STANDING IN THE SHADOWS

Faith, Homelessness and Troubled Lives.

Raelton Gibbs

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'Once I saw what people really think of wisdom. It happened when a powerful ruler surrounded and attacked a small city where only a few people lived. The enemy army was getting ready to break through the city walls. But the city was saved by the wisdom of a poor person who was soon forgotten. So I decided that wisdom is better than strength. Yet if you are poor, no one pays any attention to you, no matter how clever you are' Ecclesiastes 9:13-16 (2000).

THE AUTHOR.

Raelton originally trained as a nurse at London's Charing Cross Hospital. In 1982 he entered The Salvation Army's International Training College and has been a Salvation Army Officer since being commissioned in 1984. During the last 27 years he has worked within the Social Work of the organisation and extensively in the field of homelessness. His front line experience includes managing centres for single homeless men in Sheffield, London, Kingston upon Hull, Leeds and Darlington. In 1996 he was appointed to the middle management of the organisation taking up a position giving him responsibility for all the social work in the South East of England. In 2001, Raelton moved to the Territorial Headquarters of The Salvation Army as the Homelessness Services Officer, being responsible to the leadership of the organisation for all its homeless work in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. In 2008 following a restructuring of the service he became the Assistant Director of Homeless services before taking up his current appointment at the International Headquarters working in the International Emergency Services Department.

ABSTRACT.

This research studies five homeless people's experience focusing on two key research questions - what is the place of faith and a faith based organisation in the lives and minds of people using the service and what does an in depth analysis of the emotional biographies of a group of homeless people tell us about the psychic, material and spiritual needs that they bring to the centre?

Each person interviewed was of no faith or a different faith to the host organisation. Using Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method and Grounded Theory the research generated in depth insights into the life experiences of some of the most vulnerable in our society, giving them a voice.

Based on a single narrative seeking question, the interviews disclose long histories of personal and social suffering, and a connection between those histories and peoples' pathways into homelessness, both external and internal. There are traumatised people for whom literal homelessness is not the outcome, but the path into homelessness for all the research subjects suggests a typical picture of people balanced on a knife-edge between a number of sets of pairings including meaning and meaningless, hope and despair and life and death. To aid understanding I think of these subjects as distributed along a spectrum, with some occupying positions closer to hopelessness, despair or suicide, and some in more hopeful or connected states. All of this is both what brings people to the host organisation, and what they bring into that organisation.

The research findings enable better understanding of key issues affecting homeless people not only for faith-based organisations but for all that work with social exclusion and homelessness. Noting the occurrence of similar emerging issues over each of the case studies what begins to emerge are a number of implications for practice. These

include the importance of developing meaningful relationships; the need to meet service users higher needs particularly spirituality from the point of admission, the importance of a full knowledge of the housed history, the importance of giving the opportunity to explore important life issues and to be listened to.

A possible implication of the research undertaken relates to the organisation itself. The way the organisation does or does not respond, introducing the notion that it operates defences against anxiety and pain drawing on its own theological dogma, an ideology that functions as a defence against being over whelmed. The organisation's position within the homelessness field is also considered. Finally there are the defences towards the inner projections of the residents. It is how the organisation responds to these elements that the research suggests assists or hinders the progress of the homeless person's route out of homelessness.

DECLARATION.

This work has not previously been accepted in substance for any degree and is not being concurrently submitted in candidature for any degree.

Signed……………………………………………………. (Candidate)
Date……………………………………………………….

STATEMENT 1:
This thesis is being submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Professional Doctorate in Social Work.

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This thesis is the result of my own independent work / investigation, except where otherwise stated. Other sources are acknowledged by footnotes giving explicit references.

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STANDING IN THE SHADOWS

Faith, Homelessness and Troubled Lives.

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION TO THE THESIS.

1:1. INTRODUCTION.

To experience homelessness is a life event that is undesirable and connected with many negative connotations. In many ways it is a social leveller as it can happen to all, from labourer to barrister. Everybody is only a life event away from experiencing a downward spiral that could leave them without a home.

I begin the chapter by introducing the focus of the research topic. In the second part of the chapter I discuss my rationale for undertaking the research outlining the aims of the thesis and how these developed from the original proposal to the final research questions. This is followed by an overall plan of the thesis to enable the reader to navigate the document. In the final section of the chapter I present my personal interest and involvement in the subject and express something of my personal journey with the research.

The focus of this study is people who have experienced homelessness and who were participating in the programme of a faith-based organisation who were of no faith or a different faith to the host organisation. The two key research questions that drove the study were – what is the place of faith and faith based organisation in the lives and minds of people using the service? What does an in depth analysis of the emotional biographies of a group of homeless people tell us about the psychic, material and spiritual needs that they bring to the centre? This research is significant because of its detailed description and depth of insight into the life experiences of those individuals interviewed. It gives some of the most vulnerable in our society that are often silenced, a voice that is heard. The research is original in that it explores in an in-depth way, the lives and stories of homeless people enabling those that participated to make an original contribution by

fostering action to be taken in organisational thinking; policy and practice, for example the importance of staff giving time and space to listen, enabling the homeless person to begin to understand and work through deep issues that are preventing them returning to society. The need to debate and understand the issues raised by the research is important and the findings can improve our understanding of key issues affecting the design and delivery of programmes not only for faith based organisations but for all that are working with social exclusion and homelessness.

The organisation where the research took place is one of the largest providers of social welfare in the United Kingdom and Republic of Ireland being the largest provider of accommodation for homeless people with fifty five hostels offering in excess of 3200 beds each night. Within Central London it operates 8 residential centres offering 500 beds each night.

1:2. THE AIMS OF THE THESIS.

I began this research project with a broad understanding of the area that I wanted to study and how I was going to achieve this. I was particularly interested in exploring how far a faith based homeless organisation's programme had evolved in response to the changing role of faith in society. Had its response to faith changed and if it had, were those service users not of the organisation's core faith responding to the programme? I wanted to capture the experiences of people of different faiths and their perceptions, but by allowing them to tell their story. Questions about organisational, relationships and defences, living and working with difference and diversity, faith and spirituality all formed the foundation of this original research project. I was clear I wanted to achieve this by allowing the homeless themselves to tell of their experience, their story. The service users' views as the basis of this research was paramount. One original aim was to create a space where the views of those in society who do not normally contribute,

because they are unable to or do not have the opportunity to participate, will have the opportunity to be listened to in depth.

The process of listening to the homeless people I interviewed and trying to answer some of the original questions posed, led me to narrow the broad range of questions, and focus on two specific questions.

What does an in depth analysis of the emotional biographies of a group of homeless people tell us about the psychic, material and spiritual needs that they bring to the centre?

What is the place of faith and faith based organisation in the lives and minds of people using the service?

I also began to critically reflect, using psychodynamic ideas and theories, as to why it might be that the organisation itself had been unable to hear these stories, and to consider how far the organisation was able to meet the full range of needs of the service users. Thus these revised questions emerged in the course of a preliminary analysis of the data. I did not set out to explore the organisational context but this is an important implication to emerge from my research.

Throughout the research I have attempted to remain sensitive to the data (Charmez, 2003) and so faithful to the central aims of the research. The source of motivation for this project comes out of my experience of working in the field for many years. I acknowledge that I have spent my life working within the organisation and the project is driven by a critical stance in relation to that organisation. This stance is not judgemental, but a questioning stance sharpened by my social work training influenced by psychoanalytical ideas. In qualitative research, it is important to use our ability to reflect, contemplate, and value our personal experiences that arise during the project (Schmidt, 2005). During the research I used my considerable experience of

working with homeless people and what I may have sensed, known or seen to be beneath the surface of the data has been offered to assist interpret what the interview data has revealed. I come from a faith based position, but this is an open and questioning position in which questions about spirituality and meaning have been difficult for me. Linked with this, my therapeutic training continues to pose difficult questions for me and challenge my thinking. This is particularly in the areas of how faith and spirituality is offered, and responses to homeless clients in terms of what they bring to a centre and how this is handled It has not quite been a death and rebirth experience but it has allowed space for new ideas to be born and given me the opportunity to examine what I felt and knew. Who I am has influenced the research and how it has been approached. My experience and own work have been drawn upon but throughout every effort has been made to ensure that the various threads of understanding and learning remain true to the story that the homeless people wanted to tell. I now move on to discuss the outline of the thesis.

1:3. THE PLAN OF THE THESIS.

Chapter two offers the reader an insight into some background factors that will be useful to understand the organisation and the programme when reading this research. It gives an overview of the Christian roots of social work and looks briefly at the Christian Church's involvement in social services. This is followed by a brief history of the organisation at the centre of the research. I then attempt to provide an understanding of what a Christian based programme is and finally explore the notion of 'holistic theology' which is the underlying framework upon which the programme is based.

The literature review in chapter three aims to link the research with the existing state of knowledge in this field. I undertake a critical overview of current literature in order to contextualise the emerging

research questions in this research. I begin by defining homelessness, albeit a contentious notion, and then I briefly explore Government policy towards the homeless, and include some current statistical information around homelessness in Britain. I review pathways into homelessness and the effects of homelessness before finishing with a look at religion and spirituality and faith-based services in a secular multi-faith based society. By exploring this particular material I hope to identify some of the key works and information in this area and position my work in a context.

Chapter Four explores the methodology and methods utilised in this research project. I detail the general methodological design that guided this research, alongside a brief overview of the main philosophical tenets of qualitative research design. I then detail the particular design used and explore the methods employed. In this case, I utilised an in-depth, case study approach, adapting the BNIM approach, to meet the particular needs of the respondents, in this case, five homeless people. The chapter also provides an understanding of the ethical and methodological challenges and the strategies used to overcome these.

The next three chapters explore the data collected in the research.
In chapter five I introduce the five participants and give a summary of each interview outlining the main themes that emerged during the analysis of the data. Then in chapter six I attempt to bring together the main themes that emerged from each interview. In a discussion I reflect upon what has emerged to suggest what those interviewed implicitly want to 'say' both to the organisation and the whole of society.
I then critically consider the implications of the findings for the organisation itself and offer an analysis, using psychodynamic theory, as to what might be happening.

I conclude the thesis by arguing that no matter what the service user's faith, or whether they have a faith or not, the deep structure of their

attachment to this particular faith based organisation may be associated with a need to make sense of basic human needs shared by all the subjects, implying a deeper perspective than any particular faith-based position. The existential human needs involved speak, no matter whether they have a faith or not. I explore hope and hopelessness and in the depth of their despair hope still comes through and thus gives a mandate for organisations to work with all homeless people. The chapter finishes by exploring life within the centre and organisational realities. The final chapters offers some way forward in light of the findings and suggests there is a need for faith based organisations and and the homelessness sector as a whole to consider what the interviewees have highlighted.

1:4. PERSONAL REVELATION.

This has been a significant time in both my professional and personal development. It has been a journey that has challenged me intellectually, emotionally and even spiritually. It has been a bold journey, having engaged with the intensive therapeutic orientated training at the Tavistock and Portman Trust that has taken me to engage with the work of Freud, Klein, Bion and others within psychoanalysis which is somewhat counter cultural to the host organisation that employs me. As I read Freud for example, his attitude was hostile to religion believing that religious doctrines are all illusions (Szasz, 1978) and Klein was indifferent to religion though not opposed to it (Symington and Symington, 1996). This has led me to think deeply about things in a way I believe, which might be at odds with the culture, beliefs and practices of the host organisation previously has. I now find myself in a position where I would like this organisation in particular but also others in the homeless sector to critically evaluate themselves in the light of the findings of this research, to evaluate how they respond to the homeless people of whatever faith referred to them and help them recognise the potential listening to homeless people's stories has for an organisation in terms

of; how services are delivered, how organisational defences might impact adversely on service users and how this may assist an individual to be better able to progress out of homelessness. This therefore is not just my journey; it is about a journey I have undertaken from within an organisational role, which potentially could have a transformational impact on how the whole organisation thinks and practices. This has been a distinctive and definite bid to deepen the mission of the organisation. My desire has been to extend and expand its effectiveness in the field of homelessness. This I acknowledge is not a simple task, and to achieve what I am proposing is a major transformation. However I have put many years of work into establishing a solid foundation for presenting the findings of this research from a position of understanding and knowledge of both the organisation and homelessness sector.

The host organisation funded the research and so it was important to undertake research that will aid the organisation in its policy development. Added to this my personal interest, values and close acquaintance with the research topic, all are sources of motivation for this work. There have been the challenges arising from what could be termed insider research, battling with personal bias, role boundaries, subjectivity and confidentiality. I have had to question my own anxieties and defences and look again at my attitude towards how I work with those from other religions which until I started this project, I thought I had resolved. Balancing these challenges was the opportunity to step outside an organisation that I have had a life long association with and trying to take a look objectively through the eyes of people whose opportunity to contribute is non-existent. Undertaking this research project has given me a unique opportunity to critically consider my own values and practice. In particular, the use of psychodynamic frameworks has given me a chance to consider how I thought about inter-faith relations, why situations occurred and mine and other staffs' responses to them and to relook at the rights of the service user. I have also been able to reflect on how I understand the

faith needs of service users who may not be Christians, or indeed, may be agnostic.

One of the outcomes of this research is my personal growth both as a researcher and a practitioner. Through this time I have developed a depth in my practice and thinking that has added another dimension. This I have been able to transfer to areas of work outside of homelessness, whether with internally displaced people (IDP's) returning to their villages having experienced war in the Democratic Republic of Congo or to those made homeless by the serious floods in Pakistan the knowledge and experiences have been invaluable.

The overall reward for me personally is to have been afforded the opportunity to listen in-depth to those that have not been listened to in this way before, and their openness in taking the opportunity to use the time so productively. I have worked in the field for over twenty years and I have been amazed at the content of the interviews and ashamed that I haven't taken the time to sit down and listen to people in this depth. If I had done so, then I would have done so much better. Giving people with no voice the opportunity to have a voice has been very fulfilling and again being reminded that all people are worth listening to, and these interviews have given an insight not only into their world but my own too.

CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND.

2:1. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter outlines the background to the present study starting with an overview of the Christian roots of social work, both historically and contemporarily, and the theological importance of the Church's involvement in social services. It then gives a sketch of the organisational context within which the research took place. Drawing on existing literature from both within and outside the organisation the chapter goes on to discuss the historical context and motivation of the host organisation including what is a Christian based programme, and a historical perspective of the programme offered by the host organisation. It is clearly imperative to undertake such an exploration as it provides the necessary contextual background for my study, which as aforementioned, focuses on the experiences of homeless people from other faiths or with no faith to this specific Christian based programme.

2:2. AN OVERVIEW OF THE CHRISTIAN ROOTS OF SOCIAL WORK.

Christianity is a neglected element of the historical origins of social work in Britain (Bowpitt, 1998). This section explores the Christian Church's involvement in social work to argue the significant role it played in social work's development. It is also important to discuss the role of Christian (faith-based) charity within the welfare sector in this country to give political and policy contextualisation and begin to tease out their strengths and weaknesses. This begins to bring together elements that give an understanding of the host organisation and some of the issues that this research is looking to begin to understand.

The legal development of the welfare state can be traced back to the early 1600's when a culmination of attempts to manage a growing

concern for the increasing poverty resulted in the 1601 Elizabethan Poor Law. This was not only a response to economic and social circumstances, but 'designed to reform the poor as much as relieve poverty' (Slack, 1990). The Poor Law responded to economic and population pressures, but also to the new expectations of the population about what could and should be done by governments for the poor, inspired by humanism, Protestantism and / or Puritanism. It was also in response to the government's political ambition to control its subjects. The developments of this time have been influential in shaping some institutions of government and determining people's expectations and assumptions about social welfare (Slack, 1990) and over time did enable government to begin to put in place large scale administration systems to deal with mass poverty, giving the capacity to introduce a large welfare system.

In 1795 as a response particularly to rural poverty in southern England the Speenhamland system was introduced. This is the first time the concept of a guaranteed income has been used. This allowed those able to work but whose income was not enough to gain some support. Based on the current price of bread defined necessary to feed a man and his family, the difference was paid from taxes. This introduced support based on income rather than merit. This is seen by many as relief generosity at its peak (Boyer, 1990) but had the negative effect of creating dependency, depressed wages and dampened incentive (Baugh, 1975). By artificially reducing the cost of having children these laws increased the rate of population growth (Boyer, 1990) and so during this time the number of people dependent on the parishes quadrupled. This cycle was left unchecked until the introduction of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act which replaced the legislation of the previous half century. The central objective was the withdrawal of poor relief from men judged as capable of work and so reintroduced the concept of deserving and undeserving poor. Assistance now was only available to those judged capable of work through strictly regulated workhouses whose function was to 'inculcate and maintain habits of work

discipline for those temporarily withdrawn from the labour market' (Thane, 1978). The debates however are timeless and each generation continue to struggle with these big questions but in different forms relating to the society of the time. Should asylum seekers or refugees have the right to stay in the United Kingdom, and be able to work whilst their case is being processed? Should the United States Congress have passed the Personal Responsibility and Work Opportunities Reconciliation Act that ended the entitlement of poor families to government assistance? These are two such debates. The assumption at the time of the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act was that the able bodied were unemployed for the most part through choice, and this partly explains the severe stance taken. Also, moral judgments were made again such people, with terms like feckless being applied.

The church has always been involved in the delivery of welfare services from before Poor Law times, through the post-War creation of the Welfare State and the end of consensual politics in the 1980s (Davis et al., 2008). Throughout this long history the government and church have differed and locked horns over many issues, examples would be over the raising of the age of consent (Stead, 1885) through to confrontation with Thatcher over the principles, policies and strategic direction of the welfare state (Davis et al., 2008) In the early 19th Century there was agreement that the 'Industrial Revolution had created a range of major social problems, particularly in the rapidly expanding urban areas' (Wilson, 2011). The tension was in the cause behind this statement. Christian charity tended to take the view that destitution was caused primarily by moral flaws in people's characters as opposed to some of the Fabian writers of the time that advocated that systemic failure was the root cause of the prevailing poverty (Wilson, 2011 p64).

Following the world wars, most western European countries continued to develop their welfare states. How this was achieved differs between the countries. Although as previously discussed most charities have

their origins in Christian philanthropy and for some this development was through a partnership between the state and charities / faith based organisation with the former providing the financial support. In the United Kingdom this period saw the development of a service provided by government agencies (Harris et al., 2003 p96) leaving the faith-based organisations to try and fill the gaps in the provision. This constantly changes the roles faith based organisations play. Fifteen years ago for example the host organisation ran a very successful street team for the homeless of London. Some years later seeing the worth of such a project the government offered funding, but there was a parting of the ways as the way organisations were being asked to carry out the work clashed with the organisation's value base. This issue influenced the need for the research because of the changing client group, and indeed this emerged in my research and is further explored in the findings.

It is during this time that faith based organisations and the church in particular slowly changed its thinking to try and adapt to the new scene that had developed (Lowe, 2009). 'Stakeholder welfare' acknowledges the plurality of civil society, the need for partnership between the different sectors in society, and subsidiarity – all of which affirm the indispensability of the contribution of the private and voluntary sectors in welfare delivery'(Davis et al., 2008). In the past thirty years the contemporary policy situation increasingly shows consecutive labour and conservative governments looking to the voluntary sector to take a greater role. They are embracing a vision for social welfare that splits purchasing and delivery with the government taking the former role and private or voluntary organisations the latter (Davis et al., 2008). It was the government of Margaret Thatcher with its belief in the open market that gave a window of opportunity to voluntary organisations to move towards centre stage, having been dominated by secular humanist thinking since the beginning of the twentieth century. Faith based organisations have been placed under some pressure and encouraged to expand their role in the welfare of society and become involved in

policy consultations and compete for government contracts. However the motivation for taking this route is not a selfless one. 'A significant number of studies show a positive correlation between church attendance and civic habits, while others, at least thus far, show a positive correlation between religious conviction and the ability to the ageing process with positive mental health' (Davis et al., 2008).

It is in the interest of government to assist and develop 'faith' both from a moral sense and also from the possibility that with over 22,000 faith-based charities currently working across England and Wales there will be a reduction in the cost of welfare to the government. The current coalition government's promotion of 'The Big Society' is intended to create stronger communities that can do more for themselves without turning to the state, which again lends itself to such partnerships. There is no doubt that there are areas which many within government would wish to distance themselves from – i.e. the traditional church's opposition to gay adoption and civil partnerships, however it cannot be assumed that all faith communities hold the same views, and the financial, ethical and social contributions cannot be ignored.

There are some warning signs however that cannot be ignored. As with all organisations those based on faith possess relative strengths and weaknesses (Billis and Glennerster, 1998) that influence delivery and are outlined by those opponents of their increased role.

Harris (2003) expresses concern that much of the current thinking is based on social policy ideas generated in the United States and she doubts their applicability in the UK. She believes that because of the history of mutual aid and self-sufficiency amongst the early immigrants then institutional religion plays a much more important role in public and everyday life and in voluntary activity than it does in the UK (p96). This manifests itself in a far greater use of faith based organisations in the delivery of welfare responsibilities. The other

concern is the tone used particularly by the Blair government that reflected the Bush administration's faith-based model which was in danger of engendering the old work house philosophy of helping the categories that could be defined as the 'deserving poor' i.e. children, mentally ill, physically disabled and the elderly. The difficulty comes with what may be considered the undeserving poor, the homeless, gay, immigrants or those fighting a substance addiction. There is the possibility that sufficient resources will not be made available (Johnson, 2003).

Johnson believes that there are some ethical dilemmas that social workers will face. Who are they serving? Are they serving their clients or the religious persuasions of the respective agencies? There are traces of this tension within the initial research questions in terms of does this influence how staff and the organisation operate and does it influence the relationship with funders / government agencies? We talk of social workers being non-judgemental, respectful and empowering their clients. However, if a faith-based approach is adopted, Johnson(2003) argues that this may turn back the profession to the friendly visitors of the nineteenth century, who would make home visits and impose their own values on those whom they were meeting. It is against this religious backdrop, with social problems that are once again being viewed in moral terms, that he sees troubling aspects of this philosophy. The preoccupation with morality is once again precluding the real explanations of social problems, such as employment and an undisciplined economy.

There is a fear that faith based organisations bring with them values and culture that discriminate and are selective in the assistance they give.

'In the diverse and globalised world in which we live, our citizens need to learn how to respect and provide for those to whom we owe nothing and who are not like ourselves. Instead they are pushed inwards and are to be given money it seems, to look after only their own' (Brown, 2001).

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Rustin (1999) discusses the emergence of modern welfare out of religious social organisation. He analyses the whole question of the way in which welfare in traditional European society was heavily organised by a system of values and meanings that were religious and made sense of the key existential predicaments that faced birth, marriage and death. It is Rustin's belief that in a way contemporary welfare has emptied the welfare container of much of these and needs to be reinvested with meaning. He argues that psychoanalytic perspectives can do this. The Church of England too argues that the government needs to recover a principled approach to public service reform grounded in gift, covenant, advocacy and justice (Davis et al., 2008).The danger for the faith based organisation that takes state funding is how does it keep its individuality and not become swallowed up by a philosophy that would see it merely as an extension of that state. It is this that I wanted to explore further in my research, namely this tension and dilemma between the need for funding and the need to maintain its distinct faith based approach.

Radical social works criticism of Christian charity would be in the use of individualised responses to problems that do not lie within the individual. Like the Fabians they perceive the causes of social problems to be systemic and so would argue that since working with the individual leaves society unchanged then the proper response of social work has to be 'to seek a change to the status quo rather than to address the problems of individuals in isolation' (Wilson, 2011).

One of the positive aspects of faith based organisations as providing a good service is that they are trusted (Loundes and Chapman, 2004). The public support these organisations financially and in other ways because they believe they are able to provide a solution to issues in society that they know are there but do not want to face. Many have played a role within local communities for many years and established relationships fostering the belief that they are in a position to help

those in need. The negative side is history, which warns that they too have suffered from their share of scandal for example the abuse of children in their care that has emerged in recent years particularly within the Catholic Church.

The government has to recognise that faith based organisations are not able to perform miracles; neither will government policy always agree with the values of faith based organisations. An example of this is seen in the row between two Catholic adoption agencies and the Government because of a change to the regulations in 2007 under the powers of the Equality Act 2006 that stopped them from discriminating against same-sex couples who want to adopt. This led to a number of adoption agencies stating that they would rather close down than comply with the law.

Faith based organisations must adapt to changing times overcoming mistaken perceptions that they are well understood by society (Davis et al., 2008). I argue that Christian social work is not better but different because it looks at the issues from a faith perspective which have a different set of base values to those currently prevalent in society. It comes from servanthood and the belief in something greater than and outside of self. The importance of this to some of those interviewed is reflected in the discussion chapter of this research. This perspective is able to help many within society but not all. They still struggle from capacity issues, a lack of funding and resources. The talk is now very much about 'partnership' however policy makers need to be aware that this does not sit comfortably with faith based organisations. They come from a history of advocacy and empowering and may have distinctive features and aims that may differ from that of the government.

The government as yet has to fully commit to this policy as no major sources of funding have specifically been allocated and have concluded that the Government is fostering faith groups primarily because they

are useful providers of services, and not because it approves of religion in itself.

2:3. THE CHRISTIAN CHURCH'S INVOLVEMENT IN SOCIAL SERVICES.

What could be called secular social work is in many ways a recent development emerging in the late nineteenth century. Prior to this the ideological roots of western social work were embedded in the Judeo - Christian faith. For some these origins are positive and valued, for others negative, at best ignored or totally denied.

Writers such as Bowpitt (1998) identify three purposes consistent with biblical teaching:

> 'compassion, where charity is an unconditional response to immediate, testimony, where a charitable action is used to bear witness to the character of a loving God; and personal regeneration, where charity channels the love of God as a means of changing lives' (p679).

In working with those vulnerable in society, it is Bowpitt's understanding that through their actions Christian organisations should reveal the divine character, and convey the divine love, in order to effect a total personal regeneration. It is the different balances of these elements that give the character to the different ways of working. Some Christian organisations like Barnardo's and NCH operate now almost completely within a secular, professional framework. There are still Christians within these organisations but their faith is confined largely to their private lives, it has become separated from their professional life. Others like The Salvation Army retain a desire to actively pursue Christian objectives:

> 'The Salvation Army Social Services provides social services to people in crisis and need who are without support or resources to deal with their difficulties, offering care for the whole person, spirit, mind and body. The

> Salvation Army Social Services provides a distinctively Christian social service. The Salvation Army Social Services aims to provide a high quality, responsive and accountable service' (Drake, 1993 - Title Page).

As the following verse from David Barker illustrates it retains a strong emphasis on all three purposes outlined:

> Joyfully our God we praise
> For these years so richly blessed;
> Yet in prayer our hearts we raise,
> Knowing still we dare not rest;
> Seeing in the present day
> Ever widening spheres of need,
> As we seek in Christ's own way
> Wayward souls to him to lead.
> (Barker, 1984)

As a Christian organisation, that does not mean that every aspect of its policy and practice have been immersed in theological reflection. However, if it is to respond to what is happening in society and maintain its stance then in my view it needs to constantly review the theology of what it does to maintain this balance. It is my view that if it does not think theologically then there is the danger of taking a direction that is comfortable rather than where it is needed, which will possibly be outside of its comfort zone. If the organisation does not understand its primary task, or its distinctiveness then there is the temptation to follow the agenda of the Government or the funding available. In a study of Church of England schools Jelfs (2010) found that the notion of distinctiveness was not well developed. The schools understanding of distinctiveness was developing and maintaining links with the local church and having a religious dimension in the life of the school. The schools were less clear about how the Christian distinctiveness related to teaching, learning and the curriculum. There are parallels here with the social set ups in this organisation and what I am describing are the issues of how to relate the distinctiveness that

they understand. The research therefore that was undertaken, aims, in part, to discover what is the distinctiveness of the programme and how do those of no faith or another faith relate to that.

The theology of the Church's involvement in social services is not found in any particular passage in the Bible but is seen in the total thrust of the whole message contained within its pages. The motivation of the churches involvement is first found in the Deuteronomic code. In Deuteronomy 10: 18:

> 'He makes sure that orphans and widows are treated fairly; he loves the foreigners who live with our people, and gives them food and clothes' (1978).

There is the need to find justice for the deprived and for the widow, love for the alien and the immigrant in their midst.

It is also in the prophetic word. In the book of Amos, the prophet proclaims God's judgement because the poor have been abused, and where the people of Israel are accused of ignoring the needy (Chapter 8). The emphasis here is to be forth tellers (proclamation) rather than foretellers (prophecy) in terms of seeking justice.

Again, moving to the New Testament the work of Jesus gives the Church its motivation. He healed the sick, fed the hungry and got alongside the marginalised of his day. The Church look to such passages as John 14:10 where Jesus says that the Father that dwells in him and does the work. 'I tell you for certain that if you have faith in me, you will do the same things that I am doing. You will do even greater things, now that I am going back to the Father' (2000). Faith however by itself that has no works is dead (James 2:17). Matthew 25:31-45 sums up the Church's position, as the people were hungry, thirsty, strangers, naked and in prison 'whenever you did it for any of my people, no matter how unimportant they seemed, you did it for me' (2000).

This begins to build the picture of why and how the host organisation offers its services to all without discrimination and why it is important that this research gains an insight into the world of those they are working with.

2:4. A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE HOST ORGANISATION.

The history of The Salvation Army is complex, with the diverse ministries, speed and size of its international growth. There have been many books written on this topic. It is my aim to give a brief outline in this paper to provide background information for the reader. This is also important for later exploration of the focus of the study and the findings which concerns faith, spirituality and organisational understanding.

The founders of the organisation were William and Catherine Booth. Both were born in 1829, William at Nottingham and Catherine Munford at Ashbourne, Derbyshire. Roy Hattersley in his book 'Blood & Fire' (Hattersley, 1999) describes William Booth as 'one of the most extraordinary men of his age – a pawnbroker's clerk who was to found the most successful movement of the nineteen century'(Front flap). Of Catherine his wife Hattersley wrote she 'was in many ways even more exceptional. Although a chronic invalid she bore and raised eight children in ten years and at the same time inspired the social policy which was, and remains an essential part of The Salvation Army's importance and success' (Front flap).

It all began in the slums of Whitechapel, East London in 1865, when William, an itinerant Methodist lay preacher at that time, accepted an invitation to lead a tent mission. Booth became an ordained minister of the Methodist New Connection in 1858 (May 27) but had resigned in 1862 because he and wife Catherine (referred to as The Army Mother)

felt 'it was incumbent upon them to set forth definitely and regularly the doctrine of Full Salvation'(Sandall, 1947 p9). The Church accepted his resignation because it was the Booth's belief that the Church of the day was ignoring the needs of the poor and working class, excluding them, and so they had become a thorn in the side of the establishment (Begbie, 1926).

There followed what could be described as wilderness years before Mrs Booth was invited to Rotherhithe to lead a brief mission. Here she saw poverty and was impressed by the work of the Midnight Movement (Sandall, 1947) who were engaged in trying to rescue women from prostitution. It was this that eventually led the family to move to Hammersmith, London (Begbie, 1926). William accepted an invitation to lead a tent mission down the Whitechapel Road and this was the beginning of the East London Christian Mission, later the Christian Mission whose aim was to reach out to the non – churched masses of urban poor(Sandall, 1947).

A growing number of people responded to his evangelistic and relief efforts, necessitating the help of converts in managing and ministering to the needs of the poor and needy. By 1867 they were distributing soup and bread to cholera sufferers and ship workers. This developed into serving free Sunday breakfast to the poor of East London. In 1878 the "Christian Mission" changed its name to 'The Salvation Army'. This change reflected the organization's quasi-military structure which Booth had introduced on the lines of the British Military to manage the needs of a rapidly expanding organisation. It also gave more of an insight into the organisations developing objectives as a form of spiritual warfare. These objectives are now listed in The Salvation Army Act 1980 which include 'the advancement of the Christian religion... of education, the relief of poverty, and other charitable objectives beneficial to society or the community of mankind as a whole' (1980 p3).

In 1880 Lieutenant Eliza Shirley travelled from England to the United States of America to start the work of The Salvation Army. She was soon joined by Commissioner George Scott Railton and seven women officers. In the same year the organisation arrived in Ireland and Australia. The following year the work began in France and in 1882 Canada, India, Switzerland and Sweden. In line with this much of the terminology used changed to include military terms. For example a mission station became a "corps" and converts "soldiers" after "basic training," and signing the 'Articles of War' which is now known as the soldiers covenant(Wisbey, 1955).

The origins of the community and social work can be traced back to 1881 when an early day member of The Salvation Army, Mrs Cottrill, opened the doors of her then crowded home to a young woman seeking refuge from a local brothel (Unsworth, 1954). From that act Mrs Cottrill developed a work that resulted in 1884 with a house being obtained as The Salvation Army's first rescue mission home.

Work with homeless and unemployed men developed in 1887 when Bramwell (Sandall, 1955)(William's eldest son) brought the plight of men sleeping rough under the bridges of London to his father. In response to William's command to do something, Bramwell opened a night shelter that functioned as both a food depot and sleeping shelter. As more shelters opened they recognised they needed to have an organised means to assist men find employment. The first labour bureau opened in June 1890, with nearly 200 placed in jobs during the first three months. At the end of 1890 Booth summarised the work already in operation as:

Rescue Homes (fallen women)	33
Slum Posts	33
Prison Gate Brigades	10
Food Depots	4
Shelters for the Destitute	5

Inebriates' Homes	1
Factory for the 'out of work'	1
Labour Bureaux	2
Officers and others managing these branches	384

(Sandall, 1955 p74).

In October of this same year William Booth launched the Darkest England Scheme with the publication of 'In Darkest England and the Way Out' (Booth, 1890). Assisted by W.T.Stead this recognised the scale of poverty that trapped so many people and outlined his vision and programmes that he proposed to enable people to overcome the various situations and circumstances they found themselves in. It was the first occasion that The Salvation Army appealed for public support.

The Salvation Army is now a truly international movement working in 118 countries (as of 31st May 2009) a number still increasing yearly. It's work is extensive, ranging from it's many churches (corps) to a social programme covering the homeless, emergency accommodation, missing persons, employment bureaus, hospitals, schools, homes for the blind, elderly, disabled, street children, prison work, addiction dependency work, emergency disaster response, feeding programmes and work with victims of Human Trafficking particularly women for sexual exploitation. At the end of the remarkable life of William Booth at his last public address at the Albert Hall, May 9th 1912, just before an operation which left him blind and 3 months before he died on 20th August, said:

> 'While women weep as they do now, I'll fight, while little children go hungry as they do now, I'll fight; while there is a drunkard left, while there is a poor lost girl upon the streets, while there remains one dark soul without the light of God, I'll fight – I'll fight to the very end!' (Smith, 1949 p123-124).

Booth's words still sum up how The Salvation Army identifies its mission. He told his soldiery to 'Go for Souls and go for the worst' (Booth, 1889 p10). It is with this mandate and their understanding of

Scripture that the work of The Salvation Army continues to operate providing for all from birth to grave.

2:5. WHAT IS A CHRISTIAN BASED PROGRAMME?

There is a whole range of interpretations of what constitutes a Christian based programme. In my view, their overall aims are to deliver religious elements, through activities or messages to those undertaking practical or rehabilitative programmes. It enables the host organisation to create a specific environment, convey their values, communicate religious rituals and to meet the presenting needs through their spiritual motivation. Unruh and Sider (2005) offer nine elements that could make up the Christian based programmes. These are:

1. Religious reference in programme self – descriptions
2. Objects with religious associations in the programme element
3. Invitations to a religious service or activity
4. Prayer
5. Use of sacred text
6. Worship
7. Sharing of personal testimonies
8. Religious teachings or discussion
9. Invitations to a personal commitment to faith or spiritual renewal.

This set of elements in my opinion is more aimed at proselytising rather than seeking to assist the individual to deal with the reasons they find themselves homeless. It lacks content outside of the spiritual and fails to address other areas of a person's life. It implies that the solution is in conversion alone and fails to acknowledge or recognise culture or the current values of people. For the host organisation there are elements of this definition that it does use and this system does look towards meeting the aims of the 'religious' elements which Canda

defines as 'institutionally patterned system of beliefs, values and rituals' (1989b p573). The organisation ultimately believes that a personal relationship with Jesus Christ changes lives. However, the tension is with its desire to offer a service to people without discrimination. Such a heavy emphasis leads to a fear of discrimination with only those of the faith or seeking faith being welcome. The dangers here are of creating a two tier system those accept the invitation being accepted and those that do not fit in being rejected.

Organisational practices and policies can have a significant impact on the programme's religious nature, both visibly and invisibly. One example of this is the religious preferences in staff selection. In The Salvation Army, all the staff in management positions of their homelessness centres are committed Christians. Those employed in other positions can be of another religion or no religion but as part of their employment contract sign that they are in sympathy with the aims and objectives of the organisation. Their motivation and values influence attitudes making it possible for the Christian based programme and secular to externally look the same, but the former being implanted by the values of the organisation goes some way to achieve their aims.

How religious and spiritual activities fit into the programme's framework also shape the delivery of the Christian based programme. Whether they are implicit, invitational, relational, integrated, optional or mandatory all of these change the dynamics experienced by those that are on the programme. This research, explored the place of faith for users of the service, and considers how far users feel the organisation manages the tension between offering practical and moral support. Through their life stories, the data gives some insight into how effective the organisation is and how it is coping with the multiculturalism of society. Throughout the international Salvation Army there are different stances taken in the programmes they offer. Currently in the United Kingdom an invitational and optional stance is

taken with many of the religious activities being separate or supplementary to the main programme. The main elements designed within the programme framework are those opportunities given to explore spirituality within personal development plans, with the main aim of helping people develop inner resources to allowing them to lead a more fulfilled future existence. Within a homeless persons centre of the host organisation being studied the programme offered is known as a holistic ministry. My study therefore, aimed to explore this in more depth by considering the data and trying to understand what needs service users bring with them to the centres from the different aspects of their lives and how it all fitted together as a whole.

2:6. HOLISTIC THEOLOGY.

The International Mission Statement of this organisation found in its Year Book reads:

> 'The Salvation Army, an international movement, is an evangelical part of the universal Christian Church. Its message is based on the Bible. Its ministry is motivated by love for God. Its mission is to preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in his name without discrimination ' (2008b - Title Page).

The term holistic programme or holistic ministry is a descriptive phrase that is frequently used by those within The Salvation Army to describe how it works to fulfil the last sentence in its mission statement. It is an approach that has as its basic philosophy the belief that there are four areas of a person's life (physical, social, mental and spiritual), and that consequently all aspects should be addressed in the programme offered.

Laurie Heiselman (2004) for example when writing about The Salvation Army's Adult Rehabilitation Centre in Oakland USA described the programme there as:

> 'Our approach to every aspect of this centre is holistic, geared to addressing all aspects of a person's life—emotional (counselling), intellectual (study, journaling), physical (work therapy), and spiritual (counselling, fellowship and corporate worship)' (p36).

Within the Adult Rehabilitation Centres they take the four elements of a person's life and they build the programme around it and in this way try and assist the person with the addiction make changes and develop in all aspects of their lives so that they can maintain a life without drugs within society. He adds that:

> Within a Christian atmosphere and philosophy, the centre offers men the opportunity to regain their self-respect and acquire the life skills needed to take their rightful place in society' (p36).

In other words the centres undertake to achieve what all centres working with addicts do but using a Christian methodology.

Mole too argues that in an age when the Church is under deep scrutiny it is important that it is seen to demonstrate that their programmes work and have authenticity. He writes of The Salvation Army:

> 'The Salvation Army bears the hallmarks of that deeper calling, and the element that sets the Army apart is found in the holistic expression of its mission to "preach the gospel of Jesus Christ and meet human needs in His name without discrimination' (Mole, 2003 p9).

It is important for this research project that the phrase 'Holistic' is clearly defined and understood in this context, to ensure clarity and begin to give an understanding of the meaning of the phrase 'a Christian based programme'. The basis of this research is the experience of people of no faith or a non-Christian faith undertaking a Christian based programme. That programme is based on this holistic ministry which includes the essential element of faith that in my opinion is neglected due to its very personal nature and because it can be seen as controversial. This is one reason for exploring this area further. It is important to have an understanding of this to grasp the origins of the research and some of the themes that are woven

throughout this thesis. These include the sections on higher self-actualisation, and fate or destiny that later emerge in the finding section.

The theology of the organisations stance on holistic ministry has its roots in the Incarnational Paradigm (the coming of God to be with us in Jesus Christ). Of the council of Chalcedon in 451 AD the most important outcome of this meeting was its definition regarding the nature and person of Jesus. It confirmed, contrary to the Platonic's and the Gnostics of the time, the unity of the divine and human persons in Christ and rejected the monophysite doctrine that Christ had only one nature.(Bellitto, 2002) It moved away from the thinking which held the spiritual world above the physical, and therefore that the body was a prison that held the soul until it manages to escape and return to the spiritual realities to a position where the spiritual never took precedence over the physical. Now matters must be considered in terms of physical and material reality(McGrath, 2001).

A person following the Christian faith therefore sees each person as a unity, a whole. The Christian is convinced that God became a human being in the form of Jesus of Nazareth, as the 4th doctrine of the organisation states:

> 'We believe that in the person of Jesus Christ the divine and human natures are united, so that He is truly and properly God and truly and properly man' (1986 p840).

Therefore the understanding of holistic ministry is to look at the incarnation of Christ (God becoming man to save us) and to then imitate the mission of Christ, namely expressing concern for the lives and souls of people (Mark 8:36; 1 Peter 2:21). It is the laudable translating of Christian faith into works (James 2:14 ff). It models itself on how Jesus lived out his life on earth outlining a code to be followed.

Included in this thinking is the need to identify with those being reached. In Luke 4:18-19 Jesus quotes the prophet Isaiah and gives an insight into the purpose of his mission. The poor, the prisoners, the blind and the oppressed get a very special mention in his statement. It was as if Jesus wanted his followers as well as the general public to understand from the outset that social justice advocacy was a part of his ministry (Kalai, 2010). Jesus identified with all sections of society taking them seriously, listening to them, understanding and then advocating for them. This is central to my thesis - listening, understanding and then advocating. It was important for the development of the research question, the methodology and methods employed, and links with my professional practice. The research aims to advocate, to tell their story, as well as discover new perspectives on homeless people's lives. The example of Jesus I believe shows the need for a clear understanding of, and stance taken on the power role. His example turns today's thinking on power around as he practised a 'servant role'. Linked with Jesus' teaching about God's love and the Great Commission (Matthew 28:16-20) the emphasis moves away from self to understanding others. Everything that is undertaken should be thought through to ensure its relevance to those that are to receive it.

There is always the debate within the Church over the priorities given to different aspects of it being that I would describe as between 'faith' and 'works'(Shillington, 2008, Wall, 1997). In other words what is the priority of the organisation is it to believe i.e. evangelism, prayer or is it to do good works? The Salvation Army philosophy with regard to its social work within the movement is one where the 'whole' is simultaneously and inseparably both a religious and charitable organisation. It is of one entity, not two distinct, loosely joined parts. I would use the term 'integrated mission'. General John Gowan's summed this up when he penned the slogan that The Salvation Army's Mission is to 'Save Souls, Grow Saints and to Serve Suffering Humanity'(Gowans, 2002).

Luke 4: 18 -19:

> '… he has anointed me to preach the good news to the poor. He has sent me to proclaim freedom for the prisoners and recovery of sight for the blind, to release the oppressed, to proclaim the year of the Lord's favour' (2000).

Whether William Booth held a holistic vision is not known, however in my view it is clear from his writings that the seeds were there for a broader, redemptive theology from an early point in his ministry. In his book 'In Darkest England and the Way Out' (Booth, 1890) he wrote:

> 'The scheme of social salvation is not worth discussing which is not as wide as the scheme of eternal salvation set forth in the gospel. The glad tidings must be to every creature not merely to a select few who are to be saved… It is now time to fling down the false idol and proclaim a temporal salvation as full, free and universal, and with no other limitations than the whosoever gospel' (p36).

It is this holistic theology that I argue, informs the work of The Salvation Army. Wherever The Salvation Army operates there is a desire to see people redeemed in every area of their lives. This comes as a total package; it cannot be separated or split into the evangelical and the social since they are both parts of the whole. The organisation's vision of salvation therefore covers spiritual, physical, psychological and social dimensions of their lives. Men and women completing their programmes are helped to address each of these issues during regular key worker sessions and in the promotion of personal development plans.

Within the host organisation there are a range of views about how it should fulfil the spiritual element within its programme that I think it finds difficult to think about and verbalise. The organisation has a dual mission – personal salvation and social service. Therefore the organisation has to work out how to satisfy its evangelical heart within its social services and yet honour its commitment to non-discrimination

and the requirements of the funding bodies. I think there is a tension located in a lack of clarity and understanding of the primary task of the organisation. This is compounded because of a fear to express views that are contrary to current social work and government thinking giving consternation to the possible consequences of the organisation of being out of sync with secular society causing the loss, or total secularisation of the service. These thoughts underlined the development of the original research question. Very early in the process my interest was to find out whether there was a difference between how the organisation and staff perceived the spiritual element of the programme, and whether funders influenced this view. If there was not an understanding of the organisations primary task then how effective could it be particularly to the increasing numbers of service users that did not share the same faith values?.

Defined by Obholzer (2001) as the main institutional 'ballast' that keeps the organisation, both membership and leadership steady, the primary task is the defining characteristic of that organisation (p198). The nature of the organisation has previously been expounded but the question is whether there is a conflict between this dual mission of personal salvation and social service that it struggles to incorporate when understanding what the primary task is and how to achieve it?

To begin to unravel this dilemma one needs to understand both biblical theology, particularly the covenant of social services which states the lordship of God over everything and in particular the human race, and the Wesleyan theological perspectives. Beginning with the concept of salvation which Wesley interpreted as a restoration of the paradise originally found in Eden prior to sins entry in the world. The salvation which God brought through his Son (Jesus) is interpreted as an attempt to restore the conditions which existed prior to human transgression. Wesley rejected that this was only an experience of a future life in heaven but that salvation was the entire work of God that could begin to be experienced in the present (Needham, 1987). When sin entered

the world at the fall, man's relationship with God was destroyed and human beings in their natural state were 'totally depraved' meaning that man is depraved in every part of his being. But while he is depraved in every part of his being, at the same time there remains in every part of his being remnant of good. It is therefore an underlying belief that restoring man's relationship with God will result in his restoration as a person to live the life he or she is meant to. Before God all of mankind has become guilty. Whilst Wesley recognised corporate guilt (of the whole of mankind) his thinking concentrated more on individual guilt and so personal responsibility (Burke, 1986). The individual is responsible for their own fate. God has provided the means of a relationship through preventing grace, which draws an individual to God. It is their response that ultimately determines the relationship. This has led to the belief that God stands ready to transform the individual and society, and the organisation's motivation is to bring about a fulfilment of this or it could be expressed as to establish the Kingdom of God on earth:

> 'Wesleyan theology, when linked with a commitment to the establishment of the Kingdom of God, should not motivate us so much to the provision of social services which is merely ameliorative or cosmetic. The commitment to the Kingdom motivates us to strive for social reform or perhaps more appropriately, social recreation' (Burke, 1986 p210).

Whilst the organisation adheres to a Wesleyan theology and does not align itself with liberation theology there are shared principles about making a difference to the poor, and oppressed. Miguez Bonino (1975) expresses the view that 'Theology has to stop explaining the world, and start transforming it'(p81). For him, theology is not and should not be detached from social involvement or political action. Whereas classical western theology regards action as the result of reflection, liberation theology inverts the order; action comes first, followed by reflection. In McGrath's (2001) opinion, the term 'liberation theology' could be applied to any theology which addresses or deals with oppressive situations.

Liberation theology emerged from poor people's experience, where they used and implemented the word of God within the situations in which they found themselves (Turner, 1994). The hermeneutical circle as it has become known consists of revelation and history, faith in Christ and the life of a people, eschatology (the study of end things) and praxis(action) put together allow for the theologist to aim for a deeper faith in their God (Watson, 2008 p26). As described in the Scriptures the praxis of Christianity should be taken from faith, hope and love. It is important though for these Christians that faith comes first and from that spring the thoughts of hope and the actions of love. It is seen that the poor long for liberation and so because of this yearning in their hearts they are more open to receive faith through Christ.(McGrath, 2001) The oppressed people's desire for this liberation also shows the moving of the Spirit of God to the Christian. Gutierrez (2001) then, distinguishes three dimensions of liberation that can be found through Christ. Firstly liberation can be found from social oppression and situations that would stop a person from living as God would will them to. The next dimension of liberation is to have a personal liberation, a freedom that is found from within and allows one to live despite trials and tribulations. The liberation from sin is the final dimension. This is by finding redemption through the love of God and receiving faith and communion by rebinding the broken friendship with the Lord and other people. Liberation theology is a theology of salvation and finding faith. The community of Christ, the Church then must represent this, the Kingdom of God must be revealed through thought and action. To clarify, this argument is continuing to develop the case for solutions to a social situation coming from the ground up rather than from the top down. The solutions to finding a pathway out of homelessness may well originate from the homeless themselves and not the experts and that the church cannot be detached from this struggle, it must facilitate it and advocate on the homeless peoples behalf. What I am starting to build is a picture of the theological framework that motivates the organisation and an understanding of the

importance of the research, and why I think it is important. It also links to the importance of listening to the homeless and the choice of methodology.

Armstrong (2009) argues that faith defined by belief in a higher God is a specific and recent idea. Religious faith has always been about practice, about doing things, a lived moral code. Nobody thinking in that kind of register would understand that somebody believed in God if they didn't actually demonstrate it in their actions. For the Salvationist it is impossible to love God without loving your neighbour, and it is impossible to serve God without loving your neighbour – 'whatever you did not do for one of the least of these, you did not do for me' Matthew 25:45 (1996). The question thus arises as to the proper context in which to talk of God, for it seems demanding for a Christian to tell the most deprived people of a God that loves them.

Three basic positions I believe are found within the organisation attempting to answer this question. The first is the belief that by purely providing a service to the homeless without any spiritual emphasis, this is meeting the Christian requirement to help his or her neighbour.

When operating in multicultural Britain, moral and social issues of a Christian organisation are likely to bring it into direct conflict with a society that is increasingly adopting different values to its own. This thinking fulfils the organisations search for excellence and so the requirements of secular best practice, acknowledging peoples' spiritual needs from a very broad perspective. In this instance the only possible way for the organisation to be seen as different to other secular agencies operating high quality programmes would be in the staff delivering the programme. Were the staff team to be practising Christians, then theoretically the organisations primary task could be fulfilled through their example and influence. Adhering to the current equal opportunities thinking, a policy of employing those in sympathy

with the aims and objectives of the organisation rather than practicing Christians deters this. This view is difficult for the organisation because there is the need to do more. Wesleyan theology cannot be fulfilled purely by providing a service, but must be directed towards the establishment of a future which is more and more in keeping with God's intention for humanity and the world. There are those agencies with Christian origins that to all intense and purpose have abandoned belief and operate merely as a charity based on Christian values. In the Articles of Association of Barnardos (2011)[1] for example the only mention of Christian faith is in the values the charity is based on. This is clearly an underlying fear which I have often heard expressed in high level board meeting. Colleagues have verbalised that if the organisation is not offering anything different to the local authority or other agencies working in the field, then it is time to move into meeting other unmet needs in society that will also allow the continuation of building a new society. This is a view that I have some sympathy for and continues to add to the picture being built. The tensions felt between organisations based on spiritual values and those of funders is a real one and how these are resolved reflect in the content of the programme offered. This in turn is internalised by service users and emerges in the research data as will be explored in chapter five.

The opposing perspective is the view that the organisation should pursue its aims, even if it brings direct conflict with funders, and means difficult decisions are required at times about the future of some projects. In my view Emmaus UK is such a project, which is totally self-supporting through grants, donations and its trading activities. This enables them to operate their programme based around living in community. This view advocates operating Christian programmes openly with elements being compulsory to all within the programme, whatever religion or creed they are. An example of this are the Adult

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[1] www.barnardos.org.uk/ver01-01.pdf

Rehabilitation Centres operated by the organisation in the United States of America that receive no government funding. These are based on the twelve step programme and promoting Christianity led lifestyles, with all applicants being interviewed beforehand consenting to participate before admission is agreed (Hahn, 2011). Whilst the majority of people using this service are from a Christian background, from my visits to a number of ARC's management and staff indicate that those of other faiths successfully take part and complete the programme. Needham wrote:

> 'We aim for the heart. The people you feed will be hungry again tomorrow. Just pouring money into the social services is not the answer because the breakdown is within the individual. Convince him that God loves him and you give a man a sense of destiny. You challenge him! ' (Daily Mail October 4 1980).

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A position between the previous two is based on the thinking that part of the solution of an individual's return to society and a fulfilling existence is to consider faith issues particularly from a Christian perspective. It differs from the previous view where the spiritual programme was compulsory because spirituality is offered as an optional part of any programme.

From my own experience of the organisation I think that intertwined throughout this is another rumbling tension which is the use of what are termed by the organisation as 'lay staff' (employees that are not Salvation Army officers) within the management of social centres. Lay staff began to be employed as managers because of the reduction in the number of Salvation Army officers (full time ministers) being commissioned and therefore reduced numbers serving on the social services. Currently the number of officers serving as centre managers is around five out of thirty and reducing each year. Even though the leadership have given a verbal commitment to increase the number of officers serving in coming years, in my work it is a fear that has been expressed by a number of officers both publically and privately that it is too late, and like species of endangered wildlife the numbers are

unlikely to recover. This is an unspoken fear for the organisation as immediately power and spiritual callings are compared. For many people that I have spoken to there was a golden era when all centres were managed by Salvation Army officers and operated strong spiritual programmes supported by the main organisation. They give the example that during the late 1980's officers councils held at Swanwick had two sessions where in excess of 200 Salvation Army officers serving within the social services attended. During this period the staffing was minimal due to the officers working long hours in difficult situations because of their commitment and spiritual calling. For a number of years my wife and I managed a centre for the homeless in Leeds which housed 100 men that consisted of us and 3 other people (not including the 7 staff that ran the kitchen, provided night security and cleaned).

The reality of whether these were the golden years may be questionable. George Orwell, a proponent for socialism, certainly did not see programmes of previous eras as golden years in his book 'Down and out in Paris and London' (Orwell, 1933).

> 'They are certainly cheap, but they are too like workhouses for my taste. In some of them there is even a compulsory religious service once or twice a week, which the lodgers must attend or leave the house. The fact is that the Salvation Army are so in the habit of thinking themselves a charitable body that they cannot even run a lodging-house without making it stink of charity' (p188).

This research provides another view point from within that sheds some light on life within the walls of an institution and the tensions experienced by staff and residents.

2:7. CONCLUSION.

The chapter started by discussing the role of Christian charity and Christian charitable organisations within the welfare sector in this

country offering a political/policy contextualisation of this organisation in the welfare state.

It then progressed to give the reader a historical outline of the host organisation and an insight into some of its unique elements. This brings some of the internal and external tensions that I think influenced the conception of this research to the fore. It considered what a Christian based programme is and introduced the various elements upon which this organisation bases the work it undertakes.

Many of the debates within this chapter are within the organisation and lack a service user's perspective. One of the aims of this research is to fill that information gap, how do they view what has happened to them? The service users will bring a unique insight into their perspective of what life is like and how some of these issues affect them.

The next chapter tackles the current literature relevant to this research in order to provide a critical assessment that will indicate how current prevailing ideas fit and give some understanding of the unique contribution that will be made.

CHAPTER THREE: LITERATURE REVIEW.

3:1. INTRODUCTION.

A systematic search of the literature has been conducted with the purpose of contextualising this project within the wider academic field of homelessness research and policy. Within the scope of this study in the first five sections I consider the literature on the nature of homelessness including defining what it is, the pathway into homelessness and recent government policy. This concentrates on providing a review of the government's attitude to homeless people to give a theoretical understanding of the issues and responses they live with. Also included is a critical consideration of more recent research that has used biographical interviewing to explore the opinions and lives of homeless people. The second half of this chapter moves to link the different paradigms underpinning the research. The recent training I have undergone which has culminated in this thesis, has a strong element of psychosocial and psychoanalytical thinking within its content. This thesis therefore has a strong association with this area and a lot of the findings have utilised theories from Freud, Klein, Bion and many others to try and understand, explain and develop the data. This chapter places the thesis in terms of therapeutic thinking as well. From my extensive reading, I touch on some alternative ways of thinking about homelessness from a psychological perspective, and user involvement in both research and policy. I then consider the literature on religion and spirituality particularly in relation to social work to give the research a context. The focus here is on the importance of the spiritual elements of life for the homeless that emerges later. I also review the relationship between psychoanalysis and religion. The final section of the literature review covers how faith based services are coping in a secular multi faith society which was

one of the starting points in this research as discussed in the introductory chapter.

3:2. DEFINITION OF HOMELESSNESS.

Homeless people are amongst the most vulnerable in society (Pearce, 2003) with homelessness being a complex issue. The importance of making a definition cannot be underestimated (Ravenhill, 2008) as definitions can have a substantial impact on policy and without agreement there is a fundamental problem in finding a solution. It is also important for this thesis to contextualise the later empirical work. As Minnery and Greenhalgh (2007) write 'narrow definitions lead to many people being excluded from the reach of programmes that would otherwise support them' (2007 p652). The issue is that there are various kinds of homelessness widely accepted. Chamberlain and MacKenzie (1992) identified three categories of homelessness: primary(people without conventional accommodation such as rough sleepers and squatter), secondary (people who frequently move between temporary accommodation, emergency shelters and sleeping on settees) and tertiary (people living in single rooms in private boarding houses without their own bathroom or security of tenure). The European Federation of National Organisations working with the Homeless (FEANTSA, 2007) provided a four part categorisation of rooflessness, houselessness, insecure housing and inadequate housing. The legal definition of homelessness in England and Wales can be found in the 1996 Homeless Act:

> 'A person is homeless if there is no accommodation that they are entitled to occupy; or they have accommodation but it is not reasonable for them to continue to occupy this accommodation. Finally, a person is also considered to be 'threatened with homelessness' if it is likely that they will become homeless within 28 days (e.g. because of eviction due to rent or mortgage arrears) ' (Crisis, 2008) .

However as Watson and Austerberry (1986, Ravenhill, 2008) indicate there is no absolute definition. For them home is a complex concept linked so closely with the family that the word conjures up images that are beyond just shelter such as stability and security.

Fitzpatrick (2000) also concludes that there is no single definition of homelessness, and that whichever one of the existing range is chosen, it remains a political decision. This, I would argue is detrimental to developing a coherent strategy to end the problem of homelessness.

Atkinson (2000) agrees that there is no single definition and also points out that the homeless person suffers from a lack of belonging and is unable to integrate into society's social structure. This places the cause of homelessness firmly within the compass of social exclusion. Homelessness is seen as part of a process where individuals and groups become isolated from 'major societal mechanisms providing social resources'(Minnery and Greenhalgh, 2007 p645, Room, 1992). The solution from this perspective needs to be wider than dealing with homelessness as an isolated issue and has to include elements of social integration such as healthcare, education and employment. It also has to be acknowledged that for some people particularly women and young people, housing is not the problem and homelessness maybe the solution i.e. women fleeing domestic violence (Tomas and Dittmar, 1995).

Springer attempted to outline a universal definition of homelessness. She suggested a change from "homelessness" to "houselessness" (Springer, 2002 p475). The latter is defined as those sleeping rough or using public or private shelters and she suggests a change to the classification of inadequate shelter. The categories she puts forward are non-exclusive: the risk of houselessness, concealed houselessness and substandard housing situations. Springer's definition has the advantage of being adaptable to regional and national differences,

while at the same time providing a global basis for data collection and comparison.

There are broader definitions of homelessness that are helpful. They also look into the meaning of home, and suggest that the concept of home and therefore homelessness is not purely a housing based concept, but must also be looked at from a context that includes significant emotional, social and psychological dimensions (Somerville, 1992). Gurney (1990) describes home as an ideological construct that is created from people's emotionally charged experiences of where they happen to live. From this position he argues that it is possible that even the homeless have a home.

Foster and Roberts (1998) take this a little further and suggest that homelessness is about internal states of mind as much as the physical realities of housing problems. For them merely providing housing is not enough, and for people that have experienced very difficult early childhoods 'such early experience also leads to a state of mind in which emotional containment in the form of relationships and physical containment in the form of a home, are avoided' (Foster and Roberts, 1998 p31). They argue that homelessness may not only be a physical reality but also a state of mind, and began to develop their thinking on the 'housed mind'.

Adlam and Scanlon took this idea of homelessness as a state of mind and challenged the basis of traditional thinking on concepts of homelessness. They re-defined and re-located the problem from the social fact of actual homelessness into the interpersonal and intrapsychic world of the 'unhoused mind' (Adlam and Scanlon, 2005 p452). They suggest that organisations struggle to understand the needs presented to them because of concepts like 'successful resettlement' and other ideas about what constitutes a 'positive outcome' are predicted on workers' experiences of having 'housed' state of mind rather than on any particularly methodical enquiry into

what the client actually means by feeling safely housed (Adlam and Scanlon, 2006 p9). They therefore believe that homelessness viewed from this perspective, could be seen as both a symptom and a communication of unhoused and dismembered states of mind that are also characteristic of people with personality disorder (p10). This issue also emerged in the research and is further explored in the findings section.

Throughout Scanlon and Adlam's writings there is a theme that there cannot be an 'inside' without there being an 'outside'. Those of us who choose to be inside are by definition opposed to those that refuse to be accepted and live on the peripheries of society. We therefore fail to understand the un-housed and dis-membered states being expressed in peoples choices of life style and dwelling places (Tubert-Oklander, 2011). Scanlon and Adlam (2005, 2006, 2008, 2011) believe those on the outside leading a marginalised life are labelled by an unfair society that needs them to stay where they are. These works were influential in my thinking because what Scanlon and Adlam are saying is those outside have something to say about society but they cannot think and say it in a convincing way. Those inside do not want to hear it because it conflicts with the comfortable ideas we have created around ourselves and society (Tubert-Oklander, 2011). The belief that being able to listen to what homeless individuals had to say and so bring about a fresh understanding of the homeless and myself, the organisation and society featured in the original thinking when putting together the research proposal with the hope that this would induce change both in the individual, the practitioner and therefore the organisation itself.

Another important theoretical contribution is from John Bowlby who developed his attachment theory in the 1970's which he defined as: 'A way of conceptualising the propensity of human beings to make strong affectional bonds to particular others' (Bowlby, 1977 p201). This has relevance to this research because it gives a framework to think about

some of the issues around relationships that are presented. These bonds are important because as Foroughe and Muller (2011) write 'they are thought to provide safety in dangerous situations and to foster an individual's capacity to think about and relate to others' (p1). It is the interactions between the child and attachment figure in a safe environment that builds up the confidence that regulates the distress. This develops a secure base that enables them to confidently explore the outside and to which they can return when in need of comfort (Ainsworth, 1978). It is this secure base that can be thought of as home in which they can live. Insecure attachment, whether through abandonment, abuse, rejection or unpredictability can lead to this base not being sufficiently established which leaves the individual open to insecurity. Interactions that are marked by rejection or unresponsiveness at times of need are considered suboptimal care and serve to undermine the sense of security associated with attachment-based self-regulation (Foroughe and Muller, 2011 p2). What subsequent research has outlined (Bowlby, 1980, Ainsworth, 1978) is the negative effects of attachment-related insecurity do not end with childhood but continue into adulthood. Simpson and Rhodes (1998) for example state that an insecure attachment can be seen as a potential risk factor leading to poor coping and to maladjustment. There are elements of this among homeless people, particularly those with personality disorders who find themselves not only unhoused because of their home but their state of mind. As an article in Homeless Links 'Connect' magazine on personality crisis reports 'They live liminal lives; the doorstep, the threshold, the borderline is in a sense their only true home' (2003b).

3:3. GOVERNMENT HOMELESSNESS POLICIES.

The United Kingdom is the only country in Europe with a statutory obligation towards the homeless (Minnery and Greenhalgh, 2007). Successive governments have tried to legislate to reduce and eliminate

the homeless statistics. All have produced reports and commissioned academics and universities to carry out research that has contributed to the current framework.

In the 1960's and 70's the causes of homelessness were thought to be the under provision of social housing and the particular needs of problem families (Smith, 2003). This began to make the homeless different to the general populous as they had to apply to a different department for housing support. The former had to apply through the social work departments, whereas the latter applied directly to the Housing Department.

The 1977 Housing (Homeless Persons) Act moved the responsibility for homelessness from social services to the housing department. This fundamentally put the blame for the problem with housing policy and the structure of the housing market rather than with personal inadequacies (De Friend, 1978). Whilst much of this legislation did work towards reducing the number of homeless people, one area where it failed was for those termed 'single homeless'. By defining entitlement to social housing it repeated the 1834 Poor Law Amendment Act distinguishing between poverty and 'pauperism' – the 'deserving' and 'undeserving' homeless. As a result some homeless people were classified and found themselves outside the support of the state. This has continued as subsequent legislation (1985, 1996 and 2002) constructed a division between 'statutory homelessness' – households to whom a legal duty of housing is owed as defined by the legislation and 'non – statutory' where no duty is owed. Minnery and Greenhalgh question the use of intentionality and priority need suggesting that it promotes discrimination. They point to the need for clients to have a level of sophistication to fully understand the meaning of 'unintentional' and because of a fear of not being judged as in priority need this has led to an assessment process where the homeless person feels that they are unable to be honest about their housing careers. (Minnery and Greenhalgh, 2007 p649). Neale writes such

dualistic explanations are flawed and so any policy and provision influenced by them will, consequently, also be flawed (Neale, 1997 p47). She believes there are alternative theoretical perspectives that would give a better understanding of homelessness and so improve the effectiveness of government policy.

With there being a visible increase of rough sleeping in Central London in the late 1980's (Fitzpatrick et al., 2005) the Conservative Government of the time introduced a number of initiatives to combat the situation. The largest was the Rough Sleepers Initiative (RSI) introduced in 1990 which initially operated in Central London and was extended to 36 other areas of England and Scotland in 1997 (Smith, 2003). Its role was to implement strategies to achieve the government target of a two thirds reduction in the number sleeping rough by 2002 (Randall and Brown, 1999a). This had considerable success but was not without its critics. The main points made were that it was restricted to specific geographical areas and that it only addressed the symptoms rather than causes of homelessness (Anderson, 1993, Strathdee and Coster, 1996). The RSI did represent the first attempt by central government to coordinate a response to a particular aspect of single homelessness (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000).

In 1997 'New Labour' came to power pledging to 'rebuild a proper safety net' for households that are unintentionally homeless and in priority need (Fitzpatrick et al., 2000 p6). In 1998 as part of their devolution agenda, the government undertook a review and pushed through constitutional reforms in 1999. This devolved responsibility for key areas of policy, which included housing, away from Westminster to administrations in Wales, Scotland and Northern Ireland. Until 2002 the government had made little change to the policy followed by the Conservative Government. The Homelessness Act 2002 was a change in direction for the government towards the homeless. It attempted to strengthen the safety net and place stronger duties on local authorities to assist homeless and potentially homeless people

into accommodation. Local authorities were given a clear duty to set comprehensive multi-agency strategies for tackling homelessness within their boundaries, but with a specific requirement to look at the root causes and prevention. This was certainly informed by Randall and Brown (2002) who wrote a number of reports around that time about reducing and preventing rough sleeping that were very influential (Randall and Brown, 1999b, Randall and Brown, 1999a). The other element that supported this legislation was the release of an important report 'More than a roof' in 2002 (Great Britain. Dept. for Transport, 2002b). This set out a new approach to tackling homelessness and was very influential in the homelessness field. It set a new agenda which was to prevent homelessness and ensure that accommodation and support was available to both the homeless and those at risk of becoming homeless (Great Britain. Dept. for Transport, 2002a) and in my view changed the approach to homelessness. I welcomed the move toward prevention - starting to build the fence at the top of the cliff rather than using the ambulance at the bottom. In my opinion it also proved a difficult agenda to carry out. One of the programmes agenda was focused on homeless people with children that lived in insecure or temporary housing, particularly Bed and Breakfast accommodation. It also contradicted the previous legislation by concluding that housing provision alone is not enough to tackle homelessness. This led to the extension of the priority need categories, the establishment of the Homelessness Directorate within the Department for Transport, Local Government and the Regions (DTLR) and the publication of a new Code of Guidance. It is my view that taken together these changed the approach taken towards homelessness.

With the formation of a directorate consisting of three departments to deal specifically with homelessness the government set out their plan to deal with the problem(Byers, 2002). The RSU (Rough Sleepers Unit) was set the target to reduce the number of rough sleepers by two thirds by 2002. Randall & Brown (2002) confirmed that they had achieved the goals set however it recommended that the project continues so as to

reduce the numbers further. The newly formed Bed and Breakfast Unit was tasked with reducing the number of families in bed and breakfast accommodation (Horsey, 2001). Whilst the aim to reduce those in bed and breakfast accommodation was welcomed there was some criticism of government policy that would hinder this. Shelter were particularly critical (Shelter, 2001) indicating that the housing stock particularly in London did not have a sufficient number of properties available to solve the problem. There were also issues in the length of time it took to process claims which in some cases were taking over 2 months. Some families were placed out of the area therefore taking them away from any support networks they may have. Those in bed and breakfast presented social issues that need to be supported and not enough resources had been made available to provide this.

It was around this time when the host organisation had to undertake a number of changes in its admissions policy, initially in London but eventually throughout the country. Prior to this they had operated a direct access policy. With the formation of the Rough Sleepers Unit the control of the beds changed to the street workers and priority was given to their referrals. This was significant as the organisation no longer had total control over who was admitted and who was rejected. Cities such as Nottingham brought in what I would describe as a gate keeper system where all those presenting as homeless would be assessed at a central centre and then referred to the centre assessed most appropriate to meet their needs. I believe this accelerated a change in the client group introducing a more diverse population. This relates to the research as there is a desire to understand the organisation's response and the relationship with a more diverse population of service users

Following the success of reducing the number of rough sleepers the government introduced its 'places of change programme' (2006) in an attempt to consolidate the gains that had been made. There is no doubt the numbers have reduced during this period but there remains the

concern of how accurate the figures are. I think that that the way they are measured is confusing and unhelpful. Even with the recent changes that allow local authorities to estimate the numbers and not undertake a physical count the figures released by the government do not seem to me to make sense. They do not define what it is that they want to count and so this has led to some areas underestimating their problem and others over estimating in a belief that they will receive more government funding.

The government believed that those who had moved into temporary accommodation were staying in the hostel system for too long. Poor conditions and services did not motivate former rough sleepers to address their needs and therefore reinforced rather than broke the cycle of homelessness. Many more people have been leaving hostels for negative reasons - like eviction or abandonment - than for positive ones - like finding employment and a settled home (2006). They invested £90 million in a Hostels Capital Improvement Programme to bring about positive change. This was aimed at both improving the physical condition of hostels but also pushed the agenda of getting as many people as possible into employment (CLG, 2007). In many ways this was successful and the aims admirable. The emphasis on finding employment though I do not believe helped the entrenched homeless who were not ready to take this step. Neither did it help resolve the problem at the time of the lack of move on accommodation.

In 2008 with the publication of their strategy for ending rough sleeping 'No One Left Out: communities ending rough sleeping' (2008a), the Labour Government showed commitment to end rough sleeping once and for all, through prevention, new solutions and sustainable outcomes. This was quickly followed by 'Ending rough sleeping - the London Delivery Board' (GreaterLondonAuthority, 2009) issued by The Lord Mayor with the aim of ending rough sleeping in London by 2012. With a budget of 34 million pounds the programme intended to achieve this by increasing the number of emergency beds and cold

weather shelter, rescuing more short and long term rough sleepers, and helping rough sleepers find and remain in permanent housing. Twelve months on and according to the Greater London Authority some of the major homelessness agencies were indicating that the scheme had made a good start but there was a long way to go (GreaterLondonAuthority, 2010). I remain sceptical and believe that this scheme is making the mistake of others in not putting enough emphasis on understanding and dealing with the root causes of rough sleeping rather than moving them as quickly to the desired end result and hoping they stay there. The thinking of reconnecting rough sleepers back to their home area may help politically but my view is that may leave an area for a reason and not all can or want to return there. Time will tell whether rough sleeping is eradicated but personally I do not believe that as a society we are ready or able to contain those on the streets.

With current policy an emphasis on social control has emerged as part of its agenda, and those living on the streets are increasingly being viewed as an 'anti – social behaviour' problem (Fitzpatrick and Jones, 2005). This is reflected in Westminster City Councils plans to introduce bye laws to prevent rough sleeping and soup runs around the cathedral (Tran, 2011).

Voluntary agencies also produce research around policy (Randall, 1992); and good practice, some of which is explored later in the chapter. Additionally there are a number of publications looking at homelessness specifically in London, which as the capital is unique. Warnes (2004) looked at the challenges facing London Hostels and their future roles, and Alexander and Ruggieri (1999) looked at the reality of homelessness in London. Part of their research explored attitudes towards hostels and resettlement but said little that was new, making some very broad brush recommendations. It did make a useful contribution highlighting what was primarily a London issue that homeless people do not stay in one borough and so a pan London solution was required rather than a borough by borough response. This

research helped confirm and develop some of my thinking in evolving the research questions. It indicates that resettlement to a permanent home is the ultimate goal for all homeless people. I question this thinking and see it as related to how society rejects the homeless. In their research is an element that delves into the lives of the homeless and this enhanced my desire to hear what they have to say. Crane (2004) notes the speed that change is taking place in the field and the change of client group both in terms of ethnicity and vulnerability. She acknowledges that faith-based homeless organisations had taken up the challenge to develop their services in the light of this (page iv) and this dovetailed with my interest in how successful faith – based organisations had been. Jones's (1999a) study of homeless women too encouraged me to develop a methodology that allowed the homeless person to have a voice. Later in this chapter I will write a little more about this research as I feel that the element of allowing the voice of homeless women to be heard was not a prominent aspect of the research, it seemed to be an afterthought, added on to the main research. Jones's aims were slightly different in that she wanted to establish the characteristics of single homeless women and their experience of becoming homeless and sleeping rough or living in a hostel. It showed that through listening to a small number of individuals – in each of the three locations a maximum of 5 in depth interviews, new thinking could emerge. Jones's research came up with some new ideas and approaches on how to ensure women do not become entrenched rough sleepers.

One of the first major research projects of The Salvation Army (Moore, 1995) interviewed 531 homeless people living in various situations – hostels, hotels, on the streets and in squats. One element of the research was to look at where homeless people stayed to look at their qualities such as comfort, independence, safety, social life and affordability (Moore, 2007). The research found that residents in centres positively responded to comfort and security but thought they did not have much independence or control. In contrast those on the

street valued their independence and control even though they had no comfort or security. The research also concluded that it makes little sense to discuss homelessness as one phenomenon; it is more helpful to talk about the different qualities of or routes into homelessness, or faces or pathways (Moore, 2007). At this time The Salvation Army reviewed its homeless work in London, taking a psychological approach, by which I mean that the debate had moved away from rooflessness to homelessness, less a lack of physical shelter and more as a loss of home (Moore, 1995) which ultimately led to the organisation drawing heavily on the findings of this research to develop its strategy of the time for London. Much of this was around building design and developing more specialist facilities particularly in the area of addiction. It did confirm for the organisation the importance of relationship and listening to the homeless by emphasising homeless people have goals, expectations and requirements which have to be better understood to ensure successful outcomes.

Since then it has produced a series of four other reports (1999, 2001, 2004b, Bonner and Luscombe, 2008) looking at today's society. These identified changes in British Society, particularly the experience of community, the sense of individuality and the notion of responsibility to others. The recommendations of these reports have been influential in the strategic direction of this organization. They recommitted to developing their National Addiction Services and to campaign to ensure that the system of benefits ensures that the needs of all homeless people are catered for. It recognised a growing gap between the escalating costs of providing homeless services and government funding that would result in the organisation running out of money and closing service, a prophecy that is rapidly coming to reality (2004b). The last of these (Bonner and Luscombe, 2008) undertook in depth interviews with 430 homeless people using Salvation Army homelessness services in various locations in the United Kingdom. This research may provide some further insight to help support and enhance the finding of this report and future developments. These would

include the need to gain a better understanding of the individual needs of socially excluded people with complex needs (p67) and to try and identify ways of providing holistic support for this chaotic group of people. By listening in depth to them it is my belief that my research will give some direction in beginning to fill in the gaps.

3:4. HOMELESSNESS - THE STATISTICS.

Statistics can be used in so many ways – to inform debate, make decisions or as part of research. I have included a section on statistics because I think it gives a good indication on the government's attitude to the problem and to finding a solution. This is important to the thesis to give an understanding of how government policy has influenced the programme and actions of the host organisation.

In their report 'Hidden Homeless' (2004a) Crisis used the definition of homelessness as all those who satisfy the legal definition of homelessness but have not been provided with accommodation. Under this definition they estimated that there are a predicted 400,000 hidden homeless people. This is not a definition the government would use nor figures they would recognise.

The governments figures differ in the report 'No One Left Out' (2008a) referring only to rough sleepers. They claimed that the total number of rough sleepers from January 2007 to June 2008 was 483. This was 15 less than the previous period. The counts took place in 74 local authority areas and in 66 of these the count found ten or less people on the night. Nearly a quarter of rough sleepers (111) were registered in Westminster. These figures were again criticised by homeless charities as inaccurate with the true number being estimated at least three times that number. The cry was that the methodology was unscientific and reflected a reduced emphasis rough sleeping(Shapps, 2007). There were 271 areas where estimates were given of between 0

– 10 that were recorded as 0 which immediately underestimates the number sleeping rough all night. The government figures for Manchester were given as 7 but Shapps quotes the charity lifeline as having counted up to 50 in their street counts of the city. There are a number of reasons I believe governments do this ranging from financial to denial. It is not an issue a sophisticated society wants to acknowledge. If the numbers appear to be lower there is not such a problem and they can move on to more pressing (vote winning) issues.

The 2009 published figure showed the downward trend continuing with a figure of 409. Again the accuracy of street counts were questioned to the point where the system is to be overhauled (Nadeem, 2008). The estimated figures in Homeless Links rough sleeper information show that the number of rough sleepers could be as high as 1247 (2011a). With the change of methodology, which combines estimated numbers and actual figures the autumn 2010 figure released by Communities and Local Government for England was 1768. This represented a forty two per cent increase on the 2009 figure. Whilst the accuracy of the figures may be questioned it does indicate that the trend had been of declining figures but the latest figures have bucked this, in other words, the numbers of homeless people now appears to be rising and in the current economic situation, this figure could be even higher.

At the time of writing this thesis, the latest National Statistics on Statutory Homelessness for October to December 2010 in England indicate 10,870 applicants were accepted as being statutory homeless. This marks an increase of fifteen per cent on the same quarter for the previous year. In sixty per cent of acceptances the presence of dependent children in the household was the primary reason for priority need, this represents 6,570 households. 66 per cent of applicants accepted were White and 29 per cent were from an ethnic minority group - 15 per cent Black, 6 per cent Asian, 3 per cent mixed and 4 per cent other ethnic groups. The remainder did not state their ethnic origin. Compared to the population as a whole, there is a higher

incidence of acceptances amongst ethnic minority groups than amongst the White population. The same report showed that 48,010 households were in temporary accommodation on the 31 December 2010. This is ten per cent lower than the same date last year. London had the highest number of households in temporary accommodation, with 36,020 on 31 December, accounting for three quarters of the England total. (2011b)

3:5. PATHWAYS TO AND EXPERIENCE OF HOMELESSNESS.

It is important for the research to give some context to the underlying causes of single homelessness. This gives an understanding of the journeys those that have participated in the research may have taken and the difficulties they face on a daily basis. Clapham recognised that 'an understanding of homelessness needs to embrace the dynamics of this movement into and out of different situations' (Clapham, 2004 p111). There is a public perception that homelessness is self-inflicted, a concept sometimes reinforced by the government policy. Sections 191(1) and 196 (1) of the 1996 Housing Act gives a definition of intentional homelessness. In reality, the causes of homelessness are often the result of a complex interplay between multiple issues. Although the research in the field of homelessness is increasing, there remains little agreement as to the causes and even less agreement to the successful routes out of homelessness (Fitzpatrick, 1999, Crane, 1998, Evans, 1999). Nonetheless an understanding is important to provide effective responses to tackle and prevent homelessness (Pillinger, 2007). Anderson and Christian developed the notion that the bulk of the research has focused on 'discrete' causes of homelessness, which has been important for enhancing our knowledge, but has also led to gaps in our understanding (Anderson and Christian, 2003 p105). They argue for the benefits of the pathways approach, acknowledging the potential contributions of this approach, and suggest a more dynamic explanation of homelessness that would impact on homelessness policy and research in the UK. For Clapham (2003) such an approach would

give more emphasis on the dialogue which shapes the nature of the services for homeless people. The debate in the past has often been simplified to housing or welfare problems caused by either structural factors, such as changes to the labour markets, poverty, government policies in housing and the welfare state or individual factors such as alcohol dependence, substance misuse and mental health (Glasser, 1994, Neale, 1997, Main, 1998). For Minnery neither approach is able to cover the full complexity of homelessness (Minnery and Greenhalgh, 2007 p643). It is now clear that there is a continuum of causes that crosses both structural and individual issues (Tomas and Dittmar, 1995, Avramov, 1999, Forrest, 1999).

MacKenzie and Chamberlain (2003 pv) identified three pathways into adult homelessness. These they named the housing crisis career which drew attention to the fact that for many adults it is poverty, the accumulation of debt that underpins the slide into homelessness. Once they lose their accommodation then their problems normally increase leading many to move into the homeless population for a prolonged period. For some, they adopt this as a way of life. They advocate early intervention and most importantly people in housing crisis will need financial assistance either to avoid eviction or secure alternative accommodation. The second and most problematic pathway to prevent they name as family breakdown, particularly as a result of domestic violence. In this situation early intervention is difficult due to the nature of the process with assistance being required at the point of becoming homeless. In these cases people do not ask for help until they are forced to leave. The final pathway they identify is the transition from youth to adult homelessness. Rosengard et al (2001) emphasised disputes with partners as another reason. In their research for the majority of people interviewed homelessness was a once only experience followed by rehousing in a reasonable time; however there were a small but significant group who had complex homeless histories that are difficult to provide an intervention for. Another difficult group to provide early intervention too because they are already chronically

homeless displaying many issues around addiction and/ or mental health, as well as being unemployed, extremely poor and highly marginalised. MacKenzie and Chamberlain's report indicates that intensive support is the only solution. This is expensive and challenging but over a long period it can yield positive outcomes. My criticisms of the findings from Rosengard's research are they do not reflect the whole homeless population. In my experience independent accommodation for homeless people is not available and so they spend a long time in temporary accommodation.

There is additional research that points to family or relationship breakdown as a common reason for leaving stable accommodation (Hutson and Jones, 1997, Randall and Brown, 1999b) and trauma (Martijn and Sharpe, 2006).This is supported by the findings of another report undertaken by the organisation I work for, (Bonner and Luscombe, 2008) which gave relationship breakdown as the main reason given by respondents for their homelessness, followed by financial, drugs and alcohol. This report too outlined that negative experiences in childhood were a pathway into homelessness, a point Sullivan agrees with, as their research showed that those they studied experienced considerable poverty in childhood (Sullivan et al., 2000 p444). This issue arose in my research with homeless people which will be explored in chapter 5. Those who had poor relationships with their parents during childhood were likely to have been homeless as children. Twenty nine per cent of those questioned were homeless before eighteen years old with individuals being just less than fifteen years old, on average when they first experienced homelessness. (Bonner and Luscombe, 2008 p45 & p48)). This is a telling statistic which the research failed to develop to any depth. It was used to emphasise the importance of stable family life and the relationship between young people and their parents rather than allowed to stand alone for consideration. It outlined the importance of engaging with families at risk of social exclusion in its recommendations but in my view failed to highlight what was a significant finding. Are these

young people a hidden group or looked after? The research does not develop the argument. Differing from the pathway of youth, the causes of homelessness in later life is a combination of personal problems and incapacities, welfare policy gaps and service delivery deficiencies (Crane et al., 2004).

The debates around pathways into homelessness continue both in the UK and across Europe (Firchon and Marpsat, 2007, Hladikora and Hradecky, 2007). Shelter Scotland and Legal Services Agency (2003a) believe there is an emerging consensus around the interaction between socio-structural causes (poverty, unemployment, the housing system) and more psychological explanations of individual reaction in terms of choices made within structural constraints. Tomas and Dittmar (1995) carried out an exploratory study exploring the different concepts of home and house in terms of safety and security. They undertook an intensive, qualitative, small sample interview study with twelve women users of a day centre for homeless people. Questioned on their patterns of moving and definitions of home their answers were compared with those of a group of securely housed women. All of the securely housed could define the meaning between house and home. Only three of the unhoused could. They equated home with safety and security something the unhoused had not experienced. This theme of safety and security is explored through the lives of those interviewed. The outcome questions an easy equation between 'residential instability' and homelessness, and highlights the need to investigate further the reasons why women leave housing, and the relationship this has to an understanding of what 'home' means (p493).This study turns on its head the concern that the homelessness of women is a problem and housing the solution by suggesting that housing is the problem and homelessness is the solution. This questions the direction being taken with the resettlement movement where every effort is put in to finding that magical independent flat that will solve all the problems when for some that is far from reality. Indeed, this emerged from my research findings, where interviewees stated that independent housing was the solution

and yet their accounts revealed many other important needs required meeting.. Jones (1999b) research explored the experience of homeless women, through descriptive data to gain an understanding of the causes, experiences and consequences of their homelessness. Her outcomes are narratives of domestic violence, family breakdown, more severe mental health problems than men, prostitution and abuse throughout childhood. She concluded that specialist support particularly for those with mental ill health and chemical addiction was important. She also concluded that some women avoided using the services dominated by homeless men because they may be vulnerable to attack or assault. The current provision offered by both the statutory and voluntary sectors was shown to be inadequate, but for me there is a hint of an underlying atmosphere within residential centres for the homeless of violence which maybe is not fully acknowledged. This emerged strongly in my findings and will be explored more fully later on.

Fitzpatrick et al. (2000), identified key risk factors associated with homelessness. Their findings outlined family background, experience with social work intervention and criminal justice systems, and physical or mental illness, often linked with alcohol and drug use. All of these they found were well established as being closely associated with acute homelessness (rough sleeping).

3:5:1. Service User Involvement.

Since the mid 1990's I have seen a growing movement towards user involvement within the field of homelessness. Homeless people were seen more as part of the solution rather than the problem (Groundswell, 2008). User involvement in research goes back further to the mid 1970's with the emergence of action research and community and development research. In the 1980's too, both politics and policy began to recognise that user involvement brought a new dimension. 'The

problem was, and remains, how ordinary citizens are best involved in decisions about how public services affect their lives' (Gerrish and Lacey, 2010 p37). Until this point user involvement in research had taken the form of passive or compliant subjects. This thinking changed with a recognition that users 'have the experience and skills that complement those of the researcher' (Goodare and Lockwood, 1999 p1). The recognition that users voices were important found its way into national policy through the 1970's and 80's. Thatcher and then Major pushed through the marketization of health and social welfare and moved into consumerism (Gerrish and Lacey, 2010). During this period policies such as the Citizen's Charter (Conservative Party . Research, 1991) stated the public's rights to know and the use of public opinion as a test of quality. This has since marinated into the public psyche and whilst I question the motives of the move into marketization and consumerism it has led to an increasing focus on user involvement within health and social care. This in my view is a positive thing. It has led to some very helpful literature (Hanley and Staley, 2005, Robson et al., 2003). This has also led to a highlighting of the use of service users in research (DoH, 2000). The benefits of this has been a greater understanding of the research topic that has improved the quality of the research (SURGE, 2005).

This been reflected in social work education too. As social work training has developed, with the move from Dip SW to the Degree in Social Work the emphasis upon service users increased. Service users were involved in shaping the new qualification and there was a requirement to develop a greater understanding of the experience of service users (DH, 2002).

From this increased emphasis on user involvement there begins to emerge an understanding that listening to those most involved (the client) is good practice but how to do this meaningfully is one of the challenges (Gerrish and Lacey, 2010).

The library of research that explores how researchers have involved single people's experience of homelessness from a user perspective has increased. There is an increasing recognition of the need for the voice of the homeless to be heard to enable their views and experiences to influence the public debate and policy (Pillinger 2007). Each example that I looked at had used different ways of collecting and analysing the data and had sought to investigate experiences of most aspects of homelessness. The area that I thought weak, was looking into their experience from an interest in spirituality and from a psychosocial perspective. Garside (1990) for example researched the quality of homeless provision studying 25 hostels. This research included resident satisfaction on how well the different forms of hostel accommodation had met the needs of single homeless people. It concluded that provision for single homeless developed in an ad hoc way and that a coordinated strategy was required. They recommended the need for a range of emergency, short and longer term accommodation some of which were more specialists in nature i.e. age, gender, presenting needs. One of the positive findings from this research was that the views and evaluations of homeless people could be instrumental in shaping design solutions (Moore, 2007). This she wrote countered to views that hostels for the homeless should be small scale, homelike and with high levels of support.

Alexander and Ruggieri (1998) too explored the experiences of former street homeless people resettled through the Rough Sleepers Initiative. Methodologically both postal questionnaires and unstructured, in depth interviews were used to give success stories of pathways out of homelessness. My criticism is the use of postal questionnaires as I believe homeless and former homeless people do not like completing questionnaires and ultimately this was shown in the poor response rate of only eighteen per cent. The research was encouraging listening to what homeless people were telling them. Forty five unstructured interviews is a large sample and takes a lot of resources. It is my view the analysis provided results that were in a lot of places simplified,

merely confirming what was already known i.e. the factors identified that had led to those interviewed sleeping out. I was encouraged by the positive element of exploring aspirations and identified this with my research and wanting to hear from homeless people of their experiences and what the positive elements of their journeys were. . This research, in my opinion, would have benefitted from a deeper exploration of the homeless persons experience and so confirmed from me that a smaller sample going into greater depth was the direction to take.

Pillinger used biographical work in her research 'to gain an improved understanding of individual pathways into, through and out of homelessness' (Pillinger, 2007 p3). She based her research on a pathways approach taking the direction of a person's life experience into; through and out of homelessness and extracting what has worked for them. The study connected with this research in its desire to use the actual experience of the homeless to reach its conclusions. Her methodology was different to that used in this research. She used semi - structured interviews in an informal way which she says 'gave interviewees an opportunity to make sense of their own pathways' (p20). This 'helped provide insights into homeless people's experience and the construction of their lives over their life course' (p20). Clapham also believes 'the very act of recounting the past in a story gives order to a diverse set of experience' (Clapham, 2005 p115). Some of the underlying framework had clear similarities to what I was trying to achieve. Part of Clapham's research was to examine homeless people's pathways through homelessness by focussing on the experience of living in homelessness. The findings came out of reflecting on what the interviewees had said during their interview and these brought together to emphasise the emerging themes. The research questions were very different but both research projects attempted to listen to what the homeless were saying. The methodology was experimental and Pillinger recognised the problem that interviewees may use a combination of hindsight and selective memory to reconstruct their past. It is difficult to assess the full measures taken to

compensate for this as the methodology section in my view is very brief. She has tried to counteract this by the addition of a second interview 4 – 6 weeks after the first intended to correct and inaccuracies and include further questions. From this focus of routes into and out of homelessness it has not only underlined that user experience can give insight which is useful to policy but has highlighted the complexity and multi-faceted nature of homelessness which forms part of this research.

The research by Jones (1999b) previously quoted, examined the experience of homeless women using one to one interviews that were also semi-structured, with a topic guide to guide the conversation and to ensure that all the issues were covered. She also used focus groups which were essentially informal and conversational working loosely from a guide, rather than trying to cover every issue in each group. The women who took part in the focus groups were generally willing to talk openly about their experiences of homelessness (p100). A supplement to accompany the report (Jones, 1999a) was also published were passages of the data collected were used to provide the homeless women with the opportunity to speak directly to policy makers.

Similarly there is a whole library of research around ethnicity (Chatal, 1999, Baker, 1994, Milburn et al., 2006, Davies et al., 1996, 2005). Davies (Davies et al., 1996) for example looks at the extent of homelessness among young people from black and minority ethnic groups; their perspectives and experiences of homelessness. In the ODPM report (2005) the findings concluded that ethnic minority households were three times more likely to become statutorily homeless than their white counterparts. They also found a difference in homelessness amongst the different ethnic minority groups with 'Black African and Black Caribbean origins being twice as likely to be accepted as homeless as people of Indian, Pakistani and Bangladeshi origins' (p5).

There is a growing body of research on the relationship between religion / spirituality and health and well-being, and even mental health, all of which is useful. I have however found very little exploring religion / spirituality from the perspective of somebody experiencing homelessness which is one of the themes that underlies this study.

Chamberlayne (Chamberlayne and Curran, 2002, Chamberlayne, 2004) undertook a research project on agencies dealing with homeless people. They set out using in-depth biographical-narrative interviews of clients, front-line workers, and managers to explore questions of boundaries and relatedness (Wengraf, 2004). The main research theme was 'exemplifying and exploring an emergent pattern of emotional retreat by professionals at key moments of interaction, reinforcing social exclusion at the very point at which its psychological roots might be tackled' (Chamberlayne, 2004 p338). The research resulted in the making of a training and empowerment video used by the two funding organisations. Wengraf later developed one of the case studies in his paper on Lola to explore the boundaries and relationships in homelessness work (Wengraf, 2004). This research project was influential in a couple of ways. It indicated that as a methodology biographic-narrative interviews had been used successfully to interview clients in the field of homelessness. Secondly one of the outcomes of the research was a training pack and video intended to increase the capacity of front-line staff and management to cope with challenging behaviour and support the changes taking place in the lives of the homeless. Whilst the research did not only interview homeless people and the aims were different I was encouraged that the results had been used to make a difference to practice and the lives of service users, an aim of this research – that the voices of those interviewed made a difference.

This section links with my research because what it does is to deepen the idea that having become homeless some people find homes again

but others disappear forever. This underlines the importance of the choice of organisation or whether there is actually a choice?

3:6. GOOD PRACTICE IN HOMELESS CENTRES.

In the field of homelessness there are a wide range of organisations each offering projects built around various programme frameworks designed to work with homeless people. From all the research what influence does this have on the day to day engagement with homeless people and has it made any difference to what is good practice?

There has developed a body of research and good practice guides that inform and assist agencies in this task. Burns and Cupitt (2003) developed a guide for homelessness organisations using managing outcomes as the emphasis. In this, the authors encourage projects to consider the importance of outcome management in developing their service and not merely to accommodate the requirements of funders. This school of writing in my opinion is helpful in efficiently managing a centre but you only develop good managers rather than people with innovative ideas to that change practice. This restricts the ability of the staff and management at homeless centres to develop solutions to the issues such as managing addiction problems, aggressive behaviour, crisis prevention and intervention, and transition planning that they face on a daily basis.

There are a number of classic texts from Homeless Link, an umbrella organisation for homeless organisations are The Hostels Handbook formerly the "Emergency accommodation for homeless people good practice companion" (HomelessLink, 2001) which looked at theory, environment, managing risk, the stages of the process, the needs of the individual. Also The Resettlement Handbook (Bevan et al., 1998) attempt to bring unity and quality to the programs being offered. The host organisation was closely involved in the production of the latter.

Both of these are regarded by practitioners as influential documents within the homelessness sector. These handbooks were very helpful and practical in nature, almost an off the shelf guide to managing and working in a project. What they lacked in my opinion was the theory behind the practice to enable the reader to embed the principles into their understanding so that there would be more than a learned response. In my view there is a lack of academic courses specifically aimed at those working in the homeless field. For many year workers would attend more generic courses in social work, addiction or mental health and take the learning and apply it to homelessness. It is only in recent years that centres of learning have started to develop courses. Seal (2005, 2007) has written a couple of helpful books that have tried to fill the gap giving more of a theoretical basis for the reader to understand.

In recent times there has been an increased emphasis on education and more recently getting service users returning to work, through the teaching of relevant skills and the development of social enterprises. The government in recent years has launched a number of schemes ranging from companies receiving payment if they get people back into work (Smedley, 2012) to their more recent welfare to work schemes (DWP, 2011). This had led to a number of agencies bidding for contracts to try and fulfil these aims. The host organisation for example developed a section called employment plus with a view to working within the centres and communities employing job life coaches to encourage and motivate long term unemployed people back into work. For those not entrenched in homelessness (retained sufficient social skills to maintain employment) then the policy was correct. My concern was always that not all homeless people were able to maintain the discipline required to keep a job. Their lives were so chaotic that getting out of bed in the morning to go to work would be a real achievement.

The government constantly tries to develop new ways of employing this group of people. One example that I became involved in, was an innovation called SPARK. Using the dragons den format from the television programme, the Government sponsored a series of competitions to encourage social enterprise to assist the homeless in to work. Agencies were asked to present their ideas and then help was given to develop a business plan before representatives appeared before a panel of 'dragons' who assessed to potential of the idea and allocated varying amounts of money (total fund five hundred thousand pounds) to help the venture succeed. In addition successful entrepreneurs from corporate business or social enterprise were partnered with each project. Our project based around portable appliance testing did not win but walked off with forty thousand pounds and a mentor. I am now going on to discuss good practice around staff and client interactions.

Some of the research has highlighted some of the dynamics between staff and service users in hostels. McGrath and Pistrang outline the tensions experienced with young homeless people of enforcement versus support, emotional involvement versus distance, and resident-centred versus staff-centred practice (McGrath and Pistrang, 2007). Whilst describing hostels as providing a lifeline for women, in her research Jones concluded that hostel life was described as extremely stressful (Jones, 1999b). She reported that women had been prescribed anti-depressants, and increase in alcohol or drug use, mood swings, insomnia and depression (p61).

In all of the nearly 30 years of working in the field of homelessness what I have not seen are research projects around faith, particularly not from a UK perspective. I am not suggesting that there are none, however I do think there are few specifically related to homelessness that have been readily available at the centre worker level and influenced practice or policy. This research it is hoped will make a difference to the lives of homeless people by influencing thinking at that level as well as management and government.

As discussed in Chapter 2, the organisation within which I am based has, at its core values, religious principles and with the underlying framework of this research being based in psychoanalysis it is important to look at the literature that relates to this. In the next section I at the relationship between religion and psychoanalysis and where there is any mutual ground for exploration of the issues uncovered in this thesis.

3:7. RELIGION AND SPIRITUALITY.

The origins of this research are in looking at faith and how people and an organisation react to other faiths. I think it is important to have some understanding of the different terms, particularly religion and spirituality and give some clarity into why it is important that I research covers this area. I believe that in recent years it has been neglected and seen as not important due to the decrease in the number of people formally following the traditional religions. However I have seen a change in this attitude, not necessarily towards religion but spirituality.

Over recent years there has been a renewed interest in spirituality and religion in many western societies including the UK (Sims, 1994, Hopkins, 1995, Furness and Gilligan, 2010b). With this has developed literature, written predominantly for health professionals and increasingly for social workers about the importance of developing and incorporating culture and spiritual sensitivity and awareness in their work with others (Gray, 2008, Furness and Gilligan, 2010b, Whiting, 2008). It is therefore the claim of some that it is impossible for social workers, to be able to do total justice in a society where there is this growth in interest in spirituality and religion without engaging in some form of religious dialogue (Knitter, 2010). Yet research continues to

indicate that most practitioners experience considerable difficulties in identifying and responding to the religious and spiritual needs of clients that are presented to them (Furness, 2003, Philip, 2003, Gilligan, 2003, Dyrud et al., 2004, Furman et al., 2004). For some they remain unaware of their own values yet alone other peoples, while others struggle to disclose because they fear it will cause others to perceive them as oppressive or prejudiced that could lead to conflict or ridicule (Furness and Gilligan, 2010a). Holloway believes 'social works concern with anti-oppressive practice requires it to rise to the challenge of pluralism of belief and belief practices' (Holloway, 2007 p267).

It is useful at this point to define spirituality and religion, as there is a range of understandings used, which may cause some misunderstanding. Canda (1990a) clearly defines these words. The former is defined as 'the search for meaning, purpose and connection with self, others, the universe, and ultimate reality, however one understands it. This may or may not be expressed through religious forms or institutions'. The latter defined as 'an organised, structured set of beliefs and practices shared by a community relating to spirituality(Canda, 1990b, 1990a).

The definitions given by Henery (2003) are 'Religion is presented as a communal phenomenon composed of specific beliefs, customs and practices. Spirituality on the other hand is often associated with a 'search for meaning' which is individualistic in nature' (p1111).

Although there has been an increased interest in spirituality, the sympathy is not as great within social work compared to other human professional services such as nursing. There is continuing 'inhibition and resistance' in the UK in social work education in particular (Holloway, 2007 p265). It follows that there is a call for social work education to adequately prepare practitioners to work with 'religion – spirituality' (Henery, 2003 p1106).

Research has indicated the tenuous position held between religion and spirituality and social work within the social services of secularized nations (Furman et al., 2004). Furman believes 'the increase of ethnic minority religions in the UK has resulted in a new set of demands and problems for the social services' (p769). Religious adherence and practice is far more common in many of the countries outside the highly secularised West, and this can cause immigrant groups issues when 'moved abruptly from a Society in which their religion was dominant and all pervasive to a society where they form a small deviant minority' (Bruce, 1995 p93). Much of this literature cites the importance of spirituality in people's lives, and in non-western countries most people still have a religious outlook and religion is not separated from ethnicity and culture (Pirouet, 2006 p167). For a large and increasing number of service users in Britain, religion is a basic aspect of human experience, both within and outside the context of religious institutions (Patel and Humphries, 1998). 'To fail to pay attention to religious identity is, then, to fail to pay attention to an important personal identifier, as well as an important means of understanding and dealing with trauma '(Gozdziak and Shandy, 2002 p130). Stuart (2002) argues that religion and spirituality are so embedded in culture that social work practice cannot claim to be competent if it ignores this dimension. Gilligan and Furness (2006) found a need for social work practice to focus attention both on the importance of religious and spiritual beliefs in the lives of many service users and on the potential usefulness of religious and spiritual interventions. John Swinton (2001) too indicates the importance of the Spiritual dimension:

> 'Spirituality has been shown to be a significant aspect of the human condition that requires specific forms of understanding and care in order that people can flourish and find wholeness in a real and meaningful sense' (p38).

Furthermore -

> 'To ignore the issues of spirituality and side step questions of meaning, purpose, happiness and what it means to be human is to risk developing understandings and forms of practice that ignore the essence of what it means to be human and live like a human' (p53).

This gives weight to a suggestion that religious and spiritual dimensions of society are among the most important factors that structure human experience in all areas of life.

Some contemporary social work texts urge the incorporation 'spirituality' into social work education and practice (Henery, 2003). In their study Sheridan et al pointed out that trainees ought to be given the opportunity to explore their own beliefs and practices as well as those of their clients (Sheridan et al., 1992). Reflection and personal development remain vital elements of social work practice and enables the continued development of practice and theory. Furman challenges educators and practitioners to change current thinking to ensure practitioners have the freedom to discuss with peers the use of religious and spiritual techniques and other issues affecting their clients in a manner consistent with professional ethics (Canda and Furman, 1999).

UK legislation in recent years has included sections that attempt to protect religious freedom. Furness (Furness and Gilligan, 2010b) points to Part 2 of the 2006 Equality Act and Furman (Furman et al., 2004) names the 1989 Children Act, the 1990 NHS and Community Care Act and the 1991 Criminal Justice Act, saying that all 'legally mandated that, in addition to racial, linguistic and cultural factors, religious background must inform the practices of social workers' (p769).

The host organisation has begun to develop its own literature over recent years. Much of this has concentrated on exploring the significant, emerging trends in British society. In the report 'The Paradox of Prosperity' (1999) the social and economic circumstances of life in Britain is explored. This report cites a trend of 'decoupling'

between economic growth and emotional well-being in society. One of the symptoms outlined is 'a general loss of meaning in our lives' (p7). Through a decline in faith in traditional sources of authority a trust vacuum has been created that exacerbates people's feelings of uncertainty and vulnerability that in terms of religious beliefs has led towards a trend of pluralism and pliability. Therefore despite some hardening of religious fundamentalism 'a counter trend is growing whereby religion has become more of a personal initiative than a group identity' (p42). Some of this is reflected in service user accounts in this research that follow later. It also brings me to question some of the practices within organisations working with the homeless and of the host organisation. Is this section indicating a loss of the importance of spirituality / religion or a change in how service users express these? This research explores elements of this through their experiences.

3:8. THE RELATIONSHIP OF PSYCHOANALYSIS TO RELIGION.

The theoretical study of religion from a psychoanalytic perspective has a long history (Hall et al., 1998). Over the years there have been claims such as by its criticism of religion psychoanalysis has abolished it (Black, 1993) none of which are true. In this section I look at the literature to explore one of the questions that emerges from this – what is the relationship between psychoanalysis and religion to see if there is any mutual ground between the two to assist in looking for an understanding of human existence and spiritual experience, issues that emerge in the research and are discussed later.

The relationship between Freud, the founder of psychoanalysis and religion was a troubled one. It could be said he was against religion, or at least he understood it as a kind of social 'symptom' or neurosis that revealed deep conflicts in human nature about 'facing reality' – e.g. the reality of death. From his writings it indicates he had something of a preoccupation with the topic. He saw religion as nothing less than an

illusion, albeit a glorious one (Kristeva, 1993) and so rejected it out of hand. Freud described his attitude very clearly when he wrote 'The whole thing is so patently infantile, so foreign to reality, that to anyone with a friendly attitude to humanity it is painful to think that the great majority of mortals will never be able to rise above this view of life …' (Freud et al., 1963 p21). It was his opinion that religion was 'the universal obsessional neurosis of humanity; like the obsessional neurosis of children, it arose out of the Oedipus complex, out of the relation to the father' (Freud, 1928 p43). His view is expressed most prominently in 'The future of an illusion' which Kovel says derives from two factors: 'The first is our helplessness before nature, or to be more exact, our awareness of this helplessness. And second is the persistence of infantile and irrational thinking, both in the individual and society' (Kovel, 1990 p69).

This helplessness is both inner and external. The external is the human feeling of insignificance before a vast universe and the certainty of death. The internal, consciousness is afflicted by the pressure from the unconscious and its drives. According to Freud, these are:

> 'called forth from the infantile mind an urge for parental protection. Externally, we wish for a powerful parent to protect us from the threats of nature as mother or father cared for us when we were equally helpless as infants before the tasks of everyday reality; and internally, because the drives are so structured as to destroy the mental representation of loving parents, reassurance is needed against our inner, or second nature as well' (Kovel, 1990 p69).

Stadlen takes the concept of 'Love thy neighbour' and uses it to illustrate Freud's position (Stadlen, 1993 p43). This is a central concept in both Judaism and Christianity with most other religions, even humanism, teaching similar precepts (Stadlen, 2004). Freud was very forceful in his opposition to this concept, writing that his own love was precious and should be given to a neighbour only 'if he is so like me in important ways that I can love myself in him' (Freud, 1930 p110). Stadlen suggests that this could be seen as the central tenet of

psychoanalysis and is a statement of psychoanalytic narcissism (Stadlen, 1993).

Freud's only faith was in 'the still small voice of science' (Kovel, 1993 p70). On some interpretations his vision of man reduces him to that of natural science, an object (Stadlen, 1993 p47) whereas religion, particularly the Judaea – Christian tradition lifts man to a personal relationship with an omnipotent being.

With Freud taking such a negative stance against religion, the vast majority of those that followed similarly rejected it too. However even though many psychoanalysts are hostile to religion, a number of individual analysts have questioned Freud's total rejection of religion. LaMothe (2010)gives some examples of people like Erikson, Winnicott, Rizzuto and Meissner that have given time to consider the relationship between psychoanalysis and religion and develop some understanding between the two fields.

The emergence of object relations theory enabled a change to take place in how psychoanalysis was able to think about religion. As Black writes:

> 'It opens a path to speaking of religion, psychoanalytically, with respect, and also to understanding the evolution of religious systems which are quite different from one another and yet can have comparable authority. It opens up a possibility of criticizing religions for their limitations without rejecting what is of value in them' (Black, 1993 p14).

One of the questions that should be considered is whether psychoanalysis is a variety of religion itself. There are many elements that suggest it is with its holy texts, its hierarchies and churches, disciples spreading the good news, promises of salvation, and claims to truth (Ward and Zarate, accessed on line). Ward and Zarate suggest that even trainee psychotherapists may feel they are being initiated into a cult, and that trainees could:

> 'imagine they are acquiring secret knowledge that will give them power over other people. To 'know everything' is surely one of our most cherished childhood wishes. Similarly, people outside the field might picture a group of adherents using magical procedures to read people's minds and take away their free will' (p1).

Freud's colleague Carl Jung, very early on recognised the religious elements of psychoanalysis and that many of those that practice embrace these. He wrote:

> 'Religions are systems of healing for psychic illness. . . . That is why patients force the psychotherapist into the role of a priest, and expect and demand of him that he shall free them from their distress. That is why we psychotherapists must occupy ourselves with problems which, strictly speaking, belong to the theologian' (Jung, 1933 p246).

Symington believes that it is a religion, although not in the same sense as the world's main religions. He differentiates between a revealed religion which is based on the belief that God revealed himself and his law to man, and natural religion. The latter accords with man's nature (p52) and is concerned with how man should live, that transcends his material welfare (p56). It is in this category that Symington believes that psychoanalysis is religion (Symington, 1993).

Classical psychoanalysis at its most basic is a theory of human behaviour and motives, and over the years it has developed a body of literature which offers interpretations of religious behaviour. 'What was unique about psychoanalytic efforts was the focus on the actual content of beliefs and rituals, and the actual behaviour of concrete believers and communities' (Hallahmi, 2008 p355). Black (2006) believes the application of psychoanalytic ideas can be the royal road to the understanding of religion. The relationship between the two fields can therefore be understood as they try to give a different interpretation of the same area of concern. For example the inner calling that the Christian may describe as from the Holy Spirit, Freud

would argue is a case of the superego at work (Kovel, 1990 p70). For some the relationship has begun to change. Blass writes of a movement away from the use of psychoanalysis to explain religious phenomena and toward the notion that not only was psychoanalysis compatible with religious beliefs, but the two kinds of belief systems had much in common. And indeed, paralleling the intellectual enterprise of attempting to explain religious behaviour with the help of psychoanalytic ideas (Blass, 2006). Many would not go as far as Blass suggests. However the British psychologist Guntrip who, as well as being a Congregational minister was a member of the Salvation Army in his late youth argued:

> 'If … we dismiss all religion because there is such a thing as neurotic religion, we are on dangerous ground, for there are also neurotic forms of politics, of art, of marriage …. We cannot dismiss everything because it can be neurotic'

and

> 'If religion can express neurotic dependence, atheism can express equally neurotic independence' (Guntrip, 1969 p323).

The distance between psychoanalysis and religion has certainly narrowed since the early days of Freud, but it would be inaccurate to suggest that mistrust did not remain. Elements within mainstream religion remain skeptical considering psychoanalysis as heresy, and equally elements within psychoanalysis continue to see religion as delusionary and therefore immoral.

As a practising Christian who has studied social work from a psychoanalytical perspective for a number of years I am not sure that Freud's attitude is reconcilable. Wallace (1983) wrote that the compatibility question is one of value rather than fact and the answer depends on your conception of psychoanalysis. There have been times when in tutorials and particular during my attendance of one of the annual 'Leicester Conferences' held by the Tavistock Institute that I

have felt very uncomfortable to the point of questioning whether I could continue studying. I acknowledge that part of the role of this study is to look at, understand and question myself. Many of the concepts in psychoanalysis I find very helpful in my understanding of work situations that are extreme, and they give me a framework to start to understand and unravel what has occurred and how to begin to work with the client to move forward. There are those concepts that to me are not compatible and I use these like pick and mix sweets choosing the ones that help me and leaving those behind that I cannot reconcile.

3.9. FAITH BASED SERVICES IN A SECULAR MULTI FAITH BASED SOCIETY.

There was a time in the history of the United Kingdom that faith based organisations provided the 'catch all' net for those that fell on hard times in society. In 1940 legislation was passed that continued to change the balance of support from the faith organisations to the government.

Within homelessness until thirty years ago, the field was dominated by a few large faith groups such as the YMCA, Church Army and The Salvation Army (Sycamore, 2002). About that time a number of none faith groups were formed in response to criticism at the time. For example CHAR (Campaign for the Homeless and Rootless)[2] and St Mungo's[3], and from this time many agencies have come into being for example Broadway, Thames Reach and Centrepoint.

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[2] CHAR was set up as a campaigning organisation in response to the housing crisis that began in the 1960s with slum clearance programmes and a decline in affordable private-sector rental accommodation. It later become known as the National Homeless Alliance (a national membership body for organisations tackling homelessness), which, in 2001, then merged with Homeless Network to become Homeless Link

[3] St Mungo's begins in a house run by volunteers in Battersea, which was opened to rough sleepers, with a soup run operating from the kitchen. Its founder, a Glaswegian, took the name St Mungo's from the patron saint of his native city, although the organization is not religious. It now operates approximately 1500 beds for the homeless and other services in London.

Within this vast and complicated subject it is important to locate this section in the theoretical social policy context and its ideological situatedness. I will first try and look at the changing nature of social work and the welfare state particularly in late modern / post-modern culture and how faith-based organisations have responded. I will then look at the interplay between organisational defences as understood by Menzies Lyth (1960) and the nature of modern organisational cultures and forms as driven by the managerialist related performance. This is central to the overall preoccupations of this thesis.

Individuals and organisations are currently experiencing an unsettled period of time as we move from late modernity to postmodernity. To recap modernity was a period where western society broke from the past and tradition set in motion by the industrial revolution. It departed from tradition and religion and moved towards individualism and an increasing use of science and new technologies. This period saw political, social and cultural change in the search for progress and a better society. During this period modernity faced two crises(Howe, 1996).The first was in its search for freedom and truth it left many people in abject poverty, degradation and despair creating unrest on a significant scale. The solution was attempts to discipline and regulate social life, and social workers and the welfare state played their part in this. The second was by the 1960's the new right neoliberal capitalist politics began to believe that this collectivism had gone too far and that the welfare state was interfering in the rights of the individual and so as part of deregulation and privatisation started to dismantle the welfare state.

Postmodernism is the reaction to the absolute belief in science, or objective effort to explain reality. For the postmodernist there are no fundamental truths. 'The truth is neither revealed by studying the word of God nor discovered by the power of human reason, for there is no truth (Howe, 1996). As Gergen (1991) puts it 'truth is in trouble today'. No group has the key to absolute truth. This has in many ways

left science like religion in a difficult position where there is a struggle with the absolute truth being presented. There are those however that indicate opportunities for faith based organisations believing that neoliberalisation opens spaces for the reaching out and reprivatizing of faith based organisations into the urban public realm in new and sometimes contrasting ways (Beaumont and Dias, 2008).

Social work practice and theory reflect the times they are in and Howe (1996) argues that during the recent political and cultural changes 'many of social work's theories have become analytically more shallow and increasingly performance related' (p77). He talks about the trend away from engagement with people's biographies, narratives and lives towards a preoccupation with behaviour performance and a surface phenomenon. There has been the growth of managerialism and neo liberal individualism within society and this has penetrated into the welfare state.

These changes are having consequences to both for the individual and the organisation. For me an understanding of the organisational defence begins with Bion's notion of "containment" which provides an illuminating account of the destructive or sometimes positive behaviour of groups burdened with survival anxieties (Armstrong, 1995). Bion believed that a group has to evolve a structure of tasks, roles, procedures, rules, ascribed status ("group culture"), so that it can contain the anxiety of the unknown and the responses which, unconsciously, are mobilised to defend against that unknown (Armstrong, 1995). This unknown is both what is unknown and feared in each of us and what is unknown in the realities we engage with as we live and work.

In Menzies classic paper 'The functioning of social systems as a defence against anxiety: A report on a study of the nursing service of a general hospital' (Menzies, 1960) she develops Jaques (Jaques, 1955) initial concept of anxiety and defences against anxiety. The concept of

'social defence' refers to largely non – conscious but socially organised mechanisms of managing anxieties, anxieties which can be of an ontological, sexual or moral nature' (Hoggett, 2010), and Menzies innovation was to connect anxiety to the task facing the group.

Examples of social defences are depersonalisation and hyperactivity each designed to avoid feeling or thinking about the anxiety. The changes being asked of organisations as society evolves have led to the belief that there is now the need to revise her thinking. Hoggett (2010) believes in the last decade that there has been a shift towards a more thoroughly psychosocial perspective and what he describes as a culture of perversion' (p204). Developed from the findings of Longs (2008) research into Enron he believes there has been a corruption of thinking, that organisations operate in a culture of tables and targets begin to change how they respond neglecting areas to move towards targets. He writes that Cummins (2001) believed it encouraged conformity and gaming rather than performance. This then increasingly confuses image and reality. For government this hides the reality of increased social suffering and decline but for organisations this draws staff away from the understanding service users to meet the demands of inspectors (Miller, 2005).

In Cooper's (2010) view psychoanalytic theory is largely the practice of helping people think thoughts that have hither too been too painful or difficult to bear (p221) and institutions are being asked to perform a similar work on behalf of society. The changes in policy are therefore leaving individuals and organisations exposed to extremely strong emotions that they are not equipped to manage. In society reality and image are becoming confused and so whilst on the surface the government's move towards performance indicators seemed to give a picture of prosperity, the reality has shown an increased social suffering and Britain's long term economic and social decline (Hoggett, 2010). This in my opinion has left social work struggling trying to contain the fears of society with ever decreasing resources

and so when tragic incidents occur society then looks to place the blame somewhere. There are elements of this revealed in this research that I will discuss later where centres for homeless people are containing elements of society that it is unable or unwilling to assist.

Hoggett sites the particularly vivid ways that cases such as 'Baby P'[4] show that the anxieties faced by public officials are social anxieties which elicit multi – level social defences at team, organisation and government level (p211). This has led Cooper to conclude that many of the instruments that government have put in place such as audit, inspection and risk management are in an attempt to ward off or a fear of death. With each incident the response is another procedure. It is as Andrew Cooper writes 'most of this superstructure of inspection and checking is actually a form of ritual, and that those who administer it are priests of the various churches that have grown up to help us manage our anxieties about death in a secular age' (2010 p226).
He suggests that

> 'the contradictions in modern social policy can be partly explained by their 'excess rationality' which in turn might derive from contemporary misconceptions about the nature of (social) science, society itself, and their relationship to faith, including religious faith. But if so then so much the better, for we need a world full of surprises' (Cooper, 2010 p226).

Adam Dinham claims to have identified a 'subconscious secularism' running through society (Furness, 2012) which indicates a misconception of the motives of faith based organisations. People are prone to think that groups will only provide help to the people of the same faith. Rather than promoting religion or discriminating against certain groups on many levels the role of faith based organisations may be difficult to differentiate from that of the secular agency however they may provide key parts of the jigsaw as society tries to grapple

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[4] 'Baby P' was a 17 month old boy who died in 2007 as a consequence of sustained physical abuse despite being under the care of the official child protection system in Haringey, north London. Baby P's mother, her boyfriend and her boyfriend's brother were convicted of causing or allowing the death of a child (Hoggett 2010 p211).

with primitive anxieties, defence mechanisms and the dread of extermination. In light of this discussion, the research does return later to consider possible roles faith based organisations offer in understanding these difficult emotions.

3:10. CONCLUSION.

The literature review has outlined some of the literature linking this research to wider intellectual and research terrain, particularly within the field of homelessness, and has given some indication of areas in which it may provide a unique contribution.

This chapter has looked at what is homelessness, exploring the various definitions. It examined government policy considering how this has shaped the current response to homelessness, and what effect this has had on the numbers of people that are homeless. It then reviewed some of the research investigating pathways into and the experience of homelessness. The next part of the chapter moved into exploring the compatibility or otherwise of the seeming opposing underlying paradigms behind the research. It explored the relationship between psychoanalysis and religion in order to grasp the constantly changing relationship between the two. It finished by looking at faith based services in a secular multi faith based society. Religion and social work have a long association.

Social work was born out of religion and the former could be said to be largely irrelevant today. What has been shown is that it remains a key influence in which social work is carried out (Hunter, 1998).

The research being undertaken today within the field of homelessness does not focus on faith, and neither has there been in depth narrative interviews undertaken around this particular aspect with a view to giving the opportunity to speak and listen. The starting point of this

research is faith and brings a fresh view from a psychodynamic perspective taking the voices of five homeless people and gives a glimpse into themselves, ourselves and our mutual struggles. In the next chapter this thesis will consider the issues around research design and methodology giving an explanation of the steps taken to select the participants and collect and analyse the data.

CHAPTER FOUR: METHODOLOGY.

4:1. INTRODUCTION.

This chapter commences with an outline of the original thinking pertaining to the development of the research questions. I then offer an account of why I chose to design the research the way I did to enable the experiences of homeless people to be recorded and analysed. The chapter eventually reaches the decision that rather than following rigidly to one specific methodology a more flexible approach is required.

There are two distinct phases to this research. Firstly, the undertaking of the Biographical Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM). The theoretical background is addressed and the reason why this has been selected as the most appropriate methodology to secure data. BNIM is an open narrative approach. The development of a single narrative inducing question (SQUIN)
, one of its central features, is also touched upon. The second phase of research process, was the use of grounded theory to analyse the data. Consideration is given to how the most appropriate methodology to analyse the data was selected as well as the process used in carrying out the task. The chapter concludes by assessing the impact on the research in relation to my support network.

4:2. THE RESEARCH QUESTION.

Since the screening of Jeremy Sandford's television drama 'Cathy Come Home' in 1966, which illustrated the relentless spiral of one family into poverty and homelessness, homelessness that had been ensconced by society was brought to the fore of public thinking and government policy. Successive governments since that date have invested resources in seeking a solution to the dilemma of

homelessness and yet today this remains a significant problem. Whilst the story outlined in 'Cathy Come Home' is still a reality for some, add to this the more recent influx of homeless people who arrive in the country as asylum seekers, refugees or those from within the European Union, and this is the reality of homelessness today.

4.2.1. Research Questions

My submitted title and research question was 'Experiencing a Christian based programme: A qualitative study of people from other faiths or with no faith who have experienced homelessness and are undertaking a Christian based programme'. This had grown out of my desire to understand the dynamics that have developed within the organisation that I work for. Increasingly, as a Christian based organisation, it was working with those of other faiths and no faith and I wanted to capture the experiences and perceptions of people's experiences. I have long held an interest in the effectiveness of a spiritual based programme. Questions around their effectiveness, how to make this attractive to those with no faith and whether this is relevant to somebody of another faith was important to me. So in essence, I wanted to explore a non-Christian's experience of a Christian based programme. The backdrop to this was the seeming stance of local authorities in certain areas against faith based programmes, particularly Christian. In my personal experience, local authorities were beginning to interfere with internal issues of management. For example, one local Council requested that organisational management and staff refrain from wearing uniform whilst working within the homeless centre. There also seemed a concern that Christian programmes were only interested in promoting their religious beliefs and were discriminatory in their admission policies (Johnsen and Quilgars, 2011). Meeting regularly with authorities throughout the United Kingdom I was constantly questioned on admission policies, attitudes to the gay and lesbian community, religious content and whether these were compulsory or not. Johnsen

and Quilgars (2011) observed a similar trend that local authorities had the misconception that faith-based groups want to evangelise or will restrict their services to people of the same faith.

Alongside this, over recent years there has been an increased interest in the role of religion and spirituality in social work (Sims, 1994, Hopkins, 1995, Furness and Gilligan, 2010b) as briefly mentioned in the previous chapter . The work of John Swinton (2001), although in the field of mental health, influenced my thinking around spirituality, informing a person's awareness of self, the society around them, and the importance of spirituality in relation to a person's mental well-being.

When developing the research questions, there were a number of possibilities that emerged particularly around organisational relationships, living and working with difference and diversity, cross cultural and racial understanding/ misunderstanding and the importance of spirituality. From these, two types of questions emerged. There were those about service users' experience, such as do those experiencing the programme gain from a spiritual element? Then there were questions concerning the organisation, such as are the organisation managing to step outside their moral prison and describe their state of mind? Other questions that arose included; are they struggling to change and are they able to work with service users of different faiths and beliefs? What is the dilemma for a faith based organisation facing the controversies of operating in a secular, multi faith society? How does the frontline engage with those of other faiths? How can we become more aware and take responsibility for what we disown? By this I mean there are things happening that the organisation and staff refuse to think about or acknowledge. To explore all of the questions through a psychodynamic viewpoint was a large undertaking and whilst all these questions remained an interest, the methodology chosen was aimed at exploring the issue of faith and homeless people. During the research whilst working through the data and undertaking the analysis

the focus of the project shifted as did the title. The direction the material was taking me meant that some of the original questions were less important and other lines of thought were opening up. This was very much part of the design of the research as I wanted to hear and be influenced by what the interviewee wanted to say. There needed to be a realignment and the two main questions asked became:

- What does an in depth analysis of the emotional biographies of a group of homeless people tell me about the psychic material and spiritual needs that they bring to the centre?
- What is the place of faith and faith based organisations in the lives and minds of service users?

From my research findings I began to consider the organisational response. In other words as a practitioner how can I use the findings of this research to inform practice and implement? How can I conceptualise the nature of the organisational task in relation to the distinctive states of mind encountered? It is important that I am able to communicate the ideas that emerge about the task of and structures within organisations to help those in positions of responsibility develop their thinking. The latter two therefore rather than questions are possible outcomes of the research. The findings led me to consider these difficult and painful issues which require further research.

With this change in direction and the introduction of the two new research questions, to recognise this, the title of the thesis changed to Standing in the Shadows: Faith, Homelessness and Troubled lives.

From the beginning, one of this research project's aims was to create a space to be able to carefully listen to those being interviewed and find out about their experiences, how they felt and hear what they wanted to tell. It was important to listen closely, because it is my belief that homeless people may be listened to but are not heard. Having read widely for the literature review I found that the research is limited and

I questioned how far the painful experiences of homeless people were really heard by the researchers. Finally, by setting up a quasi-therapeutic space in this way I felt the interviewees would able to use this as a positive experience and may help in a small way to move them forward in their journey. These interviews were research interviews and not therapy; however I believe that through this experience the position of those interviewed changed. This does raise potential ethical issues that will be discussed later on in the chapter.

4:3. THE RESEARCH DESIGN.

Following much reflection and consultation the germ of an idea developed into the research questions. The next stage undertaken was to take some time reading around the area of the research topic. I researched the topics of homelessness, rough sleeping, and spirituality in particular. What emerged was confirmation there was room for research that listened in depth to those who had experienced homelessness and allowed them to have an influence on policy, programme and organisational issues as discussed at length in the preceding chapter. There was very little explicit reflection on the difference faith makes and the experience of homeless people to this. I found it frustrating that the research that had been undertaken had not led to any significant change in policy at either a local or national level. As mentioned some research existed looking at the importance of faith to mental health (Swinton, 2001) but nothing specific in the area of this research. Outside of the work of Chamberlayne (2006) who concentrated on street homeless rather than those that had move off the street into accommodation, the use of in-depth interviewing particularly BNIM is very limited. The cases citedin the previous chapter show the limitations and different approaches taken. I was unable to access any research that looked at the individual biographies of homeless people that explored psychic material and faith, and how that influenced the culture of a homeless centre. Added to this was a

seeming resurgence in the interest of social work practice around religion and spirituality returning towards social works early origins in a Christian ethos. When I started to design the research in order to meet the criteria of listening to homeless people I wanted to explore the experience of a few individuals from in-depth life story interviews rather than a larger number of interviews conducted in less depth. In my view, undertaking interviews in less depth would not have achieved the rich data this research did and so not given the reader the same insight into the experience and thoughts of those interviewed (Merrill and West, 2009, Wengraf, 2001).

4:4. RESEARCH METHODOLOGIES.

The research questions thus established the parameters around which the research was designed. The next stage was to take these principles, along with an understanding of my own basic belief system and view of the world and match them with the most suitable research method. At this point however, it is worth considering what methodology is.

4:4:1. What is methodology?

Methodology is more than the choice of what information to collect, how to collect it and what to do with it once you have collected it. It is to explain and justify the particular methods used in a given study (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007).

One of the clearest definitions is that methods can be seen as the 'ingredients of research' whereas methodology 'provides the reasons for using a particular research ingredient' (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007 p23). Methods are part of methodology but methodology talks of the logic and philosophy behind the methods used in a research study. It provides a rationale as to why some approaches and methods have been used and others discounted(Kothari, 1990).

It is important to understand the answers to such questions as why has the research been done, what data has been collected and what method was used to collect it, how has this been analysed? In order to be able to do this the researcher needs to understand the philosophical position which informs the research. This tells them how they look at the world and what assumptions are being made and are thought of in terms of ontology and epistemology. Ontology is a theory of what exists and how it exists and an epistemology is a related theory of how we can come to know these things (Clough and Nutbrown, 2007 p33). Methodology is the task of justification. The importance of getting the research method correct cannot be overestimated, and understanding the methodology is one of the keys to its success.

4:4:2. The Quantitative / Qualitative Debate.

Researchers recognise a distinction between two ends of a research spectrum, at one quantitative and the other qualitative methodologies and methods. Quantitative data is in the form of numbers produced by measurement whereas qualitative data most of the time means words (Punch, 2005). In recent years there has been an on-going debate over the relative merits of the two groups. Each is built on a particular paradigm, a patterned set of assumptions concerning reality (ontology) knowledge of reality (epistemology) and the particular ways of knowing that reality (methodology) (Guba, 1990).

Quantitative research is based on a positivist paradigm which contends that real events can be observed empirically and explained with logical analysis (Kaboub, 2008). It is characterised by empirical research. Ontologically there is only one truth and that exists outside of human perception. It is based in science and so to validate a scientific theory there must be the ability to show that the claims made are consistent and can be reproduced. Quantitative research is able to do this as it operates in a laboratory type environment with key characteristics of

control, replication and hypothesis testing ensuring the dependability of the research (Gerrish and Lacey, 2010). From an epistemological perspective quantitative research sees the researcher and participant as independent of each other and so not influencing the research outcomes. Quantitative research methods include self-completion questionnaires, interview surveys, correlation and causation research(Gerrish and Lacey, 2010).

Quantitative research has much strength in terms of testing and validating theories, testing hypothesis that are generated before data collection, provides precise, numerical data, the results are relatively independent of the researcher and is able to study large numbers of people (Sale et al., 2002). Some of the limitations for quantitative research methods are that often it produces banal and trivial finding of little consequence, and because it is mainly hypothesis testing rather than generating it may miss out on some of the trends occurring (Carr, 1994, Walker, 2005).

Qualitative research is based on, amongst others, phenomenological, interpretive, and social constructionist paradigms and attempts to describe the meaning of lived experience. One of the major features identified by Miles & Huberman (1994) is the focus on naturally occurring, ordinary events in natural settings, so that we have a handle on what 'real life' is like.

Ontologically there are multiple realities based on an individual's construction of reality which may be understood as constantly changing. Qualitative research from an epistemological view differs from the quantitative because there is no possibility of independence in the researcher – participant relationship. They are intertwined and so the emphasis is more on process and meaning (Denzin and Lincoln, 2000).

Qualitative research has much strength. It is descriptive and able to describe complex phenomena and study dynamic processes (Mack et al., 2005). The close involvement of the researcher gives an insider view and often finds issues missed by positivistic research (Hughes, 2006). Some of the negatives of qualitative research are the time taken to complete the research, the amount of data that is produced, the skill needed by a facilitator or interviewer to obtain good quality data (Pope et al., 2000). There are always going to be concerns and scepticism about the use of individual case study methods in some circles of research. As Buckner (2005) puts it 'in qualitative research, researcher influence on data generation and interpretation is a much debated issue' (p59). Qualitative research is often thought of as unreliable and not scientifically sound because those making the criticism can only see truth through the eyes of science. They cannot accept that there may be other ways at gaining truth. It is true that qualitative research has neglected the trend towards needing to be evidence based (Briggs, 2005). Consequently this has led to the accusation there is an inability to reproduce the findings and an inability to be able to make general inferences of the findings as is possible with statistics.

It is my belief that both come from rich and varied traditions and the important element is more what do you want to find out, rather what camp you sit in. There are those that because of the very different paradigms believe that it is not possible to have a mixed methodology. That is not my understanding; however it does need to be carefully planned. My personal stance and preference is in the qualitative area of research and this research project in my opinion lends itself more appropriately to a qualitative method.

The aim of qualitative research is showing not only what is happening but why something is happening. The thinking about this is underlined by Watson and Austerberry:

'The turn to a qualitative approach has been far more successful in developing our understanding of the complex interplay of factors that can lead to a person becoming homeless. It has also helped explore the experiences of homelessness and the different ways in which people negotiate that experience' (May, 2000 p615).

Four different methodologies were initially considered (3 qualitative and 1 quantitative) these being Biographic – Narrative Interpretive Method (BNIM), Grounded Theory, Psychoanalytic Observation, and Survey research methodologies.

Here I shall consider the methodological issues that emerged before and during the research and discuss how these were adapted to complete this study.

Survey research was rejected because my personal preference and skills leans towards qualitative research rather than quantitative. In my view it would not have fulfilled one of the main requirements of the research – that of giving a voice. Psychoanalytic observation would have taken the research in a different direction as the framework is open ended and the method based around the observation of a group of homeless people for a set duration of time. The notes generated by the observations from the data. I believed that this would have generated some very interesting data but I was not convinced that it was the best way to answer the research question posed. Neither was I able to commit to the time commitment that is required. Grounded theory was a real contender in the research design but initially I rejected it because of my interest in BNIM's as a method. As you will read, this method influenced the final methodology and played in integral role in the analysis of the data collected in this research project.

Having reviewed the four methodologies, BNIM was particularly attractive for the interview methodology. I had enjoyed exploring it as a methodology during seminars and left wanting to develop my knowledge further. It has been used previously with some success with

homeless people (Chamberlayne, 2004) and is a qualitative methodology that will give the opportunity for homeless people to express themselves and therefore the opportunity to develop new understandings and not merely confirm current thought. In approaching the aims of this research project, one of my overriding objectives, as has been alluded to, was to capture the experiences and perceptions of people who are variously placed in the relationship between homelessness and a Christian based programme. A particular emphasis has been placed on the voices of homeless people. From this it was felt important that the methodology used should be non-directive, allowing those interviewed to talk more freely and to give them a better opportunity of expressing their views. A more directive approach it was felt would not be as beneficial. As already stated BNIM is an open narrative approach and the single narrative inducing question requires minimal interviewer interruption. For these reasons BNIM's was chosen as the method of data gathering and analysis in this research.

4:4:3. Biographic Narrative Interview Method (BNIM).

In – depth biographic narrative interviews as a methodology for exploring lived experiences have been developed over the past fifteen years or so. As Chamberlayne wrote 'A great strength of biographical methods lies in their ability to connect policy with lived experience' (2004 p337). It is about capturing who the person is whilst gaining an understanding of social processes (Chamberlayne et al., 2004). The method does challenge the more traditionally used evidence based methods because of the size and content of the data and analysis which are more experiential. She argues that evidence based research methods are unlikely to give a flavour of what it is really like in the crucial relationship between users and professionals. This made this method a serious candidate as the main methodology of research in this context.

One of the main principles of this method is its openness where the questions are not determined by 'theoretically deduced hypothesis constructed in advance' (Breckner and Rupp, 2002 p294), but are very dependent on the themes and the way they are presented by the interviewee. Here the interview begins with a very general initial question about a topic that is connected to the topic of study. The interviewee is then given the possibility and space to develop accounts of their own experiences that are not guided by further questions or interruption. Through this relevant patterns and connections in the research area will emerge during the course of the process.

The initial question is of great importance. The Single Narrative Seeking Question (SQUIN) gives an open invitation for the interviewee to tell their story, or at the least part of it that is of interest to the researcher.   This initial form of question allows the interviewee to develop their own frame of reference in open narrative interviews (Buckner, 2005 p63). Too direct or concentrated to a particular aspect of the research and this may well focus the data collected too much and result in a complex account and the meaning of a topic implied but not directly stated. Similarly the topic given might not be of interest, relevant or too sensitive to the interviewee, and so they may not wish to talk about something or raise a string defence which will influence the collected data. What happens with less direction is that a more complex and multi-layered picture emerges. This I believe is illustrated by the narratives obtained in this research using the method.

The Biographic – Narrative Interpretive Method values the knowledge of a personal history in arriving at an understanding of the choices which people make and the constraints and assumptions as well as the decisions which structure their lives. Once the initial question is asked the role of the interviewer is to listen, and merely note the main themes in the order they emerge to enable follow up questions to be asked in the next part of the interview. During this phase no verbal

communication is allowed, only non-verbal encouragement to let the interviewee know you are listening and encouraging them to continue.

The second stage of the method after the narrative is completed is what is described as internal narrative questioning. Here the interviewer uses his notes to explore previously mentioned experiences, events and life phases and spheres in greater detail, evoking further narrations still orientated to the interviewees' relevancies, supporting their process of recollection. The questioning has to be in the order that it emerged in the initial interview with no questions for events that were not covered. The method does allow for a final interview if required. This uses questions that are outside of the first interviews frame of reference. In this interview biographical details and other information can be asked. As Wengraf puts it 'further narrative questioning can be posed but also in which non narrative questions and activities can be designed'(Wengraf and Chamberlayne, 2006 p30).

4:4:3:1. Data Analysis.

In the Biographic Narrative Interpretive Method interpretation, there are a number of ways to analyse the interviews. With all of these the aim is to grasp the 'experiencing' of the life world-interpreting and world-acting subject (Wengraf and Chamberlayne, 2006 p29). It is to reconstruct and understand the life history and life study, in what way the presenting meaning of a topic is based on past experiences, (lived life) and in what way the present perception of life (life story) and how this is moulding the biographical data of the interview. The interview is analysed purely as data. A panel is used of researchers who have no knowledge of the interview they merely work from the data and are asked to 'imagine the possible subjective experiencing of the first event-chunk' (Wengraf and Chamberlayne, 2006 p31). The process involves the panel being immersed in the transcript and hypothesising at each new revelation of dialogic material (Fenge and Jones, 2011).

Through this the case history is then constructed from the interpretations of the different strands (lived life and life story).

To summarise the advantages of this methodology includes the fact that it lays stress on valuing knowledge of a personal history in arriving at an understanding of the choices which people make and the constraints and assumptions as well as the decisions which structure their lives. In addition it is possible to develop theories from biographical evidence that can lead to fresh insights and creative approaches in work with disadvantaged and vulnerable groups and individuals. It gives the voice of the non-professional the means to challenge the system translating stories found in everyday lives into a format that can be distributed to and understood by academics and policy makers. Chamberlayne (2004) believes there are two main grounds why professionals are responsive to the method. Firstly BNIM's ability to determine different levels of meaning and consciousness and then be able to take the understanding of action strategies past the conscious into the unconscious. Secondly is the methodology's ability to observe the interaction between organisational structures and inner worlds to show how humans influence organisational systems by revealing defences and unrealistic potential in both. My observation of the strengths of the method is the use of the open question which allowed the interviewee to take some control of the interview process and this led to the disclosure of data that may not have been revealed in a more structured method. The depth and richness of the data gained was very good. The participatory approach is a strength and I believe allows the method to engage with marginalised individuals and groups.

4.4.3.2. Limitations of BNIM.

Researchers that have used narrative interviewing as a method have indicated that there are two main problems with the technique (Jovchelovitch and Bauer, 2000). The first they identify they described as the uncontrollable expectations of the informants. Whilst the

interviewee tries to stay independent, the participants make a hypothesis about what the interviewer wants to hear and what they think they already know and this influences the outcome of the narrative. This brings into question the claims of non-directivity of the narrative interviews. It could be argued however that within qualitative research paradigms, it is unrealistic to imagine the interviewer has no influence on the story being told; indeed the social constructionist nature of such approaches ensures that the interviewer and interviewee are jointly creating the story. They are in a socially situated dynamic relationship.

The second limitation is the often unrealistic role and rules required by the method. The rules are put in place to assist the interviewer in gaining narratives that are sometimes of a very sensitive nature. Jovechelovitch & Bauer (2000 p65) believe this is not suitable for all interviewees. The method presents ideal standards which are rarely achieved because there is a reliance on the skill of the interviewer. The quality of the interview will reflect how the interviewee presents themselves and reacts particularly at the beginning which sets the standard for the whole process. My experience partly acknowledges this criticism. I did not find the rules restrictive to either party; however I acknowledge the quality of the method does rely on the skills of the interviewee and on the willingness of the interviewee to participate. While it may be difficult to achieve the textbook 'gold' standard I remain committed to its use as a viable research method.

Another possible criticism is that BNIM as a method is relatively new and is in its infancy compared to more established methods. There are differences to other narrative approaches particularly in the analysis. There are now an increasing number of research projects completed and current that have used BNIM. These are enlarging the data base using BNIM's, giving more information and understanding which is helping bring the method more into the mainstream.

Clapham too expresses concern 'because of the way that interviewees may tell the story of their life by reconstructing their past through a mixture of selective memory and hindsight' (Clapham, 2004 p111). This means that the value of the findings is reduced as they are unable to remember how they felt at the time. This is a person centred methodology and therefore there is a tendency towards a belief that subjectivity is an issue, however this method tries to overcome this with the reflexivity in the interpretation of the panel. Despite the concerns expressed there is much value in this methodology that will prove useful in researching this area of work. Each individual interviewed will bring a unique contribution by sharing their life stories giving a window into their thoughts and allowing insight into the lives of some of the most marginalised in our society. The method brings the research in line with the current policy of service user involvement and ensures that they are listened to. For me, the benefit of this method is that it required me to really listen. I had the opportunity of spending all the time concentrating on what the person was saying. There was no directing required and no next question to worry about. It also had resonance with psychodynamic approaches I had been involved in whilst undertaking clinical work at the Adolescent department at the Tavistock and Portman Trust.

4:5. RESEARCH SINGLE QUESTION AIMED AT INDUCING NARRATIVE (SQUIN).

The wording and level at which the initial research SQUIN (Single Question aimed at Inducing Narrative) was pitched was a vital building block for the quality of the research. Time was taken to develop this; the final decision was to ask each interviewee the following as the opening question:

'As you know, I'm interested in the experience of those that have experienced homelessness of other faiths or no faith undertaking a Christian based programme.

In a minute I'm going to ask you to please tell me your life story. All the experiences and the events which were important to you personally, up to now.

Start wherever you like, please take the time you need.
I'll listen first, I won't interrupt, I'll just take some notes in case I have any further questions for you after you've finished telling me about it all. Can you please tell me your life story, all the events and experiences that were important for you personally up until now, and please take as much time as you want'.

The question was designed to give the interviewee the maximum opportunity of expressing their life experience. One of the most important aspects of this research was giving those that took part the opportunity to be listened to and contribute and make a difference within the centre, organisation and homelessness sector. This question gave the opportunity to meet that criterion. As Snelling writes, 'This attempted to address the power imbalance by creating a space in which the participant's voice can be privileged. Thus offering an opportunity to explore material which was important to them whilst not asking them to move beyond their defences' (Snelling, 2005 p134).

4:6. RESEARCH PARTICIPANTS.

The research participants comprised individuals that professed either to be of a non-Christian Faith or no faith accessed in two large centres managed by a Christian organisation offering accommodation to the homeless of London. One is an all-female establishment, the other all male. As this research was on a minimal budget, interpreters would not

be made available and so the final criteria was those that were interviewed would at least need to have a certain level of verbal English. The use of translation would also in my opinion add another layer that could affect the understanding of the research data particularly in a narrative method.

Throughout the homelessness sector in the United Kingdom the programmes offered are as varied as the organisations offering them. Many typically embrace the major aspects of resettlement, training and employment, and the addressing of addiction issues. The programmes chosen though are offered by a Christian organisation with an underlying evangelical framework. The ages of the target group ranged from eighteen to eighty.

4:7. SELECTION OF INTERVIEWEES.

Wengraf (2001 p96) underlines the selection process in narrative research can be deliberate or randomised but not haphazard. He notes the importance of know how and why they were selected. For this research homogeneous sampling was used which involved selecting cases to describe some particular sub group's experience in depth (Patton, 2002 p235). A total of twelve service users who had experienced homelessness and professed to be of a non-Christian faith or no faith were recruited. The process involved identifying participants in two ways. Firstly through the use of posters which were displayed on all the notice boards within the centres. Prospective candidates were invited to make themselves known to either staff at the centre or myself through a telephone / email address. Secondly I met with the management and staff on a number of occasions to explain the aims and the criteria for the research and to enlist their assistance in identifying possible suitable candidates. The only assistance the staff gave was informing service users that fitted the criteria of the research and the details of the meeting. Although opportunity was given to

discuss the implications with their key worker before agreeing to take place I am not aware anybody took this option. All signed the consent form at the end of the meeting.

Following this initial contact with each of the management teams at the two centres, I arranged a meeting at each of the centres to meet with any clients that had shown an interest in participating. Details of the meetings were advertised on the notice boards of both centres. The first part was a group session during which I provided an overview of the research, its aims and outlined the commitment expectations and tried to anticipate any concerns i.e. confidentiality, their ability to withdraw etc. I then met with each individual. This time was used to explain the research study in a little more detail and to answer any questions or concerns the individuals had that they might not have answered in the larger group. It was also an opportunity for me to assess the prospective participant's suitability. I was assessing their religion, their openness to discuss their experiences, age, gender, ethnicity and ability to speak English in an attempt to achieve diversity. Each participant was given an information sheet and their written consent was sought prior to the interview. The informed consent form was designed to give the prospective participant all the information they required to make an informed decision about their participation. Having reviewed the document after its use it begins in the plural as though it is the organisation that is inviting participation and switches to the individual. This was not done intentionally to convey the organisation's ownership of the research. The opportunity was given for them to take the documentation away and discuss their involvement further with key workers to ensure they fully understood what was required of them. I returned to each centre on individually arranged dates to conduct the first two stages of the interviews. Of the initial fifteen that expressed an interest, twelve participants were recruited. Three that had expressed interest refused to take this any further. Of the twelve, six were interviewed (one as pilot) the remaining six did not turn up at the arranged time, or cancelled stating that they had

other more pressing appointments. These included appointments at the job centre, college or the doctor.

Of the five participants two were female from a 115 bedded unit specifically for women, and three were male from a 150 bedded unit for men. Two participants were white British; one was Asian British, one Somali and one Algerian. In terms of their religious persuasion, three professed to be of the Islamic faith, one a pagan and one of no faith. The slight faith skew derives from those that were accommodated at the time of the research and willing to be interviewed. Throughout the research, thought was given to ensure the learning did not become a Christian – Muslim study. Two of the participants were between 20 – 30 years of age and three were 30 - 50. Two participants whilst homeless, had some form of employment and three were unemployed. Collectively participants had experienced homelessness ranging from just over two years to, in excess of twenty years. For one participant this was their first experience of homelessness, another the second and three had experienced homelessness over a prolonged period.

4:7:1. Gate keeping.

It is important to mention issues of 'gate keeping' in this research, particularly the assistance of management and staff being sought in recruiting possible participants. There is the potential that staff may select clients from a biased perspective. Carrying out a qualitative research approach, in any institution there is the danger of not getting a representative range, my fear was that groups of people may be dismissed because 'they wouldn't be any good for your study'. There is also the danger that people could be put forward to represent the institution in some way. Consideration needed to be given to avoid this and the possibility of seduction taking place between both sides as well. What I mean by this is subconsciously interpersonal transference takes place by which each side responds to the others demands. There is the capacity of a reward similar to that experienced in a therapeutic relationship. What they then offer is whatever they think the researcher

wants. This is something I feared may happen because of the various roles I represented. In an attempt to counter these elements, I took the opportunity of meeting all prospective participants beforehand, which gave the opportunity to consider these issues and discuss with them the aims and objectives of the study. Prospective participants did indicate either their lack of interest or lack of trust in some cases when approached. For some it could be that sharing in this very intimate way could prove too painful and exposing, without any indication they could trust me they were unable to follow through being part of the research. Ultimately it is difficult to coerce this client group. Many live chaotic lives and express their feelings by failure to turn up.

A concern around confidentiality arises here, with the danger that if the staff know who was interviewed and then read the research they will be able to identify the individual life stories. This is a difficult one to resolve. I tried to do this by not telling the staff whom I had asked for assistance (apart from the centre managers) who had been selected from the larger group that were interviewed. I also went through the centre managers to arrange rooms, times etc. Finally when asking for the individuals I did not introduce myself as a researcher, merely, "I have an appointment with X".

I do not believe that it has been totally possible to prevent this possible conflict, however by the time this research is shared, all interviewees will have left the centres due to Supporting People legislation which states that homeless people can only remain for a maximum of 2 years. The centre managers will be able to identify the individuals if they are able to remember back but then I will ask them to keep this information confidential as they are working at this level.

4:8. INSIDER RESEARCH.

When considering this notion, for me insider or outsider research rests on the understanding of identity. How are you seen by those that you

are to interview and how does this affect the outcome of the research. Hodkinson (2005) was helpful in developing my thoughts when he directed me to Robert Merton who wrote that the idea of researchers as insiders or outsiders was based simply upon notions of identity and status (1972 p22). To label what is happening as insider research does reduce the complexities to generalities (Hodkinson, 2005) but through doing so the researcher still has to look at where they are positioning themselves.

This research too has the challenge of insider research to be considered. Careful reflection on the position I was taking and the process has been necessary to anticipate any dilemmas that may occur from carrying out research within my own organisation. I do not have day to day involvement in the residential centres, but for part of the research I did have contact with all the centre managers and their line management. Much of the literature that I read around insider research (Hodkinson, 2005, Alvesson, 2003) talked of a closer working relationship, but consideration still needed to be given to possible conflicts. For example the centre managers may not have welcomed me into their centre for fear of what I might discover about their project or how they themselves manage it.

Clearly, in qualitative research, there are challenges within the areas of boundaries, bias, subjectivity and confidentiality which could be considered to be compromised. It is acknowledged that within qualitative research the researcher will always influence the research by being part of the story being told or narrated and steps should be taken to reduce bias as much as possible. When talking about insider research within universities, Alvesson thinks that whilst it is difficult to study something you are heavily involved in, personal involvement should not necessarily rule out an inquiry. It may be a resource as much as a liability (Alvesson, 2003). Hockey (1993) too understands there are strengths to insider research. He believed that the advantages included a familiarity with the culture meant that there was no shock or

disorientation. It also enhances the researches ability to communicate with their subjects and because they have an understanding of the environment the researcher is better able to gauge the honesty and accuracy of the responses received. The interviewee is more likely to reveal more intimate details of themselves because they perceive the inside researcher to be more understanding and sympathetic. Insider research is a non-absolute concept (Hodkinson, 2005) changing with each relationship, there are common lessons to be learned and some of the possible problems that are written about insider research (Hockey, 1993 p199) need to be considered.

Robson (2002) saw pros and cons for insider research. On the positive the researcher may have particular knowledge and experience of the topic being researched that would prove useful as well as contacts and networks. The negative side was that insider research may lead to the researcher having difficulty being open or having pre – conceived ideas that would influence the research. Mercer (2007) particularly highlights the issue of informant bias. The danger is that 'peoples' willingness to talk to you, is influenced by who they think you are (Drever, 1995), which is tied up in the opening thought that this is all based on identity effecting both insider and outsider research. Gluck wrote 'We are engaged in a direct social interaction, a mutual relationship. And that means we have to confront two subjectivities – our own and that of our narrators' (Gluck, 1994 p82). Mercer (2007) is less clear whether the insider or outsider is more prone to the alignments and loyalties and informant bias and Schulz (1971) states that the outsider is a man without history and the insider cannot escape their past, indicating that in his view it both sides of the argument who have different problems. Parades (1977) wrote that informants are more likely to present outsiders with a distorted image but there is a danger for insiders of preconceptions colouring the accounts because some information is already known (or thought to be known) about the interviewer's opinion. Hockey (1993) also cites the problems of over familiarity and taken for granted assumptions.

Being an insider 'potentially influences the whole research process – site selection, method of sampling, document analysis, observation techniques and the way meaning is constructed from the field of data' (Hockey, 1993 p201). For those undertaking qualitative research this is seen as an advantage and not an issue as many of the researchers that studied within their own settings did not perceive their research as different from outside research (Anderson and Jones, 2000).

To express where I stand in the argument of insider / outsider research, I am standing with Anderson and Jones. The two positions are unable to be separated and so the argument is a false one. When undertaking the research I saw myself as neither inside or outside. All researchers in my opinion need to have an awareness of themselves, their position, beliefs and the influence they could have on the research being taken. Steps then need to be taken in the planning to reduce this influence as much as possible but it cannot be eradicated and in some situations should not be as it can be positive provided it is recognised. In my research I felt I was an insider to the research because of the experience of communicating with fellow humans and through that in some way experiencing some of their feelings and experiences that enabled me to identify certain key issues being expressed. At other times I was an outsider. Simple examples would be when left to sit and wait for considerable periods of time before staff would show me to the room to be used for interviewing. Those being interviewed made me feel like a researcher rather than part of the host organisation by their questions and interest in the research. I knew nothing of those interviewed prior to the research and my only contact with them has been for the process of the research.

In this research I recognised the need to be aware of and set boundaries to ensure that the balance between my personal / professional networks and my research role are maintained in order to minimise the influence on the dynamics of the research. It is impossible for the research role

not to have an influence, however I wanted to minimise the effect of my being an officer and a senior manager within the service. I failed to formulate a complex strategy but kept it simple. I was careful about how I presented myself and what I said, for example how I dressed (not wearing the uniform of the organisation) and how I acted when at the centre, i.e. not coming across as being too familiar with the organisation or the management of the centre. How I spoke when visiting to interview and when in conversation with the interviewee, deliberately not using language that is familiar only to those within the organisation and avoiding giving any indicators that may suggest that at that moment in time I was nothing but a researcher (Everybody interviewed had been informed of my history during the initial meeting and signing of the consent forms). It was important for me to understand the needs of those being interviewed and recognise the potential for influencing how the interviewee responds during the interviews. They should not be subject to the pressure of feeling that they represent their particular set of beliefs.

There was the issue of what to tell colleagues and potential interviewees about my various roles before and after the research. Powney and Watts (1987) argue that research benefits from interviewees being fully informed from the start of what the researchers and interviewees are trying to establish. Bolognani too when researching a West Yorkshire Pakistani community concluded that the 'reliability of the research is improved through the personal rapport between researcher and respondents' (Bolognani, 2007 p279). In other words honesty in the researcher-respondent relationship is important. Having considered all the points of view and recognising the ethical stance of wanting to trust and be trusted I took the decision to inform all those that took part the position I held within the organisation and took care to provide a full explanation of confidentiality and the different roles being played to reassure all of their anonymity and safety. I assured the respondents that whatever

they said would be used safely and that they would have no comeback or reprisals.

The issue of personal subjectivities has also been considered. I am a member of the organisation where the research was carried out and that allegiance was impossible to disguise. I have to be open and honest with myself and my research to understand what I am bringing to the table. Clearly my interests, values and close acquaintance with the research topic are the source of motivation for this research project, and because of this I have an awareness of the need to explore the issues of this research in a critical way. The research contains my story too which adds to the richness of the tapestry that is contained here.

I started this research with a 'vested interest' in its outcome. My fantasy at the start of the research was that the research would be a vessel for those interviewed to be listened to and understood. In that sense potentially the research was emancipatory in its nature. It is the first time that I am aware the organisation has really asked users about these matters. I hoped it would highlight the relationship between the organisation and those of no faith or non-Christian faith to enable there to be some honest and informed reflection that would lead to a better understanding, and therefore the development of better practice. I hoped to give weight to the need to include spirituality as a major component and to influence funders and government on this matter. Not that this influenced the direction taken or outcomes, but with an enthusiasm developed from my own experience that sustained the minutiae of the exploration, and with the recognition that all research begins with observer's biased curiosity and continues its journey strengthened and encouraged by those values. It was not possible to keep the research totally pure and objective, however considering the validity of the research by being open about my predispositions ensures that the aims and philosophies of highly qualitative research are met.

4:9. ETHICAL CONSIDERATIONS.

In the British Association of Social Work (BASW) code of ethics (BASW, 2012) the main headings are human dignity and worth, social justice, service, integrity and competence. From these there are common principles that guide any research. These are do no harm, ensure participation is voluntary, preserve the anonymity or confidentiality of participants; avoid deceit and analyse and report data honestly (Davidson and Tolich, 2003 p376).

This research was taken to and approved by the Human Ethics Committees of both the sponsoring organisation and the University of East London. The main ethical considerations followed two aspects of the BASW code of conduct however these are not mutually exclusive

4.9.1. Human dignity and worth.

In an effort to cause no harm it was important a number of areas were considered. Firstly before each interview started I spoke with them about confidentiality. As part of this explanation they were told that should something be revealed that could risk harm to them or others then I would be obliged to share that with others but would inform them of the course of action I would take.

Secondly thought was given to the power relationship and how it might be possible to ensure more equality between interviewee and interviewer. The measures taken included allowing the interviews to take place in familiar locations for the interviewee, the use of language that is understood and they were given the ultimate power in being given the ability to withdraw their consent at all stages of the process.

Thirdly, the nature of the research Wengraf (2001) recommends that the research interviews are not used to change the interviewee in any

way. Researchers that have used qualitative data (Finch, 1984) show that there are benefits and this research too clearly shows that the interviewees did make use of this time. Whilst this is a positive benefit for those that took place it was not an aim in the original design. More of a concern was the high probability of interviewees having experienced very painful events within their lives. Retelling their stories may have brought issues to the fore that had over time been buried and so experience stress during the process. In biographical interviews Rosenthal comments that particular consideration has to be taken to the 'considerable effects telling one's life story can have' (2003 p915). Here two processes were put in place. The right to withdraw was seen as a vital enabling the interviewee to stop the process if it became too painful. I also took the time to find independent experts who would be available to listen to the interviewee and work with them through a process to resolve the emerging distress.

Discussion was held with all possible interviewees prior to commencement, and these issues were clearly discussed and also outlined in the information sheet and consent forms.

Discussion was also held around any other people that may be identified through the narrative accounts. Following much thought it was agreed that the data collected was the personal subjective account of the interviewee's life narrative. Names would be changed to help keep people anonymous, but it was agreed it was not necessary for any further consent forms to be signed.

4.9.2. Integrity.

Care was taken to ensure that all prospective participants were given clear information to ensure they understood what was involved.

Confidentiality was important because of the nature of the information shared. The data was so rich because those interviewed revealed very intimate and personal details. The homeless community in London is large but it is quite closed and so it was important to try and make sure individuals are difficult to identify. It was very difficult to change information to make it impossible to identify an organisation when the focus is a specific organisation. It was therefore important to look at individual biographical details, rendering each interviewee unrecognisable. Names were changed as were some personal details that did not interfere with the flow of the narrative.

The other area that was considered was the honest representation of the views of those interviewed. Hollway and Jefferson (2000 p99) expressed it in these terms - 'no harm to participants' principle effectively precludes any interpretive work which assigns motives other than those admitted to by the parties themselves'. As a researcher I made every attempt to represent 'the values of honesty, sympathy and respect' (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000) and record a truthful reflection of the views expressed by the interviewee. The other issue in this area was how to manage the complexities of my role as interviewee, social worker and senior manager within the organisation. The struggle is documented elsewhere in this chapter but suffice to note here that the decision taken was to be open about these but acknowledge the concerns that there may be around confidentiality and comeback if what the interviewee said criticised the organisation or individuals within that. When in the role of researcher, then no work was discussed or outward signs of office where visible to try and emphasise that at this moment I am a researcher.

Finally should further ethical issues arise then I had made provision to both speak to my supervisor and if appropriate discuss these with colleagues on the same course, or I was able to have further discussion with members of the ethics committee of the sponsoring organisation. Each participant and their key workers were given the contact details

of professionals from the Tavistock and Portman Trust who had agreed to provide appropriate support should they experience any form of distress from the interview experience. They also had my contact details should they wish to talk through any issues that may have arisen.

4:10. PILOTING THE RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.

The interview question was piloted by interviewing a female resident at the women's centre. This gave the opportunity to test the SQUIN and make sure that BNIM's was a method the client group would be able to manage comfortably. The pilot would also provide an opportunity to critically consider the quality of the data that emerged before proceeding into the main group of interviews. This initial session was recorded and transcribed but not analysed. In hind sight it may have been wiser to at least analyse some of the data to become more fluent in the creation of codes. The pilot proved successful in enabling the interviewee the freedom to express themselves and provide appropriate material that was interesting and relevant. It indicated that the interviewees would take the opportunity of using the research to give an insight into their life narratives as there was the possibility that some may not have been able to communicate information in this form without the use of some of the more traditional interview techniques.

This particular lady was very nervous initially, however she did settle and talked of her very difficult life of struggling with drug addiction, prostitution and the loss of a child. The life narrative that this lady gave indicated the possibility that the material collected would be rich and contain powerful insights into the lives of those in the research. The pilot interview gave me the opportunity to think again about the dynamics of myself as a male interviewing a female who has suffered and been abused by men in the past. Gender issues are important and need to be taken seriously. During this experience I remembered a

particular supervision session years before where I had taken time and thought in setting out the room in an attempt to reduce the barriers between supervisor and supervisee. I invited the lady to be supervised in and asked her to sit. She did so but would not speak; she began to shake and then wept uncontrollably. Without knowing it I had arranged the furniture in the exact position that her former partner used to. He would ask her to sit there and answer questions before he beat her. This was an ethical issue that needed further consideration. I needed to acknowledge the existence of power in this situation, my own position of power and vulnerability. The experience influenced subsequent interviews as I looked at strategies to enable the female interviewees to feel comfortable enough to share their story. Seemingly simple techniques were used such as allowing the interviewee to choose the time and location of the interview. Giving them the choice of where they sat. BNIM as a method is also helpful in this way as once the initial question is posed then the interviewers role is not to lead but to listen. This in a sense puts the interviewee in a more powerful position as they are leading the process at that point.

The other notion was the understanding that my view of the world as a male is different to the women interviewed. What is important to me may not be important to the women. Therefore I recognised that throughout the process of analysing the data it was important to try and look at other perspectives. The female teaching staff and colleague students were helpful in developing some of the feminine views when looking at the data. Throughout the interviews I did also try and work out who I represented to the interviewee at various stages of their response. Sometimes I represented a father figure and sometimes the host organisation or management. Sometimes comforter when they were grieving loss. This was important in gaining insight into what was being said but not necessarily by using words.

There were other advantages gained from having a pilot interview as it enabled me to develop a degree of intimacy with the method

discovering whether I was able to use it. Overall I felt it went well. I was able to put what I had learned into the subsequent interviews. I practiced my listening skills, increased my awareness of dynamics and developed my technique of note taking to attempt to get the additional information required from the second part of the interview.

4:11. COLLECTING THE DATA.

In depth narrative interviews are the central process of collecting data in this method. Each interviewee underwent an initial interview that had two parts which closely followed the Biographical Narrative Interview Method. I asked the interviewee the single probe (SQUIN) and then time was given to the interviewee to answer without interruption. They went at their own pace and it was recorded. I did not interrupt but did make very brief notes outlining the main headings of the journey undertaken by the interviewee. The initial interviews lasted between thirty to forty five minutes. Once this was completed a fifteen minute comfort break was taken to allow me to review my notes and formulate questions for another session that followed immediately. These questions were asked in the same order as the information came out in the initial session, thus maintaining the interviewee's gestalt (Fenge and Jones, 2011). The belief that there is a gestalt, a whole which is more than the sum of its parts, an order or hidden agenda informing each person's life is central to this method (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000). Following the classical Biographical Narrative Interview Method line of questioning the interview extracted their life story – taking the narrative that had been given and asking if they had remembered any more details of how this happened. I was establishing how people thought at different moments in their life and cataloguing them. The most important line of thinking about this is memory, detail, followed by how it all happened. The second part of the interview took between twenty to thirty minutes. At the end of each set of interviews I wrote brief notes to help me remember my feelings and thoughts of the

process. The main research question is about people's experience of and what they bring to a programme. In my practice to enable changes to be made if necessary to ensure the quality and success of the whole project it was important to evaluate the process at every stage. I did this following each set of interviews but following the completion of the fourth interview I took the opportunity of formally evaluating my use of the methodology and continue to develop my thinking on how to evaluate the data. This time was chosen because initial interviews had happened in quick succession and there was a short break before the final interview and any subsequent follow up interviews. Tom Wengraf was available to support in some of the review and its subsequent thinking.

Looking at the overall process to that point I concluded that overall the quality of the data was good and gave sufficient rich material to answer the research questions. The initial probing question (SQUIN) had enticed those interviewed to share their life story narratives in a lot of depth. It had built up the 'gestalt' of their life around their experience of being homeless. It seemed to contain the balance I was looking for between having no context and having too many points of reference that would give too much direction (Jones and Rupp, 2000).

I then looked to review the phase two interviews, the topic questions inducing narrative. The results of these were good too but through my inexperience, in places through the type of question I asked I had moved from asking what was happening then (classic BNIM's) to anything you want to add to your thoughts. These thoughts were present tense thoughts. In other words in places I was asking the interviewee for their present perspective on those things in the past. My tendency when questioning was to ask for non-narratives in search for the pin i.e. asking about their current thinking about non mentioned current events. This was done by using requests such as 'is there anything you want to add to your thoughts about that?' (Interview 4).

This was a methodological issue to be aware of but had not compromised the integrity of the interviews or quality of the data. This was felt to be fine as what the interviewee is being asked to do is to philosophise, reflect, or argue a position. This gave data both of the experiences of the programme but also pre programme. Not only did it give their past thoughts about what they were experiencing then, it was successful in getting their present thoughts about their past experiencing. This resulted not only in stories but because they were asked to, more present day reflection on the staff and programme issues giving an insight into how they view the world now. This then gave the opportunity of looking at how they saw the world before they became involved in the programme and how they reacted now. The questioning therefore led to knowing how the person is thinking now, but also getting at an earlier mode of thinking to see how they thought previously to see if there has been a change. The data would allow me to compare the two, giving me more of a sense of what was the same in their lives and what had changed, giving some indication of what they might have brought with them from previous lives (on the street or otherwise into the centre.

I decided I would carry out a third interview with all participants. Having read carefully the initial interview material some general themes had started to emerge that I wanted to gain more of an understanding of. These were around their individual journeys and encounter with the centre programme, personal movement in their thinking from a 'spiritual perspective' and whether they recognised a benefit from their experiences. Their experience of the change from the street to the centre and what movement did they feel there had been during their experience of the programme. Did they feel they had benefited and had the spiritual element of the programme been a factor in that movement? Their relationship with specific staff members was also an area that I wished to explore to try and understand some of the projections and defence mechanisms that emerged. In Asif's interview there were some gaps in his account that I would have found it useful

to understand. Mohammad I wanted to hear more about both his 'spiritual' journey. For Mary in addition I would have liked to have explored a little deeper the triangular relationship between her and her parents and further explore her spiritual journey. Barinda I had felt that in some of the interview she had tried to please and given the answer either she thought I was looking for or would show her faith in a favourable light. I would have liked the opportunity to get beneath this and begin to hear more of her experience around life at home, relationships and how she relates her faith to life in a programme based in another faith.

Ultimately the choice of who was interviewed for a third time was availability. When I returned to arrange additional interviews Asif was unavailable as he was currently in crisis and was not in a fit state to be interviewed due to being incapacitated with alcohol. The two women I was unable to find a time suitable due to their work, study and social commitments. Only Kevin and Mohammad were able to meet at a suitable time.

The two interviews I conducted enabled me to gain some additional clarification and ask for more detail. Just to recap within the BNIM methodology once the first interview has taken place with its two sections there is the option to undertake a second interview which gives the opportunity to ask further narrative questions or other questions that have arisen from the first interview to which answers would be helpful. Having considered the material in each of the interviews there were particular themes that I wanted to explore further and was hoping to elicit particular incident narratives.

As with the evaluation of the data the reflection concluded that the life narratives were extraordinary, containing material that was absolutely fascinating. Some of the terrible things that have happened in their lives and the story of survival against all the odds were very gripping. Whilst there was a danger that only in parts did the data reflect back to

the original research questions, it was felt that the data contained what the interviewees wanted to express. One of the original aims was to give those that took part a voice and listen to them. I deliberately chose not to use a more structured method for collecting the date. The open nature of the method would produce a broad range of data and I was prepared for some flexibility to slightly reposition the research. At this point the research was not lost but trying to ensure the analysis was a process that represented the views of the participants and reconciled them to the research questions. This relates to the more general methodological point about narrative approaches which debates whose view is represented in the final analysis. The aim of the research is to allow the views of the participant to shine through but inevitably the final result will be a co story between researcher and researched.

4:12. ANALYSING AND INTERPRETING THE DATA.

Having gathered the data it was important to use a suitable methodology to analyse it that was the most effective at extracting the information required to develop the comparisons to answer the main research question. The method needed the ability to understand what the interviewee believed to be important and shed light on the research questions. There also needed to be some flexibility as whilst I started with some thinking and questions in specific areas, with one of the main aims being to listen to those that were homeless, it was recognised that they may take the research in a slightly different direction, which in fact they did. Serious consideration was given to continuing with a very strict Biographic – Narrative Interpretive Methodology. The research had benefitted from its use in the collection of the data. Analysis undertaken by the BNIM method is a collaborative approach. The researcher initially looks at the data, going through the events trying to live in the lived life making predictions but never knowing what is coming next (Wengraf and Chamberlayne, 2006) The rationale behind BNIM is in opening up hypothesising about the data from different viewpoints and demographic backgrounds

(Fenge and Jones, 2011) and so an interpretive panel is set up which usually comprises of fellow research students and academic staff who have expressed an interest. By having different viewpoints available the team take a portion of data and work through this line by line verbalising their initial thoughts and hypothesising. This encourages discussion and reflection which arrives at an understanding of the constructed truth contained in the data. After careful consideration this was reconsidered as the rigidity of undertaking a Biographic – Narrative Interpretive Method gold standard analysis would be time consuming and the support required to form a group of colleagues to analyse the data would prove difficult.

The first route taken was to look at the original question which was to explore non-Christian experience of a Christian based programme. I then tried not to focus on the effects of the programme but to look at how the participants experienced the programme. I explored earlier pre programme events that might reveal their story about their experience of programme events. There is the need to know what the person is thinking now. In order to find out if their thinking has changed since the events took place it is important to get at an earlier mode of thinking, and earlier modes of experiencing. It was hoped that in this analysis it would be possible. In the data the person more and more spontaneously remembers how they thought it felt and what they did in those previous incidents and so they give clues to the effect the programme might have had and how they experienced it. As I will indicate later having begun to analyse the data this way the results did not get to the heart of what the interviewees were saying. It did not answer the original research questions but was really assessing the effectiveness of the programme.

At that point the methodology being used was defining the Central Research Question (CRQ) that I wanted to answer i.e. how do homeless people from other faiths or no faith experience a Christian based programme? And then devising a number of Theory Questions (TQ)

that when answered and put together the data produced aims to shed light on the Central Research Question. I believed this would provide the analysis required (Wengraf, 2001). This originally was the central question. The thought was that this process could be repeated for the other questions posed.

4:12:1. Coding and retrieving of data.

To identify the key themes and patterns within the collected data the first process undertaken was the segmenting and coding which Coffey and Atkinson describe as 'generating concepts from and within our data' (Coffey and Atkinson, 1996 p26). The role of coding according to Seidel and Kelle is:

  (a) Noticing relevant phenomena,
  (b) Collecting examples of those phenomena, and
  (c) Analysing those phenomena in order to find commonalities, differences, patterns and structures (Seidel and Kelle, 1995 p55).

Qualitative data analysis wants to know, describe, explain, understand and even predict. By breaking down the data into its constitutional parts the research gains fresh insights by describing phenomena, classifying it and by seeing how our concepts interconnect (Dey, 1993).

To answer the Central Research Question I split the coding into a number of categories. I developed primary codes to assist these so that they corresponded with the Theory Questions (TQ's) devised. Group one indicated experiences before, during and after going on the programme. The second group was the specific elements of the holistic programme – physical, psychological, social and spiritual.

The secondary codes or a number of 'free nodes' (A node is a collection of references about a specific theme, place, person or other area of interest) I allocated to all the interview material to identify more key themes and patterns that emerged. Coding allowed the

simplification and reduction of the data material; however the coding was not merely the allocating of labels, but to allow the data to be thought of in new and different ways.

The following table illustrates the methodology used.

Central Research Question - CRQ:		
'How do homeless people from other faiths or no faith experience a Christian based programme?'		
Theory Questions – TQ (3-7)		
Suggestions Group one.	What is their view of themselves, the world and the organisation being researched	TQ1: Before going on the programme
		TQ2: Whilst experiencing the programme
		TQ3: Having left the programme
Comments:	This group will allow the research to compare before and after – i.e. how effective has the programme been for those that are took part at various stages: Will need to conduct at least two more interviews: one of a person that has just arrived in the programme: one of a person that has left the programme.	
Suggestions Group two.	What effect has the programme had on specific aspects of service users lives	TQ1: Spiritual life / understanding
		TQ2: Psychological
		TQ3: Physical
		TQ4: Social
Comments:	Need to define what is meant by the different areas of the programme: Some work to undertake in the literature review: Care needs to be taken not to break down an individual into smaller parts but deal with the person as a whole.	
Proposal:	For the analysis of the research project I propose to look at the material that has been collected in the light of both	

	sets of TQ's. This will initially give me 7 TQ's to look at to try and answer my Central Research Question.

All the interviews were recorded on a digital recorder and transcribed verbatim by either myself or with the assistance of my wife. My involvement in this process helping familiarise myself with the data collected in the interviews. Responses were analysed using the coding suggestions described previously.

First, the data was read carefully to identify meaningful themes relevant to the research topic. These were not necessarily the Theory Questions but 'free nodes' as well that could be used to answer other questions at the appropriate stage of the analysis. Second, units of text detailing the same issue were grouped together in analytic categories and given provisional definitions. The same unit of text could be included in more than one category.

During the entire coding process, memo writing was used both as an analytical tool to record concepts, themes and more abstract thinking about the data. This was essential to ensure validity, to make explicit my own predispositions and assumptions and to ensure there was a reflective approach undertaken throughout the research process.

4:12:2. The rationale for changing to Grounded Theory

As part of my on-going evaluation of the research I constantly reviewed the analytic process to ensure its effectiveness. It soon became clear that the results were providing more an evaluation of the programme than getting to the heart of the original research questions. I really wanted to hear what the homeless people had to say and was surprised by the pain in their life accounts. Particular psychodynamic theories suggest a process of avoidance and defences against anxiety and pain. I believe that I too experienced this. Having thought about why this diversion occurred I believe that a number of factors

combined. There was a difficulty for me in reconciling giving the participants the freedom to tell their story and my desire, or need to be able to make conclusions. Additionally, the range of questions were wide reaching and related to many spheres; predominantly they were organisational in nature. The questions posed were strong, and so I wondered whether it might be the case that they were difficult to face and took the research into places that for the organisation were uncomfortable and it may not wish it to go. Looking at the effectiveness of the programme was relatively comfortable, but to begin to look at what is really happening, to ask questions and get past the outside appearance is another matter. What if I or the organisation are unable step outside our moral prison i.e. faith base and describe our state of mind or if we were what would we see? Without realising it I reverted to a comfort zone – an analysis of how effective was the programme being. The research did not set out to review the programme; therefore a different route was taken. The analysis I had completed on Central Research Question and Theory Questions were put to one side and I returned to the original research questions, the data and the coding.

With this change in direction I decided not to interview two further people as suggested (p132) to gain views of somebody that was very new to the programme and somebody that had left the programme as this in my view would have continued with the direction of evaluating the programme. The move towards a theory building exercise and the small sample size is justified in terms of generating sufficient amounts of data to do some mid- level theory building in depth rather than quantity. There was enough material from the five interviews to consider the research questions and represent the views of those interviewed.

I set aside the original set of questions that had emerged when thinking about the main research question. These were around organisational relationships, living and working with difference and diversity, cross

cultural and racial understanding and misunderstanding and the importance of spirituality to reflect. I tried to look at the data in other ways and really clarify the direction this research was being taken. All the material was within the organisation and so I took time to look at how I could make sense of it and understand what new thinking the participant were trying to point me to. The original questions about experience and faith remained, but they were understandably submerged in the material. In order to consider this aspect of the research further I chose to use methodologies that would consider the data and explore processes and relationships that affected the participants' lives and would make sense of what was happening. From the original work undertaken on developing the research, grounded theory had been considered as a viable option to BNIM but not chosen. The knowledge gained from this original research led me to believe that grounded theory would actually enable me to make further sense of the data in order to be able to draw meaning full themes.

4:13. GROUNDED THEORY AND THEMATIC ANALYSIS.

The second route I took was to use a combination of grounded theory (Glaser, 1967) and thematic analysis as the means of data analysis.

Grounded theory was developed by two sociologists – Glaser and Strauss in the 1960's and is currently the most widely used and popular qualitative research method across a wide range of disciplines and subjects (Bryant and Charmaz, 2007 p1). The theory is influenced by symbolic interactionism which indicates that human beings act towards things on the basis of the meanings that these things have for them. These meanings come from social acts with others and are handled in and modified through, an interpretive process used when dealing with the encounters (Blumer, 1969 p2). There is an underlying assumption in grounded theory that people order and make sense of the environment in which they live although it may appear disordered or senseless to the observer (Hutchinson and Wilson, 2001).

The aim of grounded theory is 'to generate or discover a theory' (Glaser, 1967) and offered a detailed and systematic set of procedures for data analysis and interpretation (Strauss and Corbin, 1990). Put simply grounded theory method consist of systematic yet flexible guidelines for collecting and analyzing qualitative data to construct theories grounded in the data itself (Charmaz, 2006 p2). As a method it is flexible in that a wide range of methods fall under the mantle of grounded theory leading to Bryant using the term 'a family of methods' when introducing grounded theory (2007 p11). By adopting what might be described as a constructivist grounded theory approach which tries to move grounded theory into the area of interpretive social science (Charmaz, 2003) it allowed me to retain a more narrative style that complimented the original research design. Thematic analysis was a way of seeing (Boyatzis, 1998) and involved systematically identifying and describing themes or patterns in a qualitative data set (Marks and Yardley, 2004). A combination of these methodologies fitted well together in further exploration of the data in my belief starting the analysis of the data using a different set of assumptions than a more traditional qualitative research design.

The grounded theory analysis starts with the data and remains close to that data cutting across disciplines as it is designed to study processes. Charmaz (2003) distinguished a number of characteristics including the creation of analytic codes and categories developed from the data and not from preconceived hypothesis, the development of mid- range theories to explain behaviour and processes, and memo – making.

The process of analysing the data began with coding which is the core of grounded theory analysis. I based the process on substantive coding which includes both open and selective coding procedures. It entails working directly with the data, breaking it up and analysing it initially through open coding to develop the core categories and related concepts (Holton, 2007). I then moved into ways of trying to use

selective coding in conjunction with memoing and constantly questioning the data to develop the categories and concepts bringing them together into the final writing of the thesis.

The process undertaken meant breaking the data up and studying it almost line by line creating the codes. Each act, comment and thought was labelled. During this time I was constantly trying to compare and understand by asking myself what is happening here. What are the circumstances under which this took place? Under which category should I code this, how does it relate to other codes trying to group codes into what might be described as families. At all times trying to constantly understand the data, trying to discover what the biographies were telling me.

A data management software NVivo7 was initially employed to try and speed up the search and assist in the management of the emerging codes and themes. This worked quite well, however due to the licence running out and being unable to find funding to renew this I had to revert to a paper-based process to finalise the coding process and assist in the theorising to generate theories that explained the experiences and behaviours of those interviewed.

The next phase that I moved into was to look at the data and codes and continue the process of categorising what the data had produced. This again was a long process but through it an understanding of priorities, concepts and themes began to emerge in the data.

I provide an example of the first page of the Mary's first interview, with the start of the close analysis work that took place in the appendix.

Throughout the process I used what would be described as memo writing to try and develop thoughts and discussion. This enabled me to try and decipher what was important and what was not helping define

things more clearly. It allowed me to follow up on ideas and questions which pushed forward my research; it also showed gaps in my thinking. This became more important as the analysis developed and I combined this with debate and discussion bringing in other views on the material. This was an intermediate step where I returned to the material spending time hypothesising and recording ideas that had occurred throughout the process. These were analytical notes and discussions to explicate and fill out categories and theoretical sampling for theory construction.

There was some really interesting material and I tried to work through how best to use it. Part of this process was not all about answering the original research questions, although they remained important but trying to discover what questions or framework of understanding does the material now suggest.

These ideas and hypothesis where wrestled with both personally and taken into research groups and tutorials where they were debated, discussed, pulled to pieces, where other viewpoints were given on what was contained in the material. There are many examples that could be given. The following is an example of notes taken in September 2009.

'Some of my thoughts are that some of what is being said around another life the organisation or the management isn't aware of. There are two lives – the one the management is aware of, and then there's that 'under life' that happens when they're not around, and during the night – it gives some insight into that. Almost a violent undercurrent that has come in from the street – it doesn't cease whilst they are in the centre. It is a little more controlled. The idea that in the centre people recreate the world they came from psychologically a powerful thought'.

By constantly studying the material and also asking questions of it, it began to reveal avenues of thinking to pursue. This for me as the researcher was probably the most difficult time trying to understand

what was contained in the data. I was pleased that the research remained in the general direction of interest, and had given material that began to answer the original research questions. The data had taken on a life of its own which was anticipated due to the very broad and unstructured approach taken. This meant that it had not been possible to anticipate all the themes that would emerge and part of the excitement was the data taking the research in areas not previously anticipated. For me this was an integral part of empowering the interviewees by not restricting the data they had given, and not an indicator that there was a weakness in the research questions or that the wrong method was employed.

The difficulty at this stage of the research was trying to describe the sets of tensions that had emerged in various accounts as potentially they were dividing the organisation's identity. There was a deeper biographical pain being felt from the subjects that I thought the staff weren't engaging with them in the way they could be i.e. there was a lack of understanding, trust and skill which added to my struggle.

I went back to the data with a framework of questions that I posed that were more in keeping with some of the emerging issues and asked them of each interview. Some of these were ambitious and possibly not all could be answered by this research but they were helpful in moving forward the analysis towards answering the research questions which remained: What does an in depth analysis of the emotional biographies of a group of homeless people tell us about the psychic, material and spiritual needs that they bring to the centre? What is the place of faith and faith based organisation in the lives and minds of people using the service?

This would begin to bring together answers from the data to say the way we seem to be dealing with this very set of tensions is a. b. c. This would maintain the richness of the work and then enable the research to

suggest other possible pathways and indicate that there may be some consequences through not dealing with things.

The simple framework that I developed for this part of the analysis and bringing together these aspects interview data was as follows:

1. What are the dominant characteristics of the family biographical histories that emerged?

2. What actually do the service users say about their family histories?

3. What do they seem to say about how and what they bring into the centres?

4. What is it about their need that makes you think about their experience, connecting the need with the experience?

5. What seems to be the place the faith related elements of the programme occupy?

6. What role does hope and hopelessness play in their story and what effect does it have on how they approach life?

7. What does the data tell us about their social networks and the effect on their identities and self-esteem?

8. How does the data describe life within a homelessness centre?

9. What do the interviews illustrate of the experience of the governments homelessness policies?

10. What does the data show us about how the organisation is dealing with multiculturalism?

11. What do these interviews illustrate about the organisations current state of mind and its ability to change?

12. What role do staff play in the life stories of those interviewed and how do those interviewed relate to them?

The original research questions were kept in mind at all times. I constantly reminded myself that the research was actually about the biographies of those interviewed and what do they tell us about what they bring to centre. Time was taken to again work through and relook at all the interviews trying to bring the emerging themes from the accounts together. What themes were common to either a couple or all of the interviews? In addition I worked through the simple framework created trying to answer the questions. I give another example of the work undertaken in appendix two.

This information was placed alongside all the material that had emerged from the coding, note writing, and discussion. Main themes were emerging, and the resultant data from the five interviews were closely compared. Similarities were discovered which were shaped further, including through discussion with fellow students, tutors and supervisors. The process concluded with the final bringing together of all the major themes that had been discovered and telling the story.

The following table is a simple attempt at outlining the methodological framework of the research.

DATA GENERATION AND ANALYSIS		
Part One		
Life story narrative – BNIM's	Phase one	Initial question inducing narrative
	Phase two	Topic questions inducing narrative
	Phase three	External questions
Part Two		
Narrative analysis – Grounded theory / thematic analysis.	Phase one	Open and selective coding.
	Phase two	Selective coding - grouping and categorising.
	Phase three	Memo writing, analytical notes, discussion and debate.
	Phase four	Review all data through research questions and simple framework of questions of emerging issues. Bringing together information from all interviews.
	Phase five	Case history and construct of theories and emerged themes

4:14. INTER-RATER RELIABILITY.

Reliability and validity are important elements of all research, particularly qualitative. It was important to take the opportunity to discuss the research independently during research group seminars with colleagues at the Tavistock and Portman Trust. This acts as a think tank where lively debate, discussion and the exchange of ideas takes place in a safe environment. Having the opportunity to consider the data of the interviews with colleagues to discuss whether my thinking was being true to what the interviewees wanted to say was valuable. Whilst there were differences in thought processes, it showed agreement on the basic themes. Listening to, thinking about and discussing other students doctoral studies also proved beneficial in giving ideas about ways of thinking, different methodologies and was a real learning experience. These groups assisted me psychologically too with the encouragement gained helping with my self-esteem particularly at the times when working alone seemed overwhelming and progress was slow.

The support and encouragement received during the whole of this taught doctoral programme has also been very useful. I have met with my supervisor on a regular basis to discuss all aspects of the research process. His experience and patience to guide me through the details, problems and progress of the methodology was both stimulating and was integral to the completion and quality of this research project.

4:14:1. Reliability and validity.

Reliability and validity are ways of demonstrating and communicating the rigour of research processes and the trust worthiness of research findings (Roberts et al., 2006).
Reliability in qualitative research can be seen as the trustworthiness of the procedures and the data generated (Stiles, 1993). This therefore links to the importance of the accuracy in the whole process. From the recording and transcribing of the data, to the coding and throughout the analytic process the need for accuracy is important. Roberts (1999) also believes that methods using coding during analysis increase reliability as there is the possibility or revisiting and checking their reliability over time.

Validity within quantitative research refers to the extent to which it measures what it is supposed to measure. Again this is not so easy to quantify in qualitative research. Holloway (2010) believes it is in the accuracy of the description and interpretation by the researchers and the telling of the truth by the interviewees that are important. The use of reflexivity - reflection about the researchers ability to remain unbiased or not, and the effects this has throughout the process can also be seen as a further measure of validity (Roberts et al., 2006).

Questions remain that need to be answered about the validity of this research. The introduction of other independent views is a way of ensuring the research aims and philosophies remain central and within

this research the use of teaching staff and fellow students has helped in this process. The process has also been carefully followed, and whilst the analysis may have taken a complex route each step was thought out and validated by those supporting this research. I have also provided a reflexive account that has openly explored personal feelings and what influence these may have had on the process. The final thought is around my ability to ensure the views of the respondents are represented accurately and with authenticity in the final research. This has been a difficult one to get right. There have been some lines of thought that have developed out of the data particularly around organisational thinking and the temptation was to slightly over reach the conclusion because of personal knowledge and experience, and go beyond what the interviews supported. The organisation was not researched and so I have reviewed the final chapters to ensure that all claims reflect what I believe the respondents intimate in their interviews. Ultimately it is about reducing errors and whilst all efforts should be made to do so, a total elimination in my view is not possible. It should be a prime concern but care needs to be taken not to lose the richness of the research material by the introduction of too much rigidity. This research by its very design is small and so unable to claim that the findings that emerged give universal truths, nor that it is possible to reproduce exactly the same results were I too repeat the process with other interviewee. This does not in my opinion reduce the importance of the contribution this research makes to the host organisation and the field of homelessness. Given this research has employed psychoanalytically frameworks, it is important now to discuss this critically.

4.15. THE VALIDITY OF PSYCHOANALYSIS

The validity of psychoanalytic theory has been fiercely questioned particularly from the perspective that it is not a science, critics indicating that it lacks 'legitimation by the conventional canons of

scientific method'(Rustin, 1997a). In a recent debate around whether psychoanalysis has a place in today's health service Salkvoskis & Wolpert (2012) outlined the fact that not only is there 'no evidence base for the treatment, but there no empirical grounding for the key constructs underpinning it' (p1). For them an approach that rejects outcome measurement has no place in the rapidly evolving and empirically grounded field of psychological understanding and interventions in mental health.

Mike Rustin's thinking is very helpful as a starting point to begin to explore the arguments involved. He argues that psychoanalytic theory is based on systematic observation which many sciences are as opposed to hypotheses – deductive experimental work. It is all about the notion of theory building and testing. Psychoanalysis historically gravitated towards an interpretive methodology which meant that followers such a Donald Meltzer (1978) believed that claims that their work was not scientific were inappropriate. Psychoanalysis also gained some room for manoeuvre with the rise of relativist approaches in science, however this merely gives the opportunity for it to continue to develop its methodologies to enhance empirical understanding (Rustin, 1997a). Ghosal (1979) adds that the values of science cannot be rigidly applied for psychoanalysis: 'K. Popper's emphasis on falsifiability and predictive power as criteria for true science is being applied rigidly and inappropriately to psychoanalysis'. For Rustin theoretical development takes place when differences are experienced in the material generated from practice to that of the theory known. He believes the strength of the British psychoanalytic tradition has derived from 'the engagement of an abstract and theoretical way of thinking with the 'empiricism' of clinical practice' (Rustin, 1997b).

Psychoanalytic research has diversified in the era of evidence based practice (Briggs, 2005) and has begun to find ways of measuring its effectiveness which is gaining respectability and funding. This has led to an increase in interest and assessment of psychoanalytic thinking

about research data about which Briggs comments that with these changes there is 'the potential to enable research from this perspective to have justification for the in depth study of a small number of cases or subjects, and also the tools through which comparisons take place' (p27). Psychoanalytic research is practice based in its focus and has a unique capacity to study complex interpersonal relationships, therefore having the capacity to generate knowledge about these interactions in specific context (p17). Whilst there may be differing opinions on the interpretation of data the outcomes which include the traditional building blocks of psychoanalytic theory remains a valid and powerful resource to interpret and test both behaviour and research data.

There are other reasons that Salkoskis & Wolpert (2012) reject psychoanalysis in their debate. They claim that throughout its development they believe it has failed to advance the care of people with a mental health problem, and struggle with the stance taken of not labelling patients thus not diagnosing which they see opposes the principles of psychiatry. Fonagy and Lemma (2012) argued the case for psychoanalysis's inclusion into the treatment of mental health patients. They agreed that there is a failure to promote a culture of systematic evaluation making the outcomes difficult to measure and demonstrate but claim this is not a reason to dismiss it. There are a growing number of studies that indicate that the therapy is successful treating both mild and complex mental health problems. Increasingly there are strong indicators that adult mental health problems are developmental in nature with seventy five per cent of all mental illness having its source in early childhood and fifty per cent of mental illness manifesting itself before the age of fourteen (Fonagy and Lemma, 2012). Early development is some of psychoanalysis most fertile ground where it offers a framework that enables exploration to take place. Other psychoanalytic concepts in their applied form such as transference and defence mechanisms can support mental health staff provide high quality services despite the interpersonal pressures to which they are inevitably exposed when working with disturbed and

disturbing patients. This understanding gives the opportunity to reflect on, and begin to untangle the complexities of the patient professional relationship. There is no one size fits all approach to the treatment of mental health and whilst psychoanalysis does not suit everybody, those that do respond should have the opportunity to benefit from this therapy. Psychoanalytic ideas continue to provide foundations for a wide range of applied interventions.

There has over the years developed a close working relationship between psychoanalytic theory and social work. The importance of this relationship is to provide a way of thinking and understanding the very difficult elements of human behaviour which causes such destruction in the lives of people. One of social works strengths is the balance it holds between understanding and working with the internal and external realities of client's lives (Bower, 2005). The relationship became difficult in the 1970's at a time when social work came under close scrutiny following a number of high profile deaths of vulnerable children and investigations into them. The result of this was the issuing of clear guidelines and safeguards. This moved the field to be dominated by a sociological perspective that stress external factors on the values of the profession like poverty, racism, trauma and deprivation (Bower, 2005). It was not until the outcomes of the Victoria Climbe inquiry (Laming, 2003) that it became clear that the systematic and procedural techniques put in place were not enough to protect children or social workers and you ignore theory at your peril (Stevenson, 2005).

There was a time then when some declared psychoanalysis to be dead (Conn, 1973), but these claims have been greatly exaggerated. In today's scientific world many would wish that it conformed more to the empirical evidence and the ability to measure and test the results as of other scientific disciplines. It is foolish however to quickly dismiss something that is does not confirm to expectations. It is as a field evolving to begin to meet the outside pressures to conform. It would

equally be wrong to write off some of its major concepts such as Klein's paranoid – schizoid and depressive position, transference, countertransference and projective identification. These are but a few of the concepts that have proved useful in beginning to understand the unconscious communications that take place between humans and within organisations.

4:16. CONCLUSION.

In this chapter I have described the journey I have taken in the design and implementation of this research project along with some of the obstacles faced along the way. I briefly looked at the difference between quantitative and qualitative research. I have explored the methodologies used and outlined some of the concerns and changes that were made as the research developed. I have shown the benefit of undertaking a pilot interview and the flexibility written into the method to enable the research to respond to the data. Finally I looked at the validity of psychoanalytical theory which is the basis of some of the themes that emerge in the coming chapters,

I found that I enjoyed the style of the BNIM interviews as it gave the freedom to actively listen allowing more scope to be aware of all the different dynamics occurring in the interview session. The change of methodology to undertake the analysis was the correct decision for this research project, and has proved fruitful.

Having provided the methodological framework for this research in the following chapter I introduce the five people who were interviewed and their life experiences.

CHAPTER FIVE: THE NARRATIVES –THE BEGINNING OF THE FINDINGS.

5:1. INTRODUCTION.

The question arises in all research of how to present the data and begin to show the findings. What emerged from the interviews were some very rich and powerful narratives that gave an insight into the lives of homeless people. How can these be used to the full to develop the themes that those interviewed introduced? In this chapter I will bring together the main themes that emerged. Taking each narrative my discussion is based on a description of the emerging life story and then an analytical discussion of the themes that emerged. I unite these by using the same headings to give a basis to then move into the discussion chapter.

5:2. SURVIVING THE TRAUMAS OF WAR.

The victim of the war in his country, who fled for his personal safety.

Asif

Somalia

'I can do nothing, I mean not a bit. I haven't got power'- Asif.

5:2:1. Asif's life narrative.

Asif is a 40 year old black African male who was born in Somalia and is of the Islamic faith. Because of the war and personal tragedy he fled Somalia. Since then he has lived in a number of countries including Saudi Arabia before managing to come to the United Kingdom to try and rebuild his life. He has never been married, has no children and is

still trying to come to terms with traumatic life events. He currently resides at a homeless centre in London.

Asif lived in Somalia with his parents, two brothers and a sister. The family owned a restaurant and a minibus service, which enabled them to maintain their comfortable lifestyle, and also gave Asif the opportunity to travel a little with his father.

At the start of the war in Somalia the family circumstances changed drastically. The restaurant was blown up and Asif discovered his sister was amongst those burnt to death. He could only identify her from her hair. He and his elder brother fled for their lives, but in a dispute over money, troops at the border shot his brother dead in front of him. Asif was taken with thirty others to prison where he expected to die. He had been there for about six months when there was an escalation in fighting and a stray bomb hit the prison allowing him to escape.

With the assistance of his father and his father's friends he managed to flee, eventually living illegally in Saudi Arabia. For a number of years he was not aware of the fate of the rest of his family, but upon being deported to Djibouti he discovered that his parents and brother were alive. Because of the instability in the region his relatives encouraged him to escape to Europe to begin a new life. He arrived in the UK in 1998 as an asylum seeker.

While in this country he has lived in various establishments for asylum seekers but because of his behaviour he has repeatedly been evicted. This way of life has continued in spite of visits to addiction units. He has attended courses with Crisis and volunteered in their café and skylight centre for short periods. Asif is currently unemployed and living in a homeless centre. His situation is far from stable lapsing into periods of serious alcohol abuse, which lead to short bouts of violence and threaten his long term future in the community. He does have hope for the future in terms of finding employment and a flat.

Standing in the Shadows
Raelton Gibbs

5:2:2. Analytical Reflection.

5:2:2:1. Dominant Emotional Themes.

What we see from this interview is a compelling picture of the impact of war on an individual, and his forced displacement and his struggle to come to terms with what he has experienced.

The life narrative of Asif is one of tragedy and sadness. Throughout this interview there is a deep feeling of hurt and pain. His opening sentences introduce the listener to his family and the tragedy begins to unfold:

> '*I mean brothers, my eldest brother Adam is dead already they shot him in front of me. And er my second sister Sophia. She used to be as a manager at our restaurant eh in yeh*' (Asif: Interview one, part one).

Asif begins with a very brief glimpse of a carefree, happy time that he longs to recapture of playing football, helping in the family business - collecting tickets on the bus driven by his father and occasionally accompanying his father on business trips. This he knows is not possible as the picture is soon swallowed up by the dark, tragic events, which collapsed and now dominate his world.

His father was a respected businessman who clearly played an influential role in his early life with his mother almost being anonymous. The two relationships that dominate are those with his two dead siblings. Throughout the interview his living family is lost, particularly his younger brother. It is as if they too are dead to him, which may be the truth as he has not heard from them for many years.

From such early experiences you can see an internal world that is struggling between grief, guilt and the fear that he too has no life and the hope that he might be wrong. You gain an insight into this world when he recalls his time in prison where he indicates that both

physically and psychologically there was 'no light'. He had lost all sense of time and believed that he was soon to die:

> *'I really say you know I mean probably I will die. That was in my mind. Why the fire was still running at that time, and that's why I say probably I will die, that's was... ' (Asif: Interview one, part two).*

Even when the opportunity presents itself to escape, he is unsure as to whether he is going to live or die, his basic instincts took over and unable to fight he took flight:

> *'when we were there we finished already there came the bomb at the prison, outside demolition, I don't know who dead when I run, I know that I run...' (Asif: Interview one, part one)*

Death dominates his thinking in much of the interview, and he projects that he is on the dangerous road to self-destruction as he gets more and more sucked into a caustic cycle from which he struggles to break free from. The interview contains emotional indicators of the battle he is experiencing.

For much of his life Asif has felt powerless. In Somalia he was a member of the wrong tribe and was unable to stop becoming the victim of the ethnic conflict. He was powerless to prevent his sister's death and unable to stop the murder of his brother and strongly expresses his feelings of helplessness at this point:

> *'they search me they say already they say shut up. I become nervous I cry you shut up with the pistol, this is a farce and then he's dead, I can do nothing I haven't got power (Asif: Interview one, part one).*

Encountering powerlessness which led to prison, he fled, arriving in the United Kingdom to experience a system whose response to him, he interprets as repressive and rejecting. Through this he describes encountering abuse, neglect and ethnic and cultural rejection. The system whilst not returning him to Somalia did not allow him to integrate, paid him to travel out of sight and not join society, thereby

forcing him to live on the borders. He is trapped with no way out remaining powerless. He is helpless in the face of these experiences:

> *'When I come here I went to ask, they say to me you have sal 2[5], they say to me you have sal 2, and sal 2 means you cannot having benefits ... then you have to go to Social Services' (Asif: Interview one, part two).*

Asif does not indicate any social network. He describes no real friends, merely drinking partners and spends a lot of his time going from one agency to another. The only close relationships that he has experienced he has lost. This includes his family, of whom he currently has no news. The only other close relationship that he described was his girlfriend in Saudi Arabia. This he lost when he was deported and she now lives in Canada.

Throughout his life he has regularly lost everything. In his account of temporarily living in Catford he indicated that along with getting a single room a television he had found became an important symbol to him, something of status, the first step to a new life. This was only temporary as he soon reverted to a position of feeling everything has been taken from his grasp when the television broke and another man took possession of his room. Again he could not form relationships and it ended in violence reflecting his self-image and acting out the past.

The level of suffering experienced, as well as looking for meaning is about how he is living out universal myths, allegories or legends. In many ways he has been to the edge of Hades. One thinks of Dante's rings (Dante and Phillips, 1985) in the underworld, all these levels of hell. The first ring of hell (limbo) is where people go if they fail to engage properly with life, like a borderline place which is where it could be argued Asif is. Having been drawn back from the edge of the

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[5]   Standard Acknowledgement Letter (SAL). A SAL is a document printed on security paper and contains a unique number. It is used to acknowledge a claim for asylum in circumstances where it is not possible to issue an Application Registration Card within 3 days of the claim being lodged. A SAL displays the name, date of birth and nationality of the claimant and any dependants, the date of arrival (if known), the date of application, their address in the UK and HO reference. Photographs of the claimant and any dependants are also attached.

abyss he is facing the need to come to terms with the shame, guilt and anger in an environment of trust. He finds himself within the care of an organisation that should be able to provide this and meet his need to give answers to some of the questions that persist and his need for forgiveness. His previous experience of places where he has stayed is that he is unable to deal with these feelings and as a result has become involved in violence and conflict which ultimately has led to his eviction and homelessness. There is the implication that the staff did not listen to him, they evicted him without knowing the full facts.

5:2:2:2. The interviewee / interviewer relationship.

In an interchange between two people it is important to consider the unconscious exchanges that occur. Taking the opportunity after interviews had taken place to write down what had occurred is a valuable exercise that gives light to what is being shared outside of language. This adds to the richness of the research. What counter transference has occurred during this interviewer - interviewee encounter and how has it manifested itself? Objectivity is an important consideration from an interviewer, and to understand all of the material it is important to reflect on one's own emotional and counter transference responses to the interview material in order to learn what was being spoken.

With the depth of tragedy and hurt expressed Asif had been ridding the self of its unwanted parts and I the recipient left with such feelings as guilt, inadequacy and powerlessness. During the interview the pain being communicated was difficult to bear. I recall feelings of disbelief as Asif's life narrative unfolded, wondering how anybody could live through such tragic events, and wanting in some way to take the pain away. Added to this were feelings of anger at such injustice, and confusion at how man can treat his fellow man in such a way. These feelings manifested themselves in a number of ways during the process. In the BNIM methodology, the second interview that was used, rather

than starting to think about Asif's early life I started at the point when he found himself in jail. The whole beginning section of his life chronology was missed, including the painful account of the death of his sister and brother. It was almost as if I was unable to bear the experience of his vulnerability and the feeling of helplessness. Throughout the interview I increasingly felt overwhelmed with the feeling of helplessness and hopelessness, culminating in becoming involved in a small enactment at the end of the interview wanting to do something for him, wondering how I could help in some way. This state of mind was so intense that at the end of the sessions and following an appeal from Asif, I gave him a pound, something that is totally out of character for me. This may well indicate projective identification which refers to 'the unconscious processes whereby vulnerable, hostile or otherwise difficult feelings maybe disowned by an individual and attributed to another, who may then (as a result of the interaction) actually experience the feelings as his or her own'(Hughes and Pengelly, 1997 p80). When thinking through what occurred one interpretation of this action could be that the giving of a pound is of no real use to him, and is confirming an unconsciously held view of his that he is 'almost worthless', that actually there is no way out, that he is unable to change and is stuck in this cycle of self-destruction.

The discourse of this interview was fragmented, disturbed and disjointed and in some way mirrors the content of what he has to say. The beginning is coherent when talking about his early life in Somalia when he is sharing about being with people and together as a family. The more that he went through different displacements, and countries where he was rejected the more this is reflected in his language and so towards the end, the less his story makes sense.

5:2:2:3. What is the interviewee bringing into the setting that he seeks out?

Asif is communicating that the painful feelings from the appalling events in his life, are so disturbing within him, that it is a struggle to contain his mental state. It is this experience that he brings into the centre. His life is dominated by fear, shame and guilt. He is terrorised by nightmares and flashbacks and unwanted memories of life threatening experiences that he has been through, all of which at times explode in his acting out of a mental state that spills out because it cannot be contained:

> *'Sometimes when I have flashbacks sometimes I have a nightmares and what happened in front of me and come to me and then I started to drink with the homeless people when I started to sleep outside and then I stop the drink again I drink I still take the tablets as well' (Asif: Interview one, part one).*

Asif's disturbance and projections are very strong, almost boarding on the state of madness and the impact of such severe disturbance on staff working with him needs to be acknowledged and explored. If they are not, then because the project staff is usually the most inexperienced or ill equipped to deal with such an overwhelming onslaught, not only will the worker be unable to contain what is happening but they could easily become overwhelmed and paralysed, feeling totally inadequate and becoming ineffective. As Daniel's puts it 'It is very hard to live with feelings of helplessness and of failure and one situation is to convince ourselves that the service users are inadequate or resistant or to use some other such pathologising language' (Daniel, 2005 p62).

In one incident in another centre where he stayed, Asif describes how, in his opinion, he was unfairly evicted. This occurred, again in his opinion, because the staff being unable to properly investigate the incident took the easy option and evicted both of the people involved, thereby ensuring that the problem was removed:

> *'Then the staff pass and staff suddenly when he punching me only saw me because to defend myself you know what I mean and straight away I realise they evict both of us. Why I mean and he couldn't speak the language when they evict him, I became homeless'.*

Throughout his homeless career these feelings have been expressed by excessive drinking and disturbed or threatening behaviour illustrated by numerous incidents where he has been evicted because of violence or the threat of violence. A full knowledge of his 'housed' history would prove very helpful to staff to enable them to look for patterns as to why he has left other institutions, the breakdown of relationships, frustrations, violence and so on. This would enable them to think about a wider context than just what is being presented at the time and enable a more effective plan of action to be drawn up.

Life within the centre for Asif is a lonely one with him indicating that he has few friends. Not only is he suffering from the effects of the violence that he has experienced in his life, but also cultural displacement. Both of these have an impact upon him, but can be viewed in different ways. If his life is observed merely from the torture then he is a victim. However, if it is seen from a cultural perspective then you observe the strength of coping quite well when faced with one system in Saudi Arabia, until he experiences the loss of his culture.

When Asif arrives in the UK he asks for help and feels that the authorities want to rid themselves of him, and make him live on the outside of society. It seems that he has been able to cope in societies that have been similar to his own, where the whole system is based on relationships, with all decisions being made on these relationships. He immediately struggles when he meets a system where relationships are secondary and you become a number. He finds it so frustrating, not having the right papers to get through the right door, and being misunderstood. It is almost as if the coherent story that he begins with no longer fits and at this point he becomes completely disjointed. There is a displacement of culture, which acts as an intermediary between his internal world and his external world and how this is negotiated. If this is more oral and by people and relationships, then when people arrive in the country they become a 'nothing', mere bits

of paper that do not have any meaning. He expresses being very excluded.

The Authorities keep him alive by housing him in a hostel and feeding him, but do not allow him to participate, thereby forcing him into being an outsider. This madness then results in those looking after him being unable to contain him leading to numerous evictions due to violence or a lack of understanding. There are numerous indications that organisations have been unable to hold his pain. A cycle that repeats itself. For example, in a conversation following another interview the management of the current centre acknowledged that they wanted to work through his issues, but this was becoming increasingly difficult. His behaviour and lack of cooperation indicated that he was on a road heading towards a crisis point that could end with his eviction.

5:2:2:4. Hope – the search for meaning.

In places the interviewee expresses feelings of total hopelessness and yet, just like sunlight on a cloudy day, there were occasional brief rays of hope that would try and break through.

As previously expressed, when imprisoned following the murder of his brother, he believes that he would not have left the prison alive. His family was as far as he knew dead, and yet hope came into the narrative when he expresses that 'God saved him'. Having been on the run for a number of years, with no home, illegal and deported from a number of countries, he feels an outcast, lost and rejected. However, there is hope in leaving Somalia and coming to the United Kingdom that he will be able to escape and make a fresh start. This is underlined with his talk of Fuzzia, a woman he describes as 'like my girlfriend'. Whether she is real or fantasy, she is his hope for a relationship, family, and normality. He also describes a point in his life where he made the decision that he needed to change. He saw the dream, and started to study with the homeless charity Crisis. Elsewhere he also

describes some of his hopes for the future; to do some study, gain employment and get a flat. Here is that glimmer of hope that he might be able to change; that his life might improve and return to that first picture of happiness that he paints. Yet always it seems to elude him. At the end of the first interview he expresses the hope that he will be able to get rid of the smell that summarises his current life and return to society. His hope is that he can be washed clean, which is very much a symbolic act both in the Islamic and Christian faith:

> *'Yeh, that's what I want to do and then focus about my life for if my family is dead I will have to help them, if it's gone if everybody is gone from my life there is nothing for me I know I will have to rebuild my future and to get family and get a clean smell, yes that's it'(Asif: Interview one, part two).*

He is searching for forgiveness; he blames himself for not being able to prevent the death of his siblings, particularly his brother. These occurrences have stained his life and he is looking to be washed clean, for a new beginning. Whilst he very much aligns himself to the Islamic faith, he is pragmatic in where he looks for his salvation. He visits a number of churches in the area, and he finds himself living in a centre of the host organisation. Here we are presented with the possibility that his arrival at this particular organisation may not be by chance. He has previously experienced the organisation during a period of detoxification. Whether consciously or subconsciously it may be that he has sought it out again in the hope of being able to explore issues that an organisation offering a spiritual element can support.

His hope is entangled with his image of, and belief in God. He is looking for change, but there is the feeling that he is powerless to undertake this, because in his mind this is given by God. Again there is the feeling of powerless and he does not want to ask too much of God, just enough to be happy. It is as if he cannot expect too much:

> *'Not too much but what gives me, I believe in God by the way. I believe in God' (Asif: Interview one, part two).*

5:3. RUNNING OFF TO JOIN THE CIRCUS.

<u>An abusive family, having spent regular spells in the care of the local authority in children's homes, boarding schools and secure units.</u>

Kevin

London, England

Some bits I don't want to, I'd rather not go into, no some bits, no. They are the bits I lock away and I don't bring out for no one. I try not to think about it myself.

5:3:1. Kevin's life narrative.

Kevin is a thirty eight year old white British male who professes no faith. He is currently resident in a homeless centre in London having experienced an abusive family in recent years he has been sleeping rough in London.

Kevin's mother left the home very early in his life leaving him to be brought up by his father and stepmother. His father was a heavy drinker and very abusive to Kevin and his stepmother. Despite many interventions from social services, Kevin was always returned to the family. He started running away from home about the age of eleven and as the abuse got worse he ultimately took matters into his own hands. Having been told to leave school he ran away at the age of fourteen with gypsies and worked with a travelling fairground around the United Kingdom. Four years later he returned to the family in London but on discovering that nothing had changed he left. Kevin has found employment in shop fitting but has always struggled to retain a home

for long. He is also dyslexic. Throughout his life Kevin has abused both alcohol and drugs, but has recently managed to stop taking both and is enjoying sobriety. Prior to his admission to this centre he spent recent years sleeping rough in London.

5:3:2. Analytical Reflections.

5:3:2:1. Dominant Emotional Themes.

Kevin expresses his thoughts about his childhood in very negative terms, believing that he never really had a childhood. He sees that all his problems began in his very early life within the family:

> *'My story is a hard one. Mine goes back from when I was a child, it was exact; I mean first the best thing being homeless. I never really been, like had a home. You know what I mean. I'd been brought up by my dad and step mum. That, even that, if you can call it a childhood' (Kevin: Interview one, part one).*

He expresses that he has never really had a home, which following the thinking of Angela Foster who conceptualizes homelessness as a state of mind and writes 'Such early experience also leads to a state of mind in which emotional containment in the form of a home are avoided' (Foster and Roberts, 1998 p31). This indicates the possibility that he is homeless both physically and psychologically. Foster conceives such behaviour as the acting out of a mental state so destructive that it smashes everything inside the mind (the contained), a mental state that appears to be uncontainable.

His father, the dominant character in his life, is a heavy drinker, abusive and a bully. Kevin struggles to fully describe the details of the abuse that he and his stepmother suffered from this man. He struggles to illustrate the true extent of the abuse 'trying to put it nicely' and during the interview this abuse dominates his thinking. He cannot

allow himself to open fully. The thoughts are so painful that there is a fear that he will fall apart and not be able to function:

> *'Some bits I don't want to, I'd rather not go into, no some bits no. They are bits I lock away and don't bring out for no one. I even try not to think about it myself' (Kevin: Interview one, part one).*

Bion (Bion, 1962b) in his paper on the theory of thinking wrote about the development of an infant's internal world being influenced by the reaction it gets from its primary object – normally their mother. When the infant experiences anxiety, pain or distress, this is projected to their primary object and picked up by the mother. Where the infant cannot be contained by the mother, it can be returned in a form that the child cannot cope with or make sense of. Through living in an abusive situation Kevin's interview intimates that the response he received as an infant was negative, giving back the pain in a form that he could not cope with, and so beget what Bion describes as a 'nameless dread'. Waddell (Waddell, 2002) describes this as:

> 'the experience of a baby who not only does not have available to him a mind into which he can project his distress, but whose distress becomes terrifyingly augmented both by the discovery that this is so and by the fact that the weight of his own feelings is thereby being added to' (p48).

This has had the effect of Kevin keeping himself isolated from intimacy with anybody and initiates the feeling of being attacked.

Added to Kevin's struggle to contain these feelings, and those towards his father, he also has to contend with the question of the absence of his mother. Although very much absent in his account, she left at the age of four and he is asking the question why she did not take him with her when she left. He carries the burden of feeling he was abandoned and not wanted by her.

Kevin speaks of wishing that he never had a family and that his father was dead, but equally through his account he reveals that what he wants is to be a member of a caring, loving family. In his mind he has

a fantasy of what a proper family is. Having discovered that not all families were like his, and he returned on numerous occasions with the hope that changes had happened, but was always disappointed. He eventually gave up hope and has not attempted to meet with them for fifteen years.

Kevin lists the different institutions that he has experienced which he feels failed to protect him. These include social services, children's homes, boarding schools and secure units. Through his life experience, Kevin does not trust anybody and this was reflected in his reaction to people and situations both in the past and currently within the centre. Everybody in his world has let him down. 'Everybody, a lot of people, they are all the same'. He focuses on an abusive incident of a member of staff in a secure unit that is particularly painful and this confirms his view of the world, and experience of that world.

His reaction to social services is the same – why are they not protecting me from this? There is no escape for him. Even though the centre is a place of safety, there is no real place to be safe. Eventually he understands that the only defence mechanism available to him is flight, and so from the age of eleven he begins to run away, culminating with his escape at fourteen years old:

> 'And when I was about 14 I ran off. I was going to say joined the circus but it wasn't. I went off with travellers' (Kevin: Interview one, part one).

This insecurity is something of what he brings into the centre with him. On a number of occasions he describes his desire to escape from difficult situations by running away.

For Kevin, life living on the streets was very difficult. He saw nothing glamorous in this life style. In fact he described it as just existing, not being human, not alive, just existing. It is almost as if he, like Asif is living in Sheol or Hades. Thus it is no coincidence that Kevin finds

himself living in the cemetery. He is so part of this underworld that the street workers are unable to find him, and they are not prepared to enter this parallel universe. He could not be found, rescued from death. He conveys the violence of street life with a vignette of a homeless man being robbed by people coming out of a club. Kevin's reaction is to flee back into a place of safety – a hiding place in the cemetery. All of this street life is being brought into the centre.

> *'It just gets; this place it's just too. Like... It don't help much, like, with all, most like virtually everybody in here and come from the streets in any case'* (Kevin: Interview one, part one).

Centre life is difficult for Kevin, and he indicates that there are a lot of problems. He describes an upside down world where service users live a chaotic lifestyle getting up when the world is going to bed and vice versa. There is an indication of some conflict with drug dealers and drug takers. As a stereotype he does not have any time for them. In this interview the atmosphere evoked is the same atmosphere associated with high security prisons, in which everybody is teetering on the brink of violence and madness. There is almost a violent undercurrent that has come in from the street. It does not cease whilst they are in the centre, it is a little more controlled. The service users within the centre recreate the world they come from.

5:3:2:2. What is the interviewee bringing into the setting that he seeks out?

From the interview it is difficult to ascertain the extent in which one is able to say that he is presenting a view of the centre. Is what we read really as much a projection of his inner world as it was a more dispassionate description of that world?

Because he is clearly spilling over with feelings and issues that are not being contained, one can imagine the disruption that he would cause in

a more settled environment of his own home. He presents a very complex picture to which in many ways there are no answers; only a live sense that one can speculate about. There is a part of himself that Kevin thinks is 'mad' and again struggles to contain the thought of identifying himself with a mass murderer who eats his victims. One could speculate that he thinks he is to blame, that he is really evil. There is the feeling that he is lost, so lost that he fears he could not be found. Yet there is some awareness that he needs to change, to sort himself out indicating that he has received salvation. Things may not be totally lost as he gives the following glimmers of hope:

> 'This is one of the kids you are locked away with. We always put is down, because he was from the same environment as we was. Perhaps we're not as bad as what we thought' (Kevin: Interview one, part one).

and

> 'It is a strange one really, I appreciate everything what happened to me here, well not before I go in here cause things could be a lot worse. Hell of a lot worse, more like being in prison, worse than that... ' (Kevin: Interview two).

It is difficult to indicate the extent of which one would say that Kevin is presenting a view of the centre, or is he really giving a projection of his inner world. Is what he describes a more dispassionate description of the centre world – or was he describing his inner self fairly accurately or both.

The atmosphere that Kevin evokes is very tense and evocative, which has already been described as teetering on the brink of violence, madness. There is the line of thought within the prison system that if a lot of people with problems are put together they get worse. Kevin describes an organisation trying to act as a container to so many different emotions. There is madness and confusion in the system and there is the feeling that this could erupt at any time.

The centre is able to contain some of his world, and he reflects that this is the longest that he has stayed in one place since becoming homeless. Although he feels that the programme is doing him some good, he does describe moments when he struggles to keep control. This is particularly evident when staff respond to him at a time or in a way that he feels annoys him

In its attempt to keep the lid on all that is going on, there is the feeling that issues with certain individuals are not dealt with fully because of a fear of opening Pandora's Box. This leaves the other service users complaining that the managers do not deal with everybody equally.

From his experience on the streets, the street people grade the hostels and that 'this place has had a bad reputation for years'. His overall assessment is that 'the setup is all good, but it's more about the clientele'. There is clearly a tension between the organisation's struggle to be available for everybody (that is the 'whosoever', those that nobody else will give a chance to) and being able to maintain a haven where people feel safe and secure.

From encounters that are described, there are times when the staff react out of character and seem to be paralysed by a defence against anxiety. 'It's like they don't want, it's like they're here to help you, but sometimes it comes across that they don't want to help'. He describes the reaction of one particular member of staff who said to him that she was not intimidated by him. He then approached her to ask to see her. Her response seems to be disproportionate to the request when she then replies 'if I have to see you today, I'm going to make you pay; I'm going to make you pay later on'.

There is further indication that unconscious mechanisms are active when the staff member is accused by another resident of 'blanking' people. Having replied that she hadn't realised that she had done so, she turned to Kevin 'Have I done it to you?' Kevin replied 'Oh yes, I

went, because I haven't spoken to you since last summer. She went, oh my gosh. Like she tried to get off the subject'.

The relationship with his key worker within the centre is a very important one for Kevin. Some of the dynamics described are similar to those of client and analyst with him describing one incident when he objected to a student being present in a one to one session. He is clearly indicating that he did not want to share the key worker with anybody else.

In Kevin's words the centre is different from others. He does not know why, but understands that it is different to other homelessness agencies:

> *'It's like xxxxxxxx (the host organisation), one gets into it. Their structure is different to everybody else. It's different, it is different. Gives you more of an insight into them. It's different, I suppose, I don't know how to explain it'* (Kevin: Interview two).

He acknowledges that he is aware that it is a Christian based programme and in his opinion it is one of the better systems he has experienced. There is always room for improvement, and Kevin constantly wants more but then he does not want to make a judgement on how successful or otherwise the programme maybe until he has left. He is hopeful that this is the last time he is going to be in this position. This shows that there has been a shift in thinking, from being another organisation on the long list that have let him down in the past, to the possibility that this time there may be a positive end product.

There is awareness among service users of their religion but it is not a topic of conversation but rather is seen as a personal matter. Whilst conflict between service users happens on a not too infrequent basis, religion has not been the basis of this.

5:3:2:3. The Interviewee / interviewer relationship.

The interview with Kevin started with his story almost spilling out as if he had been waiting sometime for an opportunity to tell somebody what he had been through. I felt as if I represented an authority figure and there were moments when I felt that he was saying it was my fault and he wanted to make me understand what he had been through. Why had I not done something to stop it? When listening I had wondered why he had not been protected better, rather than being returned to an abusive setting. On the other hand there were also feelings that he should stop blaming everybody else for what happened in his life and take some responsibility himself.

I felt the dyslexia was used as an excuse for his failings. He struggled to have eye contact with me, initially he looked everywhere except at me, almost as if he did not want to be judged or was ashamed. Underneath all of this there was always the feeling that there was a depth of hurt that had been locked away, and was not going to be opened for fear of what might be released. Also a fear of madness. Ultimately though, whilst there was a lot of negativity I did feel a responsibility that there was a desperation to change, and he was crying out for help to find what he felt he had missed out on all his life. He felt that nobody so far had answered, giving him no expectation of future happiness, but just maybe I may be able to be part of this process.

5:4. WHEN THERE SEEMS NO FUTURE.

<u>Having experienced her parent's difficult divorce, rebelled because she discovered her mother was dying from a genetic disease that was likely to shorten her life too</u>

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Mary

London England

You can't plan for the future you know because I know for a fact I'm not gonna be here so it's quite, it's the best you can do is just do anything.

5:4:1. Mary's life narrative.

Mary is a twenty five year old white female, who is a Druid. She has one brother, and her mother is now dead, having died of an inherited genetic condition. Her parents divorced when she was young and she has been estranged from her father since the age of sixteen. She currently lives at a homeless centre in London trying to establish herself as an author and artist.

Mary's parents divorced and she was brought up by her father. The divorce was not amicable and her parents fought an extended and very messy custody battle that included accusations of her being abused by him. Both children were home schooled by their father and had very little contact with their mother. At the age of fifteen she discovered that her mother was dying with an inherited genetic disease which exacerbated her rebellion against everything. This culminated in a fight with her father at the age of sixteen resulted in being thrown out of the home, and being disowned by him. She then spent time in the care of social services; however increasingly travelled the country actively involved in animal rights protests which eventually led to her arrest and being charged with offences under the terrorism act.

At the age of twenty one she decided to do something and started at university but failed to complete the course as she lost her accommodation. Her mother died last year, and although she tried to be tested for the disease at eighteen, she has not been tested to confirm she is positive, although she believes she is.

She is currently waiting to be allocated a flat, and is trying to establish herself as an author and artist, and is hoping to return to university for the next academic year to study English literature and philosophy.

5:4:2. Analytical Reflections.

5:4:2:1. Dominant Emotional Themes.

The first part of the interview begins with her giving a great deal of information but then comes to an abrupt halt. Although she does expand more in the later questions it seems that in feeling that she has only got a certain amount of time to live she must get the story out as quickly as possible as though this is reflected in her mind. Added to this was her need not to be identified with these feelings. During the interview she wore large sun glasses and had her hair over her face, indicating that she wanted to remain anonymous.

The interview is full of extremes. Initially Mary describes herself as a writer having a good time and then all of a sudden everything is awful. Another roller coaster feeling of a high and then a drop to a low point is given by her reference during the interview to dropping out of university. The first part of the interview closes with a similar collapse when she is asked if there is anything else she wants to say and her reply is 'I'm not very good to at this', as though she has collapsed a bit . It is as though she

says all of this and then she curls up. This also fits into not being able to see her.

There are some striking sentences such as 'the first father in Britain to educate his children at home' … 'the first in care to educate' … where she is in the forefront of history, she is a special case, a test case. There is something about being special and this can be connected with her comments in the second part of the interview where she says she wants to leave something behind – have her work published to leave something immortal. She has this belief that she is going to die early even though she has not heard back from the tests as to whether she suffers from the genetic disease that killed her mother. This brings out some interesting thoughts around her belief system. She has a belief system and part of this is that she is going to die, but that is not a certainty. Another part of her belief system is about immortality, but which may be a different way to the established religious thinking. She is going to try and leave something behind but all she can hope for is to go back to university.

The dominant characteristic of the family is Mary's relationship with her parents and that it is dominated by fighting. Everything has been or has to be a battle, not just with her father but the whole of her life. For example her involvement in animal rights initially started out as attending meetings and giving out leaflets but soon moved into the extreme, getting into real hard core protesting and terrorism at quite a young age:

> *'Erm I was always, er for for about 2 years previously I had been attending animal rights meetings, my father would let me go and come with me erm but it was very mild side, it was literally just going to meetings and and helping out on the er stalls at the weekends, you know flyering and stuff it was very very erm very mild (laughs) and then when I got to 16 I got involved in the heavier side of it. I was involved with like er the organisation connected to car bombers and you know like really hard core stuff erm and then I I protested for everything really, animal rights, anti-capitalism you know any (laughs) anything really (laughs) ' (Mary: Interview one, part two).*

She has only ever known fighting, some of her earliest memories are not the expected thoughts of a child but custody battles. Such bitter fighting has an

impact on her relationships and future life. It is ironic that the father had fought to keep her and the judge said that it was a pleasure giving him custody. Yet in the interview there are hints of underlying issues. There is the swoop by social services and then there is the reference to boundaries. At fourteen she is going out with a much older man. They have fought so hard idealistically but in the end it turns out really bad again. Initially the impression is given that being the first – the first father in Britain to have custody of his children is really positive, but again from the interview what he has actually given them one does not know. It is held up as a good thing but she turns out to have had a really awful experience. Time and time again she talks of his controlling behaviour, yet despite this she still idolises him. He stops her from seeing her mother who is dying and has a disease that could affect her. He gets up early in the morning to make sure she doesn't get any letters from her mum and eventually threw Mary out of home.

Mary has no contact with her mother, and so has to idealise her father. She does not have anybody else and if she loses that, not so much the external father but the father in the mind then there is the danger of total collapse. There is a strong sense of someone that is suffering from an internal homelessness, with nobody to belong to.

There is no sense of positive identity with her mother. She did see her towards the end of her life when she was ill but there was this sense of nothing there which eventually led to her stopping visiting. This also indicates a fear of her own mortality; being unable to visit in the end because there was a fear that this is what she is going to face.

She is really alone dealing with all the emotions of her mother's illness on her own. She was told when she was fifteen that "there is nobody". It was around that time that she was thrown out by her father. She has also chosen to isolate herself. She finished with her boyfriend, she doesn't have friends in the centre, and she just chooses to talk with people, changing her fantasies around family and children.

Standing in the Shadows
Raelton Gibbs

From Mary's interview the question arises, do people end up at the host organisation because there is something about faith that might be provided, something in the context of all this? This is not necessarily conscious, but it is what the host organisation represents to people – salvation.

In many ways what Mary is saying is the host organisation has failed her. This is a young woman asking questions about life and mortality, questions that of all organisations the host organisation should be able to contain and give space to consider. All she could comment on is a project worker preaching to her about Jesus. It is like the Church provides answers to some very fundamental questions that do not easily have a home in more secular places. This young woman is quite obviously faced with fundamental anxieties that the Church is the place that might be able to think about them with her but not in that way. It is a pastoral role that the Church offers.

This opens the interesting possibility that maybe the service users at the centre do not entirely adopt the host organisation by accident. They are drawn to it because consciously or unconsciously it represents something meaningful, something hopeful, a place where these kinds of things they hope might be thought about and recognised. Mary made a conscious effort to get into the centre – 'she went on the street for 3 nights'.

There is the feeling she's never been alive, she's dead before she's hardly emerged into life. How do you make meaning when her life events are so tragic, difficult and profound? She is planning her death when she is only twenty five, identifying with her dying mother, even though it is a double deprivation. Her mother has never been in her life which make this even more powerful. The only way she can identify with her is around someone that is dying. This is a very difficult story but there is some hope in it. Maybe she is trying to rediscover the meaning of faith, hope and love.

It is very easy to imagine, when you think about faith or religious belief that people are committed to a particular church or religion, when the

reality is that they are searching for meaning and this is where you would look for it. You would not look for it in psychotherapy or politics.

Mary is facing death which our society cannot cope with at all. She is facing something that is absolutely real but which individually and collectively we have a real problem with. The unconscious cannot take on the idea of death, and religion is the only place that does actually try and think about it. Hope for Mary is not a hope that is stuck, but there is a reaching, wanting something that does not say we don't think about that, which is what most at the age of twenty five are shielded from. At that age you do not even think that you are going to die at all, which again gives some credence that it is not accidental that she was resident in the centre.

5:4:2:2. What is the interviewee bringing into the setting that she seeks out?

Within this interview too, the dynamics that are expressed within the centre are comparable to those you would expect to find in a prison such as Holloway. If the indications being given about life inside the host organisations hostels in terms of need are taken seriously, what they are bringing and what is going on then points to an underlying culture of violence. If this is the case, then the question needs to be asked where this is thought about, recognised or discussed within the organisation. If one thinks of Gordon Lawrence's (Lawrence, 2000) typology of primary organisational tasks, what is being uncovered in these interviews is a different view of how we might view the task or tasks of the organisation. What is presenting is the possibility that the host organisation is an ante chamber of the prison or psychiatric system. It is the place where people could be in prison, psychiatric hospital or the care system but are not at the moment. It is acting as a half-way house between ordinary society and these institutions. Descriptively this seems to be expressed, and so raises the question what does the organisation think it is about? How does it behave in terms of what it actually does in relation to what is really going on? These interviews show that the way the centre works is not necessarily the

way which people think it does. There is something different being uncovered here, a different world to what one understands as the centre manager. What Mary describes is an organisation that is turning a blind eye that does not want to recognise or to know what is going on or is not seen. It does not listen to her and is not prepared to change. There is the indication that there is an avoidance of thinking about individual incidents because the organisation does not know what to do with them. The organisation's defences have to remain in place because if they were removed, if they took on the complexity and responsibility for everything then it would implode. It could not function as it is, so to go on functioning it has to defend itself against all of this, not judging but just describing it.

Throughout the interviews there is a refrain that is repeating. This place – a xxxxxxxxxx place, is very important and even though we have some problems we should be protected from others, these prostitutes and rough ones. Those interviewed might say that they expect something different from this place than they might expect from somewhere else. This expectation is also different to the organisation's understanding of its role.

Mary, who indicates that at one time she was one of the most wanted people in the country and has experienced the legal and penal system expresses her fear and need of protection:

> *'You know the my my first night I was here I was terrified absolutely terrified thought I was gonna be murdered in my sleep! ' (Mary: Interview one, part two).*

These feelings are particularly aimed at those who she perceives are involved in prostitution:

> *'erm I have really serious issues with this place. Erm at not erm you know I have erm erm most of the girls here are prostitutes, most of the girls are working girls, this is like a red light zone here this street erm and I believe this place if they, I, this place if they (sighs) enables them to live this lifestyle without any real you know (sighs)' (Mary: Interview one, part two).*

As expressed elsewhere, this indicates a difference in the primary task between those participating in the programme, and those representing the organisation.

Within the two interviews, Mary is starting to verbalise about the concept of salvation verses revelation. Somebody preaches to her - salvation, which left her cold. However there are as we have indicated ideas of hope, meaning, belief and faith – revelation. You cannot begin to try and save somebody without getting to really know them (revelation). Gordon Lawrence (Lawrence, 2000) explains:

> 'The preoccupation of the politics of salvation is with change – that is, others holding power impose it from the outside on individuals or systems. The politics of revelation is preoccupied with the conditions and resources for the exercise of transformation that come from inside the person or system and are brought through people revealing what may be the trust of their situation to themselves and taking authority to act on their interpretation' (p173).

The interview is something of what Mary has been looking for, somebody to begin to get to know her, to understand her, and begin to help her work through her past, present and future. Goals can be interpreted as the secularised version of salvation, and so in order to meet the goals set by the government it is essential to get to know the person. It is important to sit down and listen to what they have to say. There is always the possibility of opening up something that is difficult to contain or carry. There is a similarity to acute psychiatric wards where nurses are sat in the middle in their office because they are frightened and there is something unbearable. However there is also hope, and maybe, because of the pastoral element, that is why the Church has accepted some of these feelings. Yet there has been this invasion of targets that has meant that it has had to justify itself, and by doing so has moved away from the good practice of personal relationships. If this is the case, then this must change the authority relationships within the organisation from competition, conflict and aggression to mutuality and support.

5:4:2:3. The Interviewee / interviewer relationship.

As has already been eluded to, Mary presented as wanting to remain anonymous. She came into the interview in very large dark sunglasses and her hair brushed in such a way that it was difficult to see her face. She presented as intelligent and erudite but was distracted and reflective.

During the interview I tried to understand who I was representing to Mary. There were times when I felt overwhelmed, particularly during the first interview where all these feelings came pouring out as if she was expelling them from herself, and in a way was seeking answers or solace that I was unable to give. At the end of the interviews I felt exhausted, and burdened, thinking not only about her mortality but my own. She had certainly brought out protective feelings within me which has led me to understand that at times I not only represented the establishment but also her father.

5:5. THE GOOD SAMARITAN.

<u>Arrived in the UK to study, but having overstayed his visa has struggled to negotiate the immigration system</u>.

Mohammad

Algeria

The staff, basically they are doing their best, it is their job for them.
They are not Mother Teresa are they, you know what I mean.

5:5:1. Mohammad's life narrative.

Mohammad is a forty nine year old Algerian male who is of the Islamic faith. His early life was spent in Algeria and included two years of military service. He has two brothers and two sisters, all being well

educated and holding responsible employment. He also married, although separated, his wife having returned home after only a brief stay in the United Kingdom.

Mohammad arrived in the UK in 1984 to study English and also held down part time work. Eighteen months later he was joined by his wife but she could not settle and soon left to live in France before returning to Algeria. He had run into financial difficulties and so decided to overstay his visa and work full time under false French papers. He worked in the London area in restaurants and hotels. In 2000 whilst at Heathrow airport he was questioned by the police and referred to immigration. Whilst he was allowed to remain in the country during the immigration process, he was not allowed to work or receive benefits and so there followed a period of total destitution where he lived for eighteen months at the airport, slept rough and in a car. Eventually he was befriended by a solicitor who specialised in immigration who helped him achieve legal status after five years.

He is currently a resident at a homeless centre in London, stabilising his life and waiting to find accommodation so that he can return to work and rebuild his life.

5:5:2. Analytical Reflections.

5:5:2:1. Dominant Emotional Themes.

Although his interview starts with Mohammad indicating that he was born in Algeria, his life narrative begins with his life in England pushing the point that he wishes to forget his time in Algeria and concentrate on the life he is trying to make in the United Kingdom. As the interviews unfold there develops an obvious internal struggle between his memories of his former life in Algeria and his fantasies of what that life might have been like there today and the consequences of decisions that have been made in the past to stay and make a life here.

When he does talk about his early life he indicates that it was spent in a closely knit, large extended family, with his grandmother and two uncles living in a flat beneath them. He describes his family as well educated, and this seems to be confirmed by his description of his brothers and sisters and their achievements. His father is hard working, and he affectionately describes a somewhat disciplined upbringing that he reminisces as a society that he knew where he was. He suggests it as a model that should be followed by the United Kingdom in order to sort out its shortcomings and particularly when it comes to dealing with the youth of today.

This has to be contrasted with his belief that life in Algeria has changed there. There are parts of the narrative when he talks about there being nothing there for him now. His brothers and sisters left, leaving him at home alone with mainly people of his parent's generation to socialise with. The horrors of the war also play on his mind. He gives two vignettes of atrocities which occurred that he struggles to understand or come to terms with, and remain with him as an internal dread. The first is the death of thirty five school children in a bombing, and the second the execution of well-educated friends:

> *'So many people died for nothing. I can never, me I was very lucky I wasn't there. If I was there I could be dead. Because sometimes you got pride, you know what I mean? A friend of mine, all my friends, they were like, you know, educated guys man. They just went bang, bang, bang, bang, just er you know shoot them just like that for nothing. My brother told me that I cut, I cut ties with Algeria, even from my family. I stopped calling them for about 8 months, nearly a year. I couldn't, I didn't want to hear any bad, any bad news anymore '(Mohammad: Interview one, part two).*

For Mohammad he could not cope with his feelings of what has happened and what could have happened. There is the fear that had he stayed then he too could have been executed, but also the guilt that he has escaped and he has left people behind that have been killed or are

persecuted and suffering. Not only does he not want to think of the changes that have happened, but there are times when he blocks it all out and denies its existence. Nowhere in the narrative does Mohammad indicate the safety or otherwise of his family that he left behind. It is unclear what has happened to them.

The history of Algeria, all the difficult events of the revolution had a momentous effect on Mohammad to the point of nearly losing his faith. Although he is very critical of his religion it is very central to his making sense of things. How to hang on to hope is a very common theme in a lot of literature. For example the fiddler on the roof is set around a Jewish village where God's law provided balance in the villagers lives, and without their traditions the villagers would find their lives 'as shaky as a fiddler on the roof'. Mohammad struggled at the time to maintain this hope and fears that things have changed in Algiers too. He chooses the stance that Algeria means nothing to him and England is his country now:

> *'But there is no, no there is no sense of community, there is no sense of, I don't know, the family nucleus doesn't exist anymore. It doesn't exist. I don't know, I don't understand. If living in Algeria now, I'm not sure I haven't been there since 84 so I can't tell you now. Maybe is a good thing. This is my country now, that's it full stop' (Mohammad: Interview one, part two).*

This is confirmed in the decisions he makes when life became difficult as a student. He has been joined by his wife, who although he indicates he loves, he had to marry because they slept together, and she does not settle. He blames her for not making the effort to fit into the new culture. He takes the very big decision of remaining in the country as an illegal and work to build a life, rather than leave with his wife to France or return home to Algeria. Whilst he describes things as going well, there remains the guilt of what he is trying to hide, what he has left behind in Algeria. For him the country has been spoilt, too much

blood has been shed for no reason. His defence to this is that he had no choice but to come and stay here:

> *'My belief is that she didn't try, she didn't try hard enough, and that's a bad thing. If you don't try, if anybody doesn't try, you don't get anywhere. You might as well go back to your own country and that's it. I didn't have a choice, let's put it that way. I had to stay here, ' (Mohammad: Interview one, part two).*

There is a parallel between what is going on between Mohammad and his country. The stories are similar about suffering and undergoing some unspeakable situations, and the endings are heading in similar directions.

Whilst the circumstances are a little unclear, Mohammad finds himself living at Heathrow airport. At some point he is with a friend who is returning to Algeria from Heathrow Airport and he somehow is questioned by the police. The fact that he has chosen to live in the one place that could return him back, and then orchestrated a situation where he may have to leave, gives further evidence of the subconscious conflict and inner guilt that was occurring with his decision to remain.

At this point his life fell apart and he lost everything and moved into limbo which is an interesting use of a Catholic phase for a place on the edge of hell where the un baptised but innocent or righteous souls go. Certainly he is expressing that he is in a state of being disregarded or forgotten:

> *'The thing is I wanted to stop it. They never directed me anywhere; they never gave me a piece of paper, nothing. Even the solicitor, they left me in limbo, you know what I say' (Mohammad: Interview one, part one).*

In these narratives there is something about occupying transitional spaces. Mohammad had slept in an airport, and lived in a car for years.

Kevin slept in a cemetery which could also be seen as a transitional space.

Life for Mohammad is now lived in this limbo, borderline existence. He struggles daily to exist, initially continuing to live at the airport and then in a car. He is not even a number and at times just seen as a thing for those on a night out for a drink to beat up for their amusement.

> *'I was attacked a couple of times as well in my car, by you know people who drink having fun. Youngsters who just think like you know Friday night is just to go and kick somebody who is homeless on the streets you know what I mean' (Mohammad: Interview one, part one).*

The narrative shows how unbearable Mohammad feels being the outsider in life. He is oscillating between depression and mental health problems, and feels totally powerless to do anything about his situation. Living in the car or trying to get a flat, Mohammad is craving to be part of something again, rather than being so far on the outside. We all need those items like our house and things to fulfil social roles, to be within things somewhere, to be inside, to belong. Everybody is so dependent upon all these structures.

Taking the rather traditional psychoanalytic views of Mohammad's fantasies of where he wants to get to, we can pathologise that in a way some of his fantasies are defensive. The idea of hope that persists in an unrealistic way actually prevents him from moving forward. Because he has a particular kind of hope that persists throughout life, used defensively it stops him taking the steps towards making things painfully better bit by bit. It's like 'I think it will come right one day'. He is hoping for that day when it will come right. It is integral to religious systems – the idea of hope and salvation, and so it is part of this universal, human thinking. The reality is that if this is not present then there is a real risk of suicide. Even if it is 'defensive', it could be

a way that helps him back. It is a necessary and useful defence. Suicide ability is ultimately linked to a sense of abandonment. The suicide moment is one in which an individual feels there are no good objects at all to relate to, or triggered by actual separations, losses or abandonment. Not just loss it is abandonment. It is like the baby who cries and cries and nobody ever comes. What is it going to do? Eventually it is going to decide to die. It is abandoned hope, that kind of state of mind. In this interview Mohammad and in the other interviews, those interviewed have not abandoned hope and in some way, the task of the host organisation is to see that they are doing something by not abandoning hope either. If they do suicide occurs.

People who find themselves in these situations go beyond the possibility of saving themselves. There is salvation in this interview because there is a man that almost magically appears and saves him – the solicitor. It is very reminiscent of the Good Samaritan. He was on the road, destitute having been robbed of everything and then this person who in many ways should not have helped, a solicitor and Sikh appeared and took the trouble both to meet his immediate needs with financial aid, and also his long term needs by guiding him through the maze of the immigration system. It is possible that Mohammad transferred his faith into people, into the solicitor who has become this god like figure who has saved him, and also saving his faith by actually having faith within humanity. In Christianity that is the message – God is worshipped and the story of Christ is revered, but really there is a sense that it is now his followers that have been left to spread the word and create the institutions that prosper God's will on earth.

It is God became man, Karen Armstrong (Armstrong, 2009) debates that it is only recently that religion has been about belief. Belief in God was never an issue, it was how you lived and what your practice was that made you. At its most pristine religious practice in many cultures ultimately had the same roots. Through the use of ritual, mystery, drama, dance and meditation it enabled humanity to cope with

all that life threw at it. In this way Armstrong compares it with art or music with an ability to influence the very core of what is human. It is this form of religion that Armstrong believes it at the heart of all of the world's best traditions, however with the introduction of the scientific need for proof, that devalues emotional or psychological significance, the practice has to a great extent been destroyed, and ultimately degrading religion into a narrow belief in a certain number of doctrines to be followed.

Mohammad is passive, he is paralysed, seemingly not able to act and these saviours pop up in his story. It is almost as if he lives inside a very traditional religious universe in which it is much more about fate. With that kind of journey, from time to time a miracle will happen, a saviour will appear and he is grateful. He genuinely feels that but he doesn't do anything, so his helplessness takes a slightly different form to the others interviewed where the sense of being locked in some sort of dreadful state of affairs is much more evident.

If the rain doesn't come, the crops don't grow. If the volcano erupts, whatever it is, awe is a constant presence in their lives because everyone is competing for resources to survive and it is in those contexts that religion is sense making. So that is the moral universe that Mohammad illuminates, but some of the others have illuminated a slightly different universe, where despair is more to the fore and struggle with people and a hatred for people is more in evidence. Looked at from a religious point of view, it adds a different level of narrative.

5:5:2:2. The interviewee / interviewer relationship.

Making sense of this interview has not been an easy task, with a lot of the narrative not making sense. In the initial interview there is one account and then when asked to clarify matters, a different story or

angle has emerged. It is not that Mohammad has been deliberately dishonest, but there are contradictions contained in the transcription. He is a natural story teller and enjoys the opportunity to talk about himself and tell a tale. In many ways the interview felt as if we were two blokes at the pub sharing stories over a pint, an experience which did not fit for either of us, both of whom are non-drinkers, or at least at times Mohammad professed to be. There were a lot of things that did not add up after further exploration. His self-image and who he was, what had happened and how he behaved was difficult to follow. For example during the interview he indicates 'I'm a Muslim and so don't drink alcohol', but later says that 'I drink alcohol'. He also indicates 'I'm an upright standing member of the community' and 'I've never been done by the police' yet he then states that he smokes cannabis and had to steal food. He gives some sense of who he was, and who he had become and there was not a fit for him.

I found this interview difficult because I could not understand why he had dropped out of the loop, quite as much as he had. It did not quite follow correctly. I understood it was partly the issue of his immigration, but it still seemed odd. Why had he ended up in such a place? I understood he could tell a story, but psychologically I struggled to understand, it did not hang together. I did not really get a sense of his history. I wonder whether my reaction to the story says that it wasn't so bad - nice family and military service, but there was a threat of civil war, and internal conflict and somebody says 'get out, get out' it's going to be bloody, and he flees. This would back up some of the underlying feelings within the narratives. If you flee civil war you feel guilty because you have left everyone else behind, you did the cowardly thing. Many asylum seekers and refugees struggle with that because they leave people behind.

In the interview Mohammad does not quite reveal everything, this therefore leads to speculating about what the sad feelings are that aren't being said. There is a similarity with adult attachment interviews

with the point not being so much what is said, but how it is said and the dissonance. All the dissonance between the story and what actually happened did not quite add up.

5:5:2:3. What is the interviewee bringing into the setting that he seeks out?

Mohammad describes life within the centre in two contrasting ways. He indicates that he has benefited from his stay there and it has helped stabilise him, describing the staff as nice people and helpful. He particularly pinpoints the relationship with his key worker as worthy of mention. In contrast he describes an atmosphere where violence is just under the surface, and alludes to regular incidents where service users attempt to attack staff:

> *The staff, there is nothing much they can do, they can do they are doing their best. The staff, basically they are doing their best, it is their job for them. They are not Mother Teresa are they, you know what I mean. They are here to look after people. Basically then it is probably the system should change. So people more involved, I mean the residents should be more involved or give them the chance to get involved in more, and more things (Mohammad: Interview one, part two).*

Here a Muslim is bringing up Mother Teresa as an example of a saintly or religious person. His thinking of the role of staff it very straight forward, it doesn't matter where they are to come from; they are here to look after the service users, but acknowledges that this is a difficult task. What he criticises is the system which he perceives as insular, not only failing to recognise and deal with some major presenting needs, but also failing to listen to, and allow service users an involvement in the running of the centre. As he sees no effect of his involvement then why should he bother? Drugs and alcohol abuse are some of the major issues that he identifies. He questions the very heart of the organisations being when he not only identifies its failure to acknowledge and act, but then believes that not only is the organisation not helping, it is making their lives worse by allowing a culture to exist where people's drug and alcohol use deteriorates.

Mohammad's self-image portrays himself as better than those service users who abuse drugs. He clearly doesn't see his own cannabis habit as a problem and in fact on occasions denies both this and his use of alcohol. He cannot identify with fellow service users to the point that he believes they should not remain, but be transferred to a specialist unit to work through their issues.

Having had a very strong work ethic from his early years, Mohammed believes that you must help yourself (if you do not then you have to accept the consequences), the use of the word 'work' is an important part of his DNA:

> *'If I work hard I've got my money. If I don't work hard I don't have any money full stop' (Mohammad: Interview one, part two).*

From this he is suggesting that if the individual does not take advantage of the opportunities offered to them then he would reject them. It is fortunate that the person who became his saviour did not take a similar stance.

Mohammad does briefly refer to the size of the centre, and that at times it was too big and he felt lost. Added to this he identifies one of the biggest problems as being boredom and longs for a programme to be introduced that will entertain him. From a pool tournament to a gym, his suggestions all seem valid, but again are something being provided for him, rather than taking the opportunity of moving out into the community to find solutions himself outside of the insular environment.

Mohammad is blocking a lot of reality out. What he wants is a roof over his head and a dry bed and he wants to be put on the road to get back to the kind of life he had.

5:5:2:4. Hope – the search for meaning.

It is possible to read the narratives of Mohammad's interviews in such a way as to conclude that the central theme is about abandonment. The abandonment of self, country, family all are contained there within. Similar to the dawn chorus heralding the coming of day, there are moments of hope or faith that break through, that are recovered because of the appearance of these characters seen in the priests, the solicitor and within the centre itself, examples of good people. It is these characters that Mohammad hangs his hope on in his attempt to move from darkness into light, from homelessness into housed, from unemployment into employment which is ultimately his aim both physically and psychologically.

5:6. A CLASH OF CULTURES.

Family issues and my house was overcrowded..

Barinda
London England.

Because it was my first time and I was only 19, everything was like scary. I did not know what shall I do, what shouldn't I do.

5:6:1. Barinda's life narrative.

Barinda is a twenty two year old British Asian woman who is of the Islam faith. She became homeless because she could not live with her mother and the house was crowded. Brought up in a strict, traditional Islamic family, she has three brothers and five sisters. She is the eldest daughter and has two older brothers. She has been living at a homeless centre in London since 2006.

Having completed her 'A' levels she wanted to go to university to study nursing. When she became homeless this was not possible due to her financial situation and so having moved into xxxxxxx and registered for job seekers allowance she started looking for employment. Having done some training she gained a part time post with Anchor Homes as a carer. In addition she did volunteer work to keep herself active, initially for BRACK UK. During this time she decided to change the direction of her career path from nursing and care to administration. She gained a ten week placement in an office, and this led to a temporary contract. She is currently living at xxxxxxx waiting to be allocated accommodation and hoping to gain a permanent position with the firm she currently works for.

5:6:2. Analytical Reflections.

5:6:2:1 Dominant emotional themes.

Barinda was a British Asian woman who became homeless at the age of nineteen through what she initially described as 'some family issues and my house was overcrowded. Me and my mum never got on'. She was the third child, and eldest daughter of nine children. She describes her relationship with her siblings as close 'but not too close'.

The dominant characteristic of Barinda's families' biographical history is her relationship with her mother, with whom she 'never used to get on'. She is painted as a dominant person, 'my mum like we call her the military' with father being notable by his absence. The only mention he gets is that 'he's quite lenient'. She describes her early upbringing as restricted and disciplined.

During her adolescence it became increasingly difficult for Barinda to accept the discipline of her parents, particularly her mother which is a picture that could be reproduced in many families within our society. In this particular scenario there is the element of religious practice underlying the story which opens the possibility of a clash of cultures. She talks of having a disciplined Islamic upbringing and being protected 'from bad things and do good', yet wanting to have freedom to do what she wants. Both British and Asian communities recognise that this is very much a concept of the 1970's and 80's, and acknowledge that clashes between generations happen in many families. However it does seem that Barinda has internalised her experience of British life and this is in conflict with the view of her mother in particular. Therefore choosing to take on some of the values of her peer group has brought her into conflict with her mother and her norms.

During the interview there is an emphasis placed on driving and owning a car. She expresses her excitement at passing her test, and then sharing a car with her brother. The car seems to be important, and seems to represent her desire for maturity, independence, to move from what Kleinian psychoanalytic thinking describes as a paranoid – schizoid position into that of the depressive position. In the former we rid ourselves of unwanted thoughts and feelings and locate them in others who we then belittle. In the latter we have some understanding of our shortcomings. Her final comments in the first part of the interview were about an incident with the car, to which she reacted really badly, thus illustrating the struggle she was having in remaining in the depressive position:

> *'I explode, like this driver came er the wrong side and she touched my car. Believe me I wasn't patient enough, I was having like, I was shouting at her, I was wrong and I regret it , but I think I should calm myself down next time when this stuff happens'(Barinda: Interview one, part two).*

The car makes another appearance towards the end of the second part of the interview too. This time she wants to save up and own a Mini

Cooper. This is another step in her subconscious journey towards becoming a mature independent adult.

Barinda has an outward impression of coping very well with the situation she finds herself in. However she struggles to break away and there is a defence mechanism deployed where she has to empty herself of all her thoughts in order to achieve this:

> *'If I just sit down and do nothing and think about I just constantly think about all the problems that are in my head and I just like I don't know just get upset and he puts me down. So I do stuff like go out with my friends I go swimming I do lots of stuff to keep myself occupied and don't think about the past and just think about what I am going to do now in the future. So just stop me from thinking about all the bad stuff happened to me all the sad things and I don't want to think about it so I just keep myself active' (Barinda: Interview one, part two).*

5:6:2:2. What is the interviewee bringing into the setting that she seeks out?

On a number of occasions during the interviews Barinda talked about her experience of living in the hostel. She describes her arrival as frightening; believing that 'prostitutes live here' and somehow she started to think she may be seen as one of them. Whilst the admission process was welcoming, she still describes those early days of being away from her family as lonely and frightening:

> *'And xxxxx, I met she was really nice, she was really helpful. So it was kind of comfortable in one way, but because it was my first time and I was only 19, everything was like scary, so I didn't know what shall I do, what shouldn't I do ' (Barinda: Interview one, part one).*

Initially she expresses loneliness, but she soon found some women with whom she has things in common; specifically the same religious beliefs. She confirms her naivety and arrived with very negative thoughts on what hostels are like. A belief that they are bad places full of people that society cannot cope with. Then she comes to the realisation that this cannot be the case because she is in there. Now she is a part of it, whatever people say it cannot be true. She tries to

emphasise this by saying that she is enjoying living there, but it is telling and understandable that she wants to leave very soon.

Again Balinda shows her struggle to escape from home by introducing an element of reproducing her home situation within the centre. There are feelings of rebellion against the rules of the establishment, which at times she reacts to quite aggressively. She also wants to be able to reproduce her relationship with her younger sisters by being allowed free access to them within her private space.

Having painted a picture of homely bliss, she then gives an insight into her internal struggle with aspects of herself that do not fit into the world she has been brought up to believe is correct. She shows another facet of her character that is strong and possibly violent which she uses as a defence mechanism in order to survive. This is seen when she describes an incident with her car where she 'explodes' when involved in a minor accident:

> *'Believe me I wasn't patient enough, I was having like, I was shouting at her, I was wrong and I regret it , but I think I should calm myself down next time when this stuff happens' (Barinda: Interview one, part one).*

A later incident within the hostel also gives a window into a world of bullying, racism and violence, which again is illustrating a very similar atmosphere to that portrayed by life within prison:

> *'Yeh Everyone's nice and er I get along with everyone, but one thing about me if someone says something to me I won't sit down I will talk back. I know it's a bad thing but if I've, if I know they've said something wrong I will talk back. Like I can remember er there's a girl and she was on the phone and she doesn't know how to talk English at all, she's just moved in recently. She was on the phone and there was like other residents. I think, em, er I don't know their name but they, they stay in that side. And they were drinking and stuff like that, and they telling her, they were swearing, bloody hell can't you put the phone down. And, she got really upset, the fact that whenever she used to go downstairs they should say these stuff. And she was telling me, and I feel so sorry like because she can't understand what they are saying but she knows when they, people are swearing, fucking this and that she understands this stuff. And she was telling me, I was downstairs and these people was saying*

something. I said next time you go down, take me with you and I will listen to what they say. So er then after a week she took me downstairs when she was using the phone. I sat down and with the phone there's always a queue because people want to call and stuff like that, so. I sat down and this same lady, she's gone now, the same lady came and she was saying em o you think this is your phone, this and that, she was proper swearing at her. I said excuse me, she's using it, if you want to use it you need to be patient. And she kept saying who are you and she like having an argument with me. I didn't sit down, I said no well, if you want to use it you need to wait until it's your turn because everybody wants to use it as well. So we ended having an argument that way like shouting at each other. And she took me upstairs and she said calm down because you, leave it, there like that why are you getting involved? I am not getting involved just telling her if you are wanting to use it you need to be patient everyone is waiting to use it, why do you have to shout and tell her these like swear words it's not right. So em that's a bad thing I will always talk like if there is anything they are wrong and I will always talk. (Sorry) and em where was I If I think they are right I will support them, if I think they are wrong I will disagree with them. That's how it is ' (Barinda: Interview one, part two).

This vignette continues to give a brief look at the apparent ineptness of staff as they struggle to deal with conflict by taking the line of least resistance. Rather than investigating fully and getting to the truth, they deal with the incident by removing both parties to neutral ground then punishing or trying to bring change on the person least likely to react violently to them.

From the interview, the organisation struggles with multi-cultural issues. Within the centre is a group of Muslim women that have loosely formed community, towards whom the staff team are nice and pleasant but do not have the capacity to fully understand their needs and requirements. There is an encouragement for them to conform and join in with the organisation's culture but no flexibility to allow the corporate or individual expression of another culture. She does identify a weakness in the staff's knowledge of other religions. For example, they are unaware of Eid, but equally she shows a slight change in how she wishes to portray herself by admitting that she forgets and needs reminding when Eid is. For Barinda this lack of understanding extends to the local authority. Because of her age she will have to leave the hostel and be expected to share accommodation with another girl. She does not mind if

this is with another Muslim, but not with somebody not of her religion for fear that she may influence her:

> *'They don't come from like, I don't have any problem but they don't come from my religion I can't share with that person because they are going to do stuff that I'm not allowed to do and it might influence me' (Barinda: Interview one, part one).*

5:6:2:3. The Interviewee / interviewer relationship.

Barinda presented as a young woman that wanted to cooperate and please. She was keen to do well and answer the questions correctly. At one point she even asked whether she had answered correctly – 'Was that the main question did I answer it right? '

This left me thinking there was a depth that had led to the breakdown in the relationship with the family and mother in particular that was not touched upon, that was locked away. She talks of having to keep busy in order not to dwell on what has occurred.

Her appearance came across as a young woman of contradictions, struggling with her identity as to who she was. Her dress was a mixture of clothing appropriate to her age, and the signs of her Muslim religion.

There is the struggle from immaturity to maturity. A young woman sat before me who at times was immature and giggly and yet was desperate to be regarded as grown up and mature. She is also struggling to move from dependence to independence. This internal confusion led to some confusion on my part in understanding parts of the interviews.

Clearly she wanted to represent the Muslim faith well, and give a positive insight into her views to me; however underneath the words there was an indication of an internal struggle between the discipline of her mother and a more traditional Muslim life and dreams and

desires of a young British Muslim. The result of this was that at times I was left with a feeling of confusion. She described the discipline of her early life and praying five times a day but she is careful not to explore some of her negative feelings, but admits to struggling to maintain this all the time:

> *'I pray 5 times a day I do my 5 pillars of Islam I do, I do practice my religion, but sometimes obviously there are ups and downs I don't follow but I am doing my best to do that' (Barinda: Interview one, part one).*

Similarly she is careful not to express too many negatives about the spiritual programme of the centre and what they were trying to achieve describing it a 'lovely'.

Finally the interview brought out feelings of my own situation as a father. There was an element of feeling a bit like a father figure wanting to offer protection to a daughter. I clearly felt there was a struggle going on between independence and dependence. Barinda tried to portray that she wanted to live her own life, have a boyfriend and do what she wanted and yet at times felt there remained the feeling of loss having left the family and a yearning both to care and to be cared. When Barinda talked of her younger sisters, there was a strong feeling of loss, almost as if they were her own children, thereby giving thought that she had played a major role in their care and upbringing when at home. There was clearly some unresolved guilt at leaving them behind.

5:6:2:4. Hope – the search for meaning.

Barinda wants a future and has a clear idea of what that is. She has thoughts that she could have gone to university had these events not happened. However with this failing to materialise she took steps to ensure that she achieved employment. Initially this was in the field of caring reflecting some of her role at home, and then rejecting this in favour of a career in administration. Employment is important as it is

one element that defines who she is, and also gives her the feeling that she is needed, wanted, of worth.

She hopes that she will be able to reconcile fully the two elements of the future: the ability to remain within the family, but equally live life in the way the she wants, combining the different elements of society that fulfil her fantasy of the perfect life. She has a hope for the security that was offered by her family and culture, but also the ultimate goal of adolescence, to become independent which has been a difficult transition in this family.

CHAPTER SIX: DISCUSSION.

6:1. INTRODUCTION.

In this chapter I take the major themes identified previously and explore them further. The chapter includes reflection on personal, institutional and organisational issues. Having worked for so many years in the field of homelessness and for the same organisation there is the need to maintain the boundary between experience and research. As part of the analytical process I am going to explore the themes and then think about the implications for practice and for organisational life. Inevitably there are occasions when this experience assists in the interpretation of what the interviewee is trying to articulate. This is helpful but needs to be acknowledged and care has been taken not to make claims that are unsupported by the data. I examine the personal experiences of the interviewees and explore some of the issues of internal and external conflicts that leave them balanced on a knife edge in a borderline existence. I suggest that there are layers within centre life that are unknown or ignored by the organisation and that in order to enhance the quality of the work undertaken, the two centres and possibly the organisation have to understand its core values and purposes and portray that to its employees. This leads to advocating the value of developing the project staff. In another section giving the staff tools to permit space for homeless people to explore their inner self is also mooted. This leads to me asking whether it is fate/ destiny or personal choice that leads a person to reside in a specific homeless centre. I also ask whether the organisation is able to meet the very deep, complex needs of the interviewees arguing that the current trend of initially meeting basic primary needs is not enough. I therefore question the relevance of Maslow's hierarchy of needs and theorise how best a Christian organisation can maintain its mission in a multicultural, post modernity society. From the research it is my supposition that no homeless person should be written off as being

beyond hope. It is therefore paramount for the project framework to ensure that 'higher needs' described by Maslow are equally provided for.

Finally I analyse the centres and organisation's possible need to fully understand the reality of regarding its values and purposes – including how they are carried out in day-to-day operations. This analysis includes outlining the consequences if the values and purposes are not effectively communicated to all levels of personnel in the centre. The chapter ends with me encapsulating the developing model in a diagram that integrates the thematic links that have emerged from analysis of the five research interviews.

All of those interviewed have experienced difficult life journeys and have come to a point where, to a greater or lesser extent they are beyond the possibility of saving themselves. Whether it has been to a deity, person or organisation, they have transferred their faith outside of themselves in search of a saviour and salvation. Each of the interviewees finds themselves in a borderline existence from which they are unable to break away. All express their need for somebody to understand and release them from their bondage, so they can gain a grasp of what is chaining them, giving the momentum to begin to move forward.

6:2. HOPE AND HOPELESSNESS.

> *Spent a lot of time on the street, like; nothing really matters to you anymore. There's nothing to look forward to because all you are doing is getting food from day to day. So, if you're going from day to day, past events, future events – they don't mean nothing. You can't go, oh yes something will be happening next week. You can't go, oh yes I being be going to do this or do that. You don't know what's going to be happening, you don't know where you're going to be by the end of that night, yet alone the end of that week or in the following week. I don't really get it, I don't really associate with people. I keep me self to me self now (Kevin: Interview one, part one).*

There are periods in all the interviewee's lives when they have just felt totally hopeless, life on the street is far from glamorous. There are those that are on the street because it is a more preferable option to life at home. However none of those interviewed want to return to the streets. There are elements of the research interviews outlined in previous chapters where the individual respondents describe life on the streets as living in hell. The experience is very much as described in Dante's Divine Comedy 'All hope abandoned ye who enter here' (Dante and Phillips, 1985) – there seems no hope, no way out of where they find themselves. This describes how it is for those living a borderline existence. They cannot move from the place they find themselves. Hope and hopelessness are two ways of thinking about the present and linking that to the reality of the future. For each individual, life is lived as a naturally oscillating process. For those interviewed this attitude of hope and hopelessness becomes even more significant. Because of their lived experiences, there is an underlying theme of the loss of hope underlining the data but with rays of hope breaking through the darkness.

One of the most prominent features of my research is it gives hope to those working with this client group. It restores a human balance, as the interviewees have not abandoned hope, and therefore neither should society write these individuals off. They are not beyond redemption or meaning and nor are they evil. It is helpful too, to explore a little deeper some of the hope elements within the data. My research shows that homeless people should never be written off. All those interviewed express some hope and optimism about their future life away from homelessness. Each finds themselves at different points along the path to achieve those ends. For some progress is painfully slow. For others whilst almost within grasp the final parts of the puzzle will take time to slot into place.

Hope is usually regarded as an effect that promotes development and change (Potamianou, 1997). However, here other aspects of hope

emerge. When looked into more closely the hope expressed gives further insight into their worlds. In my view we are seeing a number of different layers being expressed. On the one level, even though all had undergone severe trauma in their lives each indicate future hopes experienced as future imagined reality. Each one fantasises about a better home, work and relationships. Asif told of his hope, trusting in a God whose intervention enabled him to escape from prison when he was coming to terms with the possibility that it was going to be his tomb. He says 'But God saved me, and I met those sort of fishermen, with the boat', (Interview one, part two). He then expresses his hopes of moving on from the past and returning to mainstream society:

> *'Yeh that's what I want to do and then focus about my life for if my family is dead I will have to help them, if it's gone from my life there is nothing for me, I just know I will have to rebuild my future and to get a family and get a clean smell, yes that's it. Not too much but what God gives me..' (Asif : Interview one, part two).*

When considering this further, it is my view that there are additional devices underlying their expressions of hope. In addition to a desire for circumstances to change, the role of hope is to sustain desire and to temper what is painful or causing suffering (Potamianou, 1997). This developed from the internalisation of a feeding breast, evolving out of the experiences of the abstinence of an available breast. Asif's life experiences - guilt and feelings of powerlessness have been reconstructed in his mind as images of being unclean, dirty, and foul smelling which he struggles to live with. Accordingly he resorts to forgetting through alcohol consumption. In order to cleanse himself, he has projected all his desires into his need to change and rebuild his future to forget the past. In reality this is something he finds impossible to achieve. It will need patient understanding from those around him to be able to bring him to the point of seeking professional assistance to begin to unravel the dark and complex feelings locked within him. What I think is happening here is that the inadequacies Asif is not able to live with are hidden. In order to be able to live with

them, he projects them into hope in the future so that one day he will attain to these dreams, but through omnipotence outside of himself. In Asif's case it is God, but for others interviewed it is an equally significant other person, or organisation.

The other interviewees also hide some deep controversies from which they are hoping for transformation in the future. This hope induces a state of inactivity as they are reticent to act for fear of failure. Kevin has a deep rooted need for the closeness of human relationships and a family. Mary has a desperate need to be special along with the hope that she doesn't have the hereditary disease that killed her mother. Barinda and Mohammad hold onto fantasies of independence and making changes that would make their lives and that of others worthwhile. All of these hopes, desires and practices all cling onto a mechanism that makes today liveable.

Why does Mohammad remain as an alien in a foreign country, residing in a centre for the homeless when he believes that he has the skills to find employment (probably along with accommodation) in the hospitality field along with having the opportunity to return to life in his country of origin? Potamianou, suggests that whilst nothing is done in the present to avoid suffering, the hope mitigating pain through a fantasy activity serves as a purpose of defence (Potamianou, 1997 p67). Suffering is definitely going on in the present but any solutions are put off to a later date.

From the interviews there is evidence that some of the hope shown is not real hope but is used as a defensive mechanism. In my research the interviewees are vocalising a hope that all will come right one day, which I suggest shows a defensive, false pseudo hope. This could come from the fear of failure, or it has been developed to avoid facing some internal or external reality they are unable to deal with internally. They use hope to justify to themselves their current lives in order to be able to survive, and to maintain a state of disillusion thus avoiding

confronting painful issues that are at the very limits of psychological or physical reality. These are areas into which they do not want to stray for fear of being lost. Whilst this unrealistic hope makes life liveable there is the danger that it justifies their present state and prevents them from moving forward.

Mary, struggling to come to terms with her humanity and the fact that she is likely to die at a young age is desperately hoping that she has not inherited the genetic disease that took her mother. She portrays herself as being special. The hope that she expresses tries to compensate for her fears, yet it stops her from taking the tests to confirm whether or not she is positive and the actuality of her future demise or not. This prevents her from moving on, from knowing the facts and being able to put measures in place to deal with them. She does not want to move from hope to hopeless:

> *'I tried to have the test done once already when I was 18 and they told me I was probably too young to know the outcome. Erm, it's a long process, it's like 12 counselling sessions before you can get the test and then more counselling sessions after erm and yeah so I'm 25 now and I probably won't get it tested until I know for sure. I'm you know pretty sure now it's me because you start shaking very heavily, like I start shaking now sometimes and the more tired I am the worse it is and everything' (Mary: Interview one, part two)*

In order to protect herself she has pushed away any people that were close to her ensuring that she is isolated. On the surface she has re-evaluated her hopes into short term aims to fit in with her fear that she does not have a future:

> *'The best I can hope for is to try and do whatever makes me happy in the short term, erm. I'm a writer, artist and trying to get published and trying to get, you know, my work promoted and, you know, try to be immortal in that way. I think try and leave something behind, something decent behind. So all I can hope for, for now is to go back to university and try and try erm try and get my art and my writing into the world so..' (Mary: Interview one, part two).*

For some the place of hope in their life is fixed on waiting for a future that is always 'to come'(Potamianou, 1997 p1). This way of thinking, never tackling the real issues because somebody or event will come, is ultimately what Mary is involved in here. She is seeking answers to the very complex questions that she has but is understandably, afraid to face what reality may or may not be.

6:2:1. Hopelessness and suicide.

As already intimated, within my research suicidality is. This is ultimately linked to a sense of abandonment where the suicidal moment is one in which an individual feels there are no good objectives at all to relate to, or is triggered by actual separations, losses or abandonment. It is similar to the baby that cries and cries and eventually nobody ever comes. What is it going to do? It is going to give up hope and decide to die. At these times in their lives it is important to understand that it makes the person at high risk of experiencing suicidal feelings. This has been long recognised. For example Shelter (Baker, 1997) published a report that showed a distinct link between homelessness and suicide highlighting the risk among regular hostel users and those sleeping rough. In recent years the host organisation has been concerned at the high level of suicides within its homelessness centres. It has been exploring ways of preventing such incidents occurring, reviewing its practices and adopting different approaches within its programmes. Suicide has a terrible effect on staff morale, because one gets a glimpse of underlying despair.

Aldridge (1998) argues that suicide is traditionally seen as the choice of the individual but he thinks that this view is misleading. Whilst on one level the individual is acting in isolation, the reason for the suicide is social. His observations within a psychiatric hospital setting were

that there needed to be a change in thinking. The narratives of the individuals were seen as evidence of hardship and their actions as attempts at bringing about significant change or the ending of an intolerable situation. Seen as an attempt to make an intolerable situation tolerable it should be possible to work constructively with an individual to manage change. His recommendation was that staff training should include viewing suicidal behaviour constructively which leads to a changing of the organisation's culture.

Within any setting there will always be people who will continue to refuse (Adlam and Scanlon, 2008) and it may not be possible to totally prevent all such tragic events. However it is my view that from the research it is the role of the staff to develop meaningful relationships with individuals. They can then begin to get under the surface of what the clients present and start to understand their defensive strategies. Those interviewed have not abandoned hope and in some way, the task of staff is to ensure they are not giving up on the clients. The feelings of absolute isolation and intolerance that could lead to an attempt to take their own life are not always easily identified. By beginning to unravel what is really happening in the mind of an individual it may be possible to begin to identify strategies to sustain hope and achieve reality. Government aims to achieve this through the setting of targets. However, other research suggests that religious involvement for individuals exposed to vulnerable circumstances contributes to them coping better (Myers, 1993).

Those I interviewed had faced trauma and were trying to express hope for the future. My research shows that to achieve movement it is not sufficient to merely concentrate on targets whether government led or otherwise. It shows the importance of other intangible aspects that should be equally considered although they are possibly difficult to measure. My research also warns that for some of this client group there is a thin oscillating line between hope and hopelessness. For example Mary, if she does not have the opportunity to further explore

her future and finds herself in a terribly dark place, she may take the decision to end her life.

There is a sense here where a point is reached that psychoanalysis and religion meet. I have given the image of those interviewed, who are trapped and going round and round in a circle of hell. Therapy is about how you help somebody release themselves from that repetitive condition. One way of assisting them out of this is through helping them to think about what has happened to them. This then enables them to take some steps back through the various circles of hell so that they might eventually leave it. Developing a framework of hope and meaning may do plenty to hold them and help them on their journey.

The development of trust between individuals enables the exploration and understanding of the core make up of a person. How they come to that point in their life's journey, their experiences and outside influences are discovered. This has to be holistic and include the religious and spiritual. The point I am making is that if you are going through the route of resettlement without delving deeply into these things then you are never going to achieve the goals. Good therapeutic social work involves resolving some of these issues by enabling people to move up to the next level. Enhancing the person's ability to cope with the situation they find themselves in helps develop hope for the future.

6:3. LIFE WITHIN THE CENTRE.

6:3:1. Underworld.

The data shows the existence of a world that I interpret as being unknown or ignored by the staff and the organisation. All talked of

having to cope with an element of centre life that is on another plane of life to that which is obvious.

Life on the streets is violent with physical assaults and muggings being common place. Basic street survival strategies are becoming criminalised and the public spaces that the homeless have traditionally occupied are being cleared of individuals who are deemed to blemish the community. The recent attempts of Westminster City Council to legislate against soup runs are this council's latest effort to move homeless people off their streets. This approach has the effect of driving street life underground, away from society's view. Oliveira (Oliveira and Burke, 2009 p154) writes that there is the strong possibility that homeless people's emotional and physical wellbeing will be affected by life on the street (Milburn et al., 2007, Robertson and Toro, 1998) and this is confirmed in my research particularly with Kevin and Mohammad. For many, particularly the younger element, they may become involved in drug dealing and 'a myriad of high risk activities that render their life issues different from those of the general adolescent population'(Oliveira and Burke, 2009 p154). This leads to an increased occurrence of psychological, physical and psychosocial problems (Slesnick et al., 2007).

In their interviews, Asif, Kevin and Mohammad give their own insights into street culture. They all describe their vulnerability, incidents of trauma and abuse and the effects this has had on their physical and mental health. From the data it is my opinion that the interviews give some indicators that, firstly, the residents bring elements of their chaotic life on the streets with them into the centre and secondly, they bring their personal internal struggles that the centre is not able to contain and these feelings spill out into the mix. Presented is a view of the centre but also a projection of their inner world. By acknowledging the existence of, and understanding how this subculture fits into the broader picture of centre life, one can begin to understand and

comprehend some of how their inner and outer worlds meet and the issues that they are facing.

In the interviews all respondents describe this world and their experience of it, but they all maintain a self-image of being better than others within the centres. This is known as othering, splitting or projection. Mohammad describes a culture of drug taking and dealing where the life of some within the centre is totally upside down to others with people living a nocturnal existence:

> *Some of them shouldn't be here at all and them and they give them a roof over their head and they keep playing loud music at 2 or 3 o'clock in the morning shouting, screaming. They think they are having fun but they don't know they are disturbing the whole building and everybody else (Mohammad: Interview one, part one).*

He even believes that for some the centre makes their habit worse claiming that they come in smoking a bit of pot, but leave with a full heroin addiction. Although he acknowledges that he does drink alcohol he wants to deny his involvement and tries expelling the reality by saying that they should not be in the centre but treated in a specialist unit away from him.

Mary said that she was very scared, and on her first night thought she was going to die. Both women I interviewed expressed concern that some of the women continue to work in prostitution and Mary particularly questions why some of the residents in the women's centre are allowed to continue this lifestyle.

When writing about large psychiatric institutions Hinshelwood wrote 'The patient arrives in the service, but more than this, his or her disturbance too enters the organisation' (Hinshelwood, 1998 p17). He then goes on to indicate that the psychiatric service at the time was no longer able to cope with the amount of madness being presented. The task of hostels for the homeless is to take people off the streets. They

arrive with all their madness, anxieties and fears that society wants to hide away. Two of those interviewed commented that the centre was a bad place full of people society cannot cope with.

This is aggravated by mental health issues that may either have caused the homelessness or be caused by the bout of homelessness, and / or alcohol and drug addiction. Kevin describes his fear that he is mad and struggles with these feelings:

> *'Actually I'm surprise I weren't committed. Come close, even in the secure units you had to do you have to an assessment every week with a psychiatrist and all that. But, even then, right, a lot of the times you don't tell them everything. When you're in these places everybody talks before you actually go in there. So you actually knew a lot of the questions before, you'd, he'd actually ask them. So you were give questions, question what, like it was enough to keep you out, getting you locked up from making thing worse (laughs)' (Kevin: Interview one, part one).*

It is seen that the organisations role is to contain and take away this entire disturbance, neutralising their complex needs so that eventually they can return to function within society. My research very clearly shows the effect this extreme anxiety is having throughout the system, and the danger that the centre management (organisation) is in of not being able to cope with it. From the interviews, the picture projected is that of a hostel being 'the City of the Damned', pointing to the existence of an underworld, a cauldron of chaos that continues to bubble underneath the surface. A place full of people, misfits that have fallen outside of all other mainstream safety nets at a particular point of time with the belief that they are beyond reach:

> *'When I first came in here, I wish I had a video camera. You could have sat down in the corner, it's different every night. As long as you're not the one that set them all off. It's a weird place. When I say weird you have so many ups and downs you could talk to someone out there Someone's on a freak out because people emotion change so quickly in here'(Kevin: Interview two).*

As expressed in chapter five, the atmosphere evoked is the same atmosphere associated with high security prisons, in which everybody

is teetering on the brink of violence and madness. The centres are providing safety nets for both the prison and psychiatric systems for those that have either slipped through the net, not been discovered yet or have in the past been discharged. They are acting as halfway houses between society and these institutions. With this comes a violent undercurrent that has come in from the street. It does not cease whilst they are in the centre, it is merely a little more controlled. My research indicates that not only is there a reaction to how they are being treated by the wider society, but the residents within the centre recreate the world they have experienced. Barinda tries to reproduce home by forming very close friendships with a number of residents of the same religion, and attempts to have her sisters stay with her. This systemic 'disorder' and 'disorganisation' frequently mirrors or reciprocates the difficulties and distress of the client population; and sometimes even generates or exacerbates their client's difficulties (Adlam and Scanlon, 2011 p1).

Gilligan argues that much of the violence is as a result of hidden shame (Gilligan, 1996) which he says is affiliated with paranoia, as opposed to guilt. Often the secret needs to be spoken. The response of society to the problem only causes further shame and shaming. This violence spills out towards both the staff, who are attacked on a regular basis and other residents in the form of bullying, racism and physical abuse:

> *'they get a lot of grief from the residents but the residents are they are not easy to work believe me. Some of them shouldn't be here at all and them and they give them a roof over their head' (Mohammad: Interview one, part one).*

Equally it showed signs that there were elements of acting out being shown. Freud introduced the concept in the early 20th century (Freud, 1905) and defined it as the compelling urge to repeat the past within the analytic setting by reliving repressed emotional experience transferred onto the analyst and to other aspects of the current situation (Blum, 1976). He later applied the term to repeating and reliving the past without insight to circumstances outside the analytic situation

(Freud et al., 1995). For some, acting out has become a term that has little meaning (Blos, 1966, Blum, 1976) as it has been used to describe any antisocial behaviour. Here however, those interviewed have overcome feelings and defences that they have used for a large percentage of their lives. Kevin gave a very graphic insight into how his defence against the abuse he experienced was to run away. This behaviour continues with the regular temptation to flee when issues within the centre become stressful:

> *'Sometimes you wish, especially in here. Sometimes I wish I was back out on the streets. Like not this time of the year, but. Sometimes got to be better than what's in here. The grass is always greener on the other side. You do all your meetings, they say. They've only just started now' (Kevin: Interview one, part one).*

The people in this study felt that they had benefited from their stay at the centres and none wished to return to life on the streets. They are, however, telling the organisation that measures could be taken to provide a safer and more welcoming environment.

6:3:2. Staff disturbance.

It doesn't suit anybody to speak about this. My research shows that the residents have conflicting view of the staff. They appear to say that they are "alright" but also criticise them. It therefore provides some useful insights for thinking about organisations within a psychodynamic framework. What has been observed by the respondents is reminiscent of Menzies' discoveries in a London hospital (Menzies, 1960). Crudely stated the hospital nurses faced problems when brought into contact with situations that constantly enacted their own primitive anxieties. This set up a need for them to develop defence mechanisms to respond to such pressures in order to protect themselves from emotionally distressing contact with patients. Some of the mechanisms that Menzies identified were the splitting of the nurse – patient

relationship, creating distance between the nurse and the patient, evasion involving emotional detachment, a denial of the nurses' feelings, depersonalisation, and a redistribution of responsibility to avoid accountability:

> *'It just, gets you, it gets you down. It gets you down more than anything in here sometimes. Er It's like, like a lot the staff. It's like they don't want, it's like they're here to help you, but sometimes it comes across that they don't want to help (pause)' (Kevin: Interview one, part two).*

Similar to the issues observed by Menzies, project staff working in the front line and having constant contact with residents, experience high levels of tension. They bear the full impact of the stress arising from this under life that has the potential to be frightening and create even more stress and feelings of fear, rejection, depression, compassion and pity. My memory of being a centre manager was the constant anxiety of whether I would be attacked that day. This was increased when having been forced to step in to break an abusive relationship between two service users the man threatened my children. He indicated that he knew where they went to school, and then sat outside our house watching and waiting for his chance to strike. At times, imagining how they would react led to me being hesitant to address issues with certain people. In addition to service user disturbances there are the projections of colleagues that they have to cope with too, their fears and anxieties. It is my belief that staff cannot know about this world. If they chose to acknowledge its existence then they might unleash something that is not understood nor can be controlled. There are in place social defences that help the individuals to avoid the conscious experiences of fear, anxiety, doubt and uncertainty which play themselves out in a reluctance to deal with what is going on out of sight:

> *'It's like meal times, the point of having staff in there, if there's any altercations, for them to calm it down. Half the time they'll be just sitting at the table. They're not bothered about what is going on in there. There'll be*

> *people screaming at each other at the counter, is it' (Kevin: Interview two, part two).*

It is as if they are paralysed and cannot come to terms with what is happening. There are examples in the text where staff are experiencing projections and yet do not understand what is happening to them and do not seem to be able to take their feelings and anxieties from these experiences anywhere. Kevin recalls an incident where a worker was aggressive to him for no apparent reason:

> *One of the staff, supposed to help you with like, all the housing and all that. So I went to her, any chance I can see you today like get that done? She turns round and says 'if I have to see you today, I'm going to make you pay, I'm going to make you pay later on. Hold up a minute, you're here to help people, and all you've done in come in to steal a day's wages. So what's the point of her being here if you're not going to help anyone? That's my attitude. Since then I won't have anything to do with the woman (Kevin: Interview one, part one).*

Sometime later the same project worker reacted as if the incident had never taken place and asked Kevin to support her character:

> *We was all, a couple of us were out here. And she was there and she went, she goes someone said she blanks people. She went, oh she went I didn't realise. She turned around and went to me. Have I ever done it to you? And I went oh yes; I went because I haven't spoken to you since the summer. She went what, Oh my gosh, like and she tried to get off the subject. And the others, a couple of them there, they knew what it was all about. She tried to deny it. I went No, that just, doh, but that's the thing, it's like they're more ignorant, they say oh the people in here are ignorant. But they are more ignorant people than anything (Kevin: Interview two).*

The feelings within these relationships can be as intense as that of the analyst and patient in a therapy session. Again Kevin expresses a very possessive reaction towards his key worker when he was unexpectedly faced with another worker sitting in on one of their sessions:

> *'But I remember on one of the incidents like a key worker session and they had someone else come and sit in on it. And I went no, I'm not having this. What do you mean? I went, I went, this is supposed to be a key worker session between me and the key worker. Yes but we just want you to know, I went no,*

> *you should have asked me beforehand instead of expecting sit their arse down expecting me to say yes, yes while you're here you can have, like sit in on it. No I'm not having it; I was going to walk out on the session, because the way I saw it, they broke the rules, like of that. They said it was a one on one session. If they want someone else to sit in on it they've got to give you, like I say personally I say a lot of notice about it. And they've got to ask. You can't just say oh yes, this person is just sitting in. And that person was in here and she would not talk to me, she wouldn't talk to me for months after she was here'* (Kevin: Interview two).

The findings of the research lead me to consider that possibly staff struggle to cope with the projections. It maybe that psychodynamic frameworks would offer staff in all care situations a reference within which to make sense of their own states of minds. . Key to this is both reflective space and supervision – the data indicates that neither of these is sufficiently available to support staff. The importance of this is summed up by Hughes and Pengelly:

> 'Staff supervision is a means of developing and controlling the quality of service, taking account of the needs and rights of users and the quality of staff performance. The needs and rights of staff must also be attended to, in order to get the best from them as the major resource of the organisation. The functioning of supervision is thus inextricably linked to the way the organisation manages the tension between needs, resources and rights.'(Hughes and Pengelly, 1997 p6).

The opportunity to take time to share with peers what is happening and exploring what it might mean and possible solutions are invaluable. The importance of supervision and other mechanisms to give the staff space to discuss cases in detail and understand fully what is happening cannot be overstated. Staff supervision is a means of developing and controlling the quality of service, taking account of the needs and rights of users and the quality of staff performance (Hughes and Pengelly, 1997). With more understanding and support, staff may be able to do some very positive work with the hard to reach homeless people.

Within the field of homelessness the data shows the importance of having knowledge of psychoanalytic theory for social work practice.

The more staff understands psychoanalytic theory, there is little doubt the relationship between staff and residents will more likely move from competition, conflict and aggression to mutuality and support.

6:3:3. Borderline existences.

As part of developing their thinking, Adlam and Scanlon (2011) suggest that the care system either ingests or incorporates people through mandatory schemes – such as supporting people by sucking them in, or spitting them out. People are rejected because of their non-cooperation.

It is in this 'borderline' area that those who cannot be streamlined into acceptance find themselves. It is clear that not everybody has the possibility of moving their position forward. Metaphorically they are locked in a cell, in prison and when they are discharged they move into a twilight zone that is not experienced or understood by society.

My research shows how important the psychological aspect of having stable housing is in their understanding of being integrated into and accepted as part of society. Each person interviewed voiced the importance of having a place of their own as one of the key elements to their total recovery, a spring board:

> 'Each person has an idea of home that merges place and personality, that goes beyond having four walls and a roof, and that indicates a positive feeling that derives from security, belonging, attachment or familiarity, among other things' (Kissoon, 2006 p76).

It is Daly that adds to this thinking when suggesting that whilst homelessness is often used as a synonym for 'houselessness' the term originally described the lack of 'familial moorings' of drifters living in single room occupancy motels or improvised shelters that catered to transient single men (Kissoon, 2006 p75). Adlam and Scanlon redefine and relocate the problem from a social fact of the actual homelessness

into the interpersonal and intrapsychic world of the 'unhoused mind'(Adlam and Scanlon, 2005 p10). In the internal struggle the centre is occupying a transitional space.

The Government's reaction to homelessness is the implementation of a tick box response. There is the danger this could give the impression that there is a simple route to follow through rehabilitation and resettlement that will move people from the 'outside' back 'inside'. The picture the interviewees are painting contradicts this view. As touched on in chapter five, the data indicates that because they are clearly spilling over with feelings and issues that are not being contained, some of the interviewees' projection of their inner self presents a madness that is difficult to contain and would cause extreme disruption in the more settled environment of their own home. Foster and Roberts (1998 p30) believe that workers respond to the request of help from the homeless at face value by providing practical help and accommodating them. When the resources are not there they take on a political role, becoming indignant on the clients' behalf about what should be available but is not. They agree that providing housing is not enough. Unless deeper issues are recognised and resolved then many who are housed will become homeless again.

Those that participated in the study indicated that they worked at different paces, and at times are not in a place psychologically or physically where they are able to fully cooperate.

6.4. FATE OR DESTINY.

From the research a conception begins to develop which questions whether subconsciously it is fate, destiny or personal choice that causes residents to find themselves within the residential centres of a religious organisation such as the host organisation. Mary had previously interacted with the host organisation when she was sixteen

in Peterborough whilst waiting to appear in court. Kevin was very aware of the informal grading of the various centres by people on the streets, as were the street support workers that discovered him sleeping in a graveyard and assisted in his referral. Barinda had some knowledge of the host organisation as she lived in the locality of the centre, and Mohammad had contact with the host organisations representative on the airport chaplaincy team during his stay at Heathrow airport.

Bollas (1989) makes a distinction between fate and destiny. He describes and develops the idea of a person being under the influence of forces either of "fate" or "destiny" (Van Felsen, 1995). It is a distinction that is used quite widely by some sociologists. As Van Felson outlines 'fate derives from the Latin fatum (past participle of fari — that which has been spoken by the gods) and is a prophetic declaration regarding someone's future' (p479). The notion is that in relation to fate we are passive, we have no control over it, we are fated. Destiny is something different. Destiny Van Felson writes (p479) derives from destinare (to fasten down or make firm) and is more linked to actions. It is the journey towards a goal which is somehow internally if often unconsciously present and the strivings are towards an end. The realisation of one's destiny or the idea that something was destined is distinct from the idea that it is fated:

> 'With a person who feels fated there is a sense that a true self has not been realized: one consequence is a limited repertoire of object relationships that tend to confirm ones position as hopeless victim. Destiny, however, consists of actions made in the service of the true-self and the "destiny drive" describes a person's drive to achieve individual potential. The factors involved in destiny are heredity, biology, and environment (including experience) (Van Felsen, 1995 p479).

In theological terms, if something is in the hands of the gods, nothing can be done about it, which is fated. If something is destined then it was destined to be. Bollas puts forward that destiny may be known, but

it may not be known to the self but located within the self. Therefore we all actually or potentially have an unconscious destiny.

Bollas argues that this experience begins very early in life with the mother being either a fateful presence, or an object through which the infant establishes and articulates aspects of his destiny:

> 'She enables the infant to experience objects as subjective in origin by sustaining the illusion that he creates his world. Thus the infant has a primary experience that objects derive from his creativity, and, although mother's ordinary failures plus ordinary reality will lead to the infant's disillusionment, the illusion of primary subjectivity will remain so that the adult will carry an internal sense of creating his own life' (Van Felsen, 1995 p479).

There are lots of ways to think about this and many of these are represented here in this data. Described is a certain way of thinking about how the world is made up. Is there a belief in the idea of transcendent forces controlling the world or ourselves or not? Or it can also be thought of as a representation of two ways of being in which somebody projects. If there is not a belief in the idea of transcendent forces controlling life, nevertheless someone may think of it like that. Kevin is more in this mind set. Somebody who whatever their trials and tribulations in some way continues to actively pursue or search for meaning or purpose or resolution or progress from within themselves.

Each of those interviewed testify that parts of their lives have been spent in very dark places where they have felt paralysed and trapped. As mentioned they have relied upon something or someone outside of themselves to advance them to a place where movement is possible. The exposure of their most profound vulnerabilities seems to lead to the need to seek refuge where, in a state of dependency, the opportunity is afforded for them to safely explore some of the deepest issues known to humanity. At the centre of my research is the contention that by coming to a programme that has spiritual connotations, the person is attempting to release themselves from what has been psychologically crippling so that they can maintain some sort

of status quo. Whether it be some memories, feelings of guilt, blame, fear, abandonment, abuse, helplessness or anger, each are desperately seeking to be released from their psychological prison.

Religion attempts to explore subjects that give answers to questions from which most other areas of society shy away from. All faiths offer meaning and explanations for death and dying and attempt to place that within the human experience. Equally, rather than viewing the world as unjust, all faiths offer the opportunity to look for meanings for disasters and personal life events. In Armstrong's view, the one hope for surviving today's challenges lies in a spiritual revolution, one that recaptures the essential wisdom found at the roots of contemporary traditions (Armstrong, 2006). The desire for such meaning is widespread and my research attempts to make sense of what is happening to the interviewees, while asserting that faith or spirituality has a central role to play in achieving positive change. None of those interviewed would be described as fundamentalist in their religious experience and so were comfortable exploring outside of their specific faith framework whilst retaining their identity within it:

> *'if you want to go to church you go to church, I said to him, I'm Muslim and I want to go to a synagogue, how is that?' (Mohammed: Interview two).*

Another way of framing this is to understand that these profound questions are about the relationship between the interviewees' histories of suffering, and how ingrained, clearly defined, religious teaching from an early age has affected the interviewees' response to suffering. The relationship between all of this is that they are suffering and proceed in search of something. What is being described is a translation of the container – contained.

6:4:1. Container – Contained.

At this point I will briefly develop how I understand this to translate. The model of containment is a concept that Wilfred Bion (Bion, 1959) introduced to understand how in relation to their internal development, a child's anxiety is contained particularly by the good object (Bion, 1962a, Bion, 1962c). He described this as the mother's aptitude to deal with the baby's projections of uncontainable feelings or what Lopez - Corvo describes 'primary aggression and envy' (Lopez-Corvo, 2003 p70). Bion described this as where the good object (usually the mother) receives these projections and somehow modifies them, returning them to the child in a form which they are better able to cope with. I suggest that this is what the interviewees are trying to engineer. What has been shown from this interpretation is that some of the interviewees are projecting feelings that they cannot contain and are seeking a particular container that recognises the spiritual, existential religious dimension. They want the pain, confusion, doubts and fears that they are experiencing to all come together within this container. At this point they will be enabled to commence a process that will allow them to begin to understand, or to develop the capacity to learn from their experience and to cope with it. As Bion indicated when describing the transference – countertransference interaction with a patient, Bion wrote 'projective identification makes it possible for him to investigate his own feelings in a personality powerful enough to contain them' (Lopez-Corvo, 2003 p70).

However this is disguised, it is prominent in their stories, it is there. Containment takes place within a framework of a relationship, which gives reassurance and as happens with infants it sets up a process that allows survival.

Simply to respond as the staff member did to Mary by preaching to her for thirty minutes is not an adequate response. This equates to a

parent's inability to take on the child's projections and so returns them in a form that the child is still unable to tolerate. The consequence of not finding containment could result in the interviewees' inability to move position, unable to cope with their perceived madness and with reality. This is what Bion described as the manifestation of a nameless terror that could result in them not being able to come to terms with what has happened or may happen to them but could also remove their desire to live.

6:4:2. The organisation as a container.

The organisation in which the research took place has a central Christian philosophy that has the capacity to contain such feelings and give the opportunity to explore all the issues that the data has presented. An implication from this research is it questions whether the current structure is flexible enough to allow this to take place, particularly with those from other faiths. The interviewees assert that whilst there is a formal worship programme and some of the staff and a chaplain are available to talk – to instigate an exploration of personal issues – spirituality is seen as a by-product rather than an integral part of the framework:

> *'A lot of the time it depends on when she gets here. A lot of the time we'll see her at half ten, when she's here, because she's normally here for around tea break. But, she jumps between this building and the building around the corner. So, you're limited in how long you can actually see her for, yes, yes'* (Kevin referring to the chaplain : Interview part two).

We can only understand the reason for this if we explore what is occurring organisationally. Arguably underlying the data is an organisation that has a self-identity problem. I interpret this to be rooted in the fear of conflict with government policy and local authorities that are not only apathetic to religious values and practice but are openly aggressive towards them. Because professional values are supposed to be relatively neutral with respect to faith,

philosophical or political agenda, it is arguable that the organisation is rooted in a particular explicit religious stance which could be interpreted as superior or arrogant in its outlook. This sets it up to be questioned as to whether it is proselytising – or operating in a way a professional secular organisation appears not to be, because professional values are supposed to be relatively neutral with respect to faith, philosophical or political agenda. In truth, professional organisations are saturated with implicit value positions. Added to this I think the research indicates within the centres there is a continuing struggle with multiculturalism, and the fear of spirituality outside of the fundamental beliefs of the organisation. This leads to its possible failure to assist residents in their journey. What has been learned is that in order to act as a container there is the need to have a secure relationship and the ability to listen. To resolve this, the organisation would need to develop a greater flexibility in what Knitter describes as 'religious dialogue':

> "dialogue" as understood by theologians can be described as follows: an interaction between two or more parties in which all participants recognise their own beliefs and values, describe those beliefs and values to one another, try to learn from one another, and are ready to change their minds in view of what they have learned, to the mutual benefit of all involved' (Knitter, 2010 p260).

This, he says, requires humility, commitment, trust in our common humanity, empathy and an openness to change. It is this latter element that the research interviews indicate there is a struggle for the organisation.

6.4.3. Taking time to listen.

One of the important elements to emerge from my research is the need for residents to have the opportunity to explore the deep life issues that have emerged. Clearly those that participated readily used the availability of somebody prepared to listen to off load and the dynamics showed that a therapeutic situation was created. It is my view

that recreating this situation as part of an on-going programme within any centre for the homeless would have a very positive effect. One way of achieving this is by simply giving people the opportunity just to talk. The benefits of being listened to, of being in the presence of another human being can be quite profound (Stickley and Freshwater, 2006). This would not necessarily need to be something formal. Whatever format, the opportunity for staff to listen could go a long way in helping clients. Orbach (1994) links the art of listening to the concept of emotional responsibility, which has two parts – articulating and listening. She believes 'that such listening enables the individual to have the emotional space to discriminate one's own emotions and needs from those of another, reducing contamination and misunderstanding' (Stickley and Freshwater, 2006 p14). This exercise whilst seemly simple is far from that, it is a skill that needs to be nurtured. Listening is demanding psychologically, physically and emotionally. It is tiring and at times painful and the temptation to contribute your own opinion is great. For Gordon (1999) listening is an art or craft which can be developed only by practice. The act of sharing our inner world with another is an act of courage (Peck, 1978). It is not a passive act. Listening is a stance, a position, an attitude that we can choose to take or not. It is something that the practitioner must really want to do (Gordon, 1999).

To be able to listen successfully to others, it is important to be able to listen to yourself. Developing the skill of self-reflection and self – inquiry is almost a lost art, that needs to be recaptured. Burnard believes that it is important that people notice their own feelings and thoughts, their own body position, posture, eye contact and so on (Burnard, 1992). It is about being observant to all that is going on around you. Ultimately this develops the skills to know personal limitations, personal understanding, interpersonal understanding and the ability to offer unconditional acceptance. These skills shield against the fear often expressed that creating a therapeutic relationship could make the situation worse and open up so much that the impulse

you have to feel is the need to save rather than just to listen. There is always the danger that some individuals can be very vulnerable in groups (Brown, 1992). However with support both within and outside of the group, staff will be able to enable the resident to gain from the experience. It is my belief that simple group work would work well. As Benson writes - 'The group provides the context within which socialization and the formation and development of self occurs. Without the group the individual cannot emerge from mass humanity and without the individual the group is just another amorphous mass of living matter' (Benson, 1987 p4). The skill of the facilitator(s) would be to remain at the periphery of the group only moving in to help the group remain on track before retreating to their original position. The application of the question is an art that is important to develop in such work rather than a tendency to offer advice. This then gives every opportunity for the individual to begin to explore their inner feelings. 'Both staff and members are likely to be unconsciously if not consciously sharing much more of themselves in group encounters in centres' (Brown, 1992 p134).

The change of emphasis that has occurred within the homelessness scene, particularly in government policy, that has been considered previously in this chapter, is, like nursing, characterised by a rapid move from 'being' to 'doing' (Stickley and Freshwater, 2002). The difficulty in the current climate is that the tuned art of listening and other similar skills are both invisible and difficult to measure. Although not easily measurable, my research shows that this relatively simple addition to the programme will provide positive results with residents that are some of the most difficult to reach within society.

6.4.4. Developing relationships.

During the research in the short time spent with each interviewee, I have stated a number of times that there was a sense in which a

therapeutic relationship formed. They took the opportunity to have a short time of exploration and at the end of the time they were in a different position to when they had started. The point I am making is that relationship is important. The danger for those working in the homelessness field is that with increasing pressures of administration and the achievement of specific goals, relationship takes a lesser position. This has led to a move away from the availability of management and project staff. That change from 'being' to 'doing' that has just been described. For the most part, management were indicated as being out of the interviewees' world, the authority and discipline. One technique used to prevent this was the management spending time with residents in a more social informal situation. This however seems to be on the decline. Mohammad certainly indicated there was no time to undertake what can be described as meaningful occupational activities, which was one of the key proposals of the coming in from the cold report (Great Britain. Rough Sleepers, 1999):

> *'There is nothing to do in here there is absolutely nothing to do how long can you play pool you know what I mean. They should have a gymnasium or something to keep you healthy something er to stimulate the mind.' (Mohammad: Interview one, part one).*

The danger is that this working practice restricts staff developing meaningful relationships to no more than a few individuals. To compensate, key worker systems are central to most programmes where a project worker is allocated a small number of service users for whom they are responsible. In this research this relationship remains important and key to their progress. All interviewees indicate that their key worker is the significant person that they relate to:

> *'you know my key worker makes me welcome she is very good very good, excellent, never causes me a problem she is alright gives me meeting gives me a note I attend the meeting an hour or something we talk about things about problems issues whatever it is that's it full stop'. (Mohammad: Interview two)*

McGrath and Pistrang believe the concept of the keyworker originated in British social work in the 1970s and was subsequently adopted by a range of organisations providing health and social care (Wagner, 1988). They write that the original concept was that:

> 'each client would have an individual staff member who took special responsibility for their care and ensured that their individual needs were met. The keyworker role was defined in terms of several functions, including establishing a working relationship with the client, drawing up and monitoring individual care plans, maintaining records, and ensuring support was in place after the client left residential care' (McGrath and Pistrang, 2007 p591).

However, because of the different models and understanding of the role employed, they question the effectiveness of this concept.

The importance of relationships should not be underestimated and so any programme needs to be relationship driven. To feel accepted, nurtured and understood endows us with energy. This is because insecurity, shame and anxiety consume psychic energy – energy used in the continuous erection, repair and maintenance of protections and defences against discomfort (Perlman, 1957). In such a relationship not only are they healing values in themselves but the building of trust gives the opportunity to work closely and safely through the issues that have been seen in the data. Significant associations also increase general life satisfaction and encourage the development of relationships outside of the centre.

My research showed that those interviewed wanted to have the opportunity of spending time exploring their very deep and sometimes intimate needs. Whilst they may not subscribe to the organisation's branch of religion or religion itself, they do not express any objection to the organisation's practice as long as it was not forced on them, and they even expressed admiration for it. Barinda, Asif and Kevin all indicated that they had attended Christian worship. None found the experience offensive:

> *'I went once and joined in, it was really lovely, it was really nice. I really liked the songs they sing, it was really good'. (Barinda : Interview one, part one).*

Mohammed used Mother Teresa as a high moral example and turned to priests when he perceived the Imam had failed him. Providing there is no compulsion the presence of a formal religious programme is inconsequential, but the presence of a spiritual understanding is vital. This leads then to the question of how should the organisation present its spiritual programme?

6.5. THE VALIDITY OF A SPIRITUAL PROGRAMME.

Patel et al write that in Britain for a large and increasing number of service users 'Religion is a basic aspect of human experience, both within and outside the context of religious institutions'(Patel and Humphries, 1998 p10). This adds to the picture that is building of spirituality being a legitimate and important part of any programme working with the homeless. For example, Crompton, when writing about spirituality in social work writes 'whatever the practitioner's own beliefs, experiences and feelings, it is essential to study the implications of spirituality as part of the whole person' (Crompton, 1998 p29). Furness and Gilligan quoting Canda (Canda, 1989a) writes that social workers need to respond to differing religious and spiritual needs and to understand a variety of religious and spiritual issues if they are to provide an adequate service to those for whom religion and spirituality have significance (Furness and Gilligan, 2010b p2186). Interest in spirituality is growing within social work. In Britain and elsewhere, there does appear to be an increased willingness on the part of some professionals to recognise the need to explore the importance of, and include spirituality into practice (Furness and Gilligan, 2010b).

For an organisation with the core belief that the provision of a religious programme is fundamental to its existence this is a welcome development. There are however some uncomfortable thoughts being

revealed in the data about how effective the current programme is, and whether the methods it uses are the most appropriate. Is the connection between faith and the nature of the work deep enough – both in the organisation's thinking and in the training and spiritual development of the staff or not? It emerged that what descriptively seemed to be the place occupied by the faith related elements of the programme, were in fact rather uncertain, thin and not very well connected. There is recognition of the existence of faith based elements to the programme but it is having little impact. It is not that the participants are rejecting it, but that they do not have to think about it. It is of no consequence to them.

From the data, all those that participated have in one way or another expressed the importance of spirituality to them, if not a formal faith based religion. Barinda for example expressed the most involvement of formal religion in her world:

> *'My faith is important to me. I pray 5 times a day. I do my fast during the month of Ramadan.' (Barinda: Interview five, part one)*

Even Kevin who is the one to claim to have no faith gives spirituality a place:

> *'There's got to be more to life than what's already here. There's a couple, right, a couple of people I do I talk to. They've got like their faith. Right, no problem. I know there must be something to it. How long has it been going on, a couple of thousand years. (Laughs) So there must be something, there must be something to it, so I suppose one day. At the moment I'm trying to get through meself, one day at a time. It's the only way I can do, because every day, every day is different, even on the spiritual side. It's not something I have sat down and actually thought about if I am totally honest. It's hard to, it's hard to explain.' (Kevin: Interview three, part one)*

I argue that any programme working with those that have experienced homelessness, if it is going to cater for the holistic needs presented, should include a spiritual element within its framework. Depending on the philosophy and emphasis of the delivering organisation this could come in various guises. For this organisation it is important to

acknowledge its identity and provide an integrated religious – spiritual programme from a Christian framework. All involved need to respect the views of other groups that are different or opposed to their own and strive to establish a partnership based on equality rather than imposing values. Such a programme may not prove to be better than a secular programme, but certainly as good – just different. It is legitimate to state that those interviewed would benefit from a quality secular programme but with the opportunity to explore religious – spiritual issues there is the opportunity of coming to terms with their individual demons. This then enhances the outcomes and assists in their integration back into society.

6.5.1. The organisation's spiritual framework.

There are well known examples of programmes that have attempted to include a spiritual framework. The 12 step programmes of Alcoholics Anonymous and Narcotics Anonymous integrate religious and spiritual principles into their self-help programmes. There are physicians and health care professionals that include religious – spiritual beliefs in their treatment of patients. Studies suggest that many patients believe spirituality plays an important role in their lives. These studies also concluded that there is a positive correlation between a patient's spirituality or religious commitment and health outcomes, and that patients would like physicians to consider these factors in their medical care (Anandarajah and Hight, 2001).

A possible implication arising from the research undertaken is that this section of the organisation and so probably the whole organisation is struggling with a tension between a traditional agenda and the need for change to establish the most appropriate and effective framework. One way of thinking about this is to outline what is being described in the data in what Lawrence describes as 'Salvation' and 'Revelation'

(Lawrence, 2000 p163). When establishing the centre of what the respondents have described, they are looking for salvation in terms of not being able to move themselves from where they are to where they want to be.

The organisation is able to offer this on a number of levels. It has a long tradition of offering salvation to what the missionary church may have described as 'heathens'. In its early beginnings it took to heart the Fanny Crosby song 'Rescue the perishing, care for the dying, Jesus is merciful, Jesus will save' - Salvation Army Song Book 691 (1986). This illustrates that one of its reasons for working in the field included enlightenment. The thinking also spills into the organisation's practice when working with the homeless to get them off the streets. Along with so many other agencies in this field they 'see the client system as being a system to be 'cured' and so offer solutions as a way of analysing unconscious material' (Lawrence, 2000 p170). Rather than giving people choices it only gives solutions.

Once those interviewed settled and began to establish themselves they began to move from salvation to revelation. By this I mean they wanted to take the opportunity to explore their own life situations and the range of solutions to make an informed choice thus retaining the control themselves. There is tension in answering the question of what is the task of the homeless organisation? It is between trying to take the homeless person from the streets and all that involves and giving them solutions as opposed to enabling them to understand their present situation.

Revelation is about working with the homeless in order to enable them to find their authority to interpret the psychic, political and possibly the spiritual realities in which they are working. There are those interviewed that were more than willing to be taken through the system without taking on too much responsibility for themselves. Kevin in particular in a number of places indicated that he was not receiving the

'service' he expected and felt that situations should have been resolved for him.

This tension not only exists here in this situation but is the translation of other debates that have been on-going for many years. An example is within the welfare state. What should the fundamental principles of having a welfare state be? Should it be providing care or is it providing the opportunity for development? There is a similar debate rumbling around the fundamental principles of the therapeutic relationship.

This leads into a more complex debate about how faith or how is Christ offered within this framework? Clearly the very fundamental method used on Mary was far from helpful:

> *'and I had I had one keyworker who just spent half an hour just telling me that Jesus loves me and you know (inaudible stutter) and that not helping me very much here at the moment so I think I think that sometimes I think sometimes they throw a little bit, the religious doctrine is thrown in your face quite a lot' (Mary: Interview one, part two).*

For some, religious worship and observance is a significant aspect of their lives that gives comfort and meaning. Consequently there is a place for the formal aspects of a faith. From a Christian perspective the Sunday service, prayer meeting and Bible study fulfil that role. There is a school of thought that believes you can offer this without mentioning God's name, by just being. When operating as a Non-Government Organisation responding to emergency situations around the world, the organisation is restricted in its ability to promote its evangelical agenda or distribute any literature as it is a signatory to the code of conduct which also covers the International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement and other Non-Governmental Organisations in disaster relief. This code of conduct specifically forbids this. Even though the organisation is very careful to follow this, wherever they have responded, through the local people observing them at work, and

the commitment made to the communities, the organisation's church work has grown.

The first time it responded in this capacity was in 1994 following the genocide in Rwanda. The host organisation did not exist in the country. From that response today there are thirty two expressions of work with in excess of 2,500 members. The quote many would use to summarise this would be from Saint Francis of Assisi, 'Preach the Gospel at all times and if necessary use words'.

Is it possible to do faith-based work but not declare it unless you feel it is appropriate? There is a model that outlines this approach. It involves providing a Christian faith-based programme that makes a real difference in the situation but not labelling it Christian because the Christian label would attract resistance. Others may question the validity of this approach – but when the organisation knows that the programme will help then it is committed to providing the programme and the title doesn't matter.

6:5:2. Staff and Spirituality.

The increasingly important focus in social work, regarding the part spiritual competency plays in the understanding of culture and human diversity, should be demonstrated by staff members in their daily work. It is acknowledged that most professionals interested in integrating religion – spirituality – into a programme have themselves been involved in a religious – spiritual tradition (Plante, 2009). From an organisation's perspective if it has a particular philosophy then the staff need to have it bought into their viewpoint in order to be able to deliver the programme within that framework. Clearly there are challenges in fully integrating religion and spirituality into the framework of the programme while keeping the elements of respect for everybody's faith choices. All staff members have their own belief

systems that influence their thinking and behaviour. They may have intimate knowledge of their particular tradition but little or no knowledge of other religions. In order to be able to work with service users of no faith or other faiths and explore spirituality those working within the field should both be aware of their own bias and keep it in check. It is very easy to fall into the 'salvation' way of thinking and move into stereotypical views. No two people's ideas and practices are exactly the same even if they are from the same tradition. Asif, Mohammad and Barinda illustrate that point.

All service users have the right to express or explore this realm, and when summarising the views of the respondents, what they are seeking from staff members is an interest in them. They need to have the time, enthusiasm and energy to find out and understand their unique cultural, spiritual dimensions, lifestyle, customs and traditions.

Case example:

> *'And like, with our religion we celebrate Eid and er like Ramadan, under Ramadan and stuff like that. One thing I realised about this place is they don't really know about these stuff. Like, it's really nice during Christmas we get Christmas presents, that's lovely and we get a lot of stuff here, and that's really, really nice. But I just want them, to like, acknowledge it. Like when it's like Eid or Ramadan and things. Say Oh is Ramadan coming up, Eid's coming up. It's just they don't know a bit about our religion and they don't know like. Whereas Eid we would want our family to come and visit us and stuff like that. So it's really like them not understanding, not all of them, some of them'* (Barinda: Interview five, part one).

If this is handled insensitively or rather than working in partnership the organisation imposes its values then clearly damage can be caused. Mary for example is more than critical of her experience and believes that such evangelism is only expressed to those not expressing a religious viewpoint.

Religion and spirituality influence so many aspects of people's lives so that if staff fail to acknowledge this element then not only are they

failing in their professional duty but they are failing the service users whom they work with:

> 'Understanding or ignoring the place of religion can result in the loss of opportunities to make real differences and improvements in the lives of service users, while inaction could on occasion, lead to serious harm' (Furness and Gilligan, 2010b p14).

I would like to revisit the point that all organisations are saturated with implicit value positions and follow particular philosophies. It would be a positive exercise for this organisation to instigate the time to think through its central philosophy based on the teachings of Jesus, how it should be implemented and then record it. This would then give direction to all involved and an understanding of the basis of the programme for those outside, thus allaying fears around the perceived religious content.

6:5:3. Higher Level Needs.

The research joins others (Pearson and Podeschi, 1999) in questioning the validity of Maslow's humanistic 'hierarchy of needs'(Maslow, 1962). In the traditional use of this model those existing on the street necessitate the fulfilment of the base level needs, both physiological and safety. Maslow argues that these are primary needs that have to be met in order to reach the higher needs of self-actualisation and identity. This thinking is a cornerstone in much of the homelessness provision. Programmes are built on the belief that meeting these basic needs and moving through the different levels will necessitate an eventual return to society. This research shows those arriving in homeless centres are in contact with something that is supposedly at the top of the triangle / hierarchy in terms of meaning and spirituality, what Maslow would describe as 'higher needs'. This then leads to the conclusion that the meeting of primary needs is not sufficient and should be reflected in the programme design. Seal writes 'One

criticism is that Maslow privileges middle class perspectives, implying that if you are poor you cannot fulfil 'higher needs' such as spirituality or having coherent identity, or even have the need to conceptualise' (Seal, 2007 p1). What this research has shown is the importance of the inclusion of 'higher needs' particularly spirituality from the point of admission. It argues the need to relook at the traditional provision to ensure that these become an integral part of the programme that is offered.

6:6. ORGANISATIONAL REALITIES.

Although the research did not seek out to explore the organisation, the data nonetheless, revealed issues about the organisation. Each interview contains contrasts within its content. At times they are quite critical about certain aspects and at other times complementary about others. If you take a broad overview of what has been said, I believe the picture presented could show that within the centres of the interviewees experience there is a struggle with its self-esteem, identity and role. This cannot be expanded to the whole organisation from this research but it is certainly something for the leadership and further research to consider. Human interactions are integral as to how an organisation operates, and much can be understood from teasing out and exploring what is contained in the data. What the interviewees have said, and not said, about their relationship with management, staff and the organisation is worth reflecting upon. While it is not always said directly, what is inferred can give clear pointers to the state of mind of the organisation and could give a clear indication of what the organisation is really about.

One of the original questions that I asked myself at the start of the research is whether it was possible for the organisation to step outside its moral prison to be able to describe its state of mind? I was trying to evaluate whether the organisation's ingrained beliefs and values stop it

from stepping outside its traditionalism to meet or understand those that reside in their programmes who at their point of need subscribe to a different point of view. If it is able to step outside its traditional operating boundaries, then as discussed in a previous section, there is no reason why it cannot still maintain its essential beliefs and values while being more flexible in the methods used to help people move positively forward in their journey. It will always maintain that the Christian journey ultimately provides the answers that are being sought, while acknowledging that there are different valid viewpoints. My interpretation of the data is for these two centres those interviewed as indicating a real struggle to break out. They are perceptively intuitive regarding some confusion within this part of the organisation concerning its primary purposes in this field of operation. Managers and leaders need to know what the organisation is trying to achieve if they are to effectively lead and manage. It is therefore vital for all parts of the organisation to know what it is trying to do and to understand the implications of what is discovered. What it is trying to understand has been described as the 'primary process' (Hutton et al., 1994):

> 'the effective management of any institution is built upon the principles that are generated from an understanding of the 'core technology' which that institution frames and the ways in which this technology interlinks with the experience of all those working with the institution, both from within and without' (p185).

In my view, within the data there is something being expressed that this part of the organisation engages within its life, in its work that is not quite captured by the notion of primary task. My sense is that this is quite troublesome as it possibly contradicts or works at a tangent to what is understood as the primary task. Whilst this may be difficult to discover as 'this process is not self-evident, it requires discernment'(Hutton et al., 1994 p185), and is beyond this research, it is important as it then could provide the welcome relief of being able to explore things from reality – what is actually happening. Were this

sense to be confirmed it would give the opportunity to develop strategies for change to ensure that the organisation can escape its own prison whilst maintaining its integrity. This process can be described as looking at your reflection and trying to get passed who you think you are, would like to be or hope to be so you can focus upon what you really are. What emerges is the picture of an organisations impaled belief above action. Other agencies within the homeless sector are either opposed to that view or have abandoned belief. The senior management in the two host organisations centres think that work is occurring as they believe it should, but in actuality it is not – particularly in terms of the spiritual ministry. There could be a struggle going on with the fear that if it breaks out of the traditional way of operating to move into different avenues then its very existence is threatened, with the danger of following other agencies along the secular route. The views of service users in the research suggested that the staff are not all pulling in the same direction and not all have bought into the total holistic philosophy of the organisation.

An implication of the research is the two centres and therefore probably the organisation struggles to contain and handle the dynamics of difference. The interviewees describe a regime that has a lack of flexibility, a lack of understanding and a lack of knowledge. Organisations mirror society at large and at a time when society as a whole is still struggling with difference and long ingrained attitudes of prejudice and antagonism between faiths then there is a danger that rather than challenge these attitudes they have been allowed to creep in. Angela Foster acknowledges the difficulty in engaging with difference. She believes there is a danger that we will choose to work only with people who are willing and able to work with us in the way we deem fit (Foster, 2006 p6). In organisational terms she writes:

> 'Effective containment of anxiety is seen as the route to overcoming basic assumption group and organizational anti-task behaviour facilitating a shift, if only temporarily, from the paranoid schizoid mode to task-focused work, in reflective, self-examining, co-operative, depressive mode '(Foster, 2006 p19).

It is my belief that this is an area that some reflection and work needs to be undertaken to move the organisation forward.

6:6:1. He who pays the piper calls the tune.

In its early history the homeless work of this organisation was funded through external donations and the host organisations funds. This changed in the 1970s with more and more funding being provided through local and central government, what was supporting people has now been rolled into the Formula Grant. This has brought about a number of tensions that surfaced during the interviews. There is the tension between having targets set for moving people from the streets through to a return to society and the lack of facilities to achieve this. Kevin in his interview very clearly expressed frustration over not having the system for applying for housing fully explained; his loss of points due to his movement between boroughs and the need to have to look into the private sector, which he saw as expensive and insecure. Contrast this with the very complex behavioural picture that he paints in his interview and one could imagine the chaos that he would cause in the more settled environment of an independent house. This highlights the urgent need to help the clients work on themselves. There is evidence within the data that many of the people actually cannot make the rapid transition that the system wants them to make. This pressure to move people through the programme and out into the community has been at the expense of building meaningful relationships between staff and users. All of those interviewed indicated that with the possible exception of their key worker, the relationships with other staff were at the most functional or superficial.

The move into Supporting People brought the host organisation for the first time into the competitive market place, where it is in competition with other agencies for contracts and funding. This is an alien concept

to the host organisation as for the best part of a century it has been one of only a handful of organisations that worked with the homeless.

This I believe has led to it struggling with its self-image. In recent times it has struggled to fully understand and implement its role as a Christian based organisation in a multicultural, secular society. This comes over as a lack of confidence to justify or sell the advantages because the organisation has not been able to verbalise what positive differences a spiritual element makes to the individuals that experience it. Historically this has not been the case, but seems to have developed recently as society openly questions the existence of God.

Mohammad made a few throw away comments about wanting more involvement in the running of the centre:

> *'Basically then it is probably system should change. So people more involved, I mean the residents should be more involved or give them the chance to get involved in more, and more things' (Mohammed: Interview one, part two).*

The organisation has made efforts in recent years to ensure that each centre does take user involvement seriously and insists on regular user meetings, surveys, questionnaires and in some cases users' involvement in the employment of staff. This comment shows that the organisation should not be complaisant and there is still a way to go before it can claim to have achieved its goals. There is the possibility that something about how the organisation is set up that resists the total inclusion of service users, as though it is not secure enough to take the criticism that might come its way.

Another implication from the research as I have suggested previously it is possible to argue that there is a struggle going on with identity. In light of the pressure to change, the aims and mission statement of the larger organisation, which is essentially evangelical, create a struggle within the homelessness arena. My research is indicating that a service is provided and people come and make use of it. They are bringing

themselves from the boundary of society, the boundary of hope and despair, the boundary of life and death struggling with the capacity to belong or not belong. From a society that no longer sees the importance of faith, to a funding body that reflects that society and so the self-identity has been blurred by an unnecessary dualism between social and spiritual mission.

6:7. CONCLUSIONS.

The discussion chapter has taken the opportunity to explore the major issues that have surfaced from the five interviews. As the chapter comes to a conclusion it is useful to encapsulate the developing model in a diagram that integrates the thematic links that have emerged from analysis of the five research interviews.

The diagram that follows suggests that the interviews are all about traumatic histories or histories of personal and social suffering, and that there is a connection between those histories and peoples' path into homelessness, both external and internal. There are people who are traumatised for whom literal homelessness is not the outcome and, this has been discussed earlier. But the path into homelessness for all of my research subjects suggests a typical picture of people balanced on a knife edge between a number of sets of pairings. These prepared states connect with the idea of a borderline existence or state of mind (Cooper and Lousada, 2005). In turn, it is then possible to think of these subjects as distributed along a spectrum, with some occupying positions closer to hopelessness, despair or suicide, and some in more hopeful or connected states. The intention here is not to propose a generalisation about homeless people or their states of mind, but to give clarity to the notion that all the interviewees are in a very precarious state, but not all in exactly the same acute state of precariousness.
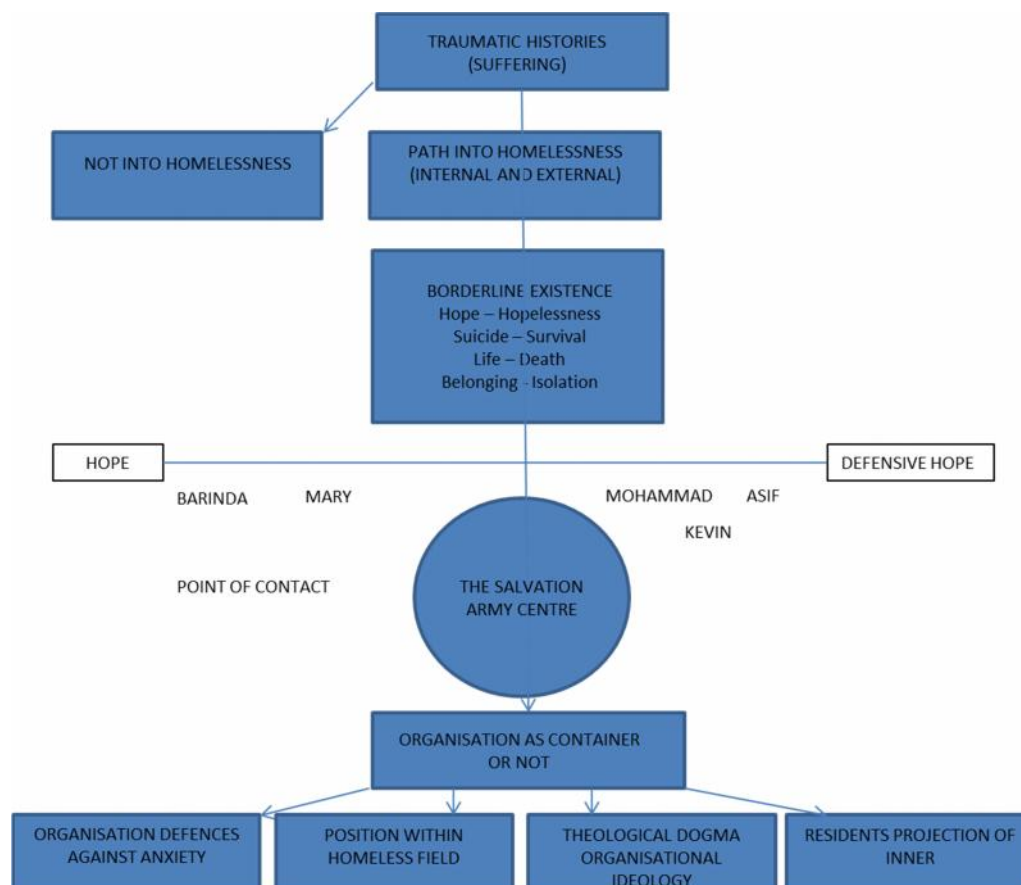
My earlier discussion of the notion of hope and hopelessness (see Chapter 6), made use of the distinction between hope and defensive hope, which in turn relates to the difference between fate and destiny. Kevin represents a state of mind organised by defensive hope – 'it will all come right someday'. This links with Bollas' notion of fate (Bollas, 1989). In his life Kevin's 'coming right' is going to arrive from outside while Barinda represents a state of mind more rooted in realistic hope. Within Barinda, hope that springs from inside can still be found to help pursue her return to society and genuine 'belonging'. She has problems, but her capacity to belong, or preservation of survival means that the possibility of her returning to society is more realistic. Each interviewee occupies a slightly different position along this line.

All of this is both what brings people to the host organisation, and what they bring into the host organisation. There is a point of contact with the organisation, and the organisation 'receives' them. A whole

set of further questions then open up about what happens at, or beyond this point of contact. What they bring can be conceptualised in Bion's terms as the 'contained' and the organisation is the container (or not) (Bion, 1962a). Arguably, it is at this same 'point' that my research is conducted with the interviews functioning as the beginnings of a container showing that a therapeutic contact of some kind is possible.

The next step is to illustrate how we understand, explain or characterise the way the organisation does or does not respond. I have already introduced the notion that the organisation operates defences against anxiety and pain (see Chapter 6). The project worker preaching for thirty minutes at Mary is an example of somebody in role play enacting a defence against anxiety. She pushes the contained back into the subject.

However a fuller 'psycho-social analysis must draw on other considerations. Theological dogma, the organisation's ideology, can also function as a defence against being over whelmed. The organisation's position within the homeless field is another element to be considered. Whilst this is moving outward into another terrain it is relevant to consider how the organisation operates within the complex structure of the contemporary public sector. Here it is battling for position, legitimacy and survival in an environment requiring it to go down a route that is instrumentally target driven. Finally there are the defences towards the inner projections of the residents that have been briefly mentioned already. It is how the organisation responds to these elements that assists or hinders the progress of the homeless person's route out of homelessness.

This diagram aims to integrate the various constructs that the research has developed before moving into the final chapter which considers what practical conclusions might be drawn for the work of the host organisation, and indeed other organisations in the homelessness sector.

CHAPTER SEVEN: CONCLUSIONS.

7.1. INTRODUCTION.

As we come to the end of what has been a life changing experience for me, it leaves me seeing the world differently to when I started out. I have developed a deepened understanding of the needs of a client group that I have worked with for more than twenty years. I was profoundly moved by the intensity and tragedy of the life narratives shared during the interviews and how they have coped living with what they have experienced. During the research I came to realise that over the past seven years I have developed skills and knowledge that I now use in practice. The skills in interviewing and listening learned from the time spent working with clients in the adolescent department of the Tavistock and Portman Trust have come to the forefront of this research. Similarly the observational skills learned whilst undertaking infant and organisational observation exercises.

This final chapter seeks to reflect upon the strengths and limitations of the research, but also draw out some of the ideas that have developed and what the research has revealed. The ideas presented in this final chapter are not prescriptive but are the emerging insights of importance to people in a fragile and fragmented state. It concludes that there are four major points that arise from the research.

Firstly, homeless people have something to say and by listening to them this not only improves the effectiveness of the organisation but also the likelihood of those that use the service successfully moving from a borderline existence towards acceptance into society. Secondly, the organisation and staff need to be aware of unconscious elements that operate within the centres. This impacts upon service users, and their relationship with each other and the staff, and there is the need to

acknowledge and contain these. Thirdly, those interviewed are all isolated from relationship. They carry very deep and complex life experiences; trauma and loss that they possibly seek out the opportunity to explore safely within a 'religious' environment. Finally, the basis of many homelessness programmes is the belief that rough sleepers need to primarily meet survival needs initially rather than also catering for the higher self-actualisation. Following this research the emphasis of the programmes in homelessness organisations require further examination in light of the issues that have emerged. There are areas that will require further research in the future to ensure maximum understanding and benefit and some of these are mentioned in this final chapter.

The object of this research has been not only to give insight into and influence one particular organisation but to assist in the thinking of the homelessness sector as a whole. More importantly there has been given a further opportunity to listen and learn from those with first-hand experience of homelessness whose cry is often unheard in the cacophony of opinion expressed from all.

7:2. THE LIMITATIONS OF A SMALL QUALITATIVE STUDY.

Reflecting on the ideas generated through this research, it is clear that a lot learned from the data applies not only within the organisation concerned but to the sector as a whole. The choice of BNIM's as a methodology has been shown to be prolific in generating rich data. A future project to consider will be to take the time to analyse one of the interviews using BNIM's and compare the conclusions with those of this research project.

With qualitative research of this type, one of the criticisms is that it is virtually impossible to reproduce the data and results. However what can be conceived is that those interviewed are not exceptional. They

were randomly selected and it can be reasonably assumed that comparable tragedies would be found in any other small sample taken from service users in similar centres for the homeless, the data of which would produce equivalent if not identical outcomes.

7:3. THE ISSUE OF WITNESS.

Most of the respondents made prodigious use of the interviews undertaken in this research. What has come through is a remarkable set of dense and complex series of life narratives that contain so much material. One of the major outcomes of this research is the issue of witness. The research is compelled to tell what those interviewed have experienced and seen. It is in the giving of a voice to people not normally heard in this way, and certainly not in this depth, that ensures agencies and government are accountable, and so leads to policymakers being more responsive to their needs. This research shows that not only are their voices not heard within society, they equally struggle to get heard within the organisation. It could be argued based on this research that the host organisation needs to acknowledge that it is not listening. The homeless person's efforts at mastering the trauma could be enhanced with a better understanding of their experiences by the organisation and centre staff.

As I contemplate the direction this research has followed from its inception to conclusion, the route it has taken and the destination at which it has arrived is not one I could have predicted. It is evident that the five people interviewed wanted to share and what has been shared has proved that it is much more than simply taking an opportunity to tell of their life experiences. Rather they have given insight not only into their internal worlds, but the worlds of two homeless centres and an organisation.

In light of the findings from my research, possible ways forward are that all services should have strategic plans in place to give opportunity to those that have experienced homelessness to explore important life issues and be listened to. Within the next twelve months the host organisation should consider developing a twelve session group work programme to offer the space for individuals to explore life and spiritual issues. This will give the opportunity for those that have experienced homelessness to open up sharing some of their very deep experiences and thoughts, and the staff the opportunity to listen, which is a skill in itself. The opportunity to listen could go a long way, the fear of staff who would facilitate these sessions maybe this could make things worse, that it would open up so much and the impulse they would have is to feel they would need to save and not just to listen. Supervision and peer reflection would assist here and develop the skills of the staff.

7:4. HIGHER SELF ACTUALISATION.

The research has shown that if the homeless person is to undertake the journey from the street back into society, then even at the earliest point of leaving the street they need to explore more than the basic needs of food, shelter and safety. The study identified issues around religion and particularly spirituality are of importance to their healing. An outcome of the research is the need for all organisations offering programmes with the homeless to review their programme to ensure they are designed not only to meet primary needs in their earlier stay but also their higher needs. The spiritual aspects of life should take a higher prevalence as part of a holistic overview because of its importance in the lives of the service user. The research shows the importance the interviewees place upon resolving some of their deepest life issues to moving forward in their life journey.

Once those responsible for strategy and policy begin to seriously consider the role of spirituality and religion in the lives of homeless people, they may have to begin to search for insights into how to intervene more effectively. Not to do so and this research confirms, the support offered to homeless people would be less than they deserve. Organisations with an understanding of spiritual dimension are in a good positive position to lead the way, as they are able to implement and support an appropriate framework. There is a need for funding organisations to open themselves to new ways of thinking to support service users in their journey. It is not all about jumping through various hoops or gained knowledge about practical matters that might be faced in the future. It is an understanding and coming to terms with this very complex dimension of human experience and requires a form of practical understanding that allows exploration of the deep meaning of life itself. Whether described as providing a reflective space, spiritual care, developing a relationship with a higher being, meditation or therapy its presence is important.

From the original research question what has become apparent is that those interviewed had no issue with a Christian based programmed that was voluntary. They intimated that there is an important role for a spiritual dimension within any programme that is working with this client group. It may take a number of different guises depending on the philosophy of the organisation involved but the research found this is vital. The host organisation may wish to revisit some of what it offers within its homeless centres in order to broaden the uptake and gain a better understanding of what is happening, encouraging space for staff to reflect on presenting issues and cases. From a Christian organisations perspective it is not all about proselytising, but they do want to make an impact, a difference. If the organisation is going to allow the space for service users to explore their deep needs then it will need some major changes to the programme. Consideration should be given to the ability of the staff employed to contain and explore such issues in safety. Individual services should also ensure that

recruitment policies encourage those applicants with the experience and knowledge of the organisations underlying philosophy. For those of a certain religious persuasion, to gain the emphasis the organisation requires the staff should be people of faith. For those with secular philosophies, the staff need to buy into that idiom of thinking.

7:5. ORGANISATIONAL REALITY.

In light of the research undertaken, this has given me the opportunity to think about the organisation in critical terms. The research interviews possibly show that the host organisation needs to be constantly aware of how it is functioning; reviewing not only its practices but particularly in the case of the two centres where the interviews took place, its understanding of core functions. It is said that the organisation established to work with traumatised and unhoused minds becomes itself a traumatized, unhoused and dismembered organisation (Adlam and Scanlon, 2005 p12). This begins to give credence to what has emerged. Life from the streets and other institutions such as prison and mental health institutions, are carried with those that arrive. For many there are aspects of centre life that are hidden and complex and in some ways comparable to life within these institutions. This research acknowledges these painful elements of hostel life to develop a framework to explore ways of intervention that will lead to the provision of a structure to enable staff to acknowledge and work through the frightening elements that they currently have a tendency to ignore. All services must now consider the possible existence of an 'underworld' within the service users' experience of living within a homeless hostel and take steps to understand this. Strategies need to be implemented that eliminate bullying, racism and discrimination.

There is enough evidence in this research for the management of the centres and possibly the leadership of the organisations homelessness

services to seriously time to undertake a period of consultation to explore what its primary process is and what steps it can take to ensure that this is understood and implemented by both the management and staff to achieve its core aims. Once there is an understanding of its primary process it should then take the opportunity of developing its programme and putting it to paper so that its actions are clear and understood along with the theory / theology behind it. For this organisation the teachings of Jesus need to form the basis, but should include other useful theoretical paradigms such as social work and psychotherapy that complement the core philosophy. The research has also shown the need to focus on improving access of front line staff working with homeless people to appropriate training opportunities, and provide additional opportunities to include issues from a psychotherapeutic aspect. The opportunity should be given for staff to reflect upon what is happening with quality supervision and other mechanisms available to give the staff space to discuss cases in detail and understand fully what is happening. With more understanding and support from the organisation staff will be able to do some very positive work with the hard to reach homeless people.

7:6. RELATIONSHIP.

The research has shown that relationships are important for those interviewed. It is a principle element of human existence that all those interviewed struggle with in varying degrees. All programmes should be realigned to encourage the developing of closer relationships with staff, particularly with the management and this would enhance the ability of the container to contain. The relationship between service user and keyworker is clearly very important; the research shows the keyworker is the primary object to which those interviewed formed attachments. These objects and the service users developing relationship with them are incorporated into the self, and become important building blocks of the self-system that it is hoped will

maintain them within society in the future. Mechanisms introduced to ensure that there is an increase in contact by staff with service users are important. A strategic approach addressing the need of the resident group for relationship should be adopted, with investment into the work with this client group having a heavy emphasis on relationship. For those that present with chaotic lifestyles and multiple needs it is important to know and understand their story. Management and staff performance should also be monitored on an on-going basis. Acknowledging the importance of relationship, but also the complexity of these particularly in this setting, there is the danger that the staff that provide front line support are young and inexperienced. They are often at entry level in their career learning their trade. This research points to the need to review the organisations structure to enable the most experienced staff to retain front line contact with service users. Time needs to be taken to reflect on what promotion means within an organisation working with the homeless, and maybe redefine roles. Currently the higher up the organisational structure the experienced employee progresses, the further away they move from the service users and the more involved with administration they become. This not only moves them away from direct contact with service users it restricts their ability to support and supervise less experienced colleagues.

7:7. IMPLICATIONS FOR PRACTICE.

Within the previous chapter there emerged from the research discussion a number of implications for practice that are worth bringing together for further consideration. Some have already been touched upon within this chapter others not but they are worth repeating.

- A full knowledge of the housed history is helpful to staff to enable them to look for patterns as to why they have left other organisation. This enables them to think about a wider context and draw up a more effective plan of action. The result of this

should be a reduction in the number of evictions and people returning to the streets.

- The role of the staff is to develop meaningful relationships with individuals. This will give a better understanding of their defensive strategies, and identifying feelings of absolute isolation and intolerance. They will be able to begin to unravel what is really happening in the mind of an individual giving the opportunity to identify strategies to sustain hope and achieve reality.

- Meeting basic primary needs is not enough. Higher needs particularly spirituality needs to be included from the point of admission.

- If going through the route of resettlement without delving deeply into all areas of an individual's life including spirituality and religion then the centre will never going to achieve the goals of the service.

- The individuals interviewed benefitted from their stay at the centres but all acknowledge that measures could be taken to provide a safer and more welcoming environment.

- The psychological aspect of having stable housing is important however providing housing is not enough. Each service user responds at their own pace and unless deeper issues are resolved then many who are housed are being set up to fail.

7:8. FURTHER RESEARCH.

With all research new questions surface that invite further research to try to develop that branch of thinking further.

How do the service users arrive at the particular programmes that they do? This research points to a conscious or subconscious process that leads them into a programme that has spiritual connotations, in an attempt to release them from what has been psychologically crippling them to maintain some sort of status quo.

With the setting up of a twelve session group work programme giving the resident the opportunity to be listened to and explore, it is important that research is undertaken to understand the impact this has on the resident, staff and organisation, and whether there has been a movement in the users position.

7:9. SOME CONCLUDING REMARKS.

A great deal has been accomplished since the germ of a thought began to grow into this research project. The current evidence is now strong that a higher understanding of the religious and spiritual aspects of a person's being can lead to them mastering their deep experiences. Rather than being seen as an uncomfortable part of society to be taken off the streets or housed away from the view of the general public this is freeing them to move towards re-entering society. I have set out the process of involving service users in their spiritual development and have stated how this may be challenging but also profitable not only in developing the resident but the organisation to. The broader concepts introduced by the interviewees have proved challenging and the organisation and wider homelessness sector has much to gain from listening to their voices and partnering with them. There are costs on both sides to this closer journey. A greater understanding of themes and outcomes expressed in this research will, I hope begin to break down the barriers whether physical or psychological between both staff and service users but within society as a whole. There is clearly more research needed to develop some of these themes and it is my hope that I will have the opportunity to examine and explore further the themes and concepts arising from this research.

My final thoughts return to the five homeless people that shared some of the intimate details of their life histories with me. I am indebted to them, as I have learned so much and they have gained my admiration

for the courage they continue to show by keeping their hopes and dreams alive. Not only do I hope that this research has contributed in a small way to their journey, but that they feel empowered through being listened to and their views shared.

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APPENDICES.

Appendix 1. Example of first page of Mary's first interview with start of close analysis.

Importance of father, atmosphere of fighting, battle between parents, First – everything has to be special / unique	I was brought up in, erm, East London, erm, I er, er, grew up with my single father who was one of the first father's in Britain to get custody of his children in the eighties, and, I was, er, he, was er, also one of the first fathers to get um the right to educate his children at home in the eighties, and er, we spent five years fighting.
Trying to tell everybody that she had a good childhood. Rebellious adolescence Her rebellion was extreme too, prison-terrorism. Depression, terminal illness, loss of mother, mortality	Erm, my father was a writer so I got to travel the world (cough) with him (clears throat) erm, erm, had a great childhood until I was 14 and then (laugh) yeah usual teenage rebelliousness sets in and er, we had a fight when I was 16 and he kicked me out of the house and er, yeah so it's been nearly ten years I haven't seen him, about ten, erm and I left home and er, went a bit wild (laugh) and er I ended up in prison up north for animal rights and for terrorism erm and then they decided I was er too young to be in prison and sent me back to London and er,
Try to come out of depression. University Has to be special / unique. Unable to stick at anything. Extremes in description	and I had to remain in care until, erm, I was 21 erm and (pause) I spent a long time not doing anything at all because erm my, my mother died of a hereditary dis er disease and I was told when I was fifteen, it was genetic and I I probably had it. There was a good chance that by the time I was 40 I was gonna be dead so I spent a long time being (laughs) very depressed and not doing anything at all. And then at 21 I decided that I have to do something and then I went back to university.
Becomes homeless: Not her fault – blames somebody else. Unique/ special test case	Erm (clears throat) to study art, got my foundation degree in Art, erm I went to one of the best art arts schools in the world for my degree and I hated it er, dropped out quite quickly, erm and yeah and then I became homeless due to social services er social services funded me whilst I was getting further education, erm I was a um test case for erm, all young people in care to get education once they were erm, over 21 erm and so erm they we funded my by paying my rent and, erm, my, erm, university bills and stuff like that erm but they didn't quite pay enough of it and somehow there was a massive debt that got brought up and I went to court the day before the eviction to try and get it withheld because I you know I erm (clears throat)

Appendix 2. Simple question framework

Interviewee Four
1. WHAT ARE THE DOMINENT CHARACTERISTICS OF THE FAMILY BIOGRAPHICAL HISTORIES THAT EMERGED?
Was born in Algeria and a member of a large extended family. Mohammad has 4 siblings. Downstairs in flat Grandmother and 2 uncles. His father is hard working. Seems had a disciplined upbringing. He reminisces that he knew where he was, and gives the Algiers that he remembers as a model to help sort out the ills of UK society, particularly amongst the young. Fear that things have changed in Algiers too. All siblings left before he did,
2. WHAT ACTUALLY DO THE SERVICE USERS SAY ABOUT THEIR FAMILY HISTORIES?
Mohammad made a decision to stay in this country rather than return to home country or leave with his wife to France. For a time things were going well but was there a guilt at that decision that led to him going to the airport with a friend and almost handing himself into the authorities with a view to being returned home. Fear of returning to home country because of the war.
3. WHAT DO THEY SEEM TO SAY ABOUT HOW & WHAT THEY BRING INTO THE CENTRES?
He enters a time where he lost everything and entered what he describes as limbo, which is an interesting use of language with limbo being a Catholic place on the edge of hell where the un baptised but innocent or righteous souls go. Certainly he is expressing that he is in a state of being disregarded or forgotten During his time of sleeping rough he has concerns about his mental health. At time saying that he is strong but there is always a concern that his mental state is getting worse, and he has to resort to the use of alcohol and cannabis in order to continue to exist in this difficult life. He has an image of himself as an upright, model citizen, not having been in trouble with the police, but then admits to stealing, and smoking cannabis.
4. WHAT IS IT ABOUT THEIR NEED THAT MAKES YOU THINK ABOUT THEIR EXPERIENCE, CONNECTING THE NEED WITH THE EXPERIENCE?
There were a lot of things that did not add up. Things that he said, and then when asked about them later there was a different story, and so the idea of making sense of this is quite useful because he is not deliberately being dishonest, but his story, there were a lot of times when he was contradictory, or things just did not add up. His self-image and who he was, what has happened and how he behaved just separate. On the one hand, I'm a Muslim and so don't drink alcohol and I am an upright standing member of the community and have never been done by the police. On the other – I smoke cannabis, drank alcohol and had to steal food from the shop. There is some sense of who he was and who had become that does not fit with him. There is something similar, something parallel going on between himself and his country. The story is similar and suffering and undergoing the trauma, and

abandoned. Maybe it doesn't make sense. Parallel process that has been internalised.

5. WHAT SEEMS TO BE THE PLACE OF FAITH RELATED ELEMENTS OF THE PROGRAMME OCCUPY?

What happened in Algeria made him to question his faith to the point of almost losing it. Whilst seeking help he returned to his own religion for help and was rejected. He then went to the Roman Catholic priests who assisted him.

6. WHAT ROLE DOES HOPE AND HOPELESSNESS PLAY IN THEIR STORY AND WHAT EFFECT DOES IT HAVE ON HOW THEY APPROACH LIFE?

Much of his story of being helpless, unable to remove himself from the predicament that he finds himself in, but then there is salvation in this because there is this man that magically falls out of the sky and saves him in the form of a solicitor. Like the Good Samaritan he was almost on the road as the allegory goes, and somebody alien to him, in this case a Seik solicitor comes to his aid,
What happened in Algeria's, all those things in the revolution –I stopped believing in religion. There was a lot of him being critical about his religion and this is very central to him making sense of things. How to hang on to hope. This is a very common theme in lots of literature. Fiddler on the roof for example is all about the Jews with the main character. There are parts of his story where it seems that he has transferred his faith with hope in to people, particularly the solicitor who has become a god like figure who has saved him by actually having faith It doesn't make sense how long it took him to sort out his immigration. Why did he not do anything about it for that long time until somebody came and rescued him

7. WHAT DOES THE DATA TELL US ABOUT THEIR SOCIAL NETWORKS AND THE EFFECT ON THEIR IDENTITIES AND SELF ESTEEM?

Within the centre he has few friends, but really longs to be part of an extended family, believing that close friends, relatives are there to support you if you get into trouble. He has an image of himself as being strong, a good person,
When reading the narrative there is a lot about abandonment, but there are moments of hope or faith is kind of recovered because of the appearance of three Characters

Wonder whether my reaction to the story say that it wasn't so bad, but there was a threat of civil war, and internal conflict and somebody says 'get out, get out' it's going to be bloody, and he flees. If you flee civil war you feel guilty because you have left everyone else behind, you did the cowardly thing, a lot of asylum seekers and refugees struggle with that because they leave people behind.
In the interview he does not quite say things that would be interesting, because it would get people to speculate about what the sad feelings that aren't being said in a way

8. HOW DOES THE DATA DESCRIBE LIFE WITHIN A HOMELESSNESS CENTRE?

Mohammad describes life within the centre in two contrasting ways. On the one hand he indicates that he has benefited from his stay there and it has helped stabilise him. He describes the staff as nice people and helpful, but that they take a lot of abuse from the residents.

He describes a centre where there are many drug problems, and questions what is being done to assist them. He believes there is a culture that in some cases leads residents to leave with a worse problem than they came in with. He also classifies residents believing that he is better than those who take drugs. He clearly doesn't see his own cannabis habit as a problem and in fact on occasions denies both this and his use of alcohol. Mohammad's solution would be very disciplined and if that did not work he would make them disappear.

Has a very strong work ethic – you must help yourself – if don't then have to accept the consequences

9. WHAT DO THE INTERVIEWS ILLUSTRATE OF THE EXPERIENCE OF THE GOVERNMENTS HOMELESSNESS POLICIES?

There is something about this interviewee cutting himself off from all sadness, negativity and conflict and shifts to attain a cheerful, racketeer

Mohammad is unable to get himself out of the situation that he finds himself in, he looks for others to assist him in doing this. He very much feels on the border of society and outsider.

10. WHAT DOES THE DATA SHOW US ABOUT HOW THE ORGANISATION IS DEALING WITH MULTICULTURALISM?

He sees things in terms of as long as it does hurt anybody else then you should be able to believe or do what you want.

11. WHAT DO THESE INTERVIEWS ILLUSTRATE ABOUT THE ORGANISATIONS CURRENT STATE OF MIND AND ITS ABILITY TO CHANGE?

Mohammad indicates that he is not committed to the programme. When he has been involved in meetings etc he has never seen any change as a result and so see it as a waste of time. He chooses to do something positive elsewhere

12. WHAT ROLE DOES STAFF PLAY IN THE LIFE STORIES OF THOSE INTERVIEWED AND HOW DO THOSE INTERVIEWED RELATE TO THEM?

He thinks that the staff are alright and try to do their best in a very difficult situation. He sees then paralysed and indicates that they are not Mother Teresa. He does illustrate that they have to face some very difficult situations where residents have attempt to beat up and harm staff.

Appendix 3. Informed Consent Form.

We are inviting you to take part in our research project on your experiences of undertaking the Christian based programme operated by xxxxxxxxxx.

This information sheet tells you about the research project, who we are, and what you would be expected to do if you agree to participate. Please read the following information carefully and do not hesitate to contact us if there is anything you do not understand or would like to know more about.

What is the study?

The project title is:

Experiencing a Christian based programme: A qualitative study of people from other faiths or with no faith who have experienced homelessness and are undertaking a Christian based programme.

Who funds this study?

This study is part of the work of a doctorate student at the Tavistock and Portman Trust (University of East London) and as such has no additional funding attached to it.

Why have we contacted you?

We are interested in residents who are currently experiencing homelessness and undertaking the Christian based programmes operating out of xxxxxxxxx residential centres particularly in Central London. The emphasis of our interest means we are particularly interested in hearing of the experiences of those from non-Christian faiths or no faith.

What are we asking those who take part to do?

The main aims of this project are through listening to the experiences of those from other or no faith that are homeless and currently undertaking a Christian based programme, insights will be gained that will help the researcher understand how the Christian organisation relates in today's multicultural society, and whether it effectively meets the holistic needs of everybody that uses its services. It is anticipated that insight will be gained into the impact faith has on assisting people in their journey out of homelessness.

As a participant you will be agreeing to be interviewed by the researcher once and make yourself available for a second interview should that be required. These interviews will be digitally recorded and the recordings used as part of the data for this research.
In the initial interview you will be asked a very general question connected to the research area and asked to share your life experience, this will be followed by some narrative pointed questions on the topics raised by the interviewee during the interview.

Your participation in this project is voluntary, and therefore you can choose not to participate in part or all of the project and can withdraw at any stage of the project without being penalised or disadvantaged in any way.

We anticipate the entire commitment would entail between 3 and 4 hours of your time. The interviews would take place in a suitable venue within the centre at which you currently reside.

We are able to recompense for your time with a £10 shopping voucher.

Who is responsible for the project?

I am a doctorate student at the Tavistock and Portman Trust (University of East London), I also work for xxxxxxx. Relevant contact details are as follows:

Raelton Gibbs: 101 Newington Causeway, London SE1 6BN. Telephone 0207 367 4865: Mobile Number 07901550662. Email:raelton.gibbs@xxxxx.org.uk	Professor Andrew Cooper: Principle Investigator Professor of Social Work Tavistock Clinic University of East London. Telephone 02074357111 Email: ACooper@tavi-port.nhs.uk
Tim Dartington: Research Supervisor Tavistock Institute 30 Tabernacle Street London EC2A4UE Telephone 02074170407 Email: T.Dartington@tavinstitute.org	Secretary of the University Research Ethics Committee: Ms D Dada, Administration Officer of Research, Graduate School, University of East London, Docklands Campus, London E16 2RD. Telephone 0208 223 2976 Email d.dada@uel.ac.uk

Who will us and look at the data collected?

All interviews will be digitally recorded and down loaded and stored on the researchers' personal computer. This will be password protected know only to the researcher. From there it will be transcribed either by the researcher or a colleague who will be committed, as the researcher to confidentiality in order that the analysis of the data can take place. In all written materials and verbal presentations in which the researcher might use material from the interviews, the interviewee name, names of people close to you or any other identifying information will not be used. Transcripts will be typed with initials for

names, and in the final form the interview material will use pseudonyms. Those that may assist in the analysis of data will also agree to the confidential nature of the process and all data will be returned to the researcher at the end of each session.

The digital recordings will be kept until the completion of the research project in case clarification is required as to the accuracy of any transcription, it will then be deleted.

If the researcher were to want to use any materials in any way not consistent with what is stated above, then additional written consent will be sought.

Where can I get additional information about the project?

You are welcome to contact us individually or through relevant institutions. Please refer to the contact details above.

In signing this form you are also assuring the researcher that you will make no financial claims for the use of the material in your interviews;

I _____ have read the above statement and agree to participate as an interviewee under the conditions stated above.

_____ Signature of participant.

_____ Signature of interviewer

_____ Date

Word Count: 80,642/ 90,486