruited by government to take on responsibility for managing an individual's money. As a result of this role, traditional welfare service continued the shift from services supporting people to actively policing them (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 696).

Third, CIM was supposed to be a short term intervention that would assist people to stabilise their spending and build their financial management skills (Brough 2007; Klein 2016). The

evidence illustrated that instead of promoting independence and better choices, the CIM scheme has resulted in increased dependence with individuals remaining under the scheme for years and with no evidence that this will change in the near future (McClure 2015, p. 113). Even in voluntary cases evidence suggests that income management may still lead to dependency with studies illustrating that 80% of people choose to remain on the program (Klein 2016, p. 516).

Fourth, there was limited evidence that the BasicsCard had improved an individual's financial management capabilities, increased an individual's purchasing of nutritional food – particularly in remote communities – or increased the wellbeing of communities as a whole (Bray et al. 2015). The BasicsCards was also associated with a number of issues including the limited number of places a person could shop, increased expenses related to surcharges or minimum spending requirements in stores, and difficulties in checking the balance (Bray et al. 2015, p. 384; Deloitte 2015, p. v; Mendes 2014; Mendes 2017). The restrictions placed on purchasing prohibited items were shown to be easy to work around, and once again were more likely to be successful in voluntary income management rather than compulsory.

Furthermore, the evaluations of CIM consistently demonstrated that rather than shaping positive social behaviours, CIM simply made life more difficult for welfare recipients (Altman and Hinkson 2010, p. 201). Most damning of all was that despite CIM initially being implemented to 'keep children safe', there was limited evidence that the scheme had resulted in improved outcomes for children – predominantly because the vast majority of people placed on CIM did not have children under their care (Bray et al. 2016, p. 475; Deloitte 2015, pp. iii-iv).

As well as having limited evidence of its efficacy, the use of welfare to modify recipients' behaviour is problematic due to the extremely subjective nature of describing what behaviours are good or bad (Klein 2016, p. 504). Programs such as CIM do not address the structural disadvantage an individual experiences or the difficulties related to managing expenses when receiving such a low income (Mendes 2014, p. 370; Mendes 2017, p. 173). Instead there is an expectation to adopt a one size fits all market narrative that becomes "the 'truth' of what makes the responsible citizen" (Klein 2016, p. 505).

The embracing of CIM by both Liberal and Labor governments demonstrates the 'political convergence' that has occurred over the last three decades (Mendes 2017, p. 201). There was a perception that with a Labor government, many of Howard's Mutual Obligation and CIM

policies would be wound back. As illustrated, under Labor CIM not only continued but was expanded. Despite the Labor government's shift in language to a Social Inclusion agenda its new policies did not halt the continued push towards paternalism. Part of the explanation of the consistent policy focus is the underlying ethos of both Liberal and Labor governments that prioritised economic independence as the primary goal of citizenship (Gerrard 2019; Mendes 2017, p. 155). What would be different was the way the policies were implemented and also the new federal Labor government's specific focus on local communities and responses to homelessness (Hulse et al. 2011).

Social Inclusion

Social Inclusion emerged in the Australian policy landscape in the early 2000s. The increasingly restrictive requirements of Mutual Obligation were becoming less popular and there was a growing argument that rather than simply penalising those receiving welfare the government needed to provide greater support. The form of Social Inclusion policy adopted in Australia was the latest iteration of what was originally established as a social exclusion policy in France in the 1970s.

Social Exclusion policy was initially established as a reflection of France's 'social contract' that the government had a responsibility to ensure no citizen will be left to "fend for themselves" (Buckmaster and Thomas 2009, p. 3; Silver 2010, p. 186). The European Union expanded on France's policy throughout the 1980s and 1990s as part of its Anti-Poverty objectives. This policy was further adapted to become a central element of UK Prime Minister Tony Blair's New Labour government in the 1990s (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 692; Giddens 2013; Hulse et al. 2011, p. 14).

In the UK, the adaptation of social exclusion in policy outlined an approach that did not rely solely on government intervention and therefore did not risk being seen as encouraging 'passive welfare'. Instead, those resources required to address social exclusion would require partnerships between government, community services and other private organisations (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 692; Hulse et al. 2011, p. 14). This approach closely reflected the UK's shift towards a 'Third Way' – a concept promoted by eminent sociologist Anthony Giddens – that falls between classic social democratic principles and neo-liberalism in seeking to meet social needs by government encouraging and partnering with private investors (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 695; Giddens 2013; Silver 2010, p. 187). The Third Way:

"… stresses new relationships between the individual and the state, where government has responsibilities to address poverty and disadvantage but also holds expectations of individuals to undertake paid employment and build the democratic state by participating in civil society [31]." (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 695)

The concept that social issues such as homelessness were 'everybody's responsibility' was a strong element of the South Australian Government's social inclusion approach. In 2002 the South Australian Labor Party was the first Australian political party to adopt a social exclusion policy but the then Premier Mike Rann altered the term to 'Social Inclusion'. By this shift from exclusion to inclusion the focus became more on improving 'membership to community' rather than on eliminating 'social problems' (Silver 2010, p. 194). The experiences of the South Australian Labor Government's Social Inclusion policy would influence the federal agenda promoted by Federal Labor leader Kevin Rudd in 2007 (Saunders et al. 2013, pp. 694-5).

Upon Rudd's election to Prime Minister in 2007, one of the Federal Labor Government's first actions was to establish the Social Inclusion Board (SIB). The Board was asked to provide advice on three key areas – "locational disadvantage, jobless families and children at greatest risk of long term disadvantage" (SIB 2010, p. 6). Similar to Blair, the Rudd Labor Government sought to eschew the idea of passive welfare and instead framed Social Inclusion policies as ways of 'investing' in individuals and communities (Carey and Riley 2011, p. 695; Mendes 2017, p. 197).

The first major outcome of the social inclusion approach was a greater emphasis on service co-ordination. Recognising the multi-faceted nature of social exclusion the Social Inclusion agenda forced a rethink of the previously siloed approach to these areas (MacKenzie 2017). As a result, Social Inclusion policy opened up the narrative that the problem may not simply lie with the individual but also with the bureaucratic barriers that many services put in place to access support (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 37). Consequentially, the government acknowledged that these issues were not going to be solved solely through short term interventions but required sustained responses that not only considered the individual but also the systems that have helped to propagate disadvantage (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 86; Silver 2010, p. 197; SIU 2009, p. 3).

Second, the Social Inclusion agenda focused on local communities – specifically those that were perceived as being 'disadvantaged' and in need of additional assistance. Based on the

work of Tony Vinson, the Federal Government developed a strategy to identify those communities with the lowest rate of social inclusion (SIU 2011b; Vinson et al. 2007; Vinson 2009). Using data from the Socio-Economic Index for Areas (SEIFA), areas with a low socio-economic rating were then targeted for additional resources to improve their 'Social Inclusion' (SIU 2011b, p. 21). Efforts were also made to consult with community members about what they needed before strategies were introduced (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 14).

Third, the government sought to identify different ways of working with local NGOs and private enterprises to improve the sustainability of providing services to those in need. NGOs had a key role in the roll out of the Social Inclusion agenda and the Rudd Labor Government took considerable steps to engage the sector (Mendes 2017, p. 198; Stephens 2008, p. 1). This included the establishment of National Compacts between the Australian Government and the NGO sector to improve trust between the sectors. These compacts included the removal of gags on NGOs who were receiving money from Federal Contracts as had occurred under the Howard Coalition Government (Commonwealth of Australia 2011; Stephens 2009, p. 1).

The Social Inclusion agenda's reach across local communities, private enterprise and multiple levels of government had a significant impact on public policy in Australia. Not only did it bring additional resources to sectors such as homelessness, it also challenged the previous relationships between government and external providers and enabled an increase in the role of the NGO sector. One of the key benefits of Social Inclusion agenda was how it was used as a framework to reform many 'welfare bureaucracies' including in the areas of mental health, disability and affordable housing and homelessness (Buckmaster and Thomas 2009; 31; Saunders 2015, p. 143).

Social Inclusion provided increased opportunities for communication between services and service users and it also brought both increased resources and a call to use these resources more efficiently through service co-ordination. However, the Social Inclusion agenda did have limitations, including a lack of clarity around the definition of Social Inclusion, the potential for Social Inclusion to ignore or overshadow the issue of poverty, increased stigmatisation of communities identified as 'socially excluded', and an over reliance on equating inclusion with employability.

First, when the term social exclusion was translated to Australia's environment to become Social Inclusion it lost some of its original nuance. The use of the term Social Inclusion did not provide the space to examine how social exclusion occurs; instead the focus became on how to

improve an individual's behaviour to increase their inclusion (Buckmaster and Thomas 2009, Farrugia and Gerrard 2016). Furthermore, the term also did not allow for differentiation between those who do not engage in inclusion activities and those who due to circumstances do not have the capabilities or opportunities, to engage in these activities (Saunders 2015, p. 149).

The difficulty in defining inclusion also meant it was difficult to show whether the policy activities were successful. The Federal Government attempted to illustrate the progress of the Social Inclusion agenda through the use of indicators. Initially starting at 33 indicators, this was later altered to 22 main and 22 supplementary indicators (SIU 2009). While this 'dashboard' approach provided a clear way of communicating complex issues to a broad audience, it did not align with long standing data systems. Subsequently, the government received push back from departments who were concerned that by changing their systems they would potentially derail years of comparable data (Saunders 2015, p. 145).

Another difficulty in demonstrating policy success was associated with the new collaborative way projects were developed. The multiple partners that differed across communities made it difficult to implement a consistent reporting and evaluation structure (Flatau 2017; Hulse et al. 2011). Additionally, despite consulting with communities, the Federal Government continued to be the driver and to shape the expected outcomes (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 41). Within this restrictive environment it became more difficult to organically develop services at a grassroots level.

The second limitation was the way Social Inclusion policy was used to avoid dealing with the issue of poverty and it's over reliance on employability as the primary indicator of inclusion. The argument that employment was the "…most effective weapon to guard against poverty and disadvantage" (Gillard 2007, p. 105) ignored the reality that the employment environment had changed and growing casualisation and underemployment meant that work no longer provided the same level of support as in the past (Pocock 2010, p. 143; Mendes 2017, p. 195). Furthermore, the emphasis on employability and economic independence illustrated the way that the Rudd/Gillard Social Inclusion agenda still aligned with the previous Coalition government's policies of Mutual Obligation (Farrugia and Gerrard 2016; Harris and Williams 2003).

Rather than scaling back Mutual Obligation requirements the goal instead became to support people to meet their 'participation requirements' (SIU 2011a, p. 41; Horsell and Zufferey

2018). Job Services Australia (JSA) continued despite ongoing concerns about how JSA services could provide the necessary holistic services to assist people with high and complex needs into employment (Bessant 2004, Carey and Riley 2011; Edwards 2008; Murphy et al., 2011). There was also no increase in Newstart benefits, despite clear evidence that those receiving those benefits were living well below the poverty line (Saunders 2015, p. 141).

Young people in particular continued to be economically disenfranchised, with the government electing to retain them on the lower paid Youth Allowance until the age of twenty two, delaying their access to the relatively higher paid Newstart allowance for an additional year. The rationale was to provide "...the right financial incentives to train, study or work..." (Macklin 2011) with the emphasis that young people would choose to stay on welfare if they were not prompted appropriately. By refusing to increase welfare benefits the Australian Social Inclusion agenda promoted the same 'false dichotomy' as in the UK, positing the choice between either 'compensating people for their poverty' by increasing benefits or assisting people 'to tackle the causes of their poverty' through welfare to work reform –and refusing to recognise that there was the option to do both (Lister 1998, p. 219).

The third limitation of the social inclusion agenda was the stigma associated with identifying local communities as being socially excluded. The initial benefits of the naming and defining socially excluded communities was an increase in services and resources. The downside was the increased stigmatisation of the community and the people who lived there (Marston, Moss & Quiggin 2010, pp. xi-iii). Furthermore, using a tool such as SEIFA did not reflect that it is still possible to feel connected and included in low income communities and that community is experienced in different ways by different groups (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 18; Murphy et al. 2011, p. 87).

By focusing on specific localities and the individual failings of those who resided there, the focus was shifted to fixing the behaviours of community members rather than acknowledging the significant structural factors that might have shaped their circumstances (Buckmaster and Thomas 2009, p. 13; Hulse et al. 2011, p. 15; Pocock 2010, p. 144). There was also concern by critics that the labelling of communities as disadvantaged was used as an excuse to break up 'problematic' housing estates and promote gentrification (Pawson and Herath 2017, p. 374).

Despite these limitations, the Social Inclusion framework was successful in providing recognition of the multidimensional factors that impact poverty and in forcing conversations with key stakeholders that may not have occurred otherwise (Saunders 2015, p. 142). It also

forced a re-think of how services are provided and the ways poorly implemented bureaucratic structures can impact on an individual's wellbeing.

Overall, however, Social Inclusion's failure lay in its over reliance on employability as the primary indicator of inclusion and in continuing the rhetoric that the only way to support those receiving welfare is to find ways to get them off welfare (Lister 2001, p. 92). This rationale ensured the continued implementation of mutual obligation and CIM strategies that placed the burden of employability overwhelmingly on individuals.

Since the re-election of the Coalition Party under Prime Minister Tony Abbott in 2013 (and subsequently Prime Ministers Malcolm Turnbull and Scott Morrison) there has been a shift back to more punitive measures. Many advocacy groups were defunded and greater cuts and restrictions for young people in particular were proposed (Mendes 2017, p. 180). Both Liberal and Labor parties would continue to argue that the best form of welfare was work and therefore there were no changes to the rates of allowances and instead further restrictions were imposed (Mendes 2017, p. 129). The McClure Report of 2014 reinforced these ideas and focus continued to remain on 'incentives to work' rather than improving the situations of those receiving income support (McClure Report 2014; Mendes 2017, p. 181). It is for these reasons that I argue that rather than the institution of new policies that manages its citizens, it is necessary to reconsider the way Australian public policy identifies citizenship.

Rethinking citizenship

In this chapter I have outlined how Australia's relationship with employment has defined their experience as citizens. By idealising the role of the worker in Australian society those outside of the employment market have had their experience of citizenship diminished. The primary way this occurs is through the dichotomy developed by Australian policy makers that there is an 'active' and 'passive' concept of citizenship and that by receiving welfare you forgo your rights as an 'active' citizen.

In challenging this dichotomy I do not seek to criticise the goal of employment. Being employed is proven to provide financial, psychological and social benefits (Campbell et al. 2013; Gaetz 2014). The goal of employment in itself is not the issue, it is the negative implications for those who fall outside employment and the employability framework (Lister 2001, p. 91). It is also about recognising that employment is not a guarantee for leaving poverty and a refusal to be seen 'compensating' people for their poverty' through raising benefits is unfairly disenfranchising multitudes of Australians (ACOSS 2018; Lister 1998; 2001; Mendes

2017). As such, I argue that the active and passive dichotomy of welfare and citizenship has created three main issues within society.

The strict delineation between active and passive citizens has made it more difficult for people to move fluidly in and out of the workforce as changing responsibilities or health needs demand (Jamrozik 2009; Mendes 2017). A solitary goal of 'getting people off welfare' ignores the real need for welfare and its ability to support people to remain engaged in family and community and maintain their mental and physical wellbeing (Jamrozik 2009; Murphy 2011). Furthermore, the increasing barriers to receiving welfare support mean that people are experiencing higher levels of crisis and trauma before they receive support and placing greater pressure on crisis and emergency services to respond to these needs (Mendes 2017, p. 172). It also brings about a situation where the behaviours that arise from experiences of trauma and crisis and inadequate service responses are used to provide further evidence that poor decision making is responsible for a person's circumstances rather than an understanding that these behaviours have often been instrumental to the individual's survival up until this point (Robinson 2018).

An active and passive dichotomy transfers all responsibility for unemployment and poverty onto the individual and shifts the government's role to giving people the tools 'to tackle the causes of their poverty' through welfare to work reform (Lister 1998, p. 219). In this way there is a move from equality to equality of opportunity with an implicit argument that a person's situation is due to them not taking the opportunities available to them rather than the opportunities being unrealistic (Lister 1998). Young people in particular face higher levels of unemployment, increased casualisation of the workforce and increasing educational requirements to obtain entry level positions (Bessant 2018; Campbell et al. 2013, p. 13; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Price and Grant-Smith 2018, p. 55; Walsh 2011, p. 1). These structural barriers to stable employment and an independent income mean that young people are excluded from current definitions of citizenship.

By ignoring the way that current structural challenges are placing young people in a state of perpetual dependency, public policy continues to emphasise paternalistic strategies that result in short term outcomes in education and employment. Opportunity is not simply about providing access to the necessary materials, opportunity is also reliant on a decision making structure that sets and guides expectations of citizenship and the environment that social relations exist within (Young 2011, p. 41). In this environment equal opportunity to education

and other opportunities 'is a mirage' that distracts from the reality that there are less secure employment options available (Lister 2001; Campbell et al. 2013). Opportunities are not straight forward and instead it is necessary to identify what enables or constrains a person's access to these opportunities.

The active and passive dichotomy justifies a growing bureaucracy that has far reaching consequences yet unlimited oversight. The growing attachment of penalties for those who drift from the goal of economic independence can reduce the capacity for services to take the necessary time and care that will assist in the development of the person for the long term (Gaetz 2014). The perception that bureaucratic structures are impartial ignores that the rules and standards they set are developed by those in power who seek to maintain the current hierarchies and decision making structures (Watson and Cuervo 2017; Young 2011, p. 147). Increasingly major public policy decisions are not made by government but by an anonymous department head, resulting in a lack of transparency about what services are funded and how they are regulated (Jamrozik 2009; Young 2011, p. 104).

The implications of this active and passive dichotomy are particularly relevant to the operation of the YHMs. Their aims and values influence the way that they see the young person they are supporting. The YHMs are framed as an opportunity or 'stepping stone' to get young people into economic independence, however there also needs to be recognition that the past and future challenges the young person faces may take more than a year of respite. Citizenship is about more than employment. There is a need to provide young people with the opportunity to develop the skills they will need to navigate numerous challenges in the long term (Young 2011, p. 23). For a truly positive experience of citizenship to occur, it is not only about assisting people to be involved in already established political, economic, and social structures, it requires the changing and adaptation of the structures themselves to be more inclusive (Young 2002, pp. 38-39; Young 2011, p. 198).

In order to reflect the changes needed to address the current limitations of definitions of citizenship, I refer to the work of Iris Marion Young and Ruth Lister to explore an alternative way of responding to the needs of citizens and to promote a concept of differentiated universalism. Iris Marion Young developed the concept of a politics of difference which asserted that universality as impartiality is a fiction and instead there was a need for universality of moral commitment (Young 2011). Ruth Lister expanded on Young's work to outline differentiated universalism, which explores the possibility that citizenship can be experienced

in a more varied way than currently dictated by policy and that these experiences are equally valid (Lister 1998, p. 10).

The origins of differentiated universalism stem from the negative impact of homogenous decision making through modern bureaucratic structures and it aims to demonstrate that citizenship is experienced uniquely by different groups. Young's approach originally derived from discussions of gender and the ultimately male construction of what it means to be a citizen, particularly the "…assumption that moral agency and full citizenship require that a person be autonomous and independent." (Young 2011, p. 77). Over time, supporters of a politics of difference have expanded to include minority groups, races and ethnicities, the LGBTIQ community and disability groups (Lister 2007, p. 49; Watson and Cuervo 2017; Young 2011, p. 251; Young 2011, p. 77).

Differentiated universalism shifts the focus from different groups 'fighting over the same resources' to rethinking who is making the decisions about the way resources are allocated in the first place (Watson and Cuervo 2017). Rather than bringing groups into a system where 'the rules and standards have already been set' by groups that are already privileged, differentiated universalism openly questions the assumed neutrality of current decision making structures (Young 1990, p. 195). A key element of shifting societal attitudes towards welfare is providing opportunities to hear from the people receiving the services and engaging them in discussions around what services they are provided and how decisions are made (Lister 2007, p. 58).

By shifting the focus to differentiated universalism, decision making structures are necessarily made more transparent. Currently within Australian democracy there is already a culture of lobbyists with different priorities seeking to sway the political agenda. Rather than focus on an increase in 'interest groups', differentiated universalism seeks to provide greater transparency about how different groups advocate directly to power structures (Young 2011, p. 104). Young argues that it is the 'privatisation' of interest groups that is the problem rather than the existence of differing groups in themselves (Young 2011, p. 150).

Creating opportunities for diverse voices is recognising that even with the best of intentions people in power cannot speak for different groups, but equally it is not possible to speak without them (Young 2011, p. 29). To truly unpin the structural inequalities within society it is necessary to hear the voices of the people most affected by these decisions. Not only should these people's voices be heard but they should have a 'seat at the table' about decisions

affecting them (Watson and Cuervo 2017). Part of providing space for transparent communication is that it requires different groups of class, race, sexuality, and environment to communicate and engage with each other and identify the humanity in the other (Lister 2001).

Implementing differentiated universalism strategies is particularly important when working with young people who experience homelessness. Initially, it may be assumed that due to their internal diversity this cohort may not have their own unique identity. It is true homeless people are not homogenous and the experiences and pathways into homelessness are diverse. However, the stigma associated with homelessness has implications for a person's sense of identity and their relationship with the rest of the community (Bower et al. 2018; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Goffman 1963). What people who experience homelessness do have in common is stigma and exclusion from the broader community. It is through their communal exclusion that they become a category or group in themselves (Bower et al. 2018; Young 1990, p. 61).

As outlined in the literature review, the reasons why people become and remain homeless are complex and multifaceted. Often experiences of homelessness begin before a person turns 18 when a young person is forming their individual identity and coincides with experiences of trauma that have implications for the young person's cognitive, behavioural and emotional development (Farrugia 2016; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Martin 2014; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2014). Added to this is the stigma and tendency for the young person's experiences to be over pathologised (Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Harris 2015; Keys et al. 2004; Watson and Cuervo 2017),

Differentiated universalism provides space for the young person to reconcile their experiences of homelessness with their inherit capacity to illustrate resilience and growth (Young 2011, p. 134). It also helps young people to negotiate their relationships with those experiencing homelessness and recognise their experiences are a part of them but they do not need to solely define them (Young 2011, p. 198; Walter 2015; Watson and Cuervo 2017). A big part of this is recognising that responding to youth homelessness is not solely about getting the young person to change but also recognising the structural changes that also needs to occur.

What I will demonstrate in this thesis is that the YHMs that worked best and had more positive outcomes were those that saw beyond simply getting the young person stable and in a job. These YHMs also took the time to support the young person to advocate for themselves, to negotiate with others and to communicate what it was that they needed. Although I recognise

that services may still be limited by contractual requirements and structural challenges, they do have the ability to be transparent about these difficulties. Through open conversations between the worker and the client the client has the opportunity to make an informed choice, thus improving the likelihood of success for individuals and services (Lister 2007).

The YHMs are in a unique position to provide a safe space in which the young people can fully embrace their strengths and skills. Ultimately, the YHMs can take on a role that shifts the "…focus away from strategies to help 'make' young people citizens, towards ways of supporting young people as citizens" (Smith et al. 2005, p.439). This means the YHMs need to create structures that support positive relationship building and engagement, and which develop and foster leadership in a strengths-based approach that focuses on the young people's skills and aptitudes and which encourages the young person to take ownership of their goals (Barker 2012).

These structures also need to reflect the duration of support a young person will require, taking into account adequate time to resolve trauma and access meaningful educational attainment or employment (Gaetz 2014). There is also a need for all homelessness services to provide a trauma informed approach (Martin 2014). By using the opportunity of stable housing to provide space for individuals to address previous trauma (Robinson 2014).

A trauma informed approach acknowledges young people can only feel safe and calm when they are also seeing that in their worker. This means workers need to have the support required, they need to have access to colleagues with different skillsets (Procter 2017). Integrated service delivery is also a way of modelling trust and reciprocity between service providers and allows for a coordination of responsibilities that supports the young person collectively rather than individually (Hulse et al. 2011; Barker 2012).

It is common for young people who experience homelessness to feel devalued by both society and the services they are required to access (Farrugia 2010; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2002). By adopting differentiated universalism, workers can emphasise the skills and capacities that the young person brings with them and empower the young person to make choices that will provide them with greater autonomy and control over their lives (Barker 2012, p. 37). Having systems such as clear feedback loops and dedicated roles for the young person set up from the beginning moves the process from being tokenistic to ensuring that there is an opportunity for the young person to be heard and to influence the decision making process.

Additionally, efforts need to be made to ensure that democratic decision making takes into account power imbalances in the process and the potential for these processes to be manipulated by members who hold more power (Murphy et al. 2011; Young 2011). It is also necessary to regularly review systems and ensure they are responsive to changes both in the group demographics and external influences. I argue that by putting these systems in place it is possible to create a format that empowers rather than 'manages' different groups (Lister 1998, p. 15).

Rising unemployment and increased casualisation of the workforce means that those young people who are unable to rely on family support face increasing challenges to meet the goal of economic citizenship. Differentiated universalism provides a framework for how we respond to citizenship in Australia by assisting individuals to strengthen the necessary skills that will improve their chances of managing changing times. An approach that focuses on overall engagement and participation by service users is more nuanced than Social Inclusion, more meaningful than Mutual Obligation and less punitive than CIM. It asks us to look beyond purely economic independence and see how the other foundations of advocacy, communication and support will result in longer term positive outcomes for both the individual and the community.

Conclusion

How governments implement public policy can have a marked impact on how people perceive citizenship. Australia, in particular, has had a multifaceted relationship with citizenship that is a product of its colonial history and policy foundations that inadvertently developed 'welfare by other means'. On the foundations of the Harvester Judgment, both sides of the political fence in Australia have still equated a positive experience of citizenship with economic independence. Despite a brief shift to Social Inclusion policies which proved to be paramount in the development of YHMs, there is still clearly a neo-liberal ethos evidenced through the continued implementation of policies such as Mutual Obligation and CIM. The influence of these policies has created an environment that promotes those outside of the paid workforce as second class citizens.

The implications of this version of citizenship has been significant for young people who experience homelessness. Excluded on two fronts through their age and housing stability young people have been the recipients of invasive and restrictive policies. These policies have failed to recognise the significant barriers faced by young people given the citizenship ideal of

economic independence. By devaluing these young people now it reduces their capacity to actively engage in citizenship in the future.

It is for these reasons that I assert the need to rethink the concept of citizenship particularly when applied to public policy. Based on the above theoretical underpinnings of citizenship, I provide evidence of the value of differentiated universalism in reflecting the specific needs of young people who experience homelessness. Furthermore, by embracing differentiated universalism, it is possible to provide the conditions for a more socially just lived experience for this cohort.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

In this chapter I outline the methods used to explore the benefits, weaknesses and efficacy of YHMs in order to understand their implication in a young person's experience of citizenship. I begin by mapping out the methodology that underlies my approach and explain how I determined which YHMs are included in the research. I then provide further detail about the specific qualitative and quantitative methods used to examine the efficacy of the YHMs and how they influence the way the young people identify as citizens within the broader community. In the final section of this chapter I provide a reflexive analysis of my overall implementation of the research.

Strategies for the Research

In conducting this research, my underlying goal was to focus on the intended and unintended impacts of each YHM on a young person's sense of citizenship. The emphasis on citizenship in this research requires a focus on the voice of the young person and the meanings that they ascribed to their experiences residing in these forms of accommodation.

Ethics approval was obtained from the University of Adelaide's Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC – Project No: H-156-2011) to adopt a mixed methods approach incorporating both qualitative and quantitative measures. The qualitative data included feedback from focus groups and interviews with both young people and service providers because my focus was on both groups' understanding of youth homelessness, social inclusion and the role of YHMs. The quantitative data was collected through a short survey provided to young people at the beginning of the interviews and a review of population level data.

YHM Case Studies

The study offers a comparative analysis of YHMs across four different socio-economic locations in Adelaide, South Australia between late 2011 and 2012. It addresses significant gaps in our understanding of, firstly, the circumstances and experience of people living in YHMs and their transition into independent living; and, secondly, the nature and extent to which young people who experience homelessness are able to integrate into the wider community through civic inclusion and participation, and through education, training and employment opportunities.

Youth homelessness is a pressing issue across Australia (Beer et al. 2005; Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1998, 2004; Farrugia 2010, 2016; Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Jacobs 2014; Mallett et al. 2010; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2011; 2014). Young people are often more vulnerable than homeless adults, their pathways into homelessness differ from those of adults, a different set of agencies are responsible for their welfare, and they are often confronted by a different set of challenges when compared to homeless adults.

South Australia provided an ideal location to conduct this research. As discussed in Chapter Two, South Australia was the first Australian state to embrace principles of social inclusion, many of which later influenced the Rudd Labor Government's understanding and roll out of the national social inclusion agenda (Saunders 2013, p. 694-5). South Australia is also one of the few states and territories that referred to the Rudd Labor Government's Homelessness White Paper (Commonwealth of Australia 2008b) and subsequent NAHA (COAG 2009) to reform its SHS sector. These reforms led to an increase in investment in housing models specific to young people by both Federal and State governments, which made it possible to compare and contrast different implementations.

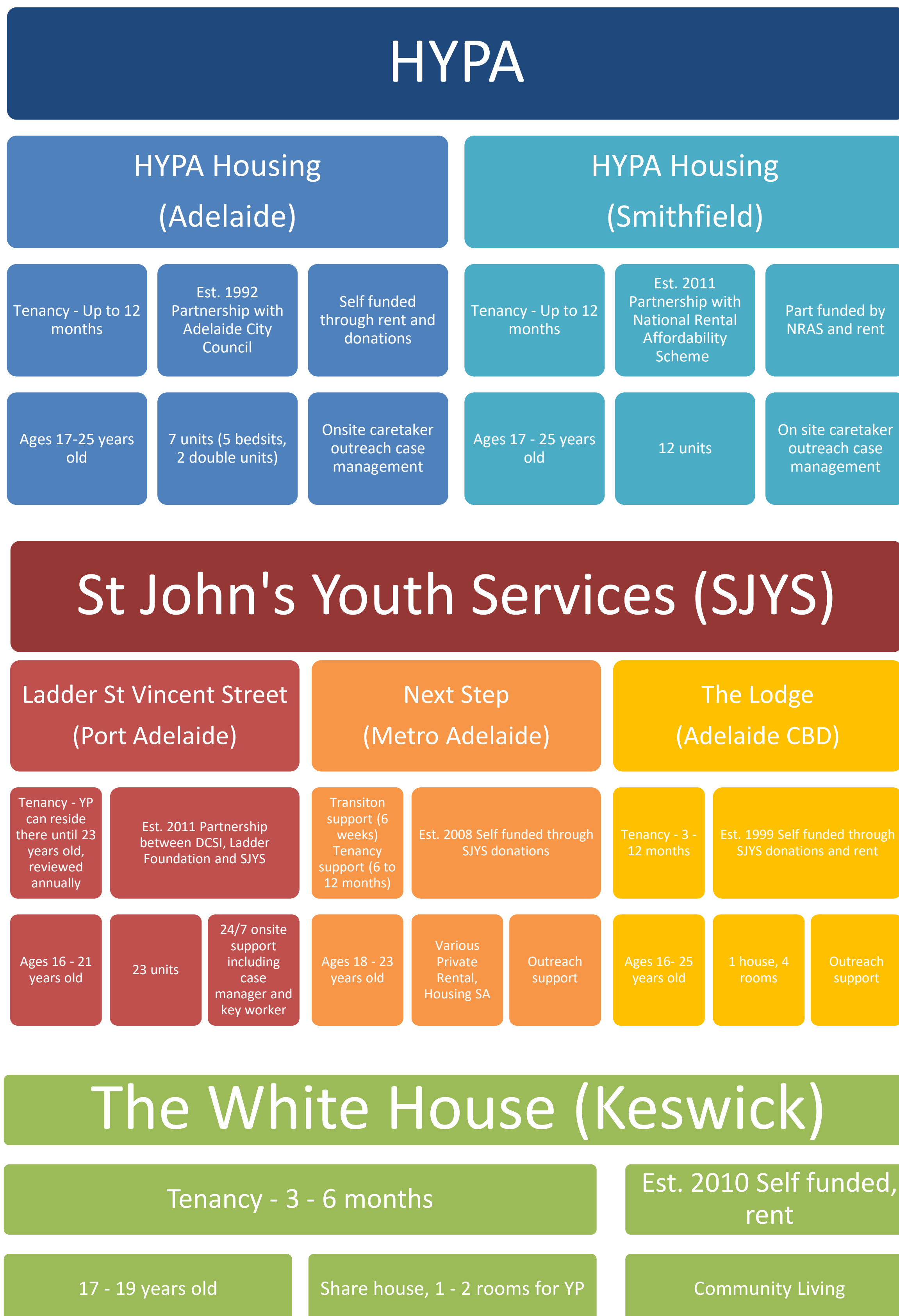
The initial aim of the research was to compare and contrast four YHMs run by Helping Young People Achieve (HYPA), a division of the Service to Youth Council Inc. (SYC) across varying geographical locations in metropolitan Adelaide. The four HYPA models initially chosen were to be located in the Adelaide CBD, the Eastern and the Outer Northern suburbs of Adelaide. However, between the initial research grant application and the commencement of the study, some of the housing models had changed and the building of others had been delayed. These changes and delays were partly related to community opposition to having youth housing located in their area. As a result, only two HYPA models were feasible for inclusion: HYPA's Adelaide CBD-based model that had been in operation for over two decades, and a northern suburbs model that was to be built by early 2012.

The reduction in HYPA models available resulted in expanding the case studies to include YHMs outside of HYPA that had a similar service framework and tenant demographic - i.e. Ladder St Vincent Street and The White House. Ladder St Vincent Street is a State government-funded and NGO-operated YHM based in Western Adelaide, while the White House is a smaller unfunded community-run model based in the Adelaide Hills. However, by the commencement of fieldwork in late 2011, the White House had relocated to the inner West with a reduced capacity to take young people. For this reason, the Next Step was also included.

The Next Step is also run by the NGO operating Ladder St Vincent Street but differed from the other YHMs in that it did not have a set geographical location and instead relied on outreach support to young people in their homes.

To ensure an accurate representation of young people residing in the YHMs, I used a purposive sampling framework (Walters 2010, p. 134). I also collated information about the number of participants approached who declined to engage in the research to identify if there were particular patterns or groups that were being unintentionally excluded from participating. One participant group that was excluded from the research were young families. Figures at the time identified that families comprised 28% of SHS users (AIHW 2013, p. 11) and in acknowledgment of this need, some of the YHMs also included young families as a small proportion of their residents. Despite the presence of young families, there were not sufficient numbers to do justice to this group. However, despite this exclusion, I was able to touch on this growing issue of incorporating young families into YHMs through interviews with three young women who became pregnant while residing in the YHMs. In doing so, it was possible to identify how young people's needs changed with impending parenthood and how YHMs were able to respond. In the next section I provide more detail of each of the five models included in the research with a specific focus on their location, capacity and target demographic (Figure 3).

FIGURE 3 YHM COMPONENTS



HYPA Housing Adelaide (HHA)

Developed in 1992 as a collaboration between SYC and Adelaide City Council, HHA had accommodated 143 young people by 2010 (SYC 2010, p. 27). Able to accommodate up to seven young people at a time with a focus on those aged between 17 and 25 years old, HHA tenants are supported by an allocated case manager as well as an on-site caretaker (HYPA 2012, p. 2). Located in a side-street of Adelaide CBD, HHA is unsigned and has a large gate that requires key access, designed to provide additional security to tenants. Rent is set at 30% of a tenant's income with each of the five single units being self-contained bedsits and the double units having two separate bedrooms. There is also a common room and communal laundry available to all tenants.

HHA is located in the south-west corner of the CBD amidst a variety of community, government and affordable housing as well as services specific to people experiencing homelessness. While HHA's overall focus is on getting young people into education and employment, HYPA recognises that HHA's close proximity to support services makes it better suited for young people with more intensive support needs than HYPA's other YHMs (HYPA 2012, p. 3). The maximum length of stay in HHA is 12 months, with an initial probationary three month lease factored into this period of time[14] (SYC Guidelines 2012, p. 1).

In late 2011 I interviewed HHA tenants either on-site in HHA's Common Room or in HYPA Adelaide's offices. Six of the seven residents of HHA, including three males and three females were interviewed. Three of the young people identified as being from a CaLD background and the ages ranged between 17 and 22 years. In addition to individual interviews, a focus group was held approximately 10 months after the initial interviews.[15] This focus group included three of the young people initially interviewed and one new tenant who had moved in since the first round of interviews. By holding this additional focus group I was able to elicit additional information not captured in the first round of interviews.

HYPA Housing Smithfield (HHS)

HHS opened in mid-2012 and interviews were completed in late 2012 when the majority of interviewees had resided there for between two and seven months. Building on the success of

[14] This twelve month limit may be extended in 'exceptional circumstances'

[15] The focus group was a pilot for potentially running further focus groups in other YHMs, however, this did not occur due to limited time and resources.

HHA, the Smithfield model was developed to provide housing for young people impacted by the high cost of private rental, low vacancy rates and low incomes rather than being an exit point for SHS (HYPA 2012). As such, unlike HHA, HHS had a greater focus on independent young people who are engaged with education and/or employment. Part of this shift in focus related to HHS's funding model that operates '…in partnership with Commonwealth, State, Local Government and Wyatt Trust' (HYPA 2012, p. 3).

Located in an area with a mix of industrial and residential properties, and within walking distance from public transport and shops, HHS is also gated to provide safety for the young tenants. It comprised 12 self-contained units with additional purpose-built common areas including kitchen and laundry facilities and space to meet with outreach services (HYPA 2012, p. 3). HHS tenants were provided with a range of furniture that they were able to retain if they met their lease agreement and if the furniture was kept in reasonable condition in the first three months (SYC Guidelines 2012, p. 5). However, the provision of furniture was not a standard issue for other HYPA houses and what was provided at HHS fluctuated over time.

HHS's goal was for young people to move into private rental at the end of their 12-month lease and up until then a young person had access to an outreach case manager and on-site caretaker (SYC Guidelines 2012). The explicit purpose of the case management program was to support '...the tenant into education, vocational training or employment…' and involved regular meetings with the case manager, as well as attendance at tenant meetings and any group programs identified by the case manager (SYC Guidelines 2012, p. 5). Rent was also set at 30% of the young person's income at the time of signing the lease and all tenants were required to sign off on specific guidelines. These guidelines outlined rules around friends visiting (including a curfew on guests), prohibition of illegal activities, responsible alcohol use, and managing loud music. Tenants also agreed to remain engaged in SYC's case management program (SYC Guidelines 2012, p. 1-2).

In total, four females and one male participated in interviews, with three of these interviews occurring in their units and two interviews at a mutually convenient external location. One of the young people identified as Aboriginal, and young people's ages ranged from 18 to 22 years old. In relation to both HHA and HHS, two follow-up interviews were held with HYPA staff. One of these interviews involved two case managers and one caretaker, while the other included the operational and strategic manager of the HYPA Housing project. Each of these interviews were held at HYPA's Adelaide CBD offices.

Ladder St Vincent Street

The Ladder St Vincent Street project was funded through the Innovations stream of the SHS reform in South Australia. A partnership was formed between South Australia's Department for Families and Communities (DFC, now Department of Human Services), Australian Football League (AFL) Ladder Foundation and St John's Youth Services (SJYS), with each of these partners having a role to play in the YHM's development.

As the charitable arm of the AFL, the Ladder Foundation had a specific focus on supporting young people at risk of homelessness (Ladder 2011). Previously, the AFL Ladder Foundation supported the development of Foyer models in Victoria. Its role both in Victoria and in South Australia was to promote additional funding and connect tenants with mentors from the AFL or Netball Australia. In addition to funding the model, DFC was instrumental in finding and redeveloping a property in the Port Adelaide area (Kennett 2008, p. 1). DFC tendered out the client support component of the model to SJYS. SJYS had been an advocate for Foyer models prior to gaining the Ladder St Vincent Street contract and this concept was used as a framework for the new service (SJYS 2012, p. 8)

Ladder St Vincent Street opened in January 2011, with 23 units and a client group of young people who were homeless or at risk of homelessness and aged between 16 and 21 years (SJYS 2011). During the 2011/12 period, 36 people resided at the YHM with one in three residents identifying as Aboriginal and/or Torres Strait Islander or from a CaLD background (SJYS 2012, p. 21). Each of the young people had access to a self-contained individual unit, in addition to a common room, a common kitchen, computer labs, meeting rooms and on-site case management support. There was space provided for services to visit which led to regular visits from staff from Port Adelaide Housing SA, Centrelink, Workskil as well as in-house information sessions by Port Adelaide Community Health Services, Central Domestic Violence Service and the Australian Tax Office (Ladder SVS 2012, p. 20).

As part of this research, I interviewed 15 of the 23 Ladder St Vincent Street tenants between late 2011 and mid-2012. Five of these tenants completed a second interview approximately six months after their first interview. The young people interviewed ranged between 16 and 22 years old and included eight males and seven females. Two interviewees identified as Aboriginal and three identified as being from a CaLD background. All of the interviews took place on-site and, unlike other YHMs, it was possible to visit the site for scheduled periods

each week to observe and interview young people. To obtain the service provider's perspective, one follow up interview was held with the Ladder SVS case manager and two key workers.

The White House

The White House is a community house that began in the inner south of Adelaide in 2010, before moving to the Adelaide Hills and later being based in Adelaide's inner west. This unfunded model is run by a community of young people who want to provide support to young people at risk of homelessness. The White House describes its focus as providing 'temporary housing for at risk young people' (WhiteHouse Community 2011). It has a strong community and religious ethos that aims to 'establish and maintain a community that loves in the way God loves us' and includes an optional Sunday service and a community meeting every second Monday night followed by a shared meal.

In its last location in Adelaide's inner west, the property included six bedrooms to accommodate five permanent volunteer support worker/tenants and two young people at risk of homelessness. The initial aim of including the White House was to provide a juxtaposition between grassroots and government funded models, however, due to the White House only supporting one to two young people at a time, this placed limitations on the number of young people I was able to interview. Overall, I observed two separate house meetings in late 2011 and conducted one participant interview offsite in early 2012.

The Next Step (including The Lodge)

Part way through 2011 it became clear that there was enough interest from YHM residents and enough resources to expand the initial plan of completing 23 interviews with residents to instead completing up to 40 interviews. As a result, another program (also run by SJYS) called The Next Step was included in the research. The Next Step has been running since early 2009 and provides support to young people accessing private rental. This support is divided into two streams (SJYS 2010, p. 2).

The first stream included the provision of six weeks follow-up assistance to young people who exit from crisis accommodation, while the second was a six to 12 month program supporting young people into private rental (including potentially acting as a guarantor) as well as providing regular outreach support (SJYS 2012, p. 24). Part of this outreach support also

included The Lodge, a house set up in the Adelaide CBD designed to house up to four young men of CaLD background at any one time (SJYS 2012, p. 22).

I interviewed three young women and one male in late 2012, with each of the women being supported by Next Step while living in Housing SA properties and the one male residing in the Lodge. Participants were aged between 17 and 19 years old, with three of the interviews held within the home and one at a mutually agreeable community location. All four interviewees identified as CaLD. At the time of the study, 70 per cent of Next Step's clients identified as CaLD (SJYS 2012, p. 24). To add the service provider's voice to the discussion, I held an additional focus group with six of The Next Step case managers as well as conducting a brief interview with the program manager.

Study Participants

Previous research illustrates the complexities of engaging with vulnerable and disparate young people who experience homelessness (Murphy et al. 2011; McLoughlin 2011, Mallett et al. 2010). By placing the young person at the centre of the analysis, I emphasised a framework that addresses the subjective experience of homelessness. That is, I focused on the dimensions and circumstances of those young people residing in the YHMs, their own experiences across different biographies and demographic backgrounds.

In the initial stages of the research, meetings with service providers were arranged to discuss the planned interview questions and methods of engaging participants. These meetings provided an opportunity to respond to questions and gain feedback and advice based on the service providers' experience. After gaining the YHM service manager's approval to begin the project I requested that I attend a staff meeting to explain the study and the support I needed. At this point, I provided staff with written material outlining the research which they could display in the service common areas.

As a final step in informing potential participants, I offered to attend a meeting with young people to explain the research and respond to questions in person. This face-to-face presentation was arranged to provide potential participants with the opportunity to learn more about the research, and ask questions related to their involvement in the study. Meetings were offered to four of the YHMs, with two YHMs declining the offer on the basis that it would be too difficult to convene all the young people together in one place. Where it was possible to

attend these meetings I used this as an opportunity to gauge the young people's interest in participating in the research.

In cases where meetings were not held, I relied on YHM staff members to provide a background of the study to the young people and give them the option of participating in the research. Where young people were amenable to participating, the staff member then passed on the young person's contact details or directly organised a time for a one-to-one interview with me. Before the interview commenced, I provided the participant with written material outlining the study. The interview was undertaken once the young person had signed a consent form to participate in the study.

The interview included the participant completing a short written survey that included details of their age, sex, ethnicity, month and year they moved into the YHM and how they found out about the YHM. I also asked each of the participants to identify the top three things that were important to them from a list of nine options adapted from Mission Australia's Annual Youth Survey (Mission Australia 2012) (See Appendix D).

The semi-structured interview was undertaken and included participants providing details of their biographies; their experiences and expectations of the YHM; and of their future aspirations.

A semi-structured interview schedule was developed and incorporated Clapham's (2002, p. 64) characteristics of the consumption of housing that included *physical, meaning, identity, geographical location/community interaction* and *relationships*. This schedule provided a guide that enabled me to explore in more detail the differences in the dimensions, circumstances and experiences of youth homelessness from the young person's perspectives in documenting:

- biographies of young people who experience homelessness *(*e.g. *family breakdown, education and employment opportunities, intergenerational poverty, mental health, substance abuse, social isolation)*
- demographic backgrounds *(age, sex, race and ethnicity)*
- particular challenges confronting this cohort
- experiences of living in YHMs

- pathways into independent living
- level and relevance of service provision in meeting the young people's needs and expectations
- relevance and effectiveness of programs that young people access from their perspectives.

At the end of the interview I provided the participant with the opportunity to visualise their ideal home by drawing a picture of what home meant to them. This led to a further discussion about the young person's aspirations and ideals for the future and was designed to prompt responses relating to several key areas: home, aspirations, relationships and location. While the majority of the interviewees willingly engaged in the drawing activity, those who were not comfortable with this activity were instead invited to write down or describe in words their future ideal home.

The first half of all interviews were completed in late 2011, and time was taken over the December/January 2011/2012 period to reflect on the interview data. As a result I made adjustments to the interview questions. I was able to re-interview a number of young people, firstly through a focus group setting, and secondly, by allowing young people from another YHM the opportunity to be re-interviewed.

All interviews were audio recorded and transcribed, and transcripts were then analysed using Nvivo 9 software. Analysis included a frequency distribution analysis to draw out key themes across the interview spectrum (Walter 2010). Using a grounded approach to data analysis (see Strauss and Corbin 1998; Dey 2007), each interview transcript was closely read, prompting the emergence of five major themes – *Experiences of Homelessness, Future Aspirations, The Housing Model, The Local Community* and *Social Connectedness*.

Engaging Service Providers

Personal biographies have the capacity to provide insight into how people construct their identity and are commonly used within homeless and housing research (Clapham 2003, p.123; Johnson et al., 2008, p.8). A limitation of employing personal biographies is that the narrative can be changeable depending on the purpose of the interview, the role of the interviewer, and external factors that may be impacting on the individual at the time of the interview. Therefore, these biographies still need to be considered within wider analysis of the structures that

influence and shape them (Clapham 2003:123). Therefore, the study benefited from also gaining the perspective of service providers.

Interviews and focus groups were undertaken with both operational staff and managers. In total, I completed three focus groups and two follow up interviews with managers. The initial goal was to interview operational service providers and managers together in one focus group. However, as the focus groups progressed I made the decision to separate the two levels of staff into separate focus groups. In part this was due to the difficulty in organizing all parties to be available at the same time. There were benefits also in having only service providers interviewed away from managers.

A focus group guide was developed with questions under the themes of *Service Background, Values, Funding, Young People, Location, Young People and Citizenship,* and *Vision*. Some of these questions were more appropriate for focus groups with ground level staff and some for managers, and others were formulated depending on the make-up of the group. All participants were provided with information sheets and they completed consent forms, with pseudonyms given to all participants. As with the individual interviews, all focus groups were audio recorded, forwarded to an external organisation for transcription and analysed using Nvivo 9 software.

<u>Locational Data</u>

To further enrich the qualitative data, I incorporated a review of population data that compared and contrasted different locations across metropolitan Adelaide. I examined ABS locational data for each of the housing regions to provide a context of how locational issues may influence the success of an YHM. The ABS data allowed for a population-level analysis of the locational demographics of the YHMs. In particular, I accessed basic and expanded community profiles, quickstats, and SEIFA data, at the level of the relevant suburb, its Local Government Area, and then further compared at an Adelaide metropolitan, State and National level.

The data included median ages, household incomes, cultural diversification, proportion of social housing, unemployment rates, crime rates, post school qualifications and the placement of populations on the SEIFA index. These elements were identified using Social Inclusion Australia's *How Australia is Faring* report as a template (SIU 2010, p. 83). While population-level data analysis provided a broad-brush perspective of communities, the data collected here

assisted in comparing perceptions of young people and services of the local community (Clapham 2008, p. 58).

Interviews

Between November 2011 and December 2012, I completed 36 individual interviews and one focus group, with the total participation of 31 young people. The ages of participants ranged from 16 to 22 years old, with an average age of 19 years. Of the 31 interviewees 13 were male and 18 were female. The average length of tenancy for the participants at the time of their initial interview was five months. Those young people who participated in the initial interviews received a $20 gift voucher for their time.

All 36 interviews were completed face-to-face either at the YHM (n=23), in the young person's home/unit (n=6), in the service provider's offices (n=5) or at a mutually agreed upon community location (n=2). Nine young people also attended an additional focus group or secondary interview and were provided with a $30 gift voucher in recognition of their further engagement. Twelve operational staff and three managers were also interviewed or participated in focus groups.

Reflections and Learnings

Challenges

While there was high interest from residents of the first two YHMs, it was more difficult to engage young people from the three other models. Part of this challenge related to logistical issues, such as Next Step residents living across a range of properties and areas and the need for a Next Step staff member to transport and introduce me to interviewees in line with YHMs policies and procedures. Another barrier to engagement was a low pool of people to draw from, as with the White House, which was only supporting one or two young people when the research began. It was only with the final YHM, HHS, that young people lacked interest in participating in the study. Nevertheless, I was able to interview five of the 11 tenants.

To encourage the participation of young people in this study I engaged in a number of strategies. For example, where possible, I spent time on the premises. Due to limited space however, co-location was difficult to achieve at all of the YHMs. One YHM was able to provide office space for me for two half-days a week over a number of weeks.

The strategy of being available at regular times on site had benefits and challenges. One of the benefits was that I could observe tenants coming and going, and the services they used. I also believed it enabled me to recruit more young people for the study. Being onsite also presented me with a challenge. My regularity could have been interpreted that I too was a worker. This in turn may have meant that some interviewees provided what they think I might want to hear about their accommodation during the interview rather than their actual experience of their lodging (Louis and Bartunek 1992).

While specific appointment times were made with other YHM tenants, in the case of the YHM I was co-located at, the decision was made not to make set appointments. The reason being, that it was considered unlikely that the young people would prioritise attending appointments (even with support from staff); young people often had a range of activities that they were involved in; and it was difficult to predict what some young people would be doing from one week to the next. One of the difficulties with this approach was that when young people were available, they were not always prepared to sit down and be interviewed for a long period of time. Some young people saw it as a stop-gap while waiting for friends or before their next appointment.

Finding appropriate space for the interviews to be held was also problematic. Access to interview rooms was generously provided where I was co-located. However, these spaces were located in close proximity to other interview rooms, the staff offices, meeting room and the main entrance to the YHM resulting in considerable foot traffic and associated noise. This meant the young people being interviewed often became distracted or felt pressured to leave the interview to meet with friends who were waiting outside. It was also common for the interviews to be interrupted by other tenants, staff knocking on the door or the young person receiving phone calls or text messages.

Other interviews held with young people in their homes or in a communal space had the benefit of allowing greater insight into the young person and their living situation. However, even during these interview there were often interruptions from the young person’s phone or unexpected visitors. Despite this, I found there was something to take away from every interview and the young people were generally eager to assist in the study.

Ethical Considerations

The University of Adelaide's HREC granted ethics approval for this research. There were three predominant ethical concerns relating to the implementation of this research. These concerns included the ability of the young people to provide informed consent, the potential risk of harm to participants, and managing my insider/outsider status as a previous service provider.

a. *Informed Consent*

Informed consent was a particularly complex ethical consideration, predominantly due to the age and vulnerabilities of the young people who accessed YHMs. I managed these concerns in the following two ways. First, a significant proportion of the young people involved in the research were under the age of 18 and unlikely to be able to access parental consent. Initial age parameters for the research were set for 17 years and over because the YHMs involved predominantly accommodated young people aged between 17 and 25.

I sought ethics approval to waive parental consent if the 17 year old had already been declared eligible for the Unreasonable to Live at Home (UtLaH) rate of Youth Allowance by Centrelink. This decision was based on Centrelink's UtLaH eligibility requirements that a social worker has assessed that the young person can no longer reside with the family. Reasons why a young person may be granted UtlaH are the presence of extreme circumstances that may include '…family breakdown, violence, or serious risk to safety and well-being…' (Centrelink 2014, p 1). A Guardian Consent Form was developed for the unlikely case that a young person may seek to be involved who had not been granted UtLaH, but this was ultimately not needed (See Appendix G Guardian Consent Form). In one instance it was necessary to amend the ethics application to include a 16 year old (as previous ethics only covered those 17 years and above). In this case ethics approval was provided on the basis that the participant had been granted UtLaH.

The second way I managed informed consent was to provide all participants with an information sheet and a standard consent form developed as part of the ethics application (see Information Sheets for - Interview Participants (Appendix A), Services (Appendix B), Focus Groups (Appendix C) and Standard Consent Forms – Interviews (Appendix F) and Focus Groups (Appendix H)). In recognition of the potentially low literacy and numeracy skills of the young people residing in the YHMs an oral explanation of each of these documents was provided to the participant. At this time, participants were also asked about their understanding

of their participation in the study and given the option to have another person of their choosing to be present during the interview. This option was very rarely taken and only once was an YHM worker invited by the participant to remain during the interview.

b. *Risk of doing harm*

Another ethical concern was the possibility of causing harm to the interviewee by asking them to relive potentially traumatic experiences through the interviews. The criteria for the YHMs was that the young person was expected to have a certain level of independence and had been assessed by these services as being capable of moving on to independent housing in the near future. On this basis it was possible to assume that the young people were less likely to be in a current state of crisis or have significant high and complex needs. However, despite their assumed level of independence, there was still the potential that talking about issues related to their housing experience may be emotionally or psychologically upsetting to the participants.

To limit potential harm all participants had an identified support worker or person they could debrief with after the interview. Additionally, each young person was given contact details of a crisis service should they not feel comfortable speaking to someone from within the service. Participants were also given the telephone numbers of the chief investigators of the grant and relevant contacts from the research ethics committee if they had any concerns or feedback.

c. *Insider/Outsider Status*

My identity was complicated due to my insider and outsider status with the YHMs (Louis and Bartunek 1992). In relation to my insider status my previous and current employment experience in the homelessness service sector had both benefits and challenges. Knowledge of the sector and ability to identify key stakeholders provided immediate connection to potential YHMs. With my previous work experience, relationships with services developed quickly and there was also a sense of trust about the motives, methods and structure of the research, with many staff noting, ‘We know you’ as their reason for allowing access to the young people. However, I was also aware that my sector knowledge and experience could lead to issues of conflict of interest. To address these potential concerns, clear boundaries were established and all YHMs and participants were provided with contact details of the principal supervisor should difficulties arise.

While I had insider status with YHMs, I was an outsider in regard to those young people interviewed. Although I had worked in the homelessness service sector, I had not experienced

homelessness or instability as this young cohort had. I was concerned about provoking further trauma through unnecessarily invasive questioning. However, with this cautiousness came the risk of not recognizing the resilience of the participants and also their desire to be heard. In providing this space for these young people to have a voice, I found myself regularly enlightened. The differing perspectives between these young people and the staff that worked with them also became clear. My concerns that the participants would be less forthcoming, or only present one side of their experience were allayed by their forthrightness.

Conclusion

In outlining the thesis research design, I have provided further details of the practical ways in which the young people, service providers and the understanding of geographic locations were incorporated into this study. In particular, I have illustrated how I navigated the challenges of conducting research with a vulnerable population and how I addressed the need to be responsive and flexible to the changing research environment.

Underlying my research design was a desire to embolden young people's voices and allow them to share their own experiences. In the next four chapters I explore these voices and the YHM's capacity to enrich or constrain their experience of citizenship. As part of this, I examine a variety of key elements including the match between the conceptual young person that the YHMs targeted, compared to the young person in reality. I also examine the impact of the physical structure and location; the role of YHM's day-to-day support and interventions; and finally the realities of the young person's housing outcomes after the YHM, with particular attention to how these matched with the young person's ideals of home.

In the next chapter I specifically examine the realities of the young person prior to moving into the YHM and how these compare and contrast with the aspirations of the YHMs. In particular, I explore the interviewees' housing and homelessness experiences, how these experiences impact on their ability to remain engaged in education and employment, and the young person's own sense of identity and perception of what it is to be a *successful* member of the community.

Chapter Four: Expectations and Realities – Perspectives of Service Providers and Young People

Introduction

Encouraged by a concept of citizenship that promotes economic independence and public policy that prioritises young people's engagement in education and employment, The Youth Housing Model (YHM) framework has a clear criteria of the type of young person eligible for this service. Promoted as a 'stepping stone', YHMs assist young people who require minimal support, have a level of independent living skills and who have a desire and capacity to engage in education and employment. In this chapter I examine the assumptions made about young people by these services and how they compared to those young people's experiences and perceptions of the YHM.

The first section of the chapter provides a context to the young person's experience by exploring the service provider's perspective with particular focus on how the workers' envisioned the type of young person they would support and the services they would provide. In the second section, I explore the biography of the young person leading up to residing in the YHM from their perspective and how the young person's experiences of homelessness affected their perception of society.

Through the analysis of the YHMs' expectations and the young people's biographies, it is possible to compare and contrast their understanding of the purpose of the service and the realities of the young person's experience. I am also able to explore both the young person's and the service's concepts of citizenship and how these concepts influence their engagement with the service and the greater community. Furthermore, by exploring the foundation of the origins of the young people's experience prior to moving into the YHM, I provide a context for later chapters which focus on the experiences of the young person once they are in the service.

Service Overview

The common thread of each YHM is the provision of housing support by a NGO, an expectation for the young person to be engaged in education and/or employment, a long term goal to promote self-sufficiency and expectations that the young person will be a 'willing and

active' participant. Furthermore, there is a consistency in the YHMs' vision of the service as a 'stepping stone' to support young people at risk of disengagement to reconnect or maintain connections that will assist them to avoid long periods of homelessness.

As I demonstrate, the assumptions that young people would retain or maintain their connection to education and employment influence the way the YHMs were designed. First, all of the YHMs assist young people who have the skills and capacity to live independently. Consequentially, the YHMs are focused on those who are on the verge of becoming homeless rather than those who had already experienced extensive periods of homelessness. These were the young people who are still involved in education and/or employment, and have limited or no experience of the formal homeless system.

The expectation is that by primarily offering housing stability, the YHM enhances the young person's ability to fully engage or re-engage with education and employment, increases their independent living skills, develops a reliable rental history, and enables them to be ready to move into alternative housing within twelve months. Along with greater independent living skills, YHMs focus on those who are actively engage in support. Rather than 'receiving' supports, the young person is expected to utilise the supports provided and be an active participant in the service model. This level of individual agency is explained by Maria, a support worker at Ladder St Vincent Street, who highlights the need for the young person to be willing to accept support and make a change.

> **Maria:** *"I guess this model needs people that are ready and willing to make changes in their life and, yeah, if they're not keen and ready I guess this place is a bit daunting because we are, we're not overly in their face but we are in there and asking… Yeah, we're expecting a lot from them we want them to achieve and I guess that caring can be really daunting for someone that's not ready to accept that and take those pathways."*

Similarly, Donna, a HYPA Housing support worker, identifies it as:

> **Donna:** *"Well, because there's one – like, they have to either work or study or be looking, actively looking, for one of those ones, so they have to be motivated and they can't*

> *be too high needs, because we do, like, have a lot of units there."*

There remains a consistent theme that emphasises the young person's own attitude in approaching the YHM. While there is a belief that services provide the necessary support to ensure this outcome, the onus of responsibility is still placed on the young person to be in the right mindset and to take advantage of the opportunities provided. As Next Step support worker Scott's comment below exemplifies, the YHMs reflects a discourse of 'rights and responsibilities in welfare support' (Randolph and Wood 2005, p. 9).

> **Scott:** *"I think also age and maturity. They grow a little bit – I mean people grow up or I guess get forced to grow up in the situation they've been in. They realise that there's more to life than just being on Centrelink payments. They want something better for them and we come along and I guess show them and teach them the steps that you need to take to give up Centrelink and to get a job and give them that support as well. At the same time they've got to be ready for it. They need to be true."*

Initially, the worker's perspective of citizenship appears to focus on rights and responsibilities, which highlights the need for young people to earn their rights by behaving in a manner suitable to the service. Scott's reference to young people needing to be 'true' demonstrates a tacit assumption that the success or failure of the YHM is less reliant on the model itself but on the willingness of the young person to accept the support.

In the first instance, when asked about their concepts of citizenship, some workers primarily focused on citizenship as reciprocity – for all rights there is also responsibility and the need to give back to the community. Next Step workers were the most likely to focus on the need for the young people to understand rights and responsibilities, particularly in relation to the law and respect. For example, Next Step worker Lisa explains citizenship as:

> **Lisa:** *"I guess understanding of the reciprocity – the Australian system. There's give and take. You pay your taxes but you can benefit from it too, I guess."*

The different experiences of citizenship for young people of CaLD backgrounds came up repeatedly due to their high prevalence in the YHMs. Some of the workers argue that young people from CaLD backgrounds may only seek to get what they could from the service, rather than do what they are required to do. Specifically, Next Step worker Kate felt that the CaLD young people they worked with often felt they had an entitlement to support.

> **Kate:** *"I think it's a lot harder – this is purely my opinion, but I think it's all about entitlements. I have the right to receive Centrelink; I have the right to get a house; I have the right to be protected by this. I think sometimes there's a little bit of – I think, it comes down where they've had a very unfair life and they may have been taken – too many things have been taken away from them. They just want to conserve and survive. I think that has a lot to do with it."*

Expanding further, Kate considers whether the young person's mistrust of authority has developed in their countries of origin, leading to a fear that if they do not raise their voice they would be taken advantage of. Furthermore, for every concern that young people may 'take advantage' of the system, there are examples where workers identify young people who are already actively seeking ways to give back to the community. Beyond expectations of reciprocity, YHM workers also highlight the important role of having a sense of belonging and respect from others.

There is recognition by service workers that the young people they sought to support face an uphill battle in meeting societal expectations of citizenship. As Rose, manager of HYPA services, explains many of the young people they support are often missed by both mainstream and homelessness services due to the increasing demand for support. When these young people's needs are not met, it is more difficult for YHMs to match their level of support with the needs of the young person.

> **Rose:** *"…there are so many services that are at capacity and don't have the ability to pick up on those specialist areas; where I think that's where those young people's needs aren't being met. It takes them then longer to actually get back into employment or education or have their wellbeing stabilised as well. Or, equally, if they*

haven't had that intervention at the right time; so they come with so much more complexities at that point of intervention for us as well."

The 'complexities' that Rose alludes to refers to the evidence that the longer someone experiences housing instability, the more likely they may encounter physical and mental health issues, engage in drug and alcohol misuse, leave school early and have contact with the criminal justice system (Farrugia 2010; Johnson 2008; Mallett et al., 2010; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2002). This turn leads to a need to provide more complex and intensive support to address the multitude of issues the young person may face (Robinson 2014; Steen and MacKenzie 2017).

A recognition of a young person's barriers to achieving citizenship are more likely to be identified by those workers who equate citizenship with a sense of belonging and identity. HYPA Case Manager Donna specifically referred to racism and homophobia as key challenges facing the young people she works with, citing an example of having to be selective in where a young gay man was housed in order to maintain his safety.

> **Donna:** "*Where do you start? Racism - we've got, like, a prime example, we've got a young homosexual boy who won't move into the Smithfield units because of the boys that are living there at the moment... Yes, so sexuality, poverty…"*

HYPA Housing Manager Olivia also raises the issue of financial barriers that a young person can face and the implications of being on a limited income:

> **Olivia:** *"Yeah. I think when – lots of young people, when they first come to us, they might just be on the Newstart or the Centrelink payments…When you get down to your last dollar every week it must be demoralising to weigh up what I can afford. So not having that freedom, I think, would just – must hurt your self-esteem….They can't really afford to choose where they want to live or choose to have a new outfit for work or something that gives them that sense of I feel part – I look like other people."*

Donna, Rose and Olivia's comments reflect the broader stigma facing young people experiencing homelessness (Farrugia 2010, p. 73; Johnson et al. 2008, pp. 56-7; Mallett et al. 2010, p. 167; Walter et al. 2016, p. 358). Ladder St Vincent Street Case Manager Amber, sums up this stigma as a general sense that the broader community do not always see the potential of young people like those residing in YHMs.

> **Amber:** *"Like these guys* [YHM tenants] *have it* [potential]*, they use it, they show it, they are it but the rest of the world doesn't necessarily see or know that and are so shocked when they do it. It doesn't shock me anymore because I always knew they could."*

Amber's belief in the potential for the young person to succeed reflects the services' expectations that a young person is able to become economically independent in a short time frame. As mentioned above, the services have expectations of the type of young person they support and design their services to cater for this cohort; that is, a young person who only needs a 'stepping stone' into housing stability that will provide them the space to get a job and be ready to transition into private rental within a twelve month period. The next section explores how these assumptions align with a young person's experience of first becoming homeless and turning to the YHM for support.

Understanding Young People's Experience

The services' eligibility criteria specified young people who are unable to receive assistance from their family yet who are still connected to their community and who have the capacity and skills to live independently with minimal support. What becomes clear from the stories of the young people interviewed is that they have experienced a much more complicated timeline of events. During the period of first leaving home and moving into the YHM each young person has faced a range of physical, psychological and emotional challenges. In this first part of exploring the experiences of the young person prior to residing in the YHM I examine the historical causes of the young people's housing instability.

Pathways to homelessness

At the beginning of each interview, the young person was asked what had 'happened' to them in the lead up to moving into the YHM. A common reason given by all young people interviewed was the loss of ongoing family support. Frequent reasons for family breakdown

include conflict associated with blended families, the young person's emerging sexuality, historical experiences of family homelessness, and experiences of domestic and family violence (Barker 2012, p. 6; Johnson et al. 2008; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Mallett et al. 2010). For HHA tenant John (aged 21),

> **John:** *"…I had a lot of family issues like. My mum was going out with some guy she'd been going out with for a while and he was like a drug dealer and like I stole money off of him, but only for the reason that yeah, he was a drug dealer, so didn't really like him and then I couldn't live with my mum anymore because she lives with him."*

Further complicating John's experience is the death of his father five years earlier. It is his father's death that John later identifies as the beginning of his housing instability. Meanwhile, for Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Simon (aged 17), bullying at school leads him to take his frustrations out at home and this adversely affected his relationship with his mother. A key element of this conflict is that Simon is coming to terms with his identity and is facing exclusion and a lack of acceptance from a range of areas, a not uncommon problem for some young people (Oakley & Bletsas 2013).

> **Simon:** *"…I used to get bullied at school a lot because I'm gay and that I couldn't really accept it as well and getting bullied just confused me and made it even worse and when I went home, like my mum didn't know then. But um I always used to sort of take it out on her and we used to fight and we didn't get along and she ended up kicking me out…"*

As the young people's stories reflect, family breakdown is a driver to many experiencing homelessness (Barker 2012). However, the terms 'family conflict' or 'breakdown' can be too simplistic when considering situations that may vary "…from arguments between siblings to sexual assault" (Johnson et al. 2008, p. 53-54). Despite a propensity for research into youth homelessness to differentiate between types of family breakdown, as the interviews in this research reveal, it is difficult to distinguish between those who are experiencing 'normative resistance' and those who are escaping significant abuse.

Even in what appears to be straightforward family conflict, there is always a much more complicated backstory as to why the family conflict has escalated so dramatically. This complexity is something also identified by McLoughlin in her study of young people who 'couch surfed'; she argues that even when a young person identifies as 'seeking out' independence, this 'seeking out' "…may also be prompted in the first place by problems and conflicts in the parental home…" (McLoughlin 2011, p. 98).

What is clear is that the majority of young people's experiences illustrate how it is rarely one single event that results in a young person becoming homeless. Instead it is a situation that changes over time, with young people moving in and out of the family home numerous times before they are no longer able to return (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1998; Johnson and Chamberlain 2008). It is during this period of moving in and out of the family home that the young person begins to experience varying forms of homelessness, whether through couch surfing with family and friends or by coming to the attention of formal homelessness support services. Added to this is the evidence of the role trauma plays in the young people's histories and how they experience and connect with the world (AIHW 2012; Chigavazira et al. 2013, p. 4; Keane et al. 2018)

I now delve deeper into the complexity of the young person's experiences prior to learning about or being able to access the YHMs. I divide these experiences into three major groups. First, there are a group of young people who have at some point received formal SHS support prior to moving into the YHM. Second, there are those who have experienced housing instability from a young age but who had flown 'under the radar' of formal support services. Finally, I explore the unique experiences of young people who arrive in Australia as humanitarian refugees. By exploring each of these groups I provide greater understanding of how the different housing experiences prior to the YHM influenced the way the young person perceived and utilised the resources that they encountered.

<u>SHS Support</u>

A large proportion of the young people I interviewed have spent some time residing in a formal support service prior to moving into the YHM. Overall, 61% (n=19) of the young people interviewed identify that they found out about the YHMs through contact with emergency SHS. The referral period to gain entry to YHMs often took a minimum of three weeks and therefore many young people needed to stay in SHS for an interim period while they were assessed for suitability by the YHM. This referral time meant that many young people used SHS primarily

as a transition point, only moving into the SHS while their referral to the YHM was being processed, or they were already residing in the services when they first learned about the YHM.

Samantha (aged 18) had been moving in and out of home for a year, alternating between couch surfing and trying to reconnect with her family before briefly residing in a suburban SHS. Samantha was initially concerned about moving into the YHM because of her experiences and what she had heard about other SHS.

> **Samantha:** *"Well like [SHS], how like people move in and out and that, so you don't know who you're going to live with. I was more scared about the people in it. Yes, that kind of stuff."*

Paul (aged 19) also found his stay in the SHS difficult as he struggled with the limited space and continuous coming and going of other people.

> **Paul:** *"Like [SHS] is not – I don't like to stay there because I get a little, very tiny room. Also there are different people coming in, different guys. Like for one month then you should move to another place."*

The stories of the young people who only received transition support highlight the additional stress that comes from residing in SHS. This stress is associated with being surrounded by others who are also trying to make sense of the circumstances that have led to them becoming homeless. SHS provides a necessary crisis response for young people who have no other options and reflects policy that is focused on homelessness without reference to early intervention or exit points (MacKenzie 2017). However, the increasingly complex issues the young people present with that are associated with trauma and long term housing instability make the SHS a challenging environment (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004; Coleman and Fopp 2014; Johnstone et al. 2016b).

The crisis nature of these services, and the high and complex needs of many of those who access these services, results in limited relief from the negative implications of homelessness (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004; Coleman and Fopp 2014; Johnson et al. 2008; Keys et al. 2004). These concerns are reflected in comments by Reconnect staff who actively discourage young people from accessing SHS because of the concerns it would have for a young person's welfare (Barker 2012, p. 33). Of particular concern is the propensity for increased drug use,

the impact of other SHS resident behaviours and a general perception of SHS as having "…stressful, crowded or unsafe living conditions" (McLoughlin 2011, p. 112).

For young people above like Samantha and Paul, the need to utilise SHS can be confronting and further compound rather than alleviate the young person's stressors. Luckily for many of these young people, SHS is only a short term solution on their way to something more stable. There was, however, another small contingent of young people interviewed who, when they first became homeless, had not found any alternative to SHS and had been reliant on this support for at least a year prior to moving into the YHM.

YHMs are a fairly recent phenomenon and prior to their development many young people were left stranded in the SHS system with minimal affordable housing options available to them (Coleman and Fopp 2014; MacKenzie 2018). Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Curtis's comment below highlights the way that crisis services and the workers there can become a touchstone when other housing breaks down.

> **Curtis:** *"Five years… But yeah, I met both of them [SHS workers] when I first went to [crisis service] and I've always gone back to [crisis service] at times…"*

Similarly, Bruce (aged 19) had first left home when he was 12 years old and later came to rely on SHS. As Bruce grew older the number of SHS options further reduces until his only available option is a crisis service that is limited to providing housing for a maximum of three weeks at a time:

> **Bruce:** *"You know, if that person can't find stable accommodation in three weeks they [SHS] are kicking them back out on the street…"*

The short-term nature of SHS that Bruce describes results in those who have experienced extended periods of service support living between SHS, couch surfing, rough sleeping, and short term housing solutions. The traumatic nature of these experiences can impinge on a person being able to develop healthy relationships, manage their emotions and/or effectively problem solve (O'Donnell 2014, p. 61). As a result, living in continual crisis may lead to some young people developing survival strategies that assists them to manage the uncertainty but ultimately results in increased difficulty transitioning out of SHS.

The experiences of those young people who come into contact with SHS illustrate the complexities that young people can face. Even when SHS was used as a transition point, it still means that the young person has reached a point where their informal supports are limited, or non-existent. The lack of exit points from SHS has been somewhat alleviated by the introduction of YHMs, but for some of the young people interviewed this has occurred years too late.

As highlighted earlier, the YHM service models are designed for those who have limited experience of homelessness. Part of the challenge of intervening early is both identifying the young people who are appropriate for the service, as well as having the young person themselves identify that they need the assistance. The negative connotations associated with SHS leads some YHMs to seek out young people who have managed to avoid the formal homelessness system. However, as the exploration of the next cohort shows, although the young person may not have ever accessed SHS, they have still experienced extended periods of housing instability.

Flying under the radar

The second group identified is a specific cohort who, although having lived out of the family home for a number of years, has managed to avoid coming into contact with formal support services. In each of these cases, prior to residing in the YHM, the young person has predominantly relied on informal networks (such as extended family, friends) for housing. This transience often results in young people experiencing 'unsafe sleeping' in order to avoid homelessness (Robinson 2011, p. 57).

'Unsafe sleeping' is a relatively new term in homelessness literature. It differentiates between 'rough sleepers' and those accessing formal SHS and identifies another group that is still living in precarious housing situations. Incorporating practices such as 'couch surfing', the term 'unsafe sleeping' also captures groups of people who remain in unstable or unsafe environments to avoid homelessness (McLoughlin 2011). Reasons why a young person may experience 'unsafe sleeping' include the 'unknown' of homelessness, a lack of awareness of services and the stigma associated with homelessness.

Those who have avoided contact with formal SHS are often not referred directly via SHS, but instead are identified as eligible through other support services. For example, HYPA utilises its job services division to identify potential HYPA Housing tenants. In the case of HHS tenant

Ally (aged 21), she was looking for employment when she found out about the YHM that provided her with an alternative to living with her violent partner;

> **Ally:** *"Basically, what happened was I was with Job Prospects, they were trying to find me a job, and I was in a quite abusive relationship with my boyfriend at the time. The social worker, the case worker there she said look, you can't be here, and she tried her hardest, literally tried pulling all the strings that she could to get me into HYPA Housing and I only lived two blocks away, had no idea about these houses."*

Ally's history of housing instability began when she was asked to leave home at the age of 13, because she was no longer able to 'pay her keep'. Between then and discovering the YHM at age 21, Ally lived in a variety of share accommodation while working in various insecure jobs. It is not until her job services provider urges her to leave her abusive boyfriend that Ally is made aware of YHM as an option. Ally's story also illustrates the role that domestic violence plays in 'unsafe sleeping', with Ally feeling that she has no alternative to living with her abusive partner (AIHW 2018a; AIHW 2018b; Martin 2014, p. 98; Murray and Theobald 2014).

Even in situations where there is no abuse, the constancy of the housing situations like Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Billie's below are determinate on the health of her relationship with her boyfriend. Billie (aged 16) initially is required to move out of her family home when her dad is sent to prison; at this point she moves in with her boyfriend. When they break up a year and a half later Billie is left with no housing options.

> **Billie:** *"We broke up, so he moved back to his mum's house, and I moved down back this way, expecting to live with my older sister. But she kind of told me, like, you have to learn to be independent, so she put me into* [crisis housing] *and it all began from there, pretty much."*

Young people's ability to survive independently at a young age is a testament to their resilience and resourcefulness. However, for many of these young people, this independence had resulted in years of housing instability that originates with their initial break from family. At this point, the young person is required to live independently at an age when structures, experience and

capabilities are set up with the expectation of family support (Bessant 2018; Furlong 2015; Walsh 2011; Woodman and Bennet 2015). A loss of family support results in the young person being unable to establish a foundation from which to engage in the broader community. The impact of underlying trauma and its impact on young people is particularly evident for the final group of young people who arrived in Australia as humanitarian refugees.

Humanitarian Refugees

At the time of the interviews, the number of people from CaLD backgrounds accessing Adelaide city-based youth SHS had doubled from 15% to 27% between 2010 and 2012 (SJYS 2012, p. 19). Although people of CaLD backgrounds only make up a minority of homelessness service users, existing literature highlights the particular challenges this group faces. These challenges predominantly relate to intergenerational clashes as young people take on Australian morals and values which often clash with those of their country of origin (Couch 2017; McMichael et al., 2011; Ziersch et al. 2017).

Along with the complexity of families transitioning into a new cultural environment, there are added challenges for the growing proportion of CaLD young people who also arrive as humanitarian refugees. Overall, young people from CaLD backgrounds made up 29% (n=9) of the young people I interviewed, with eight of these CaLD young people also originally arriving in Australia as humanitarian refugees. These figures reflect that refugee young people are experiencing a greater increase in homelessness than non-refugee young people (Tually et al., 2012, p. 27).

The experiences of humanitarian refugees vary not just on a cultural level but also in their experiences leading to seeking asylum and the way that they arrived in Australia (Tually and Faulkner 2012, p. 27; Ziersch et al. 2017). These variances have a bearing on the young person's experiences prior to becoming homeless and also on what services and support the young person is able to access once they arrive in Australia. The following three examples reveal the differences in these situations and how the way the young people arrive in Australia also impacts on their housing options and level of support in the local community. In the first example, the young person arrives with family as part of a humanitarian allocation, in the second example the young person arrives in Australia by boat, and the final example is of two siblings who seek asylum while they were studying in Australia.

Firstly, for David (aged 18), when he arrives in Australia via humanitarian allocation, his older sister takes on the role of primary guardian. This change in power dynamic leads to conflict between the siblings. Initially, David obeys all of his sister's rules, which include being home by 6pm every night of the week; however, as he grows older he seeks greater independence. David's experience is consistent with those experiencing forced migration who are also contending with mixed expectations of meeting both past and current cultural norms (McMichael et al. 2011, p. 182):

> **David:** *"I came here in 2007 and I was 13. From 13 to 15, I obeyed every single thing she [sister] said and then I reached 16 and I want to go out with friends, I want to be able to make new friends. I want to socialize, I want to go to parties like everyone else. Yeah, I just wanted to live my teenage life properly. She didn't understand that…"*

In Paul's situation (aged 19), the breakdown in family is related to the external challenges faced by his family. Paul leaves his mother and siblings in Afghanistan to travel to Australia by boat when he is 17. He experiences a period of detention before being granted asylum. Because Paul is still under 18 when he is released from detention, he initially is able to stay with a friend in a Families SA[16] property, but this assistance ends once Paul turns 18. After residing in SHS, Paul moves to the Lodge before moving to Ladder St Vincent Street. Paul's forced separation causes additional stress as he worries about his mother and siblings' wellbeing as they wait for resettlement (McMichael et al. 2011, p. 187).

> **Paul:** *I'm just waiting for my family. I'm thinking about my family. If I didn't have to worry about my family then I wouldn't be working. I would be going to study, doing my university or I don't know. It's all about my family so I'm working for my family.*

Finally, Anne (aged 22) and Richard (aged 21) arrive on student visas before seeking asylum in Australia due to safety concerns in their country of birth. Richard arrives in Australia first as an International student, and after a period Anne also is given permission to come to Australia as an International student. It is at this point that they seek and are granted asylum.

[16] South Australia's child protection system

After initially relying on friends, they move into emergency accommodation provided by Red Cross before they find out about HYPA Housing. One of the major challenges Richard and Anne face is the waiting period while Anne's visa status is decided.

> **Richard:** *"Before – I came here last year and I stayed at my friend's house and after – because we came here as a refugee and we don't have any financial income and we can't pay them. That's why we have to move out. After that, I stayed a couple of places. I couldn't find anything, anywhere to live and SYC helped us."*

During this period Anne is unable to access any government financial support or to legally gain employment, resulting in them both relying on Richard's Centrelink payment. Richard and Anne are able to find support within their local cultural community. However, due to their defection, the pair are concerned that there may be repercussions for their families in their home country. This makes them cautious around certain groups. Richard speaks of this isolation, when he is asked what the hardest thing about living in Adelaide is- *"Without our parents, without our friends. Maybe that's that only thing"*.

As the stories of David, Paul, Richard and Anne illustrate, no matter which way humanitarian refugees arrive in Australia they face additional challenges. These challenges include having limited family support, adjusting to a new community both culturally and linguistically, navigating a complex bureaucratic system, as well as managing trauma related to past experiences (Couch 2017; Tually and Faulkner 2012; Ziersch et al. 2017)..

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The ability of young people to meet the expectations of the YHM is influenced by their housing history, their ability to access resources prior to the YHM and the challenges of leaving home with minimal support. A majority of the young people interviewed have resided in SHS prior to the YHM. For some this is a transitional arrangement while for others it is a part of a longer more extensive history of crisis support. Even for those for whom it is a transitional arrangement, they still face additional challenges including a complete loss of supports. There is a contingent of young people who have avoided receiving support from formal homelessness services but often at the cost of residing in unsafe environments which could be marred by instability, lack of security and violence.

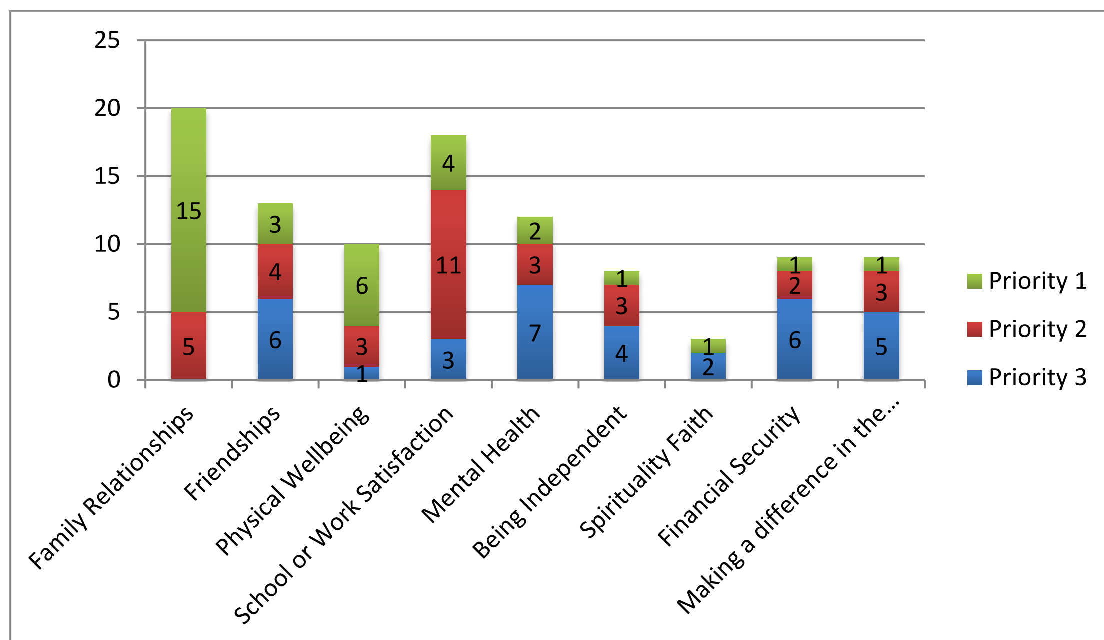
Finally, humanitarian refugees face their own distinct challenges. As well as acclimatising to a culturally and linguistically diverse environment, humanitarian refugees face additional bureaucratic challenges depending on the way that they seek asylum. They also carry with them trauma related to them fleeing their home country. What becomes clear on exploring the young person's histories further is that the YHM is often the last step in a long history of housing instability and experiences that occur during this period have significant implications for their ability to maintain and retain connection with education and employment.

Economic implications of Homelessness

One of the main goals of all YHMs is for the young person to be undertaking education and/or be employed. While service providers report that their focus is with young people involved in education and employment, this is not the experience of those young people interviewed.

During the interview process it became clear that the lack of engagement in education and employment is less a reflection of the young person's commitment but instead illustrates the way housing instability has limited their capacity and opportunities. Each of the interviewees was asked to complete a survey rating the top three items they felt are most important to them. As shown in Figure 1, 58% (n=18) of young people identify school or work satisfaction in their top three priorities, second only to family relationships (60%, n=20).

FIGURE 4: WHAT YOUNG PEOPLE RESIDING IN YHMS FELT WAS IMPORTANT



The young person's desire to engage in education and/or employment are further evidenced in discussions of their aspirations. Their goals for future engagement in the community regularly fit within what Smith et al. (2005, p. 431) define as 'respectable economic independence'. The concepts provided by the young people reflect Australia's division between 'active' and 'passive' experiences of citizenship and that people who are unemployed are 'second class citizens' (Gerrard 2019; Mackenzie 2010; Peel 2003; Smith et al. 2005, p. 432).

Furthermore, there is a strong association between having a job and the way that "work brought with it a sense of being a valued, contributing member of society, in contrast to the more negative values attached to those receiving welfare support." (Murphy et al. 2011, p. 110-111). For HHS tenant Deborah (aged 22), economic participation is identified as a way of differentiating herself from her upbringing and avoiding the same path as her parents.

> **Deborah:** *"My mum was a single mum, my dad's a full on druggie mate, I have 12 brothers and sisters under welfare, do you know what I mean? …So I'm fully aware of what actually happens in this world. Fully aware, and it's sad and it's scary. And that's why I'm motivated to get out and work. I'm not just gonna sit there and, I don't know, wait for it to happen."*

Overall, there was clear evidence that the majority of young people interviewed like Deborah desire to be an 'active' community participant and the primary way they feel that they will be accepted within the greater community is through economic engagement. Despite these aspirations, the young people face challenges that relate to both their experiences of homelessness as well as structural factors such as limited entry level employment positions.

Disengaged from education

In the case of education, the young people are able to clearly articulate their disappointment in how leaving home early had impacted on their ability to remain in school – a common issue for those experiencing homelessness who have to explain the 'gaps in their resume' (Mayock et al. 2011). Where young people continue to attend school, their overall results are compromised because of housing instability. In the case of PJ (aged 18), she spent six months couch surfing in between leaving the family home and moving into HHA. PJ manages to retain

a connection to school throughout this time but the constant moving around affects her overall achievements at school.

> **PJ:** *"Yeah. I sort of nailed it [Year 12] in about a week [laughs], so that wasn't great, but yeah it was really good just getting it finished. I um couldn't do my TER[17], so I can't get into Uni at the moment, but I got to finish my SACE[18]."*

Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Beth (aged 20) has left the family home to escape abuse and spent a year moving between share houses, friends and the family home, never feeling safe or comfortable in any of these situations. As she explains, this instability directly affects her ability to stay focused on her study.

> **Beth:** *"My studies are just – I did really, really bad in my year. I was in year 10 and I did really, really bad in year 10 because I couldn't focus in my studies at all."*

For others like Madeline (aged 19) moving out of home directly contributes to her being unable to maintain her education. Part of the additional complication for Madeline is that she leaves home during summer and is in a point of transition between high school and TAFE, making it more difficult to continue her education while also experiencing homelessness.

> **Madeline:** *"Definitely. When I left home I'd been accepted into a Cert II in Interior Design which I wasn't able to do because I was homeless, so I couldn't actually do it."*

The disrupted education experienced by young people who have been or are homeless is particularly problematic in a society which equates citizenship with economic engagement. Maintaining links to education is identified as a factor likely to result in a quicker transition out of homelessness for young people and current labour market conditions continually reinforce the need for a strong educational base in accessing meaningful employment (Bessant 2018; Chamberlain and MacKenzie 2004; Mayock et al. 2011; Murphy et al., 2011; Walsh 2011).

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[17] Tertiary Education Ranking
[18] South Australian Certificate of Education

Despite the importance of education, there are situations where the young person chose to forgo further education due to the pressing need for financial stability. Initially, HHA tenant Amy (aged 19) manages to maintain her education even as she moves between over six different housing situations (including states and countries). It is not until Year 12 that she has to make the decision to leave school because she can no longer afford to live independently and pay for her educational expenses.

> **Amy:** *"…when I was in Year 12 I was living with these two guys… and we just had some little flat thing. And yeah it wasn't too bad, but I just couldn't afford to pay for school with rent and electricity and all that."*

Similarly for Paul, the long-term benefit of education is offset by a need to gain a steady income. Upon arriving in Australia, Paul initially seeks to continue his education but sees work as the only way to support his family, who remain in a refugee camp overseas. After not having any success gaining employment through job networks, Paul ends up knocking on the doors of local businesses until he manages to secure work as a welder.

> **Paul** *"When I was studying – my family, they needed money so then like Centrelink money is not enough for me. I pay my rent, I pay for food, I send back money for my mum, and that's not enough and I stop my study. So I keep looking while – I'm with …Job Network, I tell them, you guys can find me a job, and it was a month or two months ago they said they can't help. I knock on the business door so I'm sure about 10, 20 – 20 business doors I knocked on and I was lucky to find one."*

In each of the situations that I have outlined, housing instability is a major cause in the disruption to the young person's education. Where some young people do manage to maintain their education they still find that they are not able to meet their full potential due to the upheaval of housing instability. In some instances, the young person makes the decision to forgo education in order to earn money, however, as I will outline in the next section, this often results in employment that is short term and lacking in stability.

Lack of employment opportunities

As illustrated by Amy and Paul, one of the primary reasons young people discontinue their education is so they can increase their income through employment. However, due to their low educational status, the employment available to them is often lowly paid, insecure and unreliable. Also, the increasing casualisation of work has a negative impact of reduced standard employment benefits, income and working-time security (Campbell et al. 2013; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Price and Grant-Smith 2018; Walsh 2011). Most recent ABS data reveals that the participation rate for 15 to 24 year olds is 67.6% and there is an unemployment rate of 11.2% for this demographic (ABS 2018b).

The realities of these challenges are illustrated in the interviews with Lee (aged 18) and Travis (aged 17) where employment is a critical factor in them requiring housing support. In the case of Lee, the employer did not have enough work, leading Lee to be laid off right before he is meant to be moving out of home. Similar to Lee, after Travis left home at the age of fifteen, he initially moves in with extended family before securing private rental by himself and beginning a life of economic independence. However, when the organisation that Travis is working for goes bankrupt he loses both his job and his housing.

> **Travis:** *"Got a job with a marketing company, the marketing company actually went bankrupt; I lost my job and had nowhere to live."*

The young people interviewed who are unemployed at the time of the interview are not avoiding work, instead many of them want to maintain employment but are "…worn down by the requirement to participate in what, at times, they considered to be meaningless and unhelpful activities and having to compete in a labour market on a less-than-even playing field." (Murphy et al. 2011, p. 112).

For many of the young people interviewed, they seek more than simply having a job; they desire a career – something that they can commit to for the long term. These goals reflect Australia's strong association between employment and citizenship. Danny (aged 22) sums up the connection between employment stability and family:

> **Danny:** *"It's quite obvious that career is the main way to get that stability with any of those things that are on there. I mean, you can't have a family if you don't have a career and you can't have stability without a family, without the career."*

Based on the interviews, young people are wanting to engage in education and employment. The goal of participation is more than to keep busy, it is also a desire to achieve economic independence. What is often overlooked is the expectation that families will provide the necessary support during this period of education and training (Bessant 2018; Coleman and Fopp 2014; Furlong 2015; Harris 2015; Johnson et al. 2015; Woodman and Bennet 2015). Experiences of housing instability have a profound impact on the young person's ability to fulfil these goals, including diverting young people from education in order to gain work to supplement their income. What employment is available often proves to be unstable and unreliable resulting in the young person having a limited financial safety net to protect them from any housing crisis.

The young people interviewed have aligned themselves with societal expectations of economic independence. I now turn to the emotional impact of homelessness on the young person and how their experiences affect their sense of citizenship. The temporary nature of many of these housing options and the higher rates of disconnection from education and employment takes its toll on a young person as they face scenarios that may dramatically alter their perception of both themselves and the outside world.

Identity

Each of the YHMs identifies the need for a young person to display individual agency in the way that they engage with services and support. As highlighted earlier, the negative implications of housing instability can have far reaching implications on an individual's physical and mental wellbeing, resulting in a correlation between the lengths of time a person experiences homelessness and the level of support they will require. The way that young people became homeless, and their experiences while homeless, have consequences for their identity formation and their ability to utilise their individual agency. These experiences reflect evidence that each time a young person is forced to relocate, the relocation reduces their ability to 'put down roots' and to build an identity outside of their experiences of homelessness (Robinson 2005, p. 52).

When I use the term identity, I am referring to what Clapham believes are its two forms – the *categorical* and *ontological*. *Categorical* identity is associated with labels given to people by society and to some extent by themselves, while *ontological* identity is how this relates to an individual's sense of self-identity (Clapham 2002, p:65). Over time, the *categorical* stigma of homelessness can move to the *ontological* with young people internalising the homeless identity which Farrugia (2010) describes as the 'symbolic burden of homelessness' (Farrugia 2010; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Johnson 2008; Mallett et al. 2010; Walter et al. 2016).

Stigma can play an important role in the development of a young person's identity. The way young people respond to the stigma of homelessness often occurs in two ways, with some choosing to 'pass' as part of the mainstream population and others subsuming themselves within their experience of homelessness (Johnson et al. 2008, p. 232-3). In the case of the young people interviewed, the majority downplay their housing instability, with many not identifying themselves as being homeless or as having experienced homelessness. Instead, they describe themselves as being 'in-between places' or 'couch surfing'. The young people's perception of homelessness is still associated with an image of an old man on a park bench or being 'on the streets' and having 'nowhere to go'.

> **Travis:** ***"****Yep because at first I denied it, I kept saying I'm not homeless. No, I'm not. I'm not one of these people who sleep on the street."*

PJ (aged 18) had spent a number of months couch surfing with friends interstate before she accessed the YHM. She describes her situation as:

> **PJ:** *"I think it was sort of a cross between couch surfing and homeless because I didn't have a home, but I wasn't living on the street type of thing."*

Travis and PJ's comments demonstrate that even though they may have needed to identify as homeless for the purpose of receiving services, this did not necessarily change how they saw themselves. A large part of this is the likelihood individuals will downplay their experience of homelessness if it does not fit within the 'rough sleeper' trope and there is a tendency to refer instead to others who may be 'worse off' (Walter et al. 2015, p. 343). Even for some young people who have experienced rough sleeping, or what is also defined as primary homelessness (Chamberlain and MacKenzie 1992, p. 291), there is sometimes a refusal to place themselves

in this framework. In this way, Mitchell (aged 19) describes his experiences of rough sleeping as 'camping':

> **Mitchell:** *"No, I was camping. I don't call myself homeless or anything like that. So, yes, camping, pretty much."*

How a young person manages stigma is also evident in the way they perceive homelessness with regards to their own identity and within wider society. Young people who experience homelessness can feel 'abnormal' for not having a 'normal' family or home life (Robinson 2011, p. 109). An unwillingness to associate with homelessness can also be linked to what is often a fear and lack of preparation of what it means to be homeless and the 'devalued identity' associated with this status (Bower et al. 2018; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Goffman 1963, p. 4; Johnson et al. 2008). For some young people it is a matter of engaging in acts of 'conscious distancing' to provide themselves with the 'therapeutic places' where they can begin to recover from their trauma. To aid in their recovery, young people put on a mask of normalcy to the outside world (Goffman 1963; McLoughlin 2011; Walter 2015).

A desire to differentiate oneself from being homeless is elaborated on further in a focus group held with young people from one of the YHMs. This YHM is located in one of the lowest socio-economic areas of the Adelaide CBD, in close proximity to a number of adult homelessness services and a park that many homeless individuals use as a common meeting area. The HHA tenants illustrate shame of association with those who 'quite noticeably bear the mark of their [second class citizen] status in their speech, appearance, and manner' (Goffman 1963, p. 145). When discussing role models, the young people are asked who they do not want to be like, leading Anne (aged 22) and Danny (aged 22) to state:

> **Anne:** *"Like some people like neighbours, so lazy – just take Centrelink money and just drink alcohol for that do nothing."*
>
> **Danny:** *"Yeah, I agree with her. People like that, you know. They choose to be like that. They're not born like that and they're not wanting to help themselves. That's the kind of person I would never like to be really, like that, yeah."*

The notion of choice as described by the tenant, reflects the dominant view within broader society that people who experience homelessness need to want to 'help themselves' to solve

their housing issues (Bower et al. 2018; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015). As illustrated earlier, the reasons why the young people became homeless is much more complex yet, despite this complexity, there is still a perception amongst the young people themselves that homelessness is a result of poor decision making.

Although the majority of the young people interviewed rejected the homeless identity, there are some young people who embrace the stereotypical ideas of homelessness. In this way, these young people seek acceptance from people in similar circumstances and amplify their disconnection from the mainstream population – a similar situation to what is found in Johnson's study into homeless pathways (Johnson 2008, p. 55). In the case of HHS tenant Bruce (aged 19), after many years of instability that went as far back as his own parent's experience of homelessness, he now sees his leaving home at 12 as something that made him stronger.

In this way, Bruce rejects society's perception of homelessness as a weakness and instead highlights the strengths that he has developed because of his experience of homelessness. At the same time, Bruce pitches himself against the rest of the world and internalises his homeless identity (Farrugia 2010, p. 73).

> **Bruce:** *"I took on the world by myself and the homelessness started and I knew what I had to do, and I could support myself, and do what I had to do, figure out all that kind of stuff and once I got a house I was just like all that knowledge has just got me this so it was easy."*

Evidence suggests that many young people who experience homelessness embrace their exclusion from 'mainstream' society by linking in with others who have had similar experiences. For someone like Bruce, whose identity has already been reduced in the minds of society "…to a tainted, discounted one" (Goffman 1963, 3), instead of trying to embrace the norms of society that they feel they may never attain, they instead turn their back on these norms (Goffman 1963; Johnson et al. 2008). While absorbing the homeless identity may be a positive survival strategy in the short term, there is evidence that over time those within homeless groups have greater experiences of isolation and disconnection due to the transient and changing natures of these groups (Bower et al. 2018; Walter 2015).

Conclusion

The YHMs are developed within a public policy context of active and passive forms of citizenship. Evidence of YHMs' existence within this framework is illustrated in their short time frames of support and emphasis on economic participation. Therefore, the YHMs have a clear criteria of the young person who would be eligible for the service. The adoptions of these concepts of citizenship were evident in both the YHM workers and the young people themselves.

Interviews with YHM workers illustrate that the workers aligned with the YHMs' criteria of young people who required housing and support but not the high level of needs associated with extended periods of homelessness. There is also an emphasis on the need for the young person to take advantage of the opportunity that the YHM provided. However, upon greater discussion with YHM workers it also became evident that despite the strict selection criteria, the workers still recognise the structural challenges the young person faced. YHM workers also identify that due to the limitations of societal definitions of citizenship the young people they support are often stigmatised and undervalued.

Even taking into account the awareness of YHM workers, when I explore the young people's biographies from their perspective, there is evidence that each young person's experiences are much more complex than both public policy and YHMs cater for. The reasons the young people's situations are more complex connect back to the reality that the young people have been moving in and out of homelessness for many years prior to residing in the YHMs. During this time, the young person has experienced family breakdown and periods of homelessness which create additional habitual and economic hurdles that impact not only on how society sees the young person but also on how they see themselves.

Understanding the vision and values of the YHMs and the backgrounds of the young people interviewed provides a necessary context to the next three chapters which examine what strategies YHMs utilise to support young people to overcome these challenges. In this analysis, I will explore not only how the YHMs support the young people to meet societal expectations of them as citizens, but also assist the young people to redefine the way society measures these expectations in the first place. To begin, I focus on the structural dimensions of the YHM and the young person's first impressions, taking into account both the physical structure of the YHMs as well as their locational placement.

Chapter Five: Housing, Home and a Physical Foundation for Participation

Introduction

The young people included in this research experienced a loss of home that has implications for their future housing options, economic participation and the formation of their identity. It is clear that the majority of young people residing in YHMs experience periods of homelessness and for some these experiences are significant and long lasting. In this chapter I investigate the role of the physical structure and location of the YHMs and their ability to create a safe space where young people can re-establish their connection to the community.

While I acknowledge that home is 'more than a building', I argue that the physical structure and location can also play a crucial role in providing a solid base from which to develop one's identity (AIHW 2012; Chigavazira et al. 2013; Keane et al. 2018). The provision of a physical structure refers to more than just shelter, it also reflects a safe space for the young person where – often for the first time in a long time – they can experience stability and security (Robinson 2014). By examining the physical structure and location I illustrate the capacity of YHMs to 'both enable and constrain' a young person's experience of citizenship (Mallett 2004, p. 68). This focus provides a basis for later chapters that explore the more intangible social and economic support provided by YHMs and the housing outcomes for the young people who receive YHM support.

Initial perceptions of the YHM

Each YHM has a different physical design and this physical structure plays an important role in the young person's perception of their housing. Where available, the modern or 'hotel-like' nature of newly developed or renovated housing like HHS and Ladder St Vincent Street are popular with the young people. HHS opened in June 2012 and includes twelve self-contained one bedroom units. That HHS is a new build is a clear positive for the young people residing there, as unlike the bedsits of HHA, HHS is able to provide units that have a separate bedroom from living space. When asked how she felt when she first saw her HHS unit, Carrie (aged 18) described it this way:

> **Carrie:** *"I thought it was really good. I thought it was going to be a lot older. It's really modern, which is what I like. So I think it's – I couldn't believe it at first. I was like is this really happening?"*

The overall exterior and layout of Ladder St Vincent Street was greeted with positive reactions from the young people. Ladder St Vincent Street is a heritage listed hotel that has been renovated to provide access for up to 23 young people to a self-contained individual unit in addition to a common room, a common kitchen, computer labs, meeting rooms and on-site case management support. There is also space provided for regular visits from Port Adelaide Housing SA, Centrelink, Workskil and other community organisations that are able to provide in-house information sessions (St John's Youth Services 2012, p. 20). Similar to a hotel, Ladder St Vincent Street is clearly signed and has a 'reception' type entrance. Reflecting the evidence that having 'status' buildings leads to greater success for YHM type housing (Gaetz and Scott 2012), one of the residents, Beth (aged 20), explains:

> **Beth:** *"Yes, I was like wow, it looks like a hotel. It was so new and everything was so cool…"*

However, even in the case of older buildings such as HHA one tenant still had an appreciation of the building's atmosphere. HHA was built in the early 1990s and is comprised of five single self-contained bedsits and two double bedroom units. That HHA is twenty years old is a bonus for people like Amy (aged 18) as HHA suited her appreciation of places with character.

> **Amy:** *"…it's kind of like scrungy and I like – I don't know what's wrong with me I really like – places with character, like scrungy places,"*

The young people interviewed who were associated with Next Step were predominantly living in Housing SA units. These units are all located in the inner south of metropolitan Adelaide and are on the older end of the spectrum. One of the units is part of a complex allocated for future renovation and at the time of the interviews appeared to be in need of basic maintenance and upkeep. The other block of units are smaller and in better condition, but still approximately forty to fifty years old. Next Step client Sarah (aged 19) was the least satisfied with her housing:

> **Sarah:** *"I don't like the [laughs] – the house look, I don't like it. I need a house that's colourful and nice. So a bit of*

> *the ground, nice kitchen, nice rest room. I don't have a choice, I just have to accept it. Just want to live somewhere."*

Sarah's disappointment with the structure and appearance of the Housing SA property was offset by a feeling that she did not have a choice; she needed to 'accept' the housing she was provided. The most common response when asked how they could improve the units was to make them larger. Size of units was a particular issue for HHA and Ladder St Vincent Street which predominantly provided bedsits. As a HHA tenant, Danny (aged 20) struggled with the lack of space in his unit and wanted to spread out more and found that when he cooked the smell would permeate the entire unit.

> **Danny:** *"Yeah pretty much. It's like you want to spread out more…Like if I do cooking it stinks out the whole room."*

Similarly Ladder St Vincent Street resident, Andre (aged 22), would have preferred more space to 'breathe':

> **Andre:** *"Small. I'm not saying it's small enough to really complain about and that you can't breathe or move. But you walk in, you've got your bathroom to the left, then the kitchen then the rest of your place kind of thing. It's nice, I would just like it to be a bit bigger to be honest. Like it just feels like you've more space to relax and breathe and that."*

The external structure and locality of the YHM plays a crucial role in how the young person initially feels about the YHM. What became clear from the interviews with young people was that the structure was important. What was even more crucial was whether they were able to make the interior space of their unit their own. The young person's ability to personalise their space was influenced by the material elements provided by the YHM.

Materials provided by YHMs

> **Bruce:** *Yeah it was, at first it was a bit, I was a bit shaky about it, you know, just like it's a new place it's a nice house and all but it's really empty, you know and I had nothing, I just had a bag of clothes and a 50 inch plasma*

For young people like Bruce, by the time that they were referred to the YHM they often had limited possessions of their own to furnish a unit. Bruce's experience reflects evidence that for those moving out for the first time, they may not have accumulated major possessions in the first place, while for others who experience housing instability for a longer period of time, any possessions that they did have are often eroded as they move from place to place (Robinson 2011, p. 116).

Possessions play an important role in creating ontological security, increasing the participant's sense of stability and also developing and promoting an individual identity. The additional items that are provided beyond the physical structure vary across YHMs and include anything from a fully furnished unit with bed, kitchen items, and TV (HHS, the White House, Ladder St Vincent Street) to simply a fridge and some basic crockery (HHA, Next Step).

Ladder St Vincent Street's self-contained units include the majority of household items: a bed, fridge, stove and microwave with additional access to a communal oven. Ladder St Vincent Street is also one of the services that receives additional donations, and when I visited, I witnessed the delivery of televisions being provided to all the tenants for their units.

In its inception, HHS tenants were provided with a range of furniture as part of their lease agreement. Young people were then able to retain the furniture if they met their lease agreement and the furniture was kept in reasonable condition for the first three months (SYC Guidelines 2012, p. 5). In providing fully furnished units at HHS, manager Olivia hoped that it would illustrate to the young person that they are valued, that the YHM providers believe in them.

> **Olivia:** *"So having a stable home – having HYPA Housing and, particularly, the young people, when they first walked in, when they were all fully furnished, I really hope – and hearing some of the stories of how blown away they were, about how awesome it was – I hope that that gave them a huge rocket, like wow, I am deserving of this; this is mine; I'm going to look after it now and this is really what I need right now to get me – I can now stop worrying about where I'm going to live or what's going to happen to me. I can actually now concentrate on me and doing what I want to do."*

Olivia spoke of how the provision of material items is designed to make the young person feel more 'valued', but the decision to provide or not to provide material items is limited by the funding available. For older models that did not have furnishings built into their funding model, the YHMs support the young person to access any other financial assistance they are entitled to so that the young person has sufficient items needed to create a home. Applying for additional funding is often a complex and time consuming process even with worker support. Lisa, a worker from Next Step, describes the various funding options available to the young people.

> **Lisa:** *"We've got a partnership with Wyatt so they will give our clients – it's called a home package. So for anyone who's been in South Australia for over five years, which does exclude a lot of our guys there, then they'll give us $1000 grant then. Or else, if they get TILA they won't access that, the Transition to Independent Living Allowance. For the ones under 20, there's a Families SA brokerage."*

As Lisa's explanation demonstrates, there is a range of challenges in navigating these funding processes. Even though both HHS and Next Step developed partnerships with Wyatt Trust to assist in reducing these barriers, these partnerships do not overcome the eligibility criteria which excludes some young people. Many of the external funders of material assistance have strict criteria regarding who can access financial assistance based on the amount, and also their status as citizens within Australia (and in some cases their length of occupancy in South Australia). Therefore, time is often required to meet with a support worker, get quotes from stores for the items, put in the application and then wait for it to be assessed. Even in situations where applications are begun well before the young person moves into the YHM, hurdles can result in the young person not having essential items available when they move in.

When Danny (aged 22), first moved into his HHA unit, the only furniture was a fridge and he spent the first part of his tenancy sleeping on the floor. Danny explained that he and his worker had applied for external funding, however, this was held up.

> **Danny:** *"…They declined – no not declined it [funding application]. There was just some things that needed to be fixed up because there was a – the quote that I got for the*

furniture was a bit … Out of date…Yeah and they wanted a new one. So I had to go through that and then take another three weeks for them to read that one."

The process was also hampered for HHA tenant Amy (aged 18) due to a need to confirm her citizenship and therefore eligibility for the assistance.

> **Amy:** *"It took me a while. Um oh god I only got furniture like – and even then I didn't get a lot … because I had to apply for a grant to get it, and it took ages to come through. Then when I did get the actual like paperwork for it, it was – we weren't sure because I'm not a citizen, I'm a permanent resident. So we weren't sure if I could actually do it, so I had to get another one, but that one went through in two weeks. So that was good."*

The difficulty in furnishing their own spaces reflects the very low incomes available to the young person (Davidson et al. 2018; Mendes 2017). The primary welfare assistance available to young people aged 15 – 22 in Australia is Youth Allowance[19] and Independent Rate of Youth Allowance which at $445.80 a fortnight sits at just 53% of the Age Pension (Department of Human Services 2018a; 2018c). On this amount, even when paying subsidised rent, there is very little to put away for larger expenditures such as bond and furniture.

The hope by service providers that in providing a fully furnished unit the young person would feel valued is well-founded. This is particularly the case where YHMs are able to provide semi to fully furnished units, meaning that the young person is able to walk into a place with all the main furnishings such as beds, kitchen goods, TV and couches provided. When asked how he felt when he first saw his unit, Bruce (aged 19) described it this way:

> **Bruce:** *"Rich. Made me feel on top of the world really. I felt like somebody had just given me a million dollars and there it is and yeah it was, it was good, it was awesome."*

[19] To be eligible for Youth Allowance, a young person and their family need to be means tested and the level of income is provided on a sliding scale depending on whether the young person is continuing to reside at home or is living independently. Means testing is only excluded if it is proven that the family relationship has broken down to a point that it is not possible for the young person to reside in the home or likely to receive ongoing financial support from the family due to family breakdown (Department of Human Services 2018d).

Kristy (aged 18), who lived in the White House when it was located in the Adelaide Hills, was comfortable with the share nature of the YHM and her only issue was a lack of heater in the sunroom. But it is the personal material elements that the White House provides that she also appreciated.

> **Kristy:** *"Oh, yeah, from the first moment I walked into the place. You know, I had a card there, a teddy bear saying, we love you and a nice little dressing gown and this beautiful card with some beautiful messages on it from everyone. That they haven't even met me but still they just, you know, had this love for me and wanted to care for me. Yeah, it was a very big change from what I had gone from."*

Kristy's comments illustrate that beyond the basic furnishings required to live comfortably and independently, it is the feeling of being welcomed into the space that makes her feel most at home. The ability to have a hand in creating their own space is also something many of the young people missed as they moved from one unstable housing option to another. After years of couch surfing and living in share houses, being able to make a place her own was especially important for Ally (aged 21). In the fully furnished HHS unit that Ally moved into, it was the hooks on the wall that immediately grabbed her attention.

> **Ally:** *"When I first saw it [the unit] I freaked out. I think the first impression I had when I walked in the door, the first thing I noticed was there were hooks on the wall. I know how stupid that sounds, but I never – I've been out of home since I was 15 years old so whenever I see something awesome it's like yes, I can put posters up on my walls. It's like this is my house."*

These thoughts were also echoed by Alisha (aged 17) who lived in Ladder St Vincent Street. Alisha identified that she did not really feel like Ladder St Vincent Street was her home until she had lived there for five months and was able to get her unit the way she liked it.

> **Alisha:** *"Only in the last month it's started so really five months it took me to get everything the way I want it, looking nice; now it feels like home."*

The young people's highlighting of the importance of soft furnishings does not reduce the importance of providing semi to fully furnished units. While having foreign furniture may initially reduce the young person's sense of home, it does at least provide a basis from which they can build. Where furnishings are not provided the young person has to spend the initial periods of their lease focusing on getting basic items such as beds and couches – time and money they could instead be using to personalise their environment and/or engage with the community. Although elements like hooks and physical possessions assist the young person to feel at home, the young people interviewed still frequently spoke of needing time to adjust to their surroundings.

Managing Isolation and Community

Reasons for the young person taking time before the YHM felt like a home go beyond physical structure and possessions. Relying on informal supports and later SHS means that by the time a young person moves into the YHM, a significant period of time has elapsed since they last had a space of their own. Furthermore, the situations leading to the young person becoming homeless are often forged in an experience of 'home' that lacked the necessary routine and stability to foster ontological security (Kinniburgh et al. 2005).

By ontological security I refer to the capacity to build a space of one's own in which to orient '…the self psychologically, spiritually, and temporally in the world' (Robinson 2011, p. 6). A stable place provides the young person with a constancy and reliability of routines and connections – something that is disrupted for many young people experiencing homelessness (Johnson 2008; Kinniburgh et al. 2005; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2011). Once this sense of security is achieved it is possible to address trauma and develop and grow one's own identity (Clapham 2002; Hulse et al. 2011; Robinson 2011).

Despite the security that YHMs provide for many of the young participants, the excitement and relief of finding somewhere stable was overshadowed by the realities of living independently for the first time. Even for those young people who have been looking after themselves for years, the sudden isolation that can come with having one's own space is jarring, reflecting the literature that past trauma can resurface during periods of stability (Johnson et al. 2008; Robinson 2011).

Loneliness is also a common issue for people who experience homelessness as they have often lost connection with previous relationships and also feel the societal stigma associated with

maintaining relationships with other people who have experienced homelessness (Bower et al. 2018, p. e246). Furthermore, a new found 'freedom' can be offset by a deep sense of loss that comes from an awareness of the lack of support from caregivers that other young people experience (Crane and Brannock 1996; McLoughlin 2011). Living alone in HHS was initially confronting for Carrie (aged 18) as she got used to new routines and needed to manage by herself:

> **Carrie:** *"It's kind of weird living by myself. I've never just been totally on my own before, so it's hard. I talk to myself a lot, not realizing, going a bit crazy. It's good. It's hard to get into the routine of having your own place. You have to clean and you have to do this and that. Pay bills and that kind of thing. That's hard, but I really like it."*

The physical structure of the YHMs has the capacity to either provoke a further sense of isolation or encourage greater community. Provision of a welcoming environment extends to how the physical space connects the residents both with workers and other young people. A key element of supporting the young person through this transition and to reduce the isolation they may be experiencing is through the provision of easily accessible support staff and the building of common areas (Bower et al. 2018; Kinniburgh et al. 2005).

Ladder St Vincent Street and the White House young people are housed close to staff, while The Next Step places young people in independent units with outreach support. Both HHA and HHS tries to balance support and independence by providing young people with units, an on-site caretaker who provides assistance on a needs basis, and an off-site case manager who meets regularly with the young person. Even though the caretaker plays a less formal role, the young people value them being nearby and take an interest in them. For example, HHS tenant Melody (aged 19) appreciates that the caretaker will informally touch base to check that she is doing okay.

> **Melody:** *Oh, that's just, like I'll see her out in the courtyard and it'll just be like, 'How's your weekend been, how's your week been?' Sort of just catch up. And she'll be like 'I haven't seen you in a while', and I'll be 'Yeah, I spent the week at dad's.' Just touching base really, she'll come up sometimes, if she hasn't really seen me in ages, just to go*

> *'Hey, I haven't seen you in a while, is everything ok?' But yeah, she's good.*

Close proximity to workers was important for Curtis (aged 22) who had previously experienced extensive support from SHS. Curtis most valued the ability to talk things through with one of the on-site workers at Ladder St Vincent Street whenever he needed to, which helped to reduce his sense of isolation.

> **Curtis:** *"Just having someone that you can always come and talk to like that is so helpful with mental health. You wouldn't think just talking about it helps that much but it really does. If you want outreach support in mental health they're onto it straight away, anything like that. But for me, it's just being able to come down there and talk to someone."*

Having the workers nearby is valuable to the young people interviewed, reflecting the literature that having an on-site worker can provide a greater sense of safety and belonging (Parsell 2017). What was also valued was the chance to connect with other young people. One element regularly identified to be beneficial by residents was the provision of a common room. Communal areas that provide residents with the ability to catch up with other young people on a flexible basis are identified in the literature as beneficial to the success of models similar to YHMs (Gaetz and Scott 2012). Across all YHMs, residents exhorted the benefits of the communal lounges. Samantha (aged 17) who lived in Ladder St Vincent Street found it a space to relax with others:

> **Samantha:** *"I like the communal lounge. I like that everyone can go and chill in there and they've got a big TV and I'm able to hang out. Yes, that's probably the best bit."*

HHA tenant Amy (aged 18) also identified it as a place that she could connect with others when she felt like it.

> **Amy:** *"Yeah, like if you want to you just kind of go see someone, or, yeah, we do sometimes use the communal room quite a bit, just watching TV and just go hang out there but yeah ...just go see them…"*

Samantha and Amy's praise of the common space reflects that of other young people who found it valuable to spend their time with others in a non-confronting way. An important element to young people enjoying the space is to use these communal areas for both structured and unstructured activities. The structured time provided opportunities for young people to get to know each other, which is especially important for a young person who had just moved in and may lack the confidence to actively engage with other young people. Alternatively, allowing casual use in the communal spaces provides the flexibility to create more organic relationships between young people.

Sometimes, however, forcing people to use communal areas for essential tasks such as cooking reduced the young person's sense of ownership of the space. Ladder St Vincent Street attempted to promote community further by only providing stove tops and microwaves in units and requiring tenants to use the ovens in the communal kitchen. However, this was not utilised by many of the young people interviewed. As resident Travis (aged 17) explains:

> **Travis:** *"I don't really cook anything that requires an oven, because it's usually like the oven, people don't take care of that and it gets burned black on the bottom and trashed. So I don't really want to go in there and have to clean up somebody else's mess. I mean, do what I have to do and clean up my mess, so yeah, I'll just stick to using the stove..."*

Similarly, in the Lodge, where all cooking and living facilities are shared, David (aged 17) initially avoided the common areas as much as possible, and it was not until other tenants moved out that he was able to feel comfortable.

> **David:** *"The house became so much better, especially for a person like me. I'm in year 12. I need the full-on concentration and so the house became so quiet. Everything was cleaned. For the first time I was comfortable staying back inside the house for more than five hours. I was really comfortable with it."*

Situations like those of Travis and David illustrate how proximity to other young people influences the young person's sense of control and confidence in their environment. In each

case the young person's way of managing the shared environment was to isolate themselves and reduce their use of the space (Kinniburgh et al. 2005; Parsell 2017). Their experience also illustrates the way that the communal nature of the YHMs could have both positive and negative effects.

Those who arrived in Australia as humanitarian refugees were more likely to use the communal living offered by YHMs. For both Paul (aged 19) and Beth (aged 20), the close physical proximity to others is a crucial part of why they like living at Ladder St Vincent Street and find it improves their mental health and wellbeing. Paul, who is struggling with being separated from his family, feels that if he had to live on his own he would have been too isolated:

> **Paul:** *"If I live with myself in a house, just me and no one else, I would come home from work and not talk to anyone else. It would just make me – it's hard for me. You know what I mean?"*

Similar to Paul, Beth is concerned about feeling lonely and not having any one to check on her and make sure that she is okay.

> **Beth:** *"I'd feel lonely because here all my neighbours if they haven't seen me for two days, they'll be knocking on my door. If I live by myself there will be nobody there for me. Now I'm used to this."*

Part of the explanation that young people from a CaLD background are more likely to appreciate the benefits of living close to others, is the higher rate of social isolation that this group can experience (Ziersch et al. 2017). This social isolation can be highlighted not only by the more extreme experiences leading up to their arrival in Australia but also by language barriers and discrimination that they may experience in Australia (Couch 2017). Next Step tenant Ruth, another humanitarian refugee, managed to live independently in public housing while also staying connected to her neighbours:

> **Ruth:** *Yeah, I do. They're* [neighbours] *really nice, yeah. There's only one man who is a bit – you know, he's got some mental problem, but he's really nice. Sometimes he just goes crazy. He puts on music and he just sings, but,*

the lady here next door, she's really nice and there's another man. They always come and help me.

As with Ruth, many of the young people interviewed valued having others nearby, however, living with so many other people in close proximity still had its challenges. One specific area that influences the young person's relationship with other tenants is the proximity and number of other young people residing in the YHM. With its ability to house up to 23 young people, Ladder St Vincent Street had the highest capacity and as tenant Holly (aged 17) explains, the high density meant that one person's behaviour could have significant implications for all.

Holly: *"Yeah, they do, but it's like a love hate relationship with everyone in here. One minute someone loves that person and the next minute they hate them."*

Even in YHMs with lower numbers of young people, the temporary nature of the housing resulted in a constant flux in relationships as young people move in and out of the housing. Some young people manage the uncertainty that changing tenancies brought by actively avoiding other tenants, stating that they are 'not there to make friends'. This self-imposed isolation also reinforces the idea that the YHM is simply a temporary stop before moving on to something else, and it reduces the opportunity to develop a solid secure base in which to engage with the rest of the community.

One of the challenges that all YHMs face is assisting young people to feel secure and safe while also having a continuous flow of young people moving in and out of the accommodation. Evidence shows that safety is not just the absence of danger but also access to an environment that is friendly and allows a person to be free from judgment (Mallett 2004). Each YHM has varying methods of managing the safety and security for young people once they are inside the YHM. In the next section, I explore what strategies the YHMs use to create safety and security and the young people's perceptions of them and how they influence the young person's sense of citizenship.

Safety within the YHM

Due to the combination of different young people residing in the YHMs, the YHMs deem it important to put in additional internal security measures to assist the young people to feel safe. These measures have varying success as they attempt to balance creating a safe and secure environment while not overly restricting the young person. Older or non-purpose built models

like HHA, Next Step and the White House do not have any additional internal security beyond locks on each young person's unit and on-site caretakers or youth workers at HHA and the White House. More security measures are in place where the housing is recently built or recently remodelled.

In the case of HHS, once young people enter through the main gates their units are separated into three small two story buildings called pods. The young person is able to access their own pod and within each of these pods is a group of four individual self-contained units. Ladder St Vincent Street is only accessible with swipe cards for both tenants and staff, and it also has 24 hour on-site staff. Additionally, some areas are only swipe card accessible for particular groups, such as a female only area and another area of three units where those considered more vulnerable can be housed. There are also security cameras throughout the service that can be monitored from the staff area. These security cameras cover the front entrance and the majority of communal areas.

The interview participants identify that there is a trade-off between feeling secure and restrictions on their freedom. For some the extra level of security is valuable as it assists in enforcing clear expectations for young people and reflects research that in some cases surveillance can 'promote good neighbourly behaviour' (Parsell 2016, p. 3195). Holly (aged 17), who had spent years living in a domestic violence relationship, feels that the security cameras are essential to the successful running of Ladder St Vincent Street.

> **Holly:** *"No, I reckon the security cameras are probably the best thing to be in here, otherwise this whole place would turn into shit. The people coming into it make it, I don't know, a bit unstable to start with, but not having any real set boundaries like that and security, I think it would all just turn to trash."*

Carrie (aged 18), who resides in HHS, also found it comforting that the caretaker could 'look at the cameras' whenever Carrie was concerned:

> **Carrie:** *"…Only the four people that live in this pod can get in here, not the other people. So yeah, that's good. Yeah, just knowing that [caretaker's] there as well is always good, because she's always awake because she studies. So*

even at 3:00 in the morning, if you hear something, you can text her. She will go and look at the cameras for you or something. So yeah, that's good."

The importance of providing higher levels of security as a reflection of a young person's concerns about living alone for the first time is something identified in the literature (Gaetz and Scott 2012; Parsell 2016). On one hand, a major element of ontological security and a sense of home requires the ability to exist without 'public scrutiny and surveillance' (Mallett 2004, p. 71). However, evidence demonstrates that in some cases surveillance can provide greater autonomy and choice than would be available otherwise (Parsell 2016). By having security cameras in common areas the YHMs blur the lines of public and private space. Simon (aged 17) felt they were always being watched in Ladder St Vincent Street.

> **Simon:** *"…there's cameras everywhere and they threaten you like that they're going to look at them. Like remember how we were sitting down and they said that they were going to check them? That was kind of creepy because that's – we'd been walking around doing god knows what and they're just going to see all of that without asking us first."*

As Simon's comment shows, not everyone felt the benefits of the security within the YHMs. These concerns were in the minority as the majority of young people interviewed endorsed all the YHMs' internal security measures. For many of the young people who are living independently for the first time, they take comfort in the additional security.

The security measures that the YHMs put in place relate not only to the young person's safety within the YHM but also in assisting the young person to feel safe within the local community. To address concerns about tenants' safety within the community, security is built into the physical structure of the YHMs. In the case of the two HYPA Housing models, both came with large locked gates that lead to an internal courtyard only accessible by tenants and staff.

Along with the main gates, HHS has security cameras at the entrance and an unscaleable wall. This fortress-like look has the potential to be initially off-putting to a new tenant. Melody's (aged 18) first impression of HHS was it 'felt like a prison'. However, she later acknowledges the sense of safety that the physical structure provided:

> **Melody:** *"I'm happy that I've got the fences up. But, if I didn't have the fences up, I'd be a lot more on edge, a lot more uncomfortable. And I wouldn't be sleeping as well. Just, some nights we just have people out in the street… I'm lucky, like I'm comfortable, if I didn't have the cameras or the gate out there I'd be like – 'ahhh, save me!'"*

Overall the responses to security in the YHMs were positive, the one area of frustration being where security measures made it more difficult for the young person to keep in contact with their outside connections. In particular, both HHS and Ladder St Vincent Street tenants mention the difficulties associated with being unable to buzz in friends and being required to either go to the front entrance or gate themselves or get a staff member to authorise a visitor's entry. Alisha (aged 17) lived out of home for a number of years before moving into Ladder St Vincent Street and found some of the restrictions conflict with her previous freedom.

> **Alisha:** *"Honestly, there's only one thing I would change about it and it's the telecom thing downstairs, you know? Honestly, when we need telecoms, so you can buzz and say this person's at the door, la-de-dah-de-dah and you can go to your room. …."*

Similarly, Deborah (aged 22) found the inability to buzz people in, and that friends had to park their cars in the street at HHS, limits her ability to connect with those outside of the YHM.

> **Deborah:** *"My friends can't even come over because they don't want to park – because you don't have a buzzer, so they're not leaving their cars out the front, 'cause they'll either get smashed or broken into or the Council will give them a fine…So, I don't know, to me that's isolation. So sometimes I feel like I'm in a prison cell. Because we have all these rules to go by and stuff like that. So…"*

Alisha and Deborah's comments may also reflect their Aboriginal identity and the importance of home as a place for connection and engagement with community (Brackertz and Wilkinson 2017; Memmott and Nash 2014). In the case of Deborah, her concerns are that her friends do not want to leave their cars out the front of HHS due to fear of them being stolen or vandalised.

These concerns could also illustrate the way that location influences feelings of safety and security (Duff et al. 2011; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2011).

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The overall perception of the YHMs is positive. While the young people are impressed by the new build YHMs, other young people are equally happy with older models. Having material items make the transition into the YHM quicker and easier but it is the ability to make the space their own that cemented the feeling of 'home'. The security measures for the most part help the young people feel safe and in control of their environment. There were still concerns about safety once they left the sanctuary of the YHM and issues with friends accessing their home. Both of these issues highlight that the YHMs are not an island and are a part of a larger community. The way the young people feel about their locality has implications about how they feel about the YHM and their sense of security. For these reasons, I now turn to examine in more detail the locational factors of each YHM.

Locational factors

Located in five different geographic areas, the YHM's position plays an important role in its functioning and the young person's ability to experience a positive sense of citizenship. The location can have a dramatic impact not only on a person's engagement in economic forms of citizenship but also influences their physical wellbeing and mortality (Vinson 2007; SIU DL 2009). In using locational data my goal is not to over-emphasise the deficiencies of certain localities (Skattebol et al, 2012; Peel 2003), but instead to provide an additional component in understanding how the YHMs' support of the young person both enables and constrains the young person's connection to the local community and their experience of citizenship.

This section examines three major locational factors. First, the demographic and socio-economic formation of the community; second, the local community's perception of the YHMs and how young people manage the associated status of being a YHM resident; and third, the positive elements of community engagement including an increased sense of belonging and access to amenities and support. In each section, I first provide evidence of the workers' perception of the way the YHMs interconnect with the local area. To begin, I provide a brief synopsis of each of the YHM localities.

Locational Demographics

a. *Adelaide*

Two of the YHMs are located in the Adelaide CBD. HHA is located in the south-west corner of the CBD, an area that has long been made up of specialist homelessness and welfare services, social and community housing. The Lodge is based in the south-east corner of the CBD. While there are fewer welfare services in this area, rough sleepers are still known to frequent the area to access the South Parklands or nearby boarding houses. Both city locations have the benefit of close proximity to public transport, amenities and support services.

b. *Smithfield*

HHS is located in the Local Government Area (LGA) of the City of Playford in the northern metropolitan area of Adelaide. At its inception in 1955, Elizabeth was initially hailed as a positive example of urban planning. However, the high rates of unemployment and increased reliance on welfare that followed the end of the post-war boom in the 1970s led Elizabeth to become synonymous with disadvantage and poverty (Peel 1995; SIU 2009). Despite a number of initiatives to improve its image, in 2011 the area was named as one of ten disadvantaged communities across Australia targeted by the Gillard Labor Government in an effort to reduce intergenerational welfare dependence (Ellis 2011:1; Hulse et al. 2011; Macklin 2011; Mendes 2017).

HHS is located on a road that separates the residential and industrial areas of Smithfield. While located on the residential side, its position is adjacent to a range of industrial commercial businesses. HHS has close access to public transport, being located on a bus route and a short walk to the train station. There are some small retail shops within close proximity and it is a fifteen minute walk to the nearest shopping centre.

c. *Port Adelaide*

Located in the North-West of metropolitan Adelaide, Port Adelaide was externally branded as a 'low status' area of the metropolitan Adelaide landscape from colonisation (Rofe and Oakley 2006). Over the past decade, Port Adelaide has begun a process of gentrification through the construction of waterfront apartment buildings and a goal of shifting the neighbourhood from one of industry to one of consumption (Oakley 2007, p. 286). However, despite these efforts, Port Adelaide continues to encounter challenges. During the interview period, many of the buildings within walking distance of Ladder St Vincent Street were vacant indicating a

struggling local economy. Ladder St Vincent Street has a prominent position, located at a main intersection in a purpose built renovation of a previously iconic hotel. Public transport, supermarkets and a variety of services are all within close walking distance of the YHM.

d. *Unley*

The city of Unley is located directly south of the Adelaide CBD and has a Socio-Economic Index for Areas (SEIFA) rating of 1064.3, well above both the Australian (1005.2) and Greater Adelaide (993.1) averages (ABS 2018d). Unsurprisingly, at 2.7%, Unley also has the lowest rate of government housing and the lowest unemployment rate of 3.9% of any of the five YHM suburbs. Despite this prosperity, there are still pockets of public housing within the region which is where three of the Next Step clients resided. Each of the units housing the young people is either scheduled for much needed renovation or showing signs of wear and tear due to age.

e. *Keswick*

Located in the City of West Torrens, Keswick is located to the south-east of the Adelaide CBD. Keswick is proportionally smaller than the other YHM suburbs with a population of 680 in the 2011 Census. Out of the five locations, Keswick residents just surpass the suburb of Unley with the highest Median Household Income of $1,382 a week, compared to Unley's $1,380. Despite the highest median household income, Keswick has a proportionally lower median rent of $240 a week compared to the other suburbs. This lower median rent can be partly explained because Keswick is made up of a mix of industrial, commercial and residential buildings. The White House is located on a residential street and is indiscernible from other surrounding houses. There is a bus stop close by, but limited food outlets and shopping centres in the near vicinity.

<u>Perceptions of the local area</u>

No matter where the YHM is located, one of the biggest challenges that residents face is managing the potential stigma from the local community. In all western societies those that are considered socially unwanted, undesirable and distasteful end up experiencing stigma (Bower et al. 2018; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Goffman 1963). Young people already face particular challenges when it comes to experiencing stigma within the local community and are often portrayed as 'aspiring citizens' until they achieve the ultimate goal of 'economic independence' (Bessant 2018). Further stigma is added when the young person also experiences homelessness (Farrugia 2016: Watson and Cuervo 2017).

Some services attempt to manage the stigma by making the YHMs 'invisible' to the broader community. Next Step and White House residents live in a 'normal' home which means that the young people have greater anonymity and it is easier for them to 'pass' in the community. As Next Step worker Scott explains, the workers who visit them do not label themselves in any way, so there is no reason for the community to know they are support workers.

> **Scott:** *"I think they* [Next Step clients] *fit in pretty well. We don't have cars with our logos. We just look like people who visit them all the time. You wouldn't know the difference. We don't wear a uniform, we're just your everyday people. Which I think that's good because there's nothing wrong at all being on the Next Step program, I think it's fantastic, but the neighbours and the rest of the world don't need to know why we're there. I think they fit in really well."*

HHA and HHS are not specifically labelled and attempt to look like traditional residential or community housing. Despite not placing signage on the housing, the staff at the HHS service did make an effort to engage with the community. Open days were held where the community could learn more about the housing and meet the young people residing there. HYPA Housing Service Manager, Olivia, believes:

> **Olivia:** *"The success was the afternoon teas, the welcome to the neighbourhood and inviting the neighbours in. So I think in – so that was really good to meet the neighbours and not feel –they were curious. They'd heard rumours about who was moving in – naughty boys' homes, I think, was one out north. So that, in my mind, has been quite successful, globally."*

In the case of Ladder St Vincent Street, the decision was made to openly identify itself within the community from the outset with clear signage. The service also actively encourages the young people to take control of the way the community perceives them. A practical example of this is when the first group of young people who moved into Ladder St Vincent Street were given an activity to think about how they wanted to be perceived in the community. This activity resulted in the development of the service's three key values: *friendly*, *committed* and

independent and demonstrates a way of attempting to shift societal attitudes towards welfare by providing opportunities to hear from the people receiving the services (Lister 2007, p. 58). These methods seem to have been successful with Ladder St Vincent Street case manager, Amber, identifying general positive relations with the community.

> **Amber:** *"…So some of those stereotypes have really disappeared and they're seeing the young people for doing the good things and the helpful things that they are doing like contributing to their businesses ... So they've been quite active in promoting themselves and breaking the stereotypes that they know are out there."*

The experiences of Ladder St Vincent Street and HHS demonstrate that a key element of shifting societal attitudes is by providing opportunities to hear from the people receiving the services as Lister has noted (Lister 2007, p. 58). These interactions also provide space for different groups, often separated by class, race, sexuality and environment, to communicate and engage with each other and identify the humanity in the other (Lister 2001).

Other ways that YHMs support young people's transition into the local community is by taking them on a tour of the local area, introducing the young person to local services and ensuring they know how to access any needed supports. The strategies used by YHMs to support the young people to engage with the community had varying levels of success, illustrated in the young person's experience of the local area and how they felt they were perceived.

Young people's perception of community inclusion

For many, the stigma associated with homelessness does not end for the young person once they are housed within the YHM. By identifying themselves with services designed to support young people who experience homelessness the residents won the ire of many members of the local community. Evidence of these stereotypes of YHM tenants are also found in HHS tenant Melody's discussions with her grandparents who lived nearby.

> **Melody:** *"… my grandmother has always defended this place. But my grandfather still… 'They put nothing but scum in those houses…' And I'm like, 'Pop, what about me?' 'You're the exception.' I'm always the exception…he just thinks that it's going to bring bad to the community.*

Quite frankly there's already bad in the community, like, I don't know how much worse it can get!"

Despite the efforts by the services there is still a perception by the young people that the community has particular views of them and their value within the community. Even for those YHMs that remain unsigned, the community quickly became aware of it, its purpose and the tenant group. For young people residing in HHS there is still a sense that all their movements are under surveillance by the community with the anticipation of catching the young person doing something wrong. An example is where neighbours would alert the HHS caretaker if bins were not taken in quickly enough or mail boxes appeared full.

Equally, Ladder St Vincent Street residents have mixed experiences with how they interacted with the rest of the community. For example, Lee (aged 17), after moving into the YHM quickly got a job at one of the local stores. However, in the interview he describes how he initially did not tell his employer where he lived because of the reputation the YHM had in the community, expanding further to add:

Lee: *"…From what I'm told, it's mixed opinions. I've heard customers at* [workplace] *just say that it's a place that just helps young homeless people. Then others just say it's a bunch of – feral young kids live."*

It was valuable for the YHMs to take the initiative in asserting themselves within the community and preparing the young person to consider how they would like to be perceived. Even with these efforts, however, it is only through the day-to-day interactions between the young person and local services and supports that the young person would diffuse or further ignite stigma.

Access to amenities and supports

The close proximity of amenities and supports was essential to the young people residing in YHMs as the majority do not have cars. But more than close proximity is the need to have positive relationships where the young person feels confident and comfortable accessing the local service. Positive relationships with services in the community is closely associated with improved mental wellbeing and a greater sense of stability (Duff et al. 2011, p. 22). Carrie (aged 18), a tenant of HHS, identifies the value of being close to shops and basic amenities such as a doctor.

> **Carrie:** *"Yeah, it's really good. Munno Para shops is right there. Elizabeth train station is just – which has shops there. There's a doctor's on that roundabout. So really there's – everything is pretty accessible. But we're just really far from the city. So when you have appointments in there and stuff, you just have to sit on a train for an hour, but that's all right."*

When Madeline (aged 18) moved into Ladder St Vincent Street she did not know many people who lived in Port Adelaide. However, Madeline found she quickly adjusted and appreciated the close access to the local shops and services.

> **Madeline***: "Yes I know the lady who works in BeFrocked …I've worked with both of those ladies before and they're really nice. Most of the people are really nice. The hairdressers give you discounts and stuff, so it's pretty good."*

Madeline would later go on to explain how her connections with the local neighbourhood are assisted by the workers who took her on a tour of all the local areas and services when she first moved into Ladder St Vincent Street. Other YHM staff also took the time to introduce new residents to the local services and this was seen as beneficial by the young people. For PJ (aged 17), it was the other HHA tenants who introduced her to the local shops and services. Many of the HHA tenants spoke about enjoying being close to services like the Central Markets but they also identify how connecting to community was more difficult for those residing in the Adelaide City Council region.

The wider variety of services available in the CBD also correlates with a highly transitory population. The south-west corner in particular is populated with a higher rate of students (both international and low-income), and young people and adults experiencing homelessness (Adelaide City Council 2014, p. 11). The downside of this ever-changing population is increased difficulty for people to feel a part of the community, despite numerous community events (Bower et al. 2018; Walter et al. 2016). As Amy (aged 18) found:

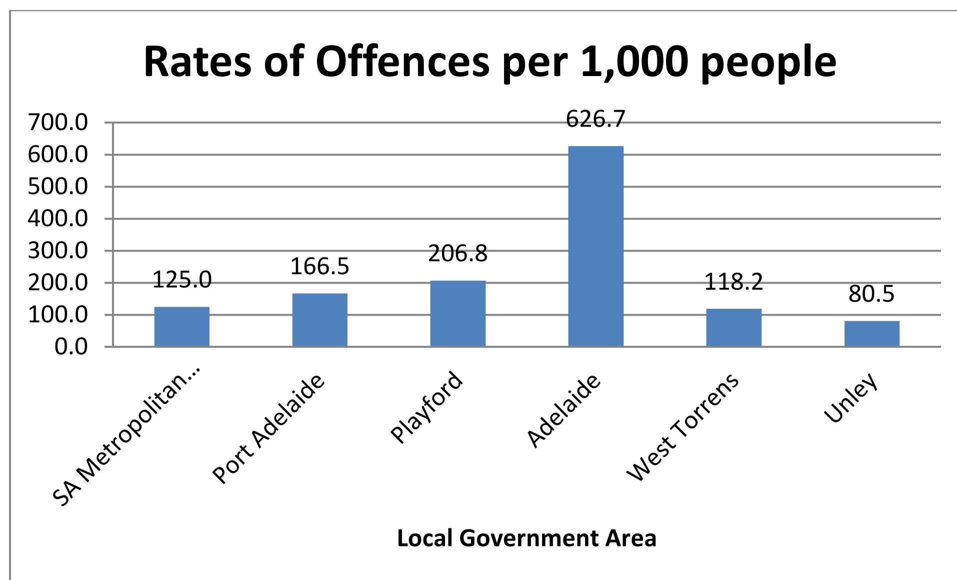
> **Amy:** *"Yeah I guess so. Like there's always stuff going on at Whitmore Square; we've got a Vegan festival next*

weekend, I'm really excited about that. Woo hoo, but um yeah there's always stuff going on. No one's really – except for the homeless people, but yeah that's pretty much it. I don't really think there is much of a community in Whitmore Square. Really because it's all just like semi-permanent people there, but yeah."

Whether or not there is acceptance and a strong sense of community, one of the main things that limits young people's access to these amenities and supports is their sense of security and safety in the local area. As highlighted previously, security within the YHMs is taken very seriously; in this next section, however, I focus on how safe the young people felt outside of the YHMs in the local community.

Some of the young people had significant fears about their safety in the local community. While it is common for individuals to over-estimate the likelihood of becoming a victim of crime, as Figure 1 illustrates there is evidence that in 2011 (at the time of interviews), Playford, Port Adelaide and particularly Adelaide had a higher rate of offences per 1,000 people than the South Australian metropolitan average (OSCAR 2013).

FIGURE 5: RATES OF OFFENCES PER 1,000 PEOPLE BY LOCAL GOVERNMENT AREA IN 2011



Beyond security provided by the YHM, the young people interviewed have varying opinions regarding the safety of the location once they were outside the YHM. Female residents of HHA and HHS raise particular concerns about walking in the local area at night. Across the housing models females were much more likely than males to raise their safety concerns, with only one

male stating that he felt unsafe walking alone at night These concerns reflect the high rate of violence females experience within our society, with recent figures estimating that 1 in 5 women (18%, or 1.7 million) have experienced sexual violence (sexual assault and/or threats) since the age of 15 (AIHW 2018, p.25). HHA tenant PJ (aged 17) describes her decision to carry a personal alarm with her:

> **PJ:** *"I got grabbed a couple of weeks ago, so I've got a personal alarm now. Um but I think it's just more like you don't want to be alone at night type of thing, especially on Whitmore Square and around there because of the detox centres."*

HHS tenant Ally (aged 21) also expresses her concerns about safety in the local area:

> **Ally:** *"Well I can't go out at night, especially being a woman in this area. It's not a smart thing to do. There was a girl; I think it was last year, found in the bush around here, like two streets away. So I tend to not go out at night and I'm not much of a drinker or anything so I'm glad I don't have to go out to town or anything like that."*

Having additional security separating the young person from the local community is supported by the majority of young people interviewed. Next Step tenant Sarah had previously lived in Ladder St Vincent Street before moving into a Housing SA unit that she shared with another female. These units are all located in the inner south and are on the older end of the spectrum. Sarah's unit is part of a complex allocated for renovation in the near future and at the time of the interviews appeared to be in need of basic maintenance and upkeep. When Sarah is asked if she felt safe in her current housing, she states:

> **Sarah:** *"Not really, sometimes. Because this house is very easy, somebody can just come inside."*

Despite living in a statistically safer neighbourhood, Sarah reflects on her previous time at Ladder St Vincent Street where she felt '100% safe'. At Ladder St Vincent Street, Sarah benefited from security cameras, swipe card access to the building and 24 hour on site staff

support. Now that she is living in her own unit, she struggles with the comparative lack of security.

Conclusion

For many of the young people, although they may not have lived in the family home for a long time, living in the YHM may be their first opportunity to live independently and create their own home. The layout and physical structure of the YHMs plays a significant role in the way the young person experiences the support that the YHMs provide. Physical space has a range of impacts on young people residing in the YHM. These impacts are based on the design of the YHMs' physical structure as well as the YHMs' locality.

There are many considerations taken into account regarding the physical structure of the YHM and how it is managed. The specific elements that play a role in supporting the young person's sense of citizenship and ontological security are: the provision of material elements in a timely manner; communal spaces that are utilised as formal and informal spaces but do not overlap with core areas such as a cooking space; and finally, a secure environment that manages the balance of creating a safer environment without unnecessary surveillance or restrictions.

Safety and security were also identified as major elements in a young person's ability to make a home. There are specific elements of YHMs' physical structure that assist in alleviating these safety concerns including separate areas and use of security cameras. There were some concerns raised about security cameras in internal structures, however most young people saw this as necessary to ensure their safety in high capacity YHMs such as Ladder St Vincent Street.

The location of the YHM also has substantial consequences for how the young person experiences citizenship. As well as close access to amenities and support, there is a need for the young person to have positive interactions with the community. These positive interactions can sometimes be stifled by the community's perception of young people who experience homelessness.

The efforts made by YHMs to support young people to connect to the local community had varying levels of success. YHMs actively introducing themselves to the community and explaining their service is important in breaking down negative community perceptions. Ultimately, however, community perception is decided through day-to-day interactions, therefore it is necessary to support the young person to consider how they want to manage and respond to potential stigma.

All of the young people felt that there was enough access to local amenities and supports, and they benefited from being introduced to local services by workers or other tenants. The young person's ability to effectively use these local supports was also influenced by their level of confidence in the community and how safe they felt. Security measures taken by YHMs helped the young person to feel safe while they were in the YHM, however there were still perceived risks of going out, particularly at night.

Having established the physical and locational implications of the YHM, in the next chapter I explore the range of support methods provided by the YHMs. I closely examine each of the YHM models of practice with particular reference to the YHMs' ambition of supporting young people into 'independence'. To achieve this analysis three specific areas are outlined, including the YHMs' focus on assisting the young people to build positive relationships, develop practical skills and enhance leadership capability.

Chapter Six: Developing a foundation for independent living

Introduction

In this chapter, I look beyond the structural elements of the YHMs to examine the more intangible supports the services provide. I do this by investigating four main themes of support provided by YHMs. First, the importance of the relationships that service providers develop with young people residing in the YHMs. Second, the practical support, including basic independent living skills training that is provided by services. Third, the support that is provided to the young person to help them obtain or maintain education or employment. Fourth, the strategies used to actively empower and foster leadership within the young people residing in the YHMs.

Each of the YHMs not only seeks to provide shelter for the young person but argue that they support the young person to be an active and engaged citizen. Experiences of homeless effect a young person's sense of citizenship and identity, how they view and trust others, and how they choose to engage with the rest of society. To avoid further disempowering the young person through paternalistic practices that reinforce the young person as a 'service recipient', the YHMs seek to provide opportunities for young people to take an active role in their own support.

Building Relationships

Young people's sense of identity and place in society has the potential to be dramatically altered during experiences of homelessness (Farrugia 2010). An ability to survive within the instability of homelessness illustrates the resourcefulness, strength and capabilities of these young people. However, the skills developed in these situations may also come with an over-emphasis on self-reliance and a loss of trust in others, making it even more difficult for them to utilise support and assistance when it is provided (Barker 2012, p. 3). As a consequence, young people who experience homelessness often manage the contradiction of seeking help but not having enough confidence to trust and engage with the assistance when it is offered (Robinson 2011, p. 107).

An ability to trust and build healthy relationships is fundamental to an individual's experience of citizenship. Trusting relationships affect an individual's 'capacity to form stable identity, to balance opportunity with risk' and to develop a sense of order and continuity in their life

(Mallett et al. 2010, p. 176). The development of social supports plays a crucial factor in the wellbeing of those who have experienced homelessness (Johnstone et al. 2016a). What we know from other research is the relationship between the young person and the worker plays an integral role in helping to restore trusting relationships (Barker 2012; Gaetz and Scott 2012; NYC 2008).

The importance placed on relationships is a reflection of the disconnection many young people experienced prior to residing in the YHMs (Robinson 2011). As discussed above, the stigma associated with homelessness also has implications for a person's sense of identity and their relationship with the rest of the community (Bower et al. 2018; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Goffman 1963). To understand the ability for YHMs to encourage trusting relationships it is first necessary to examine the type of support provided by YHMs.

Support provided by YHMs

A primary way that YHMs develop trusting relationships is through the young person's engagement with their worker. Young people's confidence and trust is impacted by the proximity and frequency of workers. Levels of staff support provided by YHMs varies, with each service having staff present either on-site or on an outreach basis and it is common for the level of support to fluctuate over time, depending on the needs of the young person.

For both HHA and HHS, case management is provided to young people on an outreach basis with a ratio of one professional case manager per 18 – 22 young people. Additional support is also provided by a caretaker who resides in a unit at the YHM, with tenants being able to call on the caretaker on an as-needs basis. The Next Step (and the Lodge) also provides outreach case management to young people. However, in these cases the young people reside in individual units over various locations and do not have any on-site support. The Next Step can also begin providing support prior to moving into the YHM, assisting the young person to transition from homelessness to stable housing.

At Ladder St Vincent Street, support is provided to the young people through a case manager, allocated key workers and 24 hour on-site support. One case manager works with each of the 23 tenants to develop and review their case plans, while a key worker supports the young person to actively implement these plans. Due to its volunteer nature, the White House is the only YHM that does not identify as specifically providing professional case management. Despite this voluntary approach, there is evidence of traditional case management methods being used in the way that the lead tenants at the White House connect with the young people residing

there. These methods included regular individual meetings with the young person and goal setting activities.

Each of the YHMs has various benefits in the way that support is implemented. Ladder St Vincents Street's use of both a case manager and key worker mean they are able to provide intensive on-site support and have increased flexibility in when and how the workers engage with young people. Both HYPA Housing services, HHA and HHS, rely on on-site caretakers to maintain the 'balance' of the YHM and provide day-to-day support to the young person as needed. By acting as an on-site support the caretaker's role is to respond to a young person's needs as they occur rather than solely relying on the availability of the case manager.

In addition to caretakers and case managers, three of the five YHMs explicitly identify the use of mentors in their advertising materials (HYPA 2012; Ladder SVS 2013). The provision of mentoring support is included as a service for young people at HYPA Housing and Ladder St Vincent Street, with the intention to provide a young person with an additional support outside of their immediate community and an opportunity to learn skills from a successful member of society.

Providing a consistent case manager, onsite support, caretakers, key workers or volunteer mentors at each of the YHMs promotes strong and trusting relationships with the young person. Rather than only being focused on supporting the young person into employment, YHM workers demonstrate the need to meet the multi-dimensional needs of young people. The YHM workers interviewed recognised that support should be responsive and flexible as a reflection of the young person's limited experience of living alone. How successful the YHMs were in implementing these methods is reflected in the experiences of the young people themselves.

Perceptions of Young People

The young people interviewed frequently spoke of how much they valued their relationship with the YHM workers and mentors and how becoming homeless had led to a breakdown of informal support networks. Evidence demonstrates many people lose critical relationships prior to becoming homeless (Chivagazira et al. 2013). With this loss, YHM workers become particularly important and become a primary source of support, assisting in creating a sense of home and helping the young person feel connected (Johnstone et al. 2016b). The key elements that the young people identified that made these relationships so valuable were the worker's availability and consistency and the way they provided the young person with accountability.

a. *Availability, Accountability and Consistency*

Workers in the YHMs are often the 'first port of call' for the young person when they need support and interviewees appreciated services that were flexible and available when they needed them. HHA resident PJ (aged 17) moved from regional South Australia to Adelaide with minimal supports before moving into the YHM.

> **PJ:** *"They're both really flexible and they sort of work like, unlike other services. It's not sort of you need to have an appointment at this time and you need to do this and this before. It's sort of they'll work with you to do that stuff…They'll work towards your times, so if you're not free in their hours, there's still flexibility. And they're just helpful and nice. And they're not; they're sort of closer to your age than adults, which is good."*

Carrie (aged 18) had also recently moved from interstate and like PJ, highly values the worker's availability and the ability to talk to the worker whenever they needed:

> **Carrie:** *"If I have a job interview, she'll* [worker] *take me. If there's really anything going on, I talk to her about it. I meet up with her once a week. She helps me out with appointments and just someone to talk to. We have tenant meetings and stuff like that. So she's like a friend, but at the same time she's like an authority."*

Both Carrie's and PJ's comments reflect the literature that promotes the need for flexible and holistic services for those experiencing homelessness and the power of connection to promote future wellbeing (Duff et al. 2011; Johnstone et al. 2016b). The positive responses to having staff on site and available as needed also reflects other research that demonstrates the value of 'concierges' in housing models (Parsell 2016).

Staff also have a role in supporting the young people to make positive new relationships as well as manage previous ones that may be problematic. Evidence shows that one of the difficulties those who experience homelessness face is reconciling their connections from prior and during homelessness to their life once they stabilise their housing (Barker 2012, p. 3; Johnson et al. 2008, p. 56-57; NYC 2008, p. 87; Walter et al. 2016, p. 357). Lee (aged 19),

found his time at Ladder St Vincent Street helped him become more respectful and able to identify people he could put his trust in.

> **Lee:** *"I guess I've probably been - I've definitely changed, personality-wise, sort of more respectful. I guess being able to trust people more. In that sense, being able to pick out the right person to trust as well. I guess more motivated and more committed to doing things."*

Along with improved trust, Lee's comment also reflects how Ladder St Vincent Street made him more accountable and improved his levels of motivation.

In conjunction with having a worker who is available when needed, the interview participants regularly identified that they wanted staff who are committed to working with them, they want to be challenged and recognise their limitations when it comes to maintaining their motivation to achieve goals. HYPA Housing tenant Melody (aged 18) describes how she appreciates being held accountable for her goals but also the importance of having accountability was associated with the necessary assistance.

> **Melody:** *"And she helps me set goals, like personal goals for myself. And if I don't achieve them she sort of backhands me, not really, like, verbally. She's like 'What are you doing. Get into action! Oh Melody, you're letting yourself down!' But she doesn't do it in like a negative way…And she's always willing to help me with everything. Like, she helped me get the TV and things like that. She's always willing to help with something. And she's always willing to like, find things extra to help out with."*

As earlier studies have illustrated (Keys et al. 2004, p. 29), even though the young people find feedback from workers difficult to receive at times, on reflection they interpret this feedback as a sign that the worker cares. This association of 'accountability' with 'caring' is most clearly demonstrated when follow up interviews with young people coincided on the same day as a worker was leaving Ladder St Vincent Street. Previously some of those young people had complained about this worker and had initially found him confronting. On this day, some of the young people talked about how their perception of the worker had changed. Tenant Simon

(aged 17) said he was initially challenged by the worker, but is now able to see his benefits when he left.

> **Simon:** *"[Worker's] leaving today, sadly, because I know he works hard. I haven't had as much respect for him as he has for me. He'll yell at you but he'll be doing it for a reason."*

It is not clear if the same things would have been said about the worker if he was not leaving. Also illustrated by the change in worker at Ladder St Vincent Street is the impact such changes may have on the young person's perceptions of the reliability of relationships. The case management model provides a strong framework that in theory allows for support to be seamlessly handed over as workers change (Gronda 2009). However, matching personalities and the time required to build relationships between staff and young people is not always straightforward.

During the period in which I interviewed HHA tenants I witnessed how a change in caretakers impacted on the young people residing there. In the first round of interviews there was consistent praise for the caretakers, how they engaged with the young people, as well as the sense of comfort and additional security they provided. Ten months later when I returned to complete an additional focus group, the previous caretaker of HHA had resigned and a new caretaker had taken on the role. This leads some of the young people, like Andrew, to discuss the change that they felt in the YHM:

> **Andrew:** *"I was just - I just had that connection with [previous caretaker]. I haven't really felt that connection with [current caretaker]. I don't know what it is."*

The need to have a connection with workers was echoed by other young people interviewed. Enhancing this link was the worker's ability to work with the young person before or after they officially moved into the YHM. In the Ladder St Vincent Street model, Curtis specifically referred to the benefits of having previous contact with YHM case managers during his experience of homelessness. The value of an ongoing relationship reflects evidence from other studies that worker/client relationships that last longer than six months result in more positive outcomes (Gaetz and Scott 2012; Mallett et al. 2010; Keys et al. 2004; Gronda 2009; Barker 2012).

One of the benefits of the Next Step model is the ability of staff to work with the young person before they stabilise their housing. For example, Ruth was identified as eligible for Next Step support when she was living in a crisis service run by SJYS. Next Step provided ongoing outreach support until she was allocated a Housing SA property. Next Step then provided ongoing support in the new housing. Over this time Ruth was able to build confidence and trust in her worker which assisted her transition into her new home.

Strong relationships between staff and young people are an essential base for supporting the young person. The framework of building relationships with those who are willing to accept support assist the young person to remain accountable in achieving their goals. Furthermore, a relationship and the ability to have someone to talk to provide a greater chance that the young person will be able to recognise and seek appropriate support when they leave the YHM.

b. *Mentors*

Where YHMs can also facilitate the provision of mentors for the young people, this further enhances opportunities for them to develop trusting relationships and learn new skills. Reflecting previous studies (Rose and Jones 2007, p. 12), a crucial aspect of a mentor that is valued by the young person is the mentor's voluntary nature and their perceived independence from institutional structures such as school and social welfare. The altruistic nature of many mentoring relationships frees the young person of expectations that they may have experienced with teachers, workers and even friends and family. In this way, the mentor is solely focused on the young person rather than reaching specific work related goals (Rose and Jones 2007; Colley 2003).

Despite the promotion of the use of mentors within YHMs many of the young people interviewed seemed unaware of this as an option or had not considered engaging with a mentor. Ladder St Vincent Street tenants Curtis (aged 21), Andre (aged 22) and Thomas (aged 20) are the only three people interviewed who have engaged with a one-to-one mentor while residing in the YHM and these mentors are all connected to AFL clubs. Even with established mentor relationships, the contact between mentor and mentees is limited. Thomas had only met with his mentor once before the mentor moved interstate and Andre had met with his mentor a few times before the mentor was required to go overseas for a few months. Curtis appeared to have the longest running mentor relationship and described how he valued being able to talk to his mentor and discuss strategies to manage his health issues.

> **Curtis: "***Yeah, he's* [mentor] *pretty good. He has trouble with weight problems, putting on weight too fast, losing weight too fast but he knows how to gain weight heaps, so he's going to talk to me about that and see if we can get some weight on me."*

Besides Curtis's experience, the process of allocation of a mentor and practical engagement appears to be complicated, resulting in interviewees speaking of mentor relationships that are 'in the works' or on hiatus. Even though she had not been connected with a mentor at the time of interviews, Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Rachel (aged 17) reflected on the benefits she felt a mentor would have provided. When asked why she felt that she had not been able to get a mentor, Rachel described a changeover in staff as the reason.

> ***Rachel:*** *"We had a changeover of who was doing - working out who got mentors and stuff like that. Then, there's also the - apparently it takes a long time to set you up with one because you've got to find the right match and all that.*"

Even though in all cases the mentors are sponsored or overseen by the YHM service provider, their voluntary nature still separates them from the service provider in the eyes of the young people interviewed. Previous studies have raised concerns that mentoring programs are sometimes used to over emphasise engagement with education and employment rather than meeting the young person's specific needs (Colley 2003; Philip and Hendry 2000; Rose and Jones 2007). In this study, however, there is little evidence that the mentoring relationships are solely developed for this purpose. Instead, where mentoring relationships did occur the young person felt that they could lead the conversation to meet their needs. The main challenge for the young people is getting regular and meaningful access to a mentor.

Feelings of isolation are a consistent theme for those who experience homelessness (Bower et al. 2018). Taking into account the categorical and ontological interactions with stigma and identity discussed earlier, having positive interactions with members of society outside of the 'homeless' environment can assist in reducing stigma (Clapham 2002; Farrugia 2010; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010; Walter et al. 2016). It also reduces the likelihood the young person will solely seek identity validation from other people experiencing homelessness as

these connections, while important, do not necessarily reduce isolation and increase connection with the wider community in the long term (Bower et al. 2018; Walter et al. 2015).

An ability to trust and build healthy relationships is fundamental to an individual's experience of citizenship (Walter et al. 2016). The relationships that the workers and the young people develop assist in creating a firmer bedrock from which the young person can strengthen their identity. It is from this foundation that I now move to how the YHMs assist the young person to develop and utilise their independent living skills. At the heart of relaying practical independent living skills to young people is the confidence to put these skills into practise in the future when they no longer have ongoing support. In the next section I focus on how YHMs engage with young people to develop these practical skills.

Developing Practical Independent Living Skills

The YHMs' eligibility criteria target young people capable of living independently. Despite this there is still evidence that some of the young people interviewed needed support and education to develop basic living skills. The minimum skills referred to here are basic literacy and numeracy, the ability to manage finances, maintain a home to a standard acceptable to landlords, and the capacity to develop and maintain positive relationships.

Young people who experience homelessness are often required to develop independent living skills 'on the run' as they aim to survive the day-to-day experience of homelessness. Once the young person's housing is stabilised it can become difficult to adapt these same skills to their new life (Johnson et al. 2008; Robinson 2011; Mallett et al. 2010; Mayock et al. 2011). Without obtaining a solid base of independent living skills, the young people may face challenges in maintaining independent housing in the future. If the young person is unable to maintain their housing, they are more likely to return to housing instability and face further challenges to experiencing a positive sense of citizenship.

Support provided by YHMs

Each of the YHMs seeks to improve young people's independent living skills in different ways. Ladder St Vincent Street's framework of support includes tiered independent living skills modules, beginning with basic tasks such as the ability to read the time and open windows, and then moves to more complex tasks such as car maintenance. Each young person starts at the basic level when they move in and then proceeds at a pace dependent on their needs and capabilities.

These modules are completed in regular sessions where the case manager and the young person work out where support is needed and then an allocated youth worker provides the practical support to achieve these goals. The benefit of having on-site workers 24 hours a day, seven days a week increases opportunities for Ladder St Vincent Street to check in with a young person and physically spend time supporting the young person to achieve their goals. The White House community also meets with the young person regularly to develop skills in areas such as shopping, financial management and meal planning. Ladder St Vincent Street key worker, Catriona, described the way she sought to engage the young people with things that interested them and which increased the chance of successful interaction:

> **Catriona:** *"I guess just we try and do like I guess different tasks each day. Like, for example, the community garden would be a good one. Just things that bring people together, bring the young people together and it might be something fun like a community garden so that's like the passionate side of it and yeah, and it's innovative as well and all our programs here are innovative and catered to the young people's needs."*

Unlike Ladder St Vincent Street and the White House, HYPA Housing YHM case managers argue that they focus the support on the needs that the young person identifies. HYPA Housing case manager Margaret saw her role as providing support for anything that would help the young person to live independently.

> **Margaret:** *Anything they need to basically live on their own independently - so, I mean, they'll come up with their goals, which are in their case plan. It could be working, finding employment, studying, budgeting skills, cleaning skills…*

In developing a young person's independent living skills, the Next Step model emphasises the use of positive reinforcement. In this model, rewards are provided to the young person to celebrate achievements as they progress in reaching the goals they set for themselves. These rewards are backed up by intensive support where a young person and worker meet face-to-face a few times a week initially then reduce contact as the young person becomes more established in their home. Next Step case manager Scott explains the common rewards and goals that the young people sought to achieve.

> **Scott:** *"The first reward for moving into the house, you get some money for takeaway, just a celebration kind of thing. Then I think you get bikes and vouchers and CD players and DVD players. A lot of electronics. I think with the goals it seems to always be start off, get a house, furnish it, quit smoking, get a job, continue study. They seem to be the hot favourites."*

Both Next Step and HYPA Housing argue they focus on goals set by the young person themselves, however, the commonality of these goals – similar to Scott's list - may suggest there is a standard format which young people are encouraged to adopt. The workers' perception that it is the young person who chooses what they want out of the support often ignores the standard format in which these supports are offered and the limitations of what the YHMs can provide in reality. It is with this in mind that I turn to the young people's perceptions of what practical living skills they were provided.

Perceptions of Young People

The needs of the cohort interviewed vary, but the consistent theme is a desire to receive practical hands-on training. Specifically, the skills the young person focuses on are managing finances and maintaining their home. As reflected in the discussion on building relationships, many of the young people interviewed feel the loss of someone to guide them as they take on more and more responsibility. Billie (aged 16) struggled with the lack of guidance and the need to make her 'own rules' at the age of 14 when she began living independently after her father was sent to prison

> **Billie:** *"Well, you should definitely have your parents' support the whole way through. It's just - they are the ones that are supposed to teach you how to grow up, and just not having that, it's a bit more tough. But no, no guidance - I've just kind of made my own rules."*

Even though all YHMs said that they provide practical living skills, how the YHM deliver this support has implications for how accessible it is for the young person. For the support to be successful, the young people spoke about it needing to also be assertive and consistent. Ladder St Vincent Street's framework of tiered independent living skills modules prove to be a successful way of supporting the young person while also holding the young person and the

service accountable. While focusing on the most basic skills has the potential to be patronising, the comments from young people like Travis (aged 17) do not reflect this and instead they view it as an opportunity to focus on achievements rather than deficits.

> **Travis:***"…They test you with things like if you need simple things, it starts off like can you make a bed, tell time, unlock a window, read an alarm clock, how much do you need for a bus ticket, can you count change and it goes up like that and gets harder and harder. But you have different things you have to get ticked off to get to the next level. If you don't know those things, then they'll give you these sheets of paper that explain how you would do that. It's to see where you're at, how they can help you."*

While other services rely on young people communicating to staff where they need assistance, Ladder St Vincent Street provide support that empowers the young people. This system is also implemented in a way that fosters community between the young people with group tasks based on the young people's interests incorporated into independent living skills training. White House tenant Kristy (aged 18) also reported feeling supported by the other White House tenants in developing her independent living skills. Kristy explained how the workers would spend concentrated time helping her to establish a meal plan and budget.

> **Kristy:** *"Oh, well, they were - you know, we'd sit down and do meals together, work out - we sat down - we did a budget and stuff of kind of how much I would earn and what I would spend. Just really, yeah, doing the really crucial things that you needed to know for moving out. Yeah, I've always done cleaning and stuff so that was okay, but yeah."*

Tenants of Next Step and HYPA Housing models were less able to articulate the way the services assisted to develop their independent living skills. Next Step workers spoke about the rewards they provide the young person when they move into their housing and achieve set goals they had identified, yet none of the three young people that I spoke to mention this rewards system.

Despite HYPA Housing residents declaring that they had sought specific support around independent living skills when they first moved in, at the time they are interviewed they still feel this is lacking. A particular area of independent living skills that young people seek is financial management. With many young people reliant on Centrelink payments, even when paying low rent there is little money to cover their costs of living. Specifically, tenants like Carrie (aged 18) speak of a desire to sit down with their case manager and draw up workable budgets that could be managed and reviewed.

> **Carrie:** *"Probably managing money. I remember when I had the assessment that was something that I said I wasn't very good at. That I've just been working out on my own. But that would be something that would be good. I think a lot of people here struggle with it as well, because there is quite a few of us who only get Centrelink. Don't have jobs yet and stuff…So if that - managing money would be a big help, like budgeting and stuff."*

Relationships between young people and HYPA Housing staff are also strained by the limitations of the staff to act on things without approval from higher levels of management. This leads some of the tenants to feel they could not rely on the caretakers or support workers to provide a timely response. An example of this is the promise that cleaning products would be provided to young people when they moved into HHS. The cleaning products were only provided six months after moving in. Tenant Melody (aged 18) decided to buy the products herself but she knew of other tenants who did not clean at all during this period. In another scenario, HHS tenant, Deborah (aged 22), needed a replacement for her fridge light, however, due to confusion over whose responsibility it was to coordinate and pay for this she was unable to replace it for a long period.

> **Deborah:** *"Oh yeah, she's [caretaker's] good. She's good. Example, don't get me wrong but I've been waiting, my light globe blew in my fridge about three months ago. I did report that about three months ago. I said 'Look, either if you tell me where to go to get one, not a problem, or if you guys can get me one I'd be really happy with that.' They've only just recently contacted me back and they've told me to go to Bunnings. So I don't know if that's just me or…"*

Young people's self-perception and confidence is often damaged by their experience of housing instability. This reduced confidence is reflected in young people often offsetting any complaints about the service with gratitude for receiving support at all. As a result, it is likely that the young people have difficulty articulating their concerns to workers directly. Having a transparent foundation for what the YHM determined are independent living skills assists the young people to feel confident in their own skills and preparedness for life outside of the YHM.

Where the YHMs provide a framework of reference for independent living skills there is increased likelihood that both the young person and the YHM worker are held accountable. In this way, the YHM illustrates societal expectations of citizenship but also allows the young person to contribute their own unique strengths and experiences. Providing structure allows for a firm reminder of the capabilities the young person brings with them to the YHM and also the opportunity to identify supports available to them where they want to improve. Beyond basic independent living skills, the YHMs also have a clear mandate to support the young person to engage in or maintain education and employment. I now consider how YHMs incorporate these requirements in a way that is meaningful to the young person.

Linking to Education and Employment

In Australia, the concept of the 'good citizen' has continued to be redefined and is currently most closely aligned to a person who is economically independent of welfare or government service assistance. This actually requires education and employment, yet the ability to achieve the goal of economic independence has become increasingly difficult (Kymlicka and Norman 1994, p. 353; MacKenzie 2017). The length of time required to complete educational requirements and the instability of entry level employment has resulted in young people becoming increasingly reliant on the family to financially, emotionally and habitually support them for a much longer period of time (Wyn and Woodman 2006; Cobb-Clark and Gorgens 2012; Campbell et al. 2013).

The YHMs play a role in filling the gap by providing affordable housing for the young person and increasing the young person's opportunities to connect with or maintain their education and employment. These services also walk a fine line by on the one hand reflecting public policy that focuses on improving the young person's 'willingness' to engage in economic participation, and on the other hand managing the reality of the structural factors that the young people face in achieving this goal. In this next section I explore how YHMs acknowledge this juxtaposition and how young people perceive the YHMs support.

Support provided by the YHMs

Each of the YHMs have clear expectations of a young person's need to engage with education and employment, and these expectations are reflected in the YHMs' eligibility criteria. Some of these eligibility requirements are directly connected to funding requirements whereas others are decided by the organisation. The three main ways that workers felt that YHMs are able to support the young person to achieve education and employment goals is by providing secure, affordable housing, encouraging positive communication strategies, and assisting the young people to navigate career paths.

Next Step Manager Alex argued that it was the habitual stability of the YHM that afforded young people the mental space to consider how they want to be involved in education and employment.

> **Alex:** *"…I guess for young people, it's not really until they've got somewhere safe and stable that they can start looking at other areas. So, the full-on effects of education, employment, contributing back to the community, that kind of thing. Really needs stable accommodation to be able to work."*

While the YHMs emphasise the importance of housing stability in improving education and employment outcomes, in discussions with workers it becomes evident that the workers recognise that in addition to stability and security they also need to provide emotional support to young people to help them navigate access to employment. The pathway to employment is becoming increasingly difficult in Australia (Campbell et al. 2013, p. 13; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Price and Grant-Smith 2018, p. 55; Walsh 2011, p. 1). This difficulty is highlighted by HYPA Housing Service Manager, Olivia, who refers to '… the discrimination …of being a young person not given a go when it comes to a job …'.

Donna, a HYPA Housing case manager, gave two examples of how she supported a young person with employment. Donna's examples illustrate the way that workers see their role as not just about getting a young person into employment, but also about boosting a young person's confidence to negotiate with potential education institutions and employers. The first example is in being persistent in getting a young person to attend a job interview, resulting in the young person getting the job. In the second example, Donna explains how she helped a young person develop the confidence to resign from her job in person:

> **Donna:** *"… So I took her in - like, literally held her hand to go in there. She was like, no, I just won't show up to any of my shifts - and talking to her about the responsibilities of being an adult, being independent, you need to go in and you know your boss is actually going to be really proud of you. So, to take her in, they had that conversation, and she came out and she said, oh my God, like, I wouldn't have done that without you, but now I've done that, I just feel so good. So, just - yes, being independent and responsible."*

Initially, it may appear that Donna's action in supporting a young person to resign from employment was counter-intuitive to the YHM's goals. However, as Donna explains, the support she provides is not just about getting young people into employment but also supporting them to have the confidence to be responsible in difficult situations. It also means that the young person can continue to have a positive relationship with a previous employer and use these communication skills in the future.

Donna's comments are also echoed by Amber, the Ladder St Vincent Street case manager. In recognition of the precarious nature of some employment opportunities, Amber sees the YHM's role as going beyond simply getting the young person into any job but in providing additional information and support to help the young person make informed decisions about their career options. Amber's views aligns with the literature, as other research highlights this need too (Bessant 2018, p. 792; Campbell and Burgess 2018, p. 50; Murphy et al. 2011, p. 96; Saunders 2005, p. 32; Walsh 2011, p. 1). Amber states:

> **Amber:** *"…Or if they get a job or something like that and they don't have all the other opportunities that they might have to progress from a job to a career because the two are extremely different, I think the barriers there are they don't have anyone to tell them what their other options are or to help them access or tap into things that they wouldn't know about or be able to get by themselves. So opportunities, I think."*

The comments made by YHM workers illustrate that although there is a strong focus on getting the young person into education and employment, there is still recognition of the challenges

the young people face. The YHM workers recognise that housing stability alone is not going to immediately translate into education and employment achievements. While the stability that YHMs provide may assist the young person to pursue their economic goals, the young person also requires support to develop their confidence in the community and guidance on how to turn a job into a long term sustainable career.

Perceptions of Young People

In their conversations with me, the young people outline how their experiences of homelessness multiply their barriers to education and employment. For some homelessness led to complete separation from education from a young age, while for others it is more a case of not being able to maintain a consistent connection with or spend as much time on their studies as their peers. Interviewees identify that the YHMs support them to overcome these challenges through provision of tutors, financial support, advocacy and guidance about career options and access to affordable housing that reflects the length of study required or income.

Beginning with aspirations to remain engaged in education, many of the young people independently identified the value of having a tutor. Specifically, the young people sought advice to access the training that they required for their chosen employment goals. As an example, when Next Step tenant David (aged 17) is asked about mentors, he immediately aligned this idea of a mentor with a tutor who could assist him in his Year 12 studies.

> **David:** *"Oh, that would be really useful. For now, I do all my own work. I find it difficult. On the weekend because I can't get in contact with my teachers at school, so on the weekend if I can't understand something I just don't do it then. I try my best but if I can't understand something I just don't do it, which sets me behind. If I had a mentor, like a tutor, to help me with my work it would be really, really helpful and, yeah, I'd love that."*

The desire for additional support with education is reflected in the young people's praise of Ladder St Vincent Street's regular on-site tutor. The tutor, who is a volunteer, has a clear purpose to support the young people residing in Ladder St Vincent Street to obtain or maintain their education. This tutor is seen as not only a person who assists them to remain engaged in education, but as tenant Simon (aged 17) explains, someone who opens up a whole range of other economic connections.

> **Simon:** *“[The tutor] she's helping me a lot…because she gives you these offers that are really good and that you can't not accept, do you know what I mean. Like one that I was going to do for Apex or something, for university. I'm not sure if its university but it's linked with Melbourne and if I do it, if I win, I win a scholarship I think for university. So I guess that's pretty good, so I'm going to try for that in September.”*

YHM mentors provide an independent person with whom to discuss ideas and aspirations as well, and tutors are able to provide more practical and specialised assistance to help achieve these aspirations. A tutor, ideally, would not only have the time to sit with a young person to go through their homework but, as shown in Simon’s example, also be aware of links to work experience and scholarships that would help the young person to navigate education and employment opportunities. Simon’s example also illustrates the support young people require to overcome financial barriers.

One of the most significant barriers that the young person faces is obtaining the financial support to pay for further education or bridging courses. Prior to moving into the YHM some of the young people felt forced to choose between earning enough money to pay rent and continuing with their studies. By prioritising employment the young person found that their limited education meant that the employment available to them was unreliable and low paid.

Even those who are able to gain an apprenticeship in their desired field still face difficulty in managing their finances and feeling financially secure. These experiences reflect the increasing precariousness of employment in Australia (Bessant 2018; Price and Grant-Smith 2018; Walsh 2011). HHA tenant, Amy (aged 19) was investigating a second job to supplement her apprentice hair dresser wage. However, even to take on this additional work Amy is going to have to invest in further training to ensure she is appropriately qualified.

> **Amy:** *“No, I do - I want, I want to get another job just so I have more money because the apprentice wage is shit. But I also want to do makeup course because that kind of goes hand-in-hand with hairdressing so but, yeah, that's it really.”*

The ability for YHMs to provide economic support for young people to access training is identified by the young people interviewed as invaluable. For whatever reason the young person do not have easy access to family support, the YHMs play an important role in bridging this essential gap, particularly in advocating for appropriate training resources (Furlong 2015; Price and Grant-Smith 2018; Walsh 2011; Woodman and Bennet 2015). As well as providing direct financial support to young people to attend training, Ladder St Vincent Street also advocates for young people to access more meaningful training than often offered by JSA providers. In the case of Madeline (aged 19), Ladder St Vincent Street advocated for her to receive greater financial support for more meaningful training.

> **Madeline:** *"Through here and [Job Services] …funded it for me. Because I really wanted to do it. Normally they'd only do two day courses and stuff but they invested the time and the money in me which I was pretty lucky for because they don't normally do that because it was like two grand or something."*

During the interviews young people also raise concerns about how they will continue to maintain their studies or survive on a low income once their leases end at the YHMs. Reflecting comments by the workers, the young people interviewed identify that the main financial support that YHMs provide is through affordable rental. Short timeframes for living in YHMs increases the risk that young people overlook education so as to gain employment in the short term (Gaetz and Scott 2012, p. 13). Even within YHMs this is a concern as the higher cost of residing in the White House is one of the factors that led Kristy (aged 18) to prioritise working over her education.

> **Kristy:** *"I - because it goes on how much you earn so if you're just on Centrelink it's lower - I was paying 110 a week. So, yeah, it wasn't too much but, yeah, it was still a bit - trying to work. I had to buy - meals Monday to Thursday were provided and then the weekend I had to buy my own meals. So, yeah, trying to manage that I knew that I had to go to work so, yeah, I definitely prioritised work over school which I kind of think now that was a silly situation. But I did it and, yeah."*

Despite the many barriers, there is evidence of how YHMs directly increase a young person's employment opportunities. This is best shown in the example of Lee (aged 18). Ladder St Vincent Street was able to provide material assistance to support Lee to complete his Certificate II in Electro-technology and Refrigeration as well as related White Cards and Forklift licences. Then, through connections with Ladder St Vincent Street's tutor, he was able to get work experience with a company in his field with the potential for an apprenticeship in the near future. Lee stated that Ladder St Vincent Street was integral to his success because they had been:

> **Lee:** *"Giving me all the steps. Helping me enrol into TAFE, that was – with the whole SATAC thing and everything, that was pretty hard. Then just when I was looking for work experience, helping me find the right company. Really just, I guess keeping me motivated the whole time, making sure I'm going every day."*

What is evident from Lee's example is the important role that YHMs can play in assisting young people to navigate the complex system of finding the right education and career paths. The ability to find secure education and employment has become increasingly difficult (Bessant 2018; Murphy et al. 2011; Saunders 2005). Due to many of the young people's lack of qualifications they are more vulnerable to exploitation by unscrupulous employers. Curtis was one of two Ladder St Vincent Street tenants who had found out about an employment and housing opportunity in regional South Australia. As Curtis explains, not long after arriving they found what they had been told was very different to the reality.

> **Curtis:** *"The person we were supposed to be working for stopped paying us, so I'd have money problems and then she started having problems because we were renting a property off her that she was renting, so we were like subleasing. She started not paying that and we were paying her and it just wasn't going well. I said no way am I staying here for this, come back to Ladder."*

The example provided by Curtis illustrates that while employment of itself only has the capacity to positively affect young people's lives when it also provides security, regular hours and decent working conditions, as pointed out by Murphy et al. (2011, p. 96). As the

casualisation of the employment sector increases the ability for an individual to develop strong networks and become reliant on their employment reduces (Bessant 2018, p. 792; Campbell and Burgess 2018; Murphy et al. 2011; Saunders 2005, p. 32; Walsh 2011).

The YHMs play an important role in bridging this gap. Along with stable housing, they provide pathways to more meaningful training and employment opportunities by both financial assistance and the provision of tutors and worker expertise. Despite these supports the young person still faces many challenges in gaining secure and stable employment in the short term.

Even as the evidence becomes clearer that employment alone is no longer a guaranteed pathway to economic citizenship, it is the young person who is held to account for their failure to get work. Therefore, there is also a need for young people to be encouraged to see their identity beyond employability. The best way to address these concerns is to create an environment in which the young people can actively advocate for their own needs and where the YHMs are responsive to the voices of the tenants.

Fostering Leadership

The final area that I identified as an important element of support was the YHMs' ability to foster leadership in this youth cohort. By 'fostering leadership' I refer to developing the capacities and confidence of the young person as an engaged citizen. This capacity is both about the young person being able to engage in current societal structures as well as the confidence to challenge and positively alter systems that do not meet the young person's needs (Lister 1998, p. 6). The provision of opportunities for self-development and empowerment is something that is promoted not only within homelessness intervention literature (see for example Gronda 2009) but also as a way to promote differentiated universalism.

Differentiated universalism asserts that greater inclusion and empowerment of a wider group of people is a positive way to improve experiences of citizenship (Young 2002, p. 47). In discussing fostering leadership, I am describing the way the YHMs can use the concept of differentiated universalism to improve the young person's experience of citizenship. Differentiated universalism recognises that it is not enough to 'include' citizens into structures and institutions that may in themselves be problematic (Young 2002, pp. 11-12). As such, the concept does not seek to create or enforce a 'single discourse of the common good' but instead, widen the type of people involved in democracy and create the opportunity to reduce injustice (Young 2002, p. 17; 103). By creating opportunities for diverse voices to be heard, it is possible to draw attention to the structural inequalities in decision making (Young 2002, pp. 117-9).

In Chapter Four, I demonstrate the impact that experiences of homelessness have on the development of identity and how this in turn impacts a person's experience of citizenship. The YHMs have an opportunity to assist in supporting positive identity formation and improved experience of citizenship in two main ways. First, by providing structures that increase a young person's voice in the YHM and the broader community. Second, it is also essential the YHMs acknowledge how the needs of young people residing in YHMs may differ to other young people including the broader population rather than solely to fit the young person into modern society's expectations of citizenship.

For this cohort their sense of identity and place in the community is complicated by their experiences of trauma and stigma. Furthermore, young people's experiences of homelessness and subsequent interactions with homelessness services can leave them feeling further disempowered, their opinions devalued and disrespected (Beer et al. 2005; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015; Harris 2015; Keys et al. 2004; Murphy et al. 2011). One of the risks of services like YHMs is that they overly focus on the young person's 'deficiencies' rather than their many capabilities.

The YHMs are in a unique position to provide a safe space in which the young people can fully embrace their strengths and skills. Ultimately, the YHMs can take on a role that shifts the '…focus away from strategies to help "make" young people citizens, towards ways of supporting young people as citizens'" (Smith et al. 2005, p. 439). This support can be achieved by adopting a strengths-based approach that focuses on the young people's skills and aptitudes and encourages the young person to take ownership of their goals (Barker 2012; Saleebey 2002).

Support provided by the YHMs

In their interviews the YHM workers asserted that they approached case management from a strengths-based approach. For a strengths-based approach to be successful, young people need to be engaged in the process in a meaningful way (Barker 2012; Gronda 2009; Saleebey 2002). This engagement is something that extends beyond the one-to-one case management relationship and includes the structures of the YHM themselves, particularly through allowing young people to have control over their space and how it is utilised.

YHMs have established varying systems to include the tenants in the services' decision making processes. Predominantly, YHMs identify strengths-based approaches as those that promote the voice of the young person. Here I explore how strategies such as regular tenant meetings

and providing young people with leadership roles within the YHM influences the young person's own sense of citizenship.

Each of the models (except for Next Step) hold regular tenant meetings where young people can provide feedback on the YHM. The establishment of regular house meetings is only part of the strategy required. Emphasising the need for structures to be meaningful, HHS case manager Donna, recognised that even though regular meetings were held this process needed improving to ensure it was meaningful to the young people.

> **Donna:** *"The tenant meetings - they need to be more client-led, I think, rather than go in and these are the rules of HYPA Housing; go in and talk about why, and yes, let them have ownership over their community living - obviously with the guidance of us, but yes. I don't know."*

Key to Donna's concerns is the need for the young people to have 'ownership' over their space, reflecting one of the risks of providing welfare that it is used to 'reshape' people to meet structural and funding priorities, rather than address the individual needs of the young person (Murphy et al. 2011, p. 124). By adopting activities like tenant meetings workers can emphasise the skills and capacities that the young person brings with them and empower the young person to have a say about the services that affect them (Barker 2012, p. 37). Ladder St Vincent Street added additional elements in their structure that overcomes some of the challenges identified by Donna. One of these elements is the creation of a Youth Leadership Team.

Ladder St Vincent Street's Youth Leadership Team was created to assist the young people to take responsibility for their own space. The leadership team has responsibility to set the agenda, chair and minute tenant meetings as well as being a point of contact for other tenants to raise any issues about the YHM. In these meetings the young people play an active role in resolving matters within the YHM. When discussing how the service provider and young people go about resolving issues and whether there is consistency with the resolution, case manager Amber described how often the service and the young people were both on the same page.

> **Amber:** *"Strangely aligned because they're living in it …and we might know what the kind of solution to the issue is quite early on but they will come up with the exact same thing, and they're usually harsher than we are. So, which I found interesting, because it's their home and I think that's*

> *the difference between here and like an emergency service. This is their home. They are settled and stable here so they want it to run how they want it to run. They want to live and, well not work but live in a place that provides that stability and consistency."*

While the Youth Leadership Team seems to be a successful mechanism, there is also evidence that the structures and processes were consistently reviewed and adapted depending on the needs of the young people at the time. This need to adapt is evident in the way that team leaders were nominated and selected at Ladder St Vincent Street had changed over time depending on feedback and changing needs of tenants. It also reflects the need to constantly review structures to ensure they are responsive to the needs of the people that they are affecting – as Young points out (2011).

Due to the Next Step tenants being spread across a variety of locations, this is the only model that does not run regular house meetings. However, the workers still focus on how they can support the young person to build the confidence in themselves that will carry them through once the services withdraw. As Next Step worker Elissa explains, a lot of the work she does is supporting young people to take pride in what they have achieved:

> **Elissa:** *I think also a lot about confidence and a lot about pride in what they've achieved. They seem to be sometimes struggling a little and just building on that confidence of you've done this much and you're proud of this. Kind of building all that so they can sustain it and see themselves as yeah, I deserve this and I want to do this and really that motivation that even though we might be there for a short time, to build that base so they still have the motivation afterwards, even if we withdraw.*

The purpose of this intervention reflects the YHM workers' understanding that economic outcomes alone are not enough to guarantee the young person's success once they leave the YHM. Support is also needed to help the young person to identify their own value within society beyond that of economic participation. This sense of value often needs to be reinforced for young people who have experienced negative interactions with the greater society and services (Bower et al. 2018; Gerrard and Farrugia 2015).

The YHMs identified that the strengths-based approaches they utilised included regular tenant meetings and, in the case of Ladder St Vincent Street, a Youth Leadership Team. All workers recognise that for this support to be meaningful, the young people need to be provided with a forum to communicate to the service provider their needs and expectations. The structures that each YHM utilises are ultimately focused on supporting the young person to get to a point where they could be confident in advocating for themselves and building their own networks once the YHM support ends.

Perceptions of Young People

The ability to have an active say in the way the YHM is run and influence the structures of the model is highly valued by the young people. Creating opportunities for diverse voices recognises that to truly disrupt the structural inequalities within society it is necessary to hear the voices of the people most affected by these decisions (Young 2011). Not only should these people's voices be heard but they should have a 'seat at the table' about decisions affecting them.

When asked about the broader support that the YHM provides, the cohort identified very similar elements to the workers, including examples of being involved in decision making about the YHM, transparency about the YHMs' expectations and active opportunities to develop their leadership skills. How the young person engages in the decision making processes of the YHM plays an important role in how they feel about the housing and their willingness to actively embrace the service.

Tenant meetings are consistently identified as an effective way to be kept informed about the service as well as provide feedback. HHA tenant PJ (aged 17) felt that the tenant meetings were useful and were a good opportunity to be kept 'in the loop'.

> **PJ:** *"…The SYC is really good at - we have like monthly meetings between the tenants and talk about what we want to change and that kind of thing, so we're all pretty involved with what happens here. We're all in the loop, which is really good."*

Mandatory tenant meetings are seen as a positive by most young people interviewed. Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Holly (aged 17) felt that the compulsory nature of tenant meetings improves the connection between tenants and helps to manage the various needs of the different tenants.

> **Holly:** *"Yeah. I got told the other group meeting that in Melbourne there's not as many people going to the group sessions and stuff, but it's really up to that individual. But I think they're really good. It gets everyone involved in something and they all kind of bond in a way and the teachers can - the workers' can see who's in what group and what's happening and stuff like that, as well as with the cameras."*

Part of the reason that the tenant meetings are seen as important is because many of the young people residing in the YHM are likely to be as effected by any problematic behaviour as contributing to it. The groups also provide space for transparent communication between different groups. Lister (2001) identifies that to engage with each other and identify the humanity in the other is a fundamental component of differentiated citizenship. By giving the young people carriage to shape the expectations of the YHM assists in empowering the young people to fashion the space to their preference. Tenant and member of the Youth Leadership Team, Mitchell (aged 19), described how when Ladder St Vincent Street was established there were initially issues with young people's use of the laundry and balcony areas. As a group the tenants made a decision to ban people from using the balcony and put a time frame on when the laundry was to be used.

> **Mitchell:** *"Well when we first moved in, the laundry, we didn't have a roster for it. People got drunk at night time outside my room; it was noisy, stuff like that. Couldn't sleep. People were drinking on the balcony, pissing off the balcony and stuff like. So we ended up putting no one on the balcony. Ended up making a roster for the laundry so everyone has got a certain day and time. I made a time for the common room out there, some of the rooms over there. Was 11 o'clock to 8 o'clock in the morning you're not allowed in there."*

Mitchell's comment reflects the evidence in the literature that young people have a strong desire to advocate for themselves and promote positive change when provided the opportunity (Crawford et al. 2014). However, expectations of participation need to be clearly defined from the beginning to avoid the process being tokenistic. If not communicated properly the young

person may feel that being part of the community is an obligation rather than an opportunity for their voice to be heard (Gronda 2009; Lister 2011).

For example, HHS tenant Deborah (aged 22) felt that the rules associated with residing in the YHM were 'sprung' on them resulting in feelings of resentment.

> **Deborah:** *"I can't say let me down, I can't say let me down because they gave me a home. But I can say, next time cut the bullshit. Don't make it all look pretty, pretty, pretty. Cut it right out. Get to the basic, don't beat around the bush, I hate that. I hate it when someone tries to paint a picture pretty when it's not. I hate it. It's a waste of time, I just hate it. That's me though."*

A lack of transparency and clarity in the YHM expectations can reinforce young people's lack of trust and also reduce their willingness to seek support in the future. For these reasons, where structures like tenant meetings are used, literature demonstrates that they need to have a clear purpose and result in clear actions (Edwards 2008). The positive responses about the Youth Leadership Team from Ladder St Vincent Street tenants demonstrates how positive structures encourage the young people to participate. As tenant Alisha (aged 18) explains, being nominated as a leader was a source of pride and an opportunity to reflect on her strengths.

> **Alisha:** *"Well, a lot of them are putting me up to be the leader, like because if I'm the leader things for this place, like there's supposed to be three or four leaders and I didn't even recommend myself you know what I mean, don't you, and everyone's like, Alisha, yeah, Alisha should be a good leader. Alisha would be a good leader and I was like, okay then. When I'm not in a grumpy mood- like when I've had a lot of sleep and stuff, I'm happy, I'm bubbly and if someone's down I'm obviously going to ask them what's wrong and try to talk to them, you know. Because I do good with older people, so I should do good with young people."*

By providing the young people with tools to communicate with the service provider, there was clear evidence of the way the structures were changed based on the needs of the young people rather than simply 'managing' the young person or conceptualising them as 'the problem' as

often happens (Barker 2012; Lister 1998). However, it is important to note that traditional, formal ways of communication are not always appropriate, particularly when taking into consideration previous experiences of literacy and interpersonal relationships (Young 2002, p. 47).

In addition to developing the confidence of those who become leaders, Ladder St Vincent Street's Youth Leadership Team provides an alternative contact point for other YHM residents. In this way, young people can bring up issues with a leadership team representative if they do not feel comfortable advocating directly to the staff. Exemplifying a way of avoiding bringing groups into a system where 'the rules and standards have already been set' by privileged groups that are already privileged, the Youth Leadership Team enables questioning of current decision making structures (Young 2011, p. 195).

In developing the young person's sense of citizenship and confidence to advocate for themselves, what works in the YHMs is a consistent dialogue between young people, managers and staff and the ability to change practice in line with the current issues, events and personalities of the time. Clear structures are an important part of achieving this dialogue and responsiveness, however, the structures also need to be flexible enough to promote communication while allowing for changes to occur without being hampered by bureaucracy.

Conclusion

In this chapter I have provided evidence for the supports necessary to improve young people's experience of citizenship. The assistance I have described goes beyond structural and locational elements and moves to focus on how YHMs can assist in developing the young person as an individual and provide them with the skills to thrive once they leave the YHM. In doing so, I examined four main points of support: the ability to build and maintain successful relationships; to manage basic practical tasks related to independent living; to engage positively in education and employment and, finally, to have the confidence to advocate for themselves.

Each of the YHMs provide these levels of support with varying levels of success. One of the challenges the YHMs face is how to keep structures and processes fluid enough to respond to the consistently changing residential demographic, yet still remain consistent enough to provide much needed stability. Transparency and clarity of purpose prove to be key elements in managing this challenge.

What became clear is that the more successful YHMs engage the young people in setting the rules and purpose of the YHM and in so doing the young people are able to take both ownership

of their place in the YHM as well as build necessary skills that will assist them in the future. These open dialogues can only occur where YHMs are also able to build relationships with young people that are based on trust and reciprocity. YHMs which engage the young people in setting the rules and purpose of the YHM, support the young people to take ownership of their place in the YHM as well as build necessary skills to assist them in the future. Despite these structures and interventions, the evidence of the success of these initiatives is in the young person's ability to thrive and flourish once they leave the YHM. In the next chapter I explore the future aspirations of the young people interviewed and how they matched the housing realities when they left the YHM.

Chapter Seven: 'I feel like my luck's going to run out soon…' Aspirations and Realities of life after the YHM

Introduction

The quote encapsulated in this chapter's title comes from HHS tenant Melody (aged 18) and reflects the young people's concerns about how they will fare once they leave the YHM. For many, the YHM provides some breathing space to deal with past issues, develop or bolster the skills required to live independently and to get a foot in the door in education and employment. Upon leaving the YHM there is a risk that the young person will lose any progress they made and be forced to return to a space of insecurity. In this chapter I evaluate the ability of the YHMs in preparing the young person for their inevitable departure from the service and discuss how the realities of life after the YHM compare with the young person's aspirations.

YHMs provide a necessary platform for a young person to develop solid foundations and increase their skills in engaging with the wider community. However, I argue that the length of tenancies and a lack of appropriate housing options for a young person to transition to after the YHM remain a key challenge (Gaetz 2014; Gronda 2009). Families are increasingly being relied on to support young people for longer as stable and secure housing and employment become more difficult to obtain (Bessant 2018; Furlong 2015; Harris 2015; Johnson et al. 2015; Walsh 2011; Woodman and Bennet 2015). For young people residing in YHMs who are unable to rely on family support, the limited length of leases do not necessarily address the structural factors that the young person would face after leaving the YHM. It is for this reason the young people's aspirations for their future home provide an important point of context to the realities of life post YHM.

I elicited the young people's aspirations through a visual exercise where the young person drew a picture of what their ideal home would look like. The young people's aspirations are often realistic and reflect 'normal' desires for constancy, safety, independence and freedom from surveillance. Primary to these aspirations is a safe space in which the young person can connect with their family and friends.

After exploring the young person's aspirations and their meaning I examine the realities the young people may face when they leave the YHM. I do this by exploring four case studies where the young person has left or is on the brink of leaving the YHM. Each of these case

studies demonstrates a different housing option available to the young person and I use this to provide greater resonance to the situation the young person may encounter.

Future Aspirations

Evidence shows that rather than a linear pathway, experiences of housing and homelessness are often a 'dynamic continuum' which change based on individual circumstances (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 15). In asking the young person about their future aspirations for home I was less interested in the idyllic end point than in extracting the elements of housing that the young person found to be most important.

In each interview I asked the young person to identify what their ideal home looks like, who and what they would like to have close to them, and the home's location. I then asked them to illustrate this ideal using coloured textas on an A3 sheet of paper. Those less confident of their drawing abilities were offered the opportunity to write down or describe key elements that they associated with home.

When asked to come up with any dream home that they could think of, many of the young people interviewed emphasised how much they simply wanted a 'normal' home. By this, I suggest that 'normal' could refer to what Johnson et al. (2008, p. 212) believe is a 'metaphor to signify a more comfortable and less stigmatised life'. This desire to be like 'everyone else' is illustrated in the young people's aspirations, even causing HHA tenant Amy (aged 19) to exclaim:

> **Amy:** *"…I'm so lame, I like the really lamey American like picket fence houses, and shit like that; like cottage gardens and all that nanna stuff."*

Space for inclusion of family is particularly important for many of the young people. For Ladder St Vincent Street tenant, Beth (aged 20), who was pregnant at the time of the interview, a space for her to raise her child was paramount.

> **Beth:** *"My own veggies. Why you need to have a big kitchen. It needs to have a big living room, for me and my kid. A little space maybe for my art, because I do paintings."*

For HHS tenant Melody (aged 18) the housing is less about the structure and more about the connection to people. The importance placed on connection with others may reflect the isolation from society that the young person has experienced due to their homelessness (Bower et al. 2018).

> **Melody:** *"I don't know, family is home. And I just want my own family. It wouldn't matter if I lived on the street…actually, that's a lie, I wouldn't want to ever live on the street, but I know that if I had a family it… like, yeah."*

Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Paul (aged 20) fled Afghanistan and a large part of his housing aspiration revolves around reuniting with his mother and siblings. For Paul, his dream is for them to live together in a large house that has enough bedrooms for each person and space to have a barbecue outside. A distinct element of Paul's house is its large size and its ability to accommodate and be a hub for extended friends and family, reflecting the literature that those

from CaLD backgrounds are more likely to live in multi-generational households (Couch 2017).

White House resident Kristy (aged 18) is also ambivalent about the location of her home as long as it provides ‘easy access’ to her support networks. Within Kristy’s goal is also a desire to live within a safe and secure community. As Kristy describes:

> **Kristy**: *“Obviously being in an area that there's not break-ins and robberies and shootings [laughs] and stuff like that - but that's everyone, you know. But, yeah, I guess just in a place where my - it's easy access to my support networks. You know, that, yeah, it doesn't matter how far - it's just that if I can easily get to them, yeah, I think that that's my number one, yeah.”*

Echoing Kristy’s thoughts, HHA tenant PJ (aged 17) emphasises the importance of friends and family which is on par with a feeling of safety

> **PJ:** *I don't really mind where I am as long as I've sort of got - I don't know. As long as I'm safe and as long as I've got friends around.*

Sometimes the young person would forgo connection with others if it meant they were more likely to be safe. When describing her future home, Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Rachel's (aged 19) immediate living situation was forefront in her mind as she and her partner sought out private rental in the lead up to expecting their first child. Rachel was initially prioritising being close to her networks of friends and family but was finding it difficult to locate something affordable in the areas that she wanted, another primary concern for her being the safety of the neighbourhood.

> **Rachel:** *"A big secure fence. That's the only problem I've had with the houses we've looked at, and the boyfriend is not too keen on moving out to Elizabeth because of the area and like stereotype. But I've kind of said to him up there's a lot cheaper for what we need. So I'm kind of giving him no choice, and I said to him this house is actually - like the one we looked at the other day is actually really nice."*

The emphasis on safety also illustrates that expectations of a 'normal home' focus on common elements of ontological security – safety, constancy, control over their environment, and freedom from surveillance (Brueckner et al. 2011, p. 3). Control over one's own space is a concept particularly elicited in my two interviews with Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Curtis (aged 21). The first time I interviewed Curtis, his focus appeared to be more on a high status house as he spoke of his desire to one day live in a mansion on the beach. This mansion, pictured below, would be a place where he could have music playing and friends over whenever he wanted.

The next time I interview Curtis he says that he has changed his mind about the type of house he would like to live in. In between interviews, Curtis had trialled living in a regional area where there had been the promise of work, but the situation had fallen through and Curtis's physical health had also declined. When asked what type of home he would like to live in now, Curtis speaks of wanting a quiet place in the Adelaide Hills where he could focus on being healthy. For Curtis, this is also related to a time when he had been most happy:

> **Curtis:** *I do want to go to the hills. The time that I was the happiest is when I used to live in the country. So that's what I want to do again. I like that it's peaceful out there and you can pretty much do what you want on your own land and no one's going to say anything. You can grow stuff or build something or drive dirt bikes around, whatever you want. It's all quiet. I like that.*

The main difference in Curtis's aspirations is that he has gone from somewhere with lots of noise and people to having a space that was quiet, but prominent in both instances is the desire for control over his own space. The benefits of autonomy and control is something referred to in the literature (see for example Robinson 2011). Curtis's desire for a quiet life is also reflected in HHS Ally's (aged 21) dream of one day living in a tree house in the jungle. Ally also sought control over her space, one that would not need external resources and that would require a 'secret knock' for others to get in.

> **Ally:** *"… No, I just have the tree house two bedrooms, I wouldn't need much except hot water and stuff. I'd have an awesome big tree house and you had to have a secret knock to get in. It would be pretty cool."*

Control over one's own space is not only about control over other people coming into their space but also in the ability to make decisions over their own space. When Billie (aged 16) is asked about the type of home she would have, the primary factor she focused on is her ability to decorate her home in her own way. The ability to have a hand in creating their own space is something identified in the literature as important for those experiencing housing instability to help them feel connected and in control (see for example Mallett et al. 2010). Specifically, Billie sought to have leopard print décor, something she has previously been banned from having by her mother. As a result, rather than drawing a picture of her home, Billie decides to write the words 'leopard print' to represent what she desired in her home.

> **Billie:** *My mum - she never let me have anything leopard print, because she thought it made me look like a bit of a skank. So, she'd throw all of my leopard print things out, even though she knows I love it. So, ever since I moved out of there, I've gotten everything leopard print, just like, ha, you can't do anything. I've always wanted a leopard print coach. I already have a leopard print bed. I don't know what else I need - a rug, or something.*

Curtis, Ally and Billie's desire for independence reflects the importance that control over one's own space has on an individual's ontological security (Brueckner et al. 2011, p. 8). This desire for control extends further to young people's goals of one day exiting private rental and

achieving the ‘Australian Dream’ of buying their own home. Rachel (aged 17) felt that the ability to buy a home would increase her overall security through the building of assets and avoidance of the perceived insecurity that can come with the private rental sector (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 16).

> **Rachel:** *“Yeah. It’s cheaper than renting and then it’s not somebody else’s house that I’m borrowing, sort of thing.”*

A young person’s desire to purchase their own home is also a reflection of the high status that home ownership has in Australian society (Brueckner et al. 2011). Australia is facing exorbitant housing prices and an employment market that, due to its lack of stable full time options, is delaying young people’s ability to break into the home owner market (Campbell et al. 2013; Lunn 2011). Despite these challenges the young people still hope to one day be in a position to buy a place of their own. For HHS tenant Deborah (aged 22), purchasing her own home is a symbol of achieving something that has not occurred in her family before:

> **Deborah:** *Yeah. I want to buy my own house. ‘Cause no one in my family has really bought their own house.*

In the case of Ladder St Vincent Street tenant Madeline (aged 19), it is part of a long term plan:

> **Madeline:** *“Hopefully in my own private rental, pretty much finished my uni, hopefully and saving money to get my own place, hopefully.”*

Even though the plans of the young people interviewed reflect normal societal goals, there are many challenges for them between leaving the YHM and achieving these plans. Some of the young people expressed anxiety about what will happen when they have to leave the YHM. Of particular concern is how they will be able to continue to achieve their educational goals once the safety net of affordable and secure housing is taken away. HHA tenant Danny (aged 20)

planned to continue with study for a number of years which will limit his income earning potential in the near future.

> **Danny:** *I want to stay here as long as I can really. Um, more to do with like next year I might not be working because I want to go to Uni and I would like to stay here through maybe a year of it. Um, Because I know it's going to be hard to work and study at the same time at Uni. I guess I will look at that when the time comes.*

Danny's concerns reflect the realities of how extended educational requirements place limitations on the ability to live independently (Furlong 2015; Price and Grant-Smith 2018; Walsh 2011; Woodman and Bennet 2015). There were also concerns about how the young person would be able to find affordable housing in a community where they feel safe and could still have easy access to services, friends and family (Murphy et al. 2011, p 18). HHS tenant Melody (aged 18) spoke of already being worried about where she would move to when her lease ended in six months.

> **Melody:** *"Six months away. I'm counting. I don't want to leave. I'm really nervous about leaving because I've had it so good here. And I'm just so nervous that when I leave I'm gonna move into, like the only place that I would be able to afford is that scum piece of houses down there [gesturing] and that's just, once again, not secure, not stable."*

In a more extreme example, another HHS tenant, Ally (aged 21), raises concerns about the future when I ask her how confident she would feel if she had to move out of the YHM. She says she will put herself in gaol to regain stability. Ally's response highlights how a lack of a safety net within society makes gaol seem like a valid alternative to homelessness (Crawford et al. 2014)

> **Ally:** *Not confident at all. Honestly, I've been through a lot of struggle in my life and I'd probably try and put myself in gaol or something, so it would be the only way of getting fed three times a day and getting everything I need. I never*

> *had it easy unfortunately, so that would be the worst part for me if I was - yeah, if this place was to close down or I had to get out and leave that would be shocking. I wouldn't know how to handle that to be honest.*

Ally’s response also reflects evidence that it is at the point where a young person is transitioning out of subsidised or supported housing that they are most at risk of becoming homeless again (Frederick et al. 2014, p. 970). The young people interviewed aspire to a home that allows them to be connected to their supports and have control over their own space. Their ability to achieve these goals, however, is limited by their prospects for income and availability of affordable housing. It is with this in mind that I turn to the housing realities for young people when their time at the YHM ends.

The limitations of this PhD study did not allow for the follow up of the majority of the young people after their time at the YHMs. However, it was possible to gain insight from four young people who were interviewed just before or after their time at the YHM concluded. Each young person in the following case studies transitioned into a different housing situation, thereby allowing an opportunity to compare their experiences of moving into social housing, back into the family home, community housing and private rental. In this next section I describe these four young people’s experiences and the commonalities of the challenges that they faced upon leaving the YHM.

Realities

The short time frames for which the YHMs supports a young person does not provide enough time for the young person to significantly increase their income or save for the future. For those engaged in education, they still face many years before they can achieve full qualifications. Even in models such as Ladder St Vincent Street that have the potential to renew leases annually until the young person turns 23, it is still unlikely the young person will achieve their educational goals in this time. While the young person continues with education, they face a time limitation on how many hours they can work and also their eligibility for different types of employment. Furthermore, the employment that is available is often casual and insecure, making it difficult for the young person to rely on it. This lack of sustainable income reduces the housing options available to the young person.

Added to limited opportunities to increase their income, the young people face a lack of affordable housing options for when they move out of the YHM. As I show in the following case studies the only affordable housing options available to this cohort are short term and insecure. The four case studies below illustrate the key challenges of various housing outcomes that young people may face when they transition from the YHM.

Moving into public housing - Sarah

At the time of interview, Sarah was sharing a two bedroom Housing SA unit in Unley. Sarah shared the unit with another young person and that person's teenage niece. Sarah had previously been a resident of Ladder St Vincent Street and, although she was able to transition into a Housing SA property, she felt she had to move out of the YHM before she was ready. Sarah (aged 20) missed the support, locality and security that she had received at Ladder St Vincent Street and, in particular, she struggled with having to share with someone else.

> **Sarah:** *"I want to live by myself actually, it's more better. If you live with some it's like you want to do something and that person is down there… But I can't take more pain, you know my heart because when I used to live in Port Adelaide by myself I was a very happy person..."*

Despite Sarah's misgivings, she could be perceived as lucky by some as Housing SA properties become more and more difficult to obtain (Groenhart 2013; Toohey 2014). Public housing is reducing across the nation, however, and South Australia is over represented in reductions, with four of the top ten national public housing decreases occurring in South Australian regions (Groenhart 2013). In real terms, South Australia's total public housing stock reduced from 40,474 to 33,953 between 2006 and 2016 despite demand for affordable housing continuing to grow (ABS 2018c). This reduction in public housing has led to an extensive waiting period for even those identified as most in need and therefore has increased pressure on the private rental market (Kemp 2012, p. 1; Steering Committee for the Review of Government Service Provision 2016; Wood 2017, p. 202).

Ultimately, however, the security of tenure previously associated with social housing is no longer possible. Sarah's biggest challenge is the uncertainty of her tenancy as she has moved into a soon to be demolished Housing SA unit block. It remains unclear when the lease will end and she feels she is receiving mixed messages from Housing SA. In this way, Sarah's move

from the YHM to sharing a Housing SA property has technically provided her with a housing exit, but it does not necessarily provide her with an increased sense of housing security. This was a similar situation for Rachel, who when interviewed was about to return to the family home.

<u>Moving back home - Rachel</u>

When I first interview Rachel (aged 17) she has recently discovered she is pregnant and she and her partner are actively seeking private rental as they know they cannot reside in the YHM once the baby arrives. While Ladder St Vincent Street has the ability to house a young person for a longer period than any other YHM, its high density and structural make-up means it is not a viable option for parents with small children. Six months later when I interview Rachel for a second time she is a week away from leaving the YHM. Instead of moving into private rental Rachel is now planning to return to live with extended family.

The time out from living with family that YHMs provide allowed for respite and a possibility to mend previously fractious relationships. From an optimistic point of view a young person deciding to return to the family home after living in an YHM can be seen as an opportunity to provide a chance to renegotiate and establish positive relationships. However, for a young person returning to the family home, there are still a number of challenges that need to be overcome; the first being the need to address the reasons why they left home in the first place.

As reflected in the young people's stories in this study and in the literature, family relationship breakdown continues to be the main driver of young people experiencing homelessness (Barker 2012; Johnson et al. 2008). Despite a propensity for research into youth homelessness to differentiate between types of family breakdown, it is often difficult to distinguish between those who were experiencing 'normative resistance' and those who were escaping significant abuse. Even in what appear to be accounts of straightforward family conflict, there is always a much more complicated backstory as to why the family conflict escalated so dramatically.

Rachel's decision to live with family is not one taken lightly. Rachel explains that the search for private rental has been unsuccessful, particularly in finding affordable housing in an area where she and her partner feet safe. Ladder St Vincent Street began the referral process for her and her partner to move into a family housing support service before Rachel made the final decision to move back in with a family member. For Rachel, moving back in with a family

member is the least stable of these options and she is attempting to put strategies in place to ensure this would result in secure housing:

> **Rachel:** *"Made a pros and cons list. I talked to a fair few people about it because there was the issue of moving in with family can be dangerous or renting off a family can be dangerous…"*

Although Rachel's situation is slightly different due to the impending birth of her child, it illustrates many of the challenges that young people face upon leaving YHMs. Many of the young people interviewed have already tried to move back into the family home (sometimes multiple times) before accessing the YHM. In the case of Kristy, she still seeks to have a positive relationship with her father, however, living in the family home is not a viable option. This leads Kristy to move into community housing when she leaves the White House.

Moving into Community Housing - Kristy

Kristy moved into the White House when she was 18. The White House is a transitional model aimed at supporting young people for three to six months, but Kristy (aged 18) stayed there for ten months due to difficulties identifying an alternative housing option. In the end Kristy was provided with the option of moving into another YHM or community housing, with Kristy opting to reside in community housing.

Community housing has been expanding in Australia for the last thirty years and is perceived as providing an additional layer to Australia's social housing system. Community housing slowly began to shift from grass roots housing for communities of interest to an area supported by both government and private industry investment (McNelis, Hayward & Bisset 2001, p. 5). Perceived as a less bureaucratic option to public housing, the primary difference between YHMs and community housing is that community housing is not essentially connected to in-house or off-site support.

Despite the promotion of community housing there has been no real increase in the number of community houses in South Australia. Between 2006 and 2011 there was a slight jump from 6,443 houses to 6,911, but by 2016 the number of community houses had reduced again to 6,773 (ABS 2018c). The White House became a part of this reduction when it disbanded not long after the interviews were completed.

As illustrated in Kristy's experience, community housing varies significantly. At the White House she lived among a handful of volunteer youth workers and was rarely alone. In the new community housing model she moves into she is living by herself with limited outreach support provided by the co-ordinating service. Although looking forward to moving into her own home, the biggest challenge Kristy faces is the isolation related to truly living independently for the first time.

> **Kristy:** *"I first thought that it [community housing] would be great. You know, I always thought having my own house and being independent was what I'd want but then realising moving from the White House, with having this massive support and really a family that, yeah, it was really quite hard moving out on my own, in my own little house, not knowing anyone, you know."*

The stress related to moving out of the White House resulted in Kristy disengaging from school, although Kristy believes her housing-related stress lead the school to assume that she is not committed to her education. Despite these initial concerns and challenges, Kristy still feels she has been provided enough support to successfully live independently and at the time of interview she has also re-engaged with her education.

<u>Moving into private rental - Bruce</u>

The final example is of HHS tenant Bruce and his brief transition from the YHM into private rental. The reduction in social housing has resulted in many people on low incomes being forced into an expensive private rental market (Hulse et al. 2011, p. 17). Private rental is the least affordable of all of the housing exit points identified by young people. The median rent in Adelaide when Bruce moved out was $250 a week and could take the entire income of a young person relying predominantly on welfare support (ABS 2012)[20]. Even for those who are able to access employment, the increasing part-time and casual workforce can cause fluctuations in income that place more stress on the household income (Price and Grant-Smith 2018; Walsh 2011). A common way of reducing these costs is to do as Bruce did and find share accommodation.

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[20] In 2018 Bruce would face the same challenges with the median rental rising to $295 a week and Youth Allowance barely increasing at $445.80 a fortnight (ABS 2018; Department of Human Services 2018c)

In the previous three examples, the young person was required to leave the YHM due to limitations on length of leases set by the YHM or because they no longer fit the target group for receiving support. Bruce differed in that he made the choice to leave the YHM of his own accord because he wanted to move in with his fiancée. To make this more affordable, the couple secured private rental with two other people. However, when interviewed a few months after leaving the YHM Bruce was once again couch surfing after his relationship with his fiancée broke down.

> **Bruce:** *"Yeah and because she [fiancée] wouldn't, she couldn't live there [YHM] with me and I wanted to get a dog, I - she said well let's move in with Jenny and Ruth and I was just like OK no worries, I thought it was a good idea at the time and yeah, later down the track that failed and got cheated on and then she took my dog, took my furniture, took everything that I had and I've still got to get my name off the lease."*

Bruce's story provides evidence that while reducing costs, living with roommates and friends can reduce the chances of a young person maintaining their housing (Frederick et al. 2014, p. 970). With the breakdown of his tenancy, Bruce now also faced the risk of being further blacklisted within the private rental market, particularly if his name remains on the lease of a property he does not reside in. In combination with the likelihood that real estate agents screen out 'high risk' young people, in some way this places Bruce in a worse position than before moving into the YHM (Hulse et al. 2011).

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For each of the young people above the housing choices they made after leaving the YHM were crucial. Whereas other young people may have families that provide an insurance policy 'against bad labour market' or relationship breakdowns, many of the young people interviewed had limited supports available and were at greater risk of re-experiencing homelessness (Bessant 2018; Furlong 2015; Harris 2015; Johnson et al. 2015; Johnson and Chamberlain 2014; Mallett et al. 2010; Walsh 2011; Woodman and Bennet 2015). It is this lack of a 'safety net' that makes preparing the young person to leave the YHM and being realistic about appropriate timelines so important.

One of the major drawbacks of transitional housing such as YHMs is the limited time that they provide for young people (Gaetz and Scott 2012; Johnson et al. 2008). The high demand for services like YHMs results in an additional emphasis on 'throughput' and can reduce the focus on the readiness of the young person to leave a service (Johnson et al. 2008, p. 150). This demand can result in YHMs rewarding a young person's perceived increase in capabilities as a prompt for them to move on to independent living (Gaetz & Scott 2012, p. 12). However, as reflected in the case studies, if the structural issues such as access to a secure income and availability of affordable housing have not improved, the young person will invariably find themselves transitioning out of the YHM directly into another form of transitional housing.

Conclusion

During the interviews the young people's aspirations for home reflect normative expectations and desires for the space they would like to live. These themes also reflect the need for security through constancy, safety, independence, and to not be under surveillance. Despite these predominantly modest expectations, the housing options available to young people upon leaving the YHM are limited by the young person's inability to access an adequate income and the limited affordable housing options available resulting in young people moving out of the YHM and into another temporary situation.

While YHMs provide a necessary platform for the young people to enhance their options and increase their positive experiences of citizenship, the length of tenancies and a lack of appropriate housing options for the young person to transition remain a key challenge. Primary issues that need to be addressed by the YHM are the limited opportunities for the young person to increase their income during their tenancy and a lack of affordable housing options, ultimately resulting in the young person leaving the YHM before they are adequately prepared. Based on the findings of this and previous chapters, the following chapter sets out recommendations for services on how to improve outcomes for young people who experience homelessness.

Chapter Eight: Implications for Practice

Introduction

The YHMs play a crucial role in providing a support system for those who can no longer receive ongoing emotional, economic and habitual support from their families. They can also provide a stepping stone to achieving societal goals of citizenship, that is, economic independence. How this support is provided can foster the skills to navigate and advocate for what supports a young person needs to succeed or it can continue to diminish a young person's sense of identity for failing to achieve the goal of economic independence (Farrugia and Gerrard 2016).

In looking beyond solely economic outcomes I do not seek to criticise the goal of employment. As said previously, being employed is proven to provide financial, psychological and social benefits (Campbell et al. 2013; Gaetz 2014). The goal of employment in itself is not the issue, it is the negative implications for those who fall outside employment and the employability framework (Lister 2001, p. 91). It is also about recognising that employment is no longer the guarantee for leaving poverty that it once was and a refusal to be seen 'compensating' people for their poverty' through raising benefits is unfairly disenfranchising multitudes of Australians (ACOSS 2018; Lister 1998; 2001; Mendes 2017).

I argue that in light of these challenges the success of the YHMs relies not only in their ability to prepare the young person for economic independence but also in their ability to assist the young person to recognise the structural challenges that they will face and where and how to seek help when needed. By providing a dual role of promoting and challenging expectations of citizenship, the YHMs are in the best position for developing longer-term successful outcomes for the young person which will flow onto the greater community.

I use this chapter to review what works well in the YHMs and make recommendations for improvement. Each recommendation falls within one of four main areas. First, I focus on the importance of recognising the individual biographies of the young people residing in YHMs and ensuring appropriate recognition of how the young person's identity formation can be influenced by experiences of stigma and trauma. Second, I outline the supports required associated with the physical structure of the YHM and how these can improve a young person's experience of safety and security. Third, I articulate the optimal way to support a young person

to develop the necessary skills to live independently, and finally fourth, I focus on the the need to increase the length of support provided. Underlying each of these recommendations is a call to policy makers and service providers to listen to, heed, and promote the voices of the young people.

Area One – Matching support with need

A lack of affordable housing and limited employment opportunities mean that those young people who are unable to rely on family support are particularly vulnerable to homelessness. Without the interventions discussed in this thesis the majority of young people interviewed would have potentially continued to reside in unsafe and unstable situations. YHMs reduce demand on already overwhelmed crisis services, diverting an (albeit small) portion of young people away from needing to access SHS, and providing an exit point from SHS for others.

The experiences of the young people interviewed indicate that even the 'best presenting' young people are going to have underlying challenges related to their leaving home at an early age (Steen and MacKenzie 2017). Some of these obstacles may relate to previous experiences of trauma, while others relate to the young person's exclusion from common supports compared to other young people in the community. Whatever their previous barriers, the majority of young people interviewed did not choose to leave home early and would have preferred to have the ongoing support of family and the time to figure out who they wanted to be within society.

Identifying these circumstances is not about typecasting a young person as a 'victim' or to underplay a young person's strengths. The importance of acknowledging the challenges that come with experiences of homelessness is to ensure that the level of support matches the needs of the young person (Steen and MacKenzie 2017). Therefore, it is vital that YHMs are appropriately resourced to provide the following key elements of assistance – on site support, mixture of case management and key worker support, and appropriately trained staff.

a. *On-site support*

As outlined in this thesis, the young people indicate that having some form of support worker on site is highly beneficial. For many of the young people residing in YHMs it is the first time they have lived independently and they value having someone on site they can contact as needed. Having on-site support alleviates some of the isolation that the young person may feel and also provides someone to allay any fears associated with living alone (Gaetz and Scott 2012). Furthermore, having an on-site support person encourages the young people to raise any

issues when they occur rather than waiting until the issues became bigger and more difficult to solve.

Who provides the on-site support is less important as long as there is a physical out of hours on-site contact for the young person. There is little difference between a caretaker model such as HYPA Housing and the 24-hour on-site staffing provided by Ladder St Vincent Street. What is important is that the on-site support person is approachable and the young person can have confidence that the support person is able to respond to the young people's needs and has the relevant authority and knowledge to answer any relevant questions. The on-site support person plays an important role in providing a sense of harmony between the young people within the units. Where the young person has a lack of confidence in the on-site support person, there is greater potential for conflict between tenants and an increased sense of isolation which results in a reduced sense of security. Taking these concerns into consideration what is clear is that YHMs need to provide some form of 24-hour on-site support.

b. *Case Management and Mentoring*

Along with on-site support, the young people interviewed identified the benefits of having assistance in setting goals as well as providing practical assistance to help the young person to achieve those goals. Ideally this assistance involves the young person being allocated both a case manager and a key worker: the case manager focuses on identifying, planning and coordinating support with the young person, while the key worker assists the young person to implement the tasks.

Separating out support has three main benefits. First, it increases the young person's number of supports and therefore opportunities to develop their social and negotiating skills. Second, it ensures goals are set as clear and meaningful tasks. And third, it provides greater opportunity for the development of multi-disciplinary teams which will increase the capacity of the workers (Hulse et al. 2011; Barker 2012). The use of mentors is also a valuable asset to YHMs as it increases opportunities for the young people to develop relationships based on trust and reciprocity. The main challenge of integrating mentors into the service is to have a consistent and timely system for matching mentors and mentees. There was evidence of young people seeking to be matched but less evidence of this occurring successfully on a regular basis.

c. *Professional development and support for staff*

Social services such as YHMs rely heavily on the emotional resilience and capacity of their workforce. Responding to the needs of young people who experience homelessness can be

demanding and the risk of burnout in staff is a problem (Gronda 2009, p. 10). High turnover of staff further limits the young person's ability to connect with their worker and be provided with consistent and reliable support. YHM staff are best able to support the young person when they themselves are able to access essential supports particularly in the areas of supervision, support and appropriate training.

Each of the YHMs need to ensure that support for staff includes an adequate supervision framework that encourages time to reflect on the work that is achieved with young people and seeks opportunities for improvement and growth. Where possible, workers should avoid being isolated and should create an integrated service delivery environment that promotes opportunities provided for workers to consult with colleagues with diverse skills within the context of the dynamics of the YHMs. Integrated service delivery promotes close relationships between service providers and a coordination of responsibilities that supports the young person collectively rather than individually (Barker 2012; Hulse et al. 2011).

Workers should also be provided with appropriate professional development particularly in the area of trauma-informed approaches. While trauma can have a significant impact on individuals' lives, it is possible to intercept these negative outcomes by providing opportunities to develop positive relationship experiences when services respond in a way that 'emphasises physical, psychological and emotional safety' (O'Donnell et al. 2014, p. 27; MHCC 2013, p. 31). Therefore, improving and providing opportunities to create a space where individuals can feel secure, work on self-regulation and develop further competencies can play a key role in improving wellbeing (Kinniburgh et al. 2005).

Area Two - Structural Support

One of the most important elements YHMs can provide is the ability to offer a home rather than solely a roof over the young person's head. Specifically, the building design has the capacity to provide the young person with a setting that promotes a sense of security (Hulse et al. 2011; Robinson 2011). The provision of physical structure refers to more than simply shelter, it also reflects a safe space for the young person where - often for the first time in a long time - they can experience stability and security (Johnson 2008; Kinniburgh et al. 2005; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2011).

There are four main components that young people identified which supported them to feel more at home. These were: access to appropriate material items; allocated common spaces; a secure space of their own that they could withdraw to as needed; and feeling connected to the

local community. The issues of physical structure and space lead into an exploration of the young person's feeling of safety and security both within the YHM and out in the local community.

a. *Making a house a home*

The young person's ability to feel 'at home' in the YHM is strongly influenced by the material items surrounding them. Material support is defined here as the physical elements the YHMs provide beyond the structural façade of the building itself. Some YHMs supply furniture as a part of the YHM. Where furniture is not provided the young person is supported by YHMs to apply for external funding. External grants are extremely useful to enable the young person to purchase essential items for the home such as beds, refrigerators and other appliances. The downside of external grants is that the process to obtain them is often bureaucratic, dependent on specific characteristics of the young person and not timely enough to meet young people's needs before they move into the YHM. For these reasons, it is more beneficial for services to consistently provide the bare necessities such as a bed, wardrobe, fridge, microwave, stovetop and oven. Where it is not financially possible for the YHM to provide these essential items, an alternative would be for the YHM to develop a partnership with a specific grant provider or furniture and electrical store to assist in streamlining the bureaucratic process.

Along with the provision of basic items, the young people interviewed value the opportunity to freely choose and design their space in a way that reflects their personality. Personalising their space is associated with the young person feeling 'at home' in the YHM. There is a clear correlation between individuals being able to personalise their surroundings and their greater experience of security in their environment (Dupuis & Thorns 1998; Mallett et al. 2010; Robinson 2011). Due to the young people's low incomes they have limited funds to purchase such items. One way to support the young person to feel more at home is to provide a system similar to the one already utilised by SJYS where each young person is provided a small fund (up to $200) to purchase additional items that would help them personalise the property.

Whether providing bare necessities or funding for personalised items, what is most important is that there are consistent and open processes to ensure equality between old and new tenants. In some YHMs policies and processes related to what items were made available to young people changed over time. The young people are very aware of what other tenants receive and it reduces the young person's trust in the YHM if the workers are unable to explain inequalities.

It is necessary that the process of allocation of items and funding is transparent and open to avoid unnecessary conflict.

b. *Allocated Common Space*

For many of the young people interviewed, the YHM is the first opportunity for stability since their first experience of homelessness. Therefore, many young people expressed feelings of isolation as they came to terms with their new status as an independent young person. Having communal space within YHMs is beneficial for reducing a young person's sense of isolation and for assisting them to come to terms with their experience of homelessness (Gaetz and Scott 2012).

Each of the specifically built YHMs has a communal space and these are used for a mix of both casual and structured activities. The structured time provides opportunity for the young people to get to know each other, which is especially important for a young person who has just moved in and may lack the confidence to actively engage with other young people. Alternatively, allowing casual use in the communal spaces allows the flexibility to create more organic relationships between young people.

c. *Individual Space*

Along with communal space there is also a need for the young person's individual space to be secure and a place to which the young person can retreat when they are overwhelmed by the larger house (Gaetz and Scott 2012). This need for a sanctuary is essential as many young people interviewed raised concerns associated with the effect of other tenant's behaviours. These concerns were more likely to be raised as the density of the YHM increased, however, the issue was echoed enough across other YHMs to be considered a consistent one.

Even in high-density properties, the young person's ability to feel safe within their own unit greatly increased their experience of security (Dupuis & Thorns 1998; Robinson 2011; Saunders and Williams 1988). In a share house situation, the young people found it much more difficult to feel secure within the housing and they struggled with not being able to control their environment. These feelings of exposure ultimately increased the young person's feeling of vulnerability and negatively affected their mental and emotional wellbeing (Frederick et al. 2014; Johnson et al. 2008).

d. *Location and Community*

The locality of the YHM played an important role in the young person's experience of community and citizenship. Close proximity to shopping, public transport, education and employment opportunities was essential to assisting the young person to connect with their local community and feel confident in their ability to live independently. The proximity of these supports is particularly important as the young people's low incomes inhibits travel and makes access to places where they can purchase and carry affordable food essential.

While access to appropriate amenities is essential, even more important is the young person and service provider's relationships with members of the wider community – as reflected in the literature (Duff et al. 2011; Johnstone et al 2016a). There are two major elements to developing a positive relationship between the young person and the local community. First, by the YHM being open and transparent with the local community. Second, through bolstering and empowering the young people to actively decide how they want the community to perceive them.

In the case of the first element and due to the vulnerability of the young people residing in the YHM, it could be tempting for services to attempt to shield the young person from potential negative community attitudes by downplaying the services identity or purpose. However, whether or not a YHM is clearly signed, it is not possible for the service and its tenants to remain completely invisible to the local community. Evidence demonstrates that young people are visible and stigmatised in communities (Peel 2003). By acknowledging its purpose and assertively engaging with communities to address any potential misconceptions, YHMs are able to shift societal attitudes towards their service and their residents (Lister 2007, p. 58).

It is also necessary to support and prepare the young person to identify how they would like to be perceived by the community. Supporting the young person is best achieved when YHM tenants are encouraged to discuss and develop strategies to manage community perceptions. Positive interactions with the local community have the dual benefits of both promoting opportunities for the young person to reassert their citizenship and also to develop interdependent living skills that will improve their chances of accessing and utilising supports once they leave the YHM.

Area Three - Skills Development

The YHMs play an important role in developing the young person's skills to be able to live independently. Preparing a young person to live independently is not only about practical skills such as income management and nutrition but also supporting the young person to '…manage

the effects of social stigma, family breakdown or a history of trauma' (Gronda 2009, p. 11). There are three main elements of skill development that YHMs are able to influence. These elements are - encouraging greater interdependence in the young person, being persistent in supporting the young person to develop practical skills, and promoting a space that encourages the young person to utilise their voice and make positive changes to the service.

a. *Building Interdependence*

It is not possible to 'prepare young people for independence' without first supporting them to be interdependent and seek help from others when it is needed (Gronda 2009, p. 32). Strong relationships between staff and young people are essential for supporting the young people who reside in the YHM. Developing persistent, reliable, intimate and respectful relationships provides a framework to rebuild a young person's trust in others that may have been eroded through experiences of homelessness (Barker 2012; Gronda 2009; Keys et al. 2004; Mayock et al. 2011; Murphy et al. 2011; Robinson 2011).

The young people interviewed reflect often on the importance of their relationship with their workers. In particular the young people value the workers keeping them accountable and assisting them to develop the skills to confront difficult situations. By working from a strengths-based approach there is a greater opportunity to provide young people with control over their situation, emphasise the many skills and capacities they bring with them, and empower them to make choices that will increase their autonomy (Gronda 2009; Barker 2012). Additionally, by building these relationships within the YHM it becomes easier for the young person to engage in help-seeking behaviour and improves their opportunities for success after leaving the YHM.

b. *Developing Practical Living Skills*

Practical independent living skills are often argued as the most important assistance services YHMs can impart (Mayock et al. 2011, p. 819). The young person's early departure from the family home and/or experiences of housing instability has often disrupted their ability to develop the practical skills required to maintain a home. There are two main elements that improve the success in developing and reinforcing practical living skills within the YHM; these are setting clear expectations and providing persistent support.

The setting of clear expectations is most adeptly illustrated by Ladder St Vincent Street through the use of a structural framework that clearly defines what day-to-day tasks they believe need to be mastered to best increase the young person's chance of success once they leave the YHM.

The benefit of the framework is that it provides space to acknowledge the skills that the young person has already mastered while simultaneously identifying areas where the young person may need support. While on the surface a system such as this can appear paternalistic the feedback from the young people is positive.

The second element of providing practical support is persistence on behalf of the worker. Where there are areas that the young person needs to improve it is often difficult for a vulnerable young person to ask for assistance. Expectations that the young person 'take the lead' in these situations can result in miscommunication, for example, the staff member may think the young person is avoidant, while the young person believes that the staff member is not providing enough support. Success is more likely when the worker and tenant spend time breaking down larger goals into smaller elements, clearly identifying who is responsible for which parts and then consistently following up on progress.

The instability that comes with not having a consistent home makes it difficult for the young person to cement their independent living skills. Without these basic skills it is even more difficult to identify and apply themselves to education and employment opportunities.

c. *Connecting to education and employment*

It is clear that homelessness has played a key role in disrupting young people's pathways to economic participation. Rather than being avoidant of this participation the young people interviewed were instead seeking ways to participate in a meaningful way and the young people interviewed regularly identified a desire for support to navigate educational and employment pathways. Two primary ways they feel YHMs could assist them with their educational and employment goals is through the provision of tutors, advocacy and financial support to continue their education.

Beyond being able to provide practical assistance with learning outside of school hours, tutors are seen as able to provide necessary connection and insight into career pathways. Ideally, tutors would be available to young people on a regular basis so that questions can be asked as needed. The added benefit of tutors is they have connections with employment and educational opportunities that may not come to light without their particular expertise. Economic support to access training is also identified by the young people interviewed as invaluable. Young people feel that without the advocacy and support of YHMs they are less likely to gain access to meaningful training, as due to their circumstances they are not always seen as a 'good investment' by job agencies that provide funding for the training.

Overall, a young person's desire to meaningfully engage in education and employment is primarily constrained by the length of tenancies available at YHMs. It is difficult for a young person to enrol in education that spans multiple years when they are unsure of where they will live in the next twelve months. The alternative of foregoing education to go straight into employment is equally risky as unskilled jobs are more likely to be insecure and low paying (Gaetz and Scott 2012, p. 13).

Additional support could be provided by tutors, and advocacy for better training options. However, until the length of tenancy support is addressed there is the potential that any headway the young person has made during their time of housing stability may be lost once they need to move into alternative housing. YHMs are best able to support the young people by being honest about the challenges that the young person faces and helping them to identify pathways that would result in both meaningful and realistic outcomes. There also needs to be an awareness that economic independence alone cannot be the sole measure of success for the young person and the YHM.

d. *Fostering Leadership*

The experience of homelessness not only comes with negative physical, emotional and psychological side effects, it also has the potential to make a young person believe that their status as a 'homeless person' will never change (Farrugia 2010; Johnson et al. 2008; Mallett et al. 2010; McLoughlin 2011; Robinson 2002). Therefore, beyond practical skills development there is a need to empower young people to not only inhabit their space, but to question and influence the systems and structures that impact on their lives. This means a shift by service providers from perceiving the young person as solely a 'service recipient' to someone who has an active role in deciding the support that they need and how this support will be provided. The YHM has an opportunity to open up dialogue and ensure that a young person is not simply adapted into a system that is problematic in itself (Barker 2012; Gaetz and Scott 2012; Young 2002).

The way that YHMs create space for the young people's voices need to be clearly structured and transparent if they are to promote better cohesion, engagement and understanding of how and why decisions are made (Barker 2012). The structure should also be flexible enough to respond to changes in dynamics of young people or external influences.

Most importantly, whatever the structure utilised, for it to be meaningful the workers involved also need to have the authority and capacity to influence change within the service, without

having to constantly seek permission from higher levels. One of the key principles of trauma informed care and practice is demonstrating trustworthiness and transparency (SAMHSA 2014, p. 10). This means that organisational operations and decisions should be conducted with transparency with the goal of building and maintaining trust among staff, clients, and family members of those receiving services. Delays in responding to simple requests or changes in practice undermine this trust and reduce a young person's desire to participate.

Area Four - Length of support

One of the major drawbacks of transitional housing such as YHMs is their limited timeframe (Gaetz and Scott 2012). The experiences of the young people interviewed who had or were on the cusp of leaving the YHM illustrate the challenges associated with finding alternative housing and the anxiety this provokes. Twelve months has proven to be too short a time period for a young person to stabilize themselves and find the sort of employment that allows them to afford a safe and stable housing alternative. This time frame is even more difficult to achieve when young people are also attempting to meet societal norms of further education.

a. Increase in length of support

Based on the economic challenges that young people face and the continued limitation of affordable housing, it is recommended that the YHMs aim to provide support for up to two years at a minimum. By providing a longer period of time, the YHM will reflect the realities that the young people face and will also increase the likelihood that the young person will be able to obtain and maintain stable housing in the future (Barker 2012; Gaetz & Scott 2012; Gronda 2009).

b. Transition support

Transition support also needs to be provided to the young person in the lead up to their tenancy ending and for a minimum of three months after they leave the YHM (Frederick et al. 2014). Post-transition support is often the most difficult element to achieve due to YHMs' funding limitations. Ultimately, however, it is important that services are able to provide support to assist the young person with what is often a confronting shift to further independence. Ideally, this transition support would be provided by YHM workers rather than outsourcing to an external organisation. By the YHM providing the transition support it reduces the chances of the young person slipping through the gaps that may occur when they are required to develop a relationship with a new worker and service (Gronda 2009).

Conclusion

The YHMs provide an additional and essential support system for those young people who are unable to access ongoing habitual or economic resources from their family. The benefits of the YHM lie in their ability to provide a space for the young person to develop security and their independent living skills and ultimately increase their confidence in advocating for the support that they require. However, the YHMs' ability to positively affect the young people are still limited by structural challenges.

Without parallel efforts to address the high rate of unaffordable housing and reduced access to stable employment the YHMs risk being another stop-gap in a young person's career of ongoing housing instability. For this reason, the length of time a young person is able to reside in the YHM needs to be extended beyond twelve months and also include transition support once the young person does move out. By using the above recommendations to create a minimum standard of what YHMs provide there is greater potential for a young person to experience meaningful assistance that will benefit both themselves and the wider society in the long term.

Conclusion

This research provides new and relevant evidence that assists in understanding the most appropriate way to support young people who experience homelessness. Young people continue to make up a significant portion of those who experience homelessness. There is therefore a great impetus to ensure the responses provided to this cohort are meaningful and enduring.

In recognition of the diversity of homelessness experience, public policy has focused on a range of responses to support young people experiencing homelessness; one of the most recent of these has been the development of YHMs. Due to the relative newness of YHMs there is limited research into not only their effectiveness but also the ramifications of YHMs on young people's experience of citizenship.

As I establish in **Chapter One**, current literature demonstrates that young people who become homeless often experience weeks, months, and even years of ongoing and unpredictable housing instability before they connect with 'official' homelessness services. Both structural and individual factors are attributable to the causes of youth homelessness, including contact with government services, poverty, lack of affordable housing, family breakdown, and personal circumstances[21]. Despite these varying factors, the trauma and stigma associated with homelessness significantly impact on how a young person forms their identity and feels about their value as a citizen in Australian society.

The implications of this current literature play an important role in establishing the best form of intervention to support these young people. However, practice at a service level is heavily influenced by both Federal and State Government public policy decisions. Underlying both the Federal and State housing and homelessness policies is a Social Inclusion agenda. This framework helps to set the agenda of how assistance is targeted and the expectations of both service providers and users. Ultimately, the social inclusion framework continues Australian public policy's long history of defining what it means to be a 'good citizen' in Australia.

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[21] Personal circumstances are divided here into family support; being of Aboriginal and Torres Strait Islander origin or of a Cultural and Linguistically Diverse Background; gender; those identifying as LGBTIQ; mental health issues, and/or substance abuse and age.

As shown in **Chapter Two***,* Australian public policy has had a considerable impact on current understandings of citizenship. I adopted citizenship theory here as a 'theoretical map' to navigate the reality of what is expected of a young person in modern Australian society, and explore the way that YHMs promote or downplay normative ideals of citizenship. Since the Harvester Judgment of 1907, Australian public policy has continued to define citizenship in a way that associates being a 'good citizen' with that of a full-time worker who survives independently of government services. In defining citizens by their connections to employment, those outside the labour market (for instance, full-time carers, young people and the disabled) consequently become 'lesser' citizens. Accordingly, there is also an over-emphasis on individual responsibilities without recognition of the role played by structural factors such as family, class, gender, race, education, the labour market and access to non-welfare related public policy. Guided by the scholarship of Ruth Lister and Iris Marion Young, this research goes beyond structural and institutional definitions of citizenship, to focus specifically on citizenship and identity.

As outlined in **Chapter Three***,* I assist in addressing this gap in knowledge on YHMs through an analysis of five South Australian based YHMs. I then go on to define the methodology that underlies the implementation of this research by explaining the decision-making process surrounding the inclusion of each YHM in the research, the specific qualitative and quantitative methods used to examine the efficacy of YHMs, and a reflexive analysis of the overall implementation of the research. In the final element of the chapter I focus on the specific characteristics of undertaking research with young people who experience homelessness. These characteristics included the associated ethical considerations, the impact of my own insider/outsider status and the necessary way the research methodology and methods adapted to a changing research environment.

In **Chapter Four,** I analyse the dimensions and circumstances of the YHM residents, taking into account the young person's biographies and demographic background. By recognising the young person's history it is then possible to improve the understanding of what actual supports the young person needs to successfully transition out of the YHM. It is also an opportunity to reflect on the match between the realities for the young person and the expectations of the services.

From the interviews with the young people, what became clear is that whatever the initial situation leading the young person to reside in the YHM, each young person has a complex

history that continues to impact their current situation. The young people spoke of disconnection from family, experiences of trauma and the ongoing ramifications of disruption to their education and employment opportunities. Therefore, while each young person brought with them a myriad of strengths and capabilities it is important for services to understand and respond to the potential trauma that the young person also carries.

In **Chapter Five** I explore the YHMs' ability to provide a sense of home both at a structural level and within the local community. Beginning with a review of what each YHM provides, I then investigate how the young person initially felt about the YHM, the material elements of what assists them to feel more 'at home', and how they manage feelings of isolation and a sense of safety. In the second part of **Chapter Five** I focus on the role of the community and location, particularly on how the YHMs' location impacts on whether the young person feels a part of the local community. Factors that impact on the young person feeling 'at home' within the community predominantly revolve around access to amenities and supports, the community demographics and how safe the young person feels.

In **Chapter Six** I investigate four major elements – the YHM's ability to promote healthy relationships, the way they support the young person to develop practical living skills, connections to education and employment and finally, how they foster leadership in the young person. These areas of development are where YHMs go beyond being 'a roof over their head'. First, in regards to building relationships, the need for YHMs to promote interdependence and encourage the young person to seek assistance when needed is important. Second, practical living skills reflect the need for the young person to have a skill set they can take with them once they leave the YHM. Third, the challenges of supporting a young person to not just get a job but sustainable and meaningful employment that reduces the potential for financial crises in the future. Finally, in focusing on developing the leadership capabilities of the young residents, the YHMs support the young person from beyond being a 'service recipient' to being an active agent of change within their community. The most common way to develop these leadership skills is through providing the young person with an opportunity to have active input into the type of services that the YHMs provide. By developing these three elements, the YHMs provide the young person with the best opportunities for success when they leave the YHM.

In the final discussion chapter, **Chapter Seven,** I examine how successfully the YHMs prepare the young people interviewed for the realities they face when it comes time to depart the YHM and how these realities match with their aspirations. I provide analysis of the drawing activity

in which each young person visually presents their ideal home. Predominantly these visions of home evoke normative concepts of a safe place for themselves and the people they care about. I then demonstrate the challenges between the young person's aspirations and the realities of housing options once they leave the YHM. I highlight four case studies that illustrate the housing options of the young people who had, or were about to leave, the YHM. The accessibility of these housing options has significant implications for the young person and their ability to remain engaged socially and economically with the larger community. This chapter also highlights the potential risk that YHMs may only be another stop-gap in insecure tenures and ongoing instability.

Finally, in **Chapter Eight** I provide specific recommendations about how to continue to enhance the use of YHMs within the community. These recommendations are broken up into four main areas. First, the need for a clear match between the young person targeted to reside in the YHM and the resources required to provide the necessary support. Second, the need for YHMs to help create a 'home' by providing consistent material support, a safe environment and encouraging a sense of community both at a structural and locational level. Third, a range of practical suggestions for how services can assist the young person to build relationships, develop their practical independent living skills, engage with education and employment as well as foster opportunities to cultivate their voice. Fourth, the need for YHMs to extend tenancies from one year to a minimum of two, in recognition of the structural challenges the young people face in finding affordable housing and stable employment. I also highlight the need for a minimum of three months transition support for the young person upon leaving the YHM.

In conclusion, the development of YHMs has had varying levels of success. There is evidence the underlying public policy that promotes an active and passive citizenship dichotomy infiltrates the philosophies and goals of the YHMs and the young people themselves. In some cases this results in an over emphasis on the young person's responsibility to make 'good choices' without recognition that the choices available are limited and not skewed in the young person's favour. In these cases the ability for YHMs to provide a comprehensive, supportive environment for the young person until they are ready to move on may become a band-aid solution that provides the young person a brief oasis before moving onto future instability.

In more positive cases, the YHMs create an opportunity for the young person to not only develop their independent living skills, but also to set the parameters of how a person is

valued within society and what support they need to achieve their goals. This allows the young person to build skills to manage turbulent times and advocate for their own supports.

The YHMs have a unique opportunity not only to support a young person in their housing and economic goals, but also to provide an opportunity for the young person to actively tailor services to meet their needs. By taking this approach there is the opportunity to shift away from the young person moving from crisis to crisis and instead result in greater outcomes for the young person as well as the community as a whole.

APPENDIX A – Information Sheet for Interview Participants

Discipline of Gender Work and Social Inquiry
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Sharyn Goudie
PhD Candidate

Level 5 Ligertwood Building
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
SA 5005
AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE +61 8 83033743
FACSIMILE +61 8 83033345
E: Sharyn.Goudie@adelaide.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

Information Sheet for [Housing Model] Interview Participants

Purpose of the study

The study, titled *Creating better pathways for young people experiencing homelessness through sustainable accommodation and support program models*, aims to investigate, measure and evaluate the effectiveness of accommodation models and support programs for young people who have experienced homelessness and are moving into independent living.

What does this mean for you?

The study will include interviews with young people at different housing models across metropolitan Adelaide, as well as focus groups with services and local community members.

If you agree to participate you will be invited to talk about how you came to access [housing model] and of your experiences while living there.

Will your information be kept private?

All interviews will be audio tape recorded and they will be stored securely at the University of Adelaide. Information that you provide in interviews will not be discussed with [housing model] or any of your support workers without your permission. To ensure confidentiality when referred to in the study all participants will be given another name.

How will this help you?

This study is about ensuring that youth housing models are designed to benefit young people who have had experiences like yourself. The study will be finalised in 2013 and it aims to make a difference to long term future policy changes.

What if you decide you don't want to be a part of the study anymore?

You can change your mind about being a part of the study any time up to three months after your interview. If you decide to withdraw from the study, any information you have already provided will not be used in the study and will be destroyed.

Who can you talk to if you have concerns about the study?

If at any time you feel unhappy or concerned about your participation in the study you can speak directly with the Project Co-ordinator, Dr Susan Oakley on (08) 8303 3352 or e-mail susan.oakley@adelaide.edu.au. Otherwise, if you want to speak to someone not directly related to the project you can contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary on (08) 8303 6028.

Is there anyone else you can talk to?

If you feel you can't talk to the researcher or your support worker you can call:

Child and Youth Health Youth Healthline 1300 13 17 19

Lifeline 13 11 14

Crisis Care 13 16

APPENDIX B – Information Sheet for Services

Level 5 Ligertwood Building
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
SA 5005
AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE +61 8 83033743
FACSIMILE +61 8 83033345
E: Sharyn.Goudie@adelaide.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

Information Sheet for [Housing Model]

Thank you for agreeing to participate in the study titled *Creating better pathways for young people experiencing homelessness through sustainable accommodation and support program models.* The aim is to investigate, measure and evaluate the effectiveness of accommodation models and support programs that assist young people experiencing homelessness move into independent living. The project is a joint initiative of the University of Adelaide and SYC.

The objectives of the study are to:

- Critically evaluate and add new insight into youth housing models and their ability to engage young people who have experienced homelessness in the wider community, employment, education and training.
- Assess the effectiveness of youth housing models to address new national homelessness priorities;
- Develop an evaluation tool to measure the effectiveness of four accommodation projects located in different socio-economic areas and provide critical information to communities;

The four models that will be examined are run by three different organisations/co-operatives, and include *SYC HYPA Housing Adelaide, SYC HYPA Housing Smithfield, Ladder St Vincent St,* and *The White House*.

The support that is being requested of participating services is:

- Collaboration with the researcher to provide an information session to residents at each of the services about the research;
- Recruitment of residents to complete interviews and support to participants to understand their rights when participating in the study;

- Space for the researcher to spend time at each of the services to facilitate the engagement with young people (approximately a morning/afternoon a week for 8 weeks);
- A safe, confidential space for the researcher to meet with young people to complete interviews;
- Identification of a support person/worker to debrief with participants if they request this; and
- Identification of potential focus group participants.

This study has received ethics approval from the University of Adelaide Human Research Ethics Committee (HREC). If you want to speak to anyone directly about the study you can contact the Project Co-ordinator, Dr Susan Oakley on (08) 8303 3352 or e-mail susan.oakley@adelaide.edu.au.

APPENDIX C – Information Sheet for Focus Group Participants

Discipline of Gender Work and Social Inquiry
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Sharyn Goudie
PhD Candidate

Level 5 Ligertwood Building
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
SA 5005
AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE +61 8 83033743
FACSIMILE +61 8 83033345
E: Sharyn.Goudie@adelaide.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

Information Sheet for [Local Government Area] Focus Group Participants

Purpose of the study

The study, titled *Creating better pathways for young people experiencing homelessness through sustainable accommodation and support program models*, aims to investigate, measure and evaluate the effectiveness of accommodation models and support programs for young people who have experienced homelessness and are moving into independent living.

What does this mean for you?

The study will include interviews with young people at different housing models across metropolitan Adelaide, as well as focus groups with services and local community members. If you agree to participate in the focus groups you will be invited with 6 – 8 other people from [local government area] to discuss your experiences of [housing model]. The focus group will take approximately two hours.

Confidentiality

All focus groups will be audio taped and they will be stored securely at the University of Adelaide. All information from focus groups will remain confidential. You will be given a pseudonym to ensure confidentiality.

What are the benefits of the study?

This study is about ensuring that youth housing models are designed in a way that benefits young people and their local community. The study will be finalised in 2013 and it aims to make a difference to future policy changes.

Right to withdraw from the study

You can change your mind about being a part of the study up to three months after the focus group. If you decide to withdraw from the study, any information you have already provided will not be used and will be destroyed.

Concerns and Feedback

If at any time you feel unhappy or concerned about your participation in the study you can contact the Project Co-ordinator, Dr Susan Oakley on (08) 8303 3352 or e-mail susan.oakley@adelaide.edu.au. Otherwise, if you want to speak to someone not directly related to the project you can contact the Human Research Ethics Committee's Secretary on (08) 8303 6028.

APPENDIX D – Interview Schedule

Age: ______

Sex: ☐ Female ☐ Male

Race/Ethnicity: ____

When did you move into HYPA Housing Adelaide? ________________________ (month, year)

How did you find out about HYPA Housing Adelaide?

☐ Housing SA ☐ Families SA ☐ Community Organisation/NGO

☐ Friends/Family ☐ School ☐ Other ______________________________

What is important to you?

Out of the following list, rank the top three things that you feel are important to you. Place a 1, 2, and 3 next to your three most important issues and leave the others blank.

Issue	**Rank**
Family Relationships	
Friendships	
Physical Wellbeing	
School or Work Satisfaction	
Mental Health	
Being Independent	
Spirituality/Faith	
Financial Security	
Making a Difference in the Community	

This list of issues is adapted from Mission Australia's Annual Youth Survey

Interview Guide:

- ***Experience:***
  - Is this your first experience of living in this type of accommodation?
  - What was happening for you in the lead up to you coming to HYPA Housing Adelaide?
  - How would you describe your situation? Would you see yourself as homeless, couch surfing or inbetween places?
- ***Accommodation:***
  - What do you think about HYPA Housing Adelaide?
  - Can you describe your unit to me?
  - How long did it take you to settle into the unit
  - What aspects of HYPA Housing Adelaide do you like?
  - What aspects of HYPA Housing Adelaide do you not like as much?
  - If you could make changes to HYPA Housing Adelaide, what would you like to see?
- ***Relationships:***
  - Have you met anyone at HYPA Housing Adelaide that you have become friends with? Who and Why?
- ***Tasks:***
  - What type of rules or tasks do you have to complete as part of staying here?
  - Are their rules relating to drugs and alcohol?
  - How are these tasks divvied out between you and other people living here? Does this work?
  - What tasks do you like doing?
  - What tasks do you not like doing?
  - What things would you like to do that you don't currently get to?
- ***Education and Training:***
  - What education, training or work are you currently involved in?
  - What are the good things about being involved in this?
  - What are the not good things about being involved in this?
  - What things would you prefer to be doing?

- ***Services:***
  - What services are you accessing here?
  - What are the good things about these services?
  - What are the not good things about these services?
  - What services would you like, that you can't currently get?
  - Has living in HYPA Housing Adelaide made it easier or more difficult to manage your money?
- ***Support Systems and Mentoring:***
  - Who has been your main support in the past? How were they supportive?
  - Who are your current supports? How do they provide support to you?
  - Would you say you have been able to stay in contact with your previous friends, home, family and supports since moving here?
  - Is it important to have your friends/family welcome here?
  - What sort of additional support or mentoring would you like?
- ***Local Area:***
  - What is there to access in the local area?
  - If you have moved out of your local area to live here, what are some of the similarities to where you used to live?
  - What are some of the differences to your previous local community?
  - Have you had a chance to meet people in the local area who aren't connected to HYPA Housing Adelaide?
  - Have you gotten involved in any local services? Sports? Activities?
  - What would you like to have available in the local area that you currently don't have?
  - How long do you hope to stay here?
- ***Citizenship:***
  - A lot of current government policies talk about 'social inclusion'. What does 'social inclusion' mean to you?
  - Where do you hope to be in five years time?
  - Lets have a look at the picture of the type of housing that you see yourself in? What about the local community that you would be living in, what would that look like?

APPENDIX E – Focus Group Interview Schedule

Admin: Young people sign consent forms

Introduction: (5 mins)
Introduce myself and housekeeping (bathrooms, breaks, food and drinks), purpose of the session and how the session will run (recording of session, activities)

Introductory Question: (5 mins)
Get everyone to say their name, how long they have been living in HHA and their favourite thing to do/hobby

HYPA Housing Adelaide (15 mins)
- What was everyone's first impression of the housing
- Are their things the housing offers that you don't think you could get elsewhere?
- What are the drawbacks of living in HHA?
- If you could make this housing model perfect, how would that happen? what do they think is missing, could still be improved?
- When your housing became unstable was there anything that you weren't able to do anymore, had to stop doing?
- What things have you being able to start doing again since you moved into HHA?
- What thinks do you still want to do but haven't been able to yet? What do you think is standing in your way?
- What had you/do you hope HHA will be able to offer you to get you where you want to go?

Living Independently (15 mins)
- What they think it means to live independently and their self assessed preparedness for this
- What are things you think about when living independently (write up on butcher's paper and explore)
- What are the things you needed most help with when living independently for the first time?
- How have the services helped you with these?
- When do you know you are being successful at living independently?
    - what skills do you need to have?
    - What skills can you learn as you go and what do you need to know before you move out
- Describe the way you would have liked to move out of home for the first time – how had you imagined it? What would you have? Who would provide it for you? How old would you have been?

Community (15 mins)
- Living in HHA, how have you linked in with the local community?
- Does it make a difference living in Adelaide, compared to if the housing was located somewhere else?
- Does it make a difference located where it is in the city (off Whitmore Square) compared to somewhere else in the city?)
- Raise of hands what people think is more important with community - location or people? Why
- What's more important, having access to the internet/social media or feeling like you can knock on your neighbours door? How much can you have community using social media?
- What do you think it means to be a good neighbour?

- When you imagine your perfect neighbourhood, what do you have around you?
- What do you think would have to happen for that neighbourhood to exist in the real world?

5 Min BREAK

Values Exercise: (10 mins)

- Selection of values written up (using either values in original survey or selection of values via motivational interviewing tool)
- Young people to get up and put stickers next to how they feel about values:
    - gold - very important to me,
    - silver – important to me
    - green – not important to me.
- Discussion about why people put stickers where and if there are any values missing.
- how do you follow these values in everyday life?
- Where did you learn these values?
- Where would you hope those values were taught, how would you like to see everyone have those values?

Role Models (10 mins)

- Who in the community (either friends, family or celebrity) displays those values to them?
- What is it about this person/people
- What doesn't make a role model? Can they think of an example?
- Do you think of yourselves as role models for other people, how do you do this and how do you show this?

IDEA: Cut out images of different people in the public realm and get young people's opinion of them

Mentors (10 mins)

- What is the difference for you between a role model and a mentor?
- Do you currently have a mentor or has anyone had a mentor before (either informal or formal)?
- If they could have any mentor:
    - What would they look like
    - What would they most like to do with them?
    - How often and how long would they like to meet with them?
    - What would they want to feel like at the end of these meetings?

Future Aspirations (10 mins)

- Where do you hope to be in one year – Home, Employment/Education, Relationships,
- Look more deeply at future aspirations then break down what they think they would need to do to achieve these aspirations
    - what is standing in their way,
    - what are they currently actively doing to get there,
    - what is the realistic potential for this aspiration to become a reality
- In an ideal world where would be your next house and how would it look?

APPENDIX F –Interview Consent

Wrap Up, Thanks, Hand out Gift Cards

Discipline of Gender Work and Social Inquiry
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Sharyn Goudie
PhD Candidate

Level 5 Ligertwood Building
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
SA 5005
AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE +61 8 83033743
FACSIMILE +61 8 83033345
E: Sharyn.Goudie@adelaide.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

STANDARD CONSENT FORM
FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE PARTICIPANTS IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

1. I, …………………………………………………………… (please print name)

   consent to take part in the research project entitled:

Creating better pathways for young people experiencing homelessness through sustainable accommodation and support program models

2. I acknowledge that I have read the attached Information Sheet entitled:

Information Sheet for [Housing Model] Interview Participants

3. I have had the project fully explained to me by the research worker. My consent is given freely.

4. I have been given the opportunity to have a friend, support worker or relative present while the project was explained to me.

5. I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.

6. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project and that this will not affect my tenancy, support or future housing options.

7. I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.

8. I am aware that I will receive a gift voucher for participating in the above titled study

………………………………………………… ....

(signature) (date)

APPENDIX G –Interview Consent for Minors

Discipline of Gender Work and Social Inquiry
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Sharyn Goudie
PhD Candidate

Level 5 Ligertwood Building
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
SA 5005
AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE +61 8 83033743
FACSIMILE +61 8 83033345
E: Sharyn.Goudie@adelaide.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

STANDARD CONSENT FORM

FOR MINORS WHO ARE PARTICIPANTS IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

To be completed by Parent or Guardian

1. I .... (please print name)

   consent to allow .... (please print name)

   to take part in the research project entitled:

Creating better pathways for young people experiencing homelessness through sustainable accommodation and support program models

2. I acknowledge that I have read the attached Information Sheet entitled:

Information Sheet for [Housing Model] Interview Participants

3. I have had the project as far as it affects .... (name) fully explained to me by the research worker. My consent is given freely.

IN ADDITION I ACKNOWLEDGE THE FOLLOWING ON BEHALF OF

.... (name)

4. I have been given the opportunity to have his/her friend, support worker or relative present while the project was explained to me.

5. I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, she/he will not be identified and their personal results will remain confidential.

6. I understand that she/he is free to withdraw from the project and that this will not affect their tenancy, support or future housing options.

7. I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.

8. I am aware that she/he will receive a gift voucher for participating in the above titled study

………………………………………………… (Parent/Guardian) ....
(signature) (date)

APPENDIX H –Focus Group Consent

Discipline of Gender Work and Social Inquiry
School of Social Sciences
Faculty of Humanities and Social Sciences

Sharyn Goudie
PhD Candidate

Level 5 Ligertwood Building
THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE
SA 5005
AUSTRALIA

TELEPHONE +61 8 83033743
FACSIMILE +61 8 83033345
E: Sharyn.Goudie@adelaide.edu.au
CRICOS Provider Number 00123M

THE UNIVERSITY OF ADELAIDE HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE

STANDARD CONSENT FORM
FOR PEOPLE WHO ARE PARTICIPANTS IN A RESEARCH PROJECT

1. I, ………………………………………………………… (please print name)

consent to take part in the research project entitled:

Creating better pathways for young people experiencing homelessness through sustainable accommodation and support program models

2. I acknowledge that I have read the attached Information Sheet entitled:
Information Sheet for [Local Government Area] Focus Group Participants

3. I have had the project fully explained to me by the research worker. My consent is given freely.

4. I have been given the opportunity to have a friend, support worker or relative present while the project was explained to me.

5. I have been informed that, while information gained during the study may be published, I will not be identified and my personal results will remain confidential.

6. I understand that I am free to withdraw from the project without negative repercussions.

7. I am aware that I should retain a copy of this Consent Form, when completed, and the attached Information Sheet.

………………………………………………… ....

(signature) (date)

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