



**An exploration of Central and Eastern European migrants’
experiences of homelessness in Scotland**

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Declaration

I declare that I have composed this thesis myself and that it embodies the results of my own research. Where appropriate, I have acknowledged the nature and extent of work carried out in collaboration with others included in the thesis.

Signed,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads "Jennifer Galbraith". The signature is written in a cursive style with a large initial 'J' and 'G'.

Name of Student: Jennifer Galbraith

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Abstract

Research into the experiences of Central and Eastern European (CEE) migrants who are homeless in Scotland has been neglected. This thesis argues that CEE migrants face specific challenges as a result of their migration status that impact risk and experiences of homelessness. However, the existing evidence base has a dearth of research around CEE nationals' migration and homelessness experiences in the Scottish context. Furthermore, the existing evidence based is largely outdated, as much of the research was conducted before the UK Government altered European Union (EU) nationals' entitlements to welfare and the UK voted to leave the EU. It is in this new context that the current research that seeks to explore CEE migrants' experiences of homelessness in Scotland is situated. 20 biographical interviews were conducted with CEE nationals who were homeless in two Scottish cities, documenting their lives from pre-migration to present day. Observations were also conducted in homelessness services and 12 semi-structured interviews conducted with homelessness workers who engaged with CEE nationals. Using the theoretical lens of Bourdieu's (1986a) habitus, capitals and field, along with Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital and Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy, the findings suggest that CEE nationals experience inequality and disadvantage from when they arrive in the UK that significantly impact their risk of homelessness. Additionally, once homeless, it can be difficult to alleviate their homelessness due to barriers resulting from their migration status. While there are barriers at local level, it is acknowledged that these are exacerbated by challenges at the government and legislative level. Therefore, the main implications are that the UK and Scottish Governments need to develop ways to facilitate successful migration. Furthermore, the Scottish homelessness system, and UK Government policy on welfare, need to be reviewed to account for the unique circumstances of CEE, and EU, nationals.

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Glossary of Terms

A8 – Accession 8: Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia.

A2 – Accession 2: Romania and Bulgaria

CEE - Central and Eastern European

EU – European Union

EEA – European Economic Area

UK – United Kingdom

Introduction

Following the European Union (EU) enlargement in 2004 and 2007¹, many migrants from Central and Eastern Europe (CEE) entered the UK, with Dwyer et al. (2019) stating there were over one million CEE nationals migrating post-accession (Dwyer et al., 2019; Rzepnikowska, 2019). According to Favell and Nebe (2009), initially CEE migration was thought to be beneficial by receiving countries as they would integrate seamlessly because “*East and Central Europeans pose few questions of cultural and racial difference from their host societies*” (Favell and Nebe, 2009: 206). While the UK Government initially wanted these migrants, in recent years there has been a rise in xenophobia and general anti-immigrant sentiments (Dwyer et al., 2019). Polish migrants were initially portrayed as desirable due to their perceived work ethic and value for money, yet Rzepnikowska (2019) notes that this shifted with the 2008 financial crash. After this time, Polish migrants were portrayed as the root problem of many issues within the UK, such as UK nationals’ unemployment, pressure on social services and shortages of work (Rzepnikowska, 2019). Ultimately, the UK decided to leave the EU on June 23rd 2016 and migration from the EU was a key issue within this debate (Rzepnikowska, 2019; Crown, 2017b). For instance, the Mirror newspaper had this headline four months before the referendum vote on the UK’s membership within the EU: “*Polish benefits guide 'encourages' people to come to UK because of our 'VERY GENEROUS' welfare system*” (McFadyen, 2016). While Polish migrants were singled out as a target, the debate also affected non-Polish migrants (Rzepnikowska, 2019). Headlines up to the referendum also stated general anti-immigrant notions such as The Express newspaper stating: “*MILLIONS of EU migrants grab our jobs: Time for Brexit to FINALLY take control of borders*” (Hall, 2016). Additionally, since the UK voted to leave the EU (Crown, 2017b), there have been reports of increased hostility towards CEE nationals (Rzepnikowska, 2019). Fitzgerald and Smoczyński (2017) also note that there has been a rise in racist and discriminatory behaviour towards CEE nationals in recent years.

Alongside these attitudes, increasingly the UK Government have introduced policies that restrict EU migrants’ rights and entitlements, culminating in a lack of safety net should they experience economic hardship (Crown, 2014b; Crown, 2016; Crown, 2014a; Crown, 2013). There have been warnings that these changes could result in a rise of EU migrants’

¹ It is recognised that Croatia joined the EU in 2013, however, Croatia was not included in the present study.

experiencing homelessness, yet these warnings have largely gone unheeded (Kennedy, 2015). Additionally, in May 2016 the Home Office produced guidance that allowed immigration officials to conduct 'administrative removals' on EU nationals sleeping rough, claiming that sleeping rough was a breach of the Treaty Rights that allowed their residence in the UK - this was decreed in 2017 as unlawful by the High Court (Maitland, 2016; Duce, 2017). Within this fast-moving context, CEE migrants who are homeless are specifically vulnerable.

This research focuses on CEE migrants' experiences of homelessness in Scotland. Scotland was chosen because it is where I am based, but also because housing is a devolved power, meaning Scotland has control over its homelessness policy but not immigration policy (The Scottish Parliament, 2019). As it has already been noted, there have been many changes in UK immigration policy in recent years, and I felt it was important to explore how these impacted CEE nationals' experiences of Scotland's homelessness system. CEE member states consist of two categories: A8 and A2. A8 migrants are those from Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia and Slovenia. A2 migrants are those from Romania and Bulgaria. Within this thesis they will be referred to as 'CEE' when being discussed as a whole, and A8 and A2 when being discussed separately. This thesis aims to add to a growing body of literature that explores CEE migrants' experiences of homelessness in Scotland.

Motivations, Research Aims and Objectives

This research originated from a proposal that I submitted to the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC) in 2015. It initially developed from my noticing that much of what I had read about homelessness excluded migrants. With the recent policy changes and the UK deciding to leave the EU, the research only became more pressing. During my MRes, I worked in homelessness services and saw first-hand migrants' experiences of homelessness. This experience made researching this area more pertinent.

One of the aims of this research is to place the voices of people from the CEE countries who are homeless at its core. Through employing Bourdieu's (1986a) concepts of habitus, capital and field, Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy, and Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital, this thesis aims to explore how CEE migrants' habitus and capital aid or hinder them navigating the structures of UK society (fields). This allows macro structures to be linked to micro contexts, for instance homelessness policy at the legislative

level (macro) and its effects on the lives of people who are homeless on the local level (micro), and links to be made between structure and agency.

Generated from my literature review and the gaps identified within the current body of research, the questions this thesis aims to answer are as follows:

1. What are the main routes into homelessness for CEE migrants?
2. How does homelessness change CEE migrants' lives?
3. How do CEE nationals engage with homelessness services to alleviate their homelessness?
4. How well do homelessness service providers respond to the care and support needs of people from the CEE countries?

Overview of Research Design

Qualitative biographical interviews were conducted with 20 CEE migrants who were homeless or had experienced homelessness. The interviews covered a period starting from pre-migration up to present day. Participants were aged between 29 and 64 and three identified as women, the remainder identified as men. 10 participants were Polish nationals, four were Romanian nationals, three were Lithuanian nationals, two were Latvian nationals and one was a Czech national. For 15 it was their first time in the UK and Scotland, and five had been in the UK prior - largely for short trips. Length of time in the UK ranged from one month to over 14 years, but most had arrived post-2011. All of these participants were recruited via homelessness or migration services in two Scottish cities.

Interviews were also conducted with 12 third sector homelessness workers. All of these workers worked in third sector homelessness services where CEE migrants frequented. These interviews were semi-structured and focused on the workers experiences working with CEE migrants. I also conducted observations in homelessness services for approximately five months.

Structure of Thesis

This thesis is divided into seven chapters. The first chapter provides an empirical review of the literature around CEE migration and is split into two parts. Within the first part, the definition of migrant is discussed, along with the reasons for migration and the challenges and disadvantages that CEE migrants can encounter after migration. The second part focuses on the literature around CEE migrants' journeys into homelessness and experiences of

homelessness, along with how homelessness is understood within the study and within the Scottish legal system.

Chapter Two discusses the theoretical framework that has been employed to understand the data. It explores Bourdieu's (1986a) concepts of habitus, capital, and field, Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital and Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy. In particular, it defines how these concepts are being used within this body of work and discusses how other relevant studies have also applied them.

Chapter Three outlines the methodology used to investigate CEE migrant homelessness in Scotland. It discusses the epistemological and ontological roots of the research before outlining use of biographical interviewing and semi-structured interview and why these methods were deemed most appropriate to explore this area. The setting up of the fieldwork and the analysis process are discussed in depth before the ethical issues researching with this population and how these issues were approached are explored. It also gives a more detailed profile of the participants and sites in which the research was conducted.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six present the findings from the research. Chapter Four is organised in a way that linearly explores the lives of the CEE participants from arrival to the UK up to the point of interview. It addresses the process of migration and the ideal of migrating for success, before detailing the challenges that CEE participants reported experiencing after arrival, bringing the timeline up to their experiences of homelessness.

Chapter Five discusses how CEE participants responded to becoming homeless, and how homelessness altered their lives. Particular attention is given to their sense of self and social networks. Regarding the latter, it addresses how networks with family and friends are maintained or broken by homelessness and how new networks have been formed through affiliating with homelessness services and the consequences of these actions.

Chapter Six takes a more institutional perspective, exploring CEE participants' experiences interacting with statutory and third sector homelessness services to try and alleviate their homelessness. It discusses their positive and negative engagement experiences and their understandings around navigating these institutions. The third sector worker interviews also contribute to painting this picture, drawing on their experiences with clients. Additionally, the third sector worker interviews address ways in which they feel service provision could be improved for CEE migrants and migrants in general.

Chapter Seven discusses the findings in Chapters Four, Five and Six and sets out the overall conclusion of this thesis. It does this through relating the findings chapters to wider literature and linking them to the initial aims and questions of the research. It also outlines the implications of the findings, theoretical perspective and methodology, along with the limitations of the study and avenues for future research, before concluding with my reflections on the thesis as a whole and the research topic.

Chapter One: Review of Existing Research and Literature

Introduction

As suggested within the introduction, there have been many changes in terms of both public policies and attitudes towards EU nationals within the UK in recent years. The first half of this chapter explores the reasons for migration, and the experiences and disadvantages CEE migrants can face after arrival to the UK which could result in homelessness. It looks specifically at welfare entitlement and the Habitual Residence Test, the employment market and housing market. The second half of this chapter then outlines the Scottish homelessness system and explores migrants' experiences of homelessness within the UK and wider Europe to paint the picture of what CEE migrants may experience while homeless in Scotland.

Defining who is a migrant

Within migration literature, there are a wide variety of definitions around words such as immigrant, migrant, refugee etc. (Anderson and Blinder, 2019). Perry and Sim (2011) note that a general definition of a migrant is someone who intends to stay in the country for over one year, however what is unclear is when one ceases to be classed as a migrant. Included within this definition are usually refugees and asylum seekers, with the former having some sort of leave to remain, and the latter either waiting for their application to be processed or having had their application rejected (Perry and Sim, 2011). However, this definition is difficult to apply consistently, as it is often not possible to determine how long a migrant intends to stay in the host country. Other definitions, such as UNESCO (2017), define a migrant as someone who lives in a country and has created social ties there. There are also different categories of migrants that have been created. For instance, the United Nations (1990) *The International Convention on the Protection of the Rights of All Migrant Workers and Members of their Families* defines a migrant worker as a person who is “*engaged in a remunerated activity in a State of which he or she is not a national*” (United Nations, 1990: 4).

These are only a few examples of how migrant has been defined, but it is clear that they all rely to a certain extent on the intentions and motivations of migrants. However, I argue that these can be difficult to determine and do not fit into neat boxes in practice. There can be multiple reasons and intentions for migration. Therefore, this thesis will use a broader definition of migrant, as given by the International Organisation for Migration (2019: 130) where a migrant is “*a person who moves away from his or her place of usual residence,*

whether within a country or across an international border, temporarily or permanently, and for a variety of reasons". This definition allows there to be multiple reasons and intentions for migration, as it will be seen that in reality these can be multiple and complex and so not easily placed into categories as the definitions given by Perry and Sim (2011), UNESCO (2017) and the United Nations (1990) advocate.

Reasons for migration

The mechanisms aiding migration to the UK have been simplified for A8 and A2 nationals since 2004 and 2007, when both respectively joined the EU (Dwyer et al., 2019). Since this time, A8 and A2 nationals have been able to claim freedom of movement. Freedom of movement is where EU nationals can migrate and reside in another EU member state without hindrance (European Parliament, 2019). Up until 2011 and 2013, A8 and A2 nationals respectively could enter the UK without a visa, but they were subject to restrictions such as having to be registered with the Workers Registration Scheme (Crown, 2015). After this time the restrictions were removed and they had the same rights as other European Economic Area (EEA) nationals² (Crown, 2015). Following the European Union (EU) expansion in 2004 and 2007, Dwyer et al. (2019) states that over one million migrants from Central and Eastern Europe entered the UK. This is reflected within the population statistics, as according to National Records of Scotland (2019), in 2018 over half of the EU population (total 221,000) in Scotland were made up of A8 nationals (n=122,000). Out of this, 87,000 were Polish nationals, meaning a quarter of the non-British population within Scotland originated from Poland. A2 nationals accounted for 15,000 of the EU population.

Specifically in relation to Poland, Czerniejewska and Goździak (2014: 90) highlight that migration is "*part and parcel of contemporary life*" and seen as a "*normal occurrence*" even to non-migrants. Over the years there have been many theoretical frameworks that have been devised to explain international migration (Massey et al., 1993). Castles et al. (2014) notes that theories of migration tend to be grouped into two paradigms. Functionalist theories of migration tend to view migration as being positive, in the interests of most people and as creating equality in and between societies. Here society is viewed as a system made up of multiple parts (like an organism), and tends towards an equilibrium (Castles et al., 2014). In contrast, historical-structural theories tend to look at how people's migration and actions are

² Austria, Belgium, Bulgaria, Croatia, Republic of Cyprus, Czech Republic, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Latvia, Liechtenstein, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, and Sweden.

embedded in wider structures, e.g. social, political, cultural etc., which constrain and influence people's actions and reinforces social inequality. Here, migration largely serves the interests of those in power and exploits less wealthy people (Castles et al., 2014). Essentially, as de Haas (2010: 229) states, functionalist theories are migration optimists, and structuralist theories are migration pessimists. There are many theories that come under these two umbrellas. For instance, the functionalist human capital theory (Castles et al., 2014), defined by economist Sjaastad (1962) as a person's skills and knowledge. Following this, Sjaastad (1962: 87) noted that migration should be viewed "*as investments in the human agent*". People invest in migration in the same way they can invest in education, and get "*returns on investments*" depending on their demographics (e.g. age), personal skills and knowledge, but also the employment markets, skills and earning disparities between the country of origin and the host country (Castles et al., 2014: 30). Castles et al. (2014) notes that another functionalist theory is the push-pull model of migration, however, it also has a basis in economic theory and is very rational-actor focused. In short, 'Push' factors that can motivate someone to migrate are things such as lack of economic opportunities, meanwhile 'pull' factors are things that can attract people to other countries, such as economic opportunities. In contrast, an example of a historical-structural theory can include segmented labour market theory (Castles et al., 2014). Within this theory states and corporations are directly responsible for the causes and drivers of migration. It looks at how high and low-skilled migrant labour is embedded within contemporary capitalistic economics, as both are required in the chain of production (e.g. factory work) or services (e.g. hospitality). Segmented labour market theory highlights the importance of wider institutional factors, but also demographic factors (e.g. race and gender) in creating labour market segmentation after migration (Castles et al., 2014).

While covering a wide range of circumstances and contexts, these theories do not capture the complexity of migration, focusing only on specific drivers. Importantly, migrants are also seen as passive in these accounts, and so since the 1980s theories have also brought in agency, acknowledging that migrants can actively try and overcome structural barriers (Castles et al., 2014). For example, the new economics of labour migration (NELM) argued that migrants decide to migrate not just as individuals but in relation to their wider family (de Haas, 2010). Subsequently, multiple family members can decide to migrate to different places, not just to alleviate immediate economic hardship, but also to diversify the future risk to the family and reduce the impact should the family experience financial hardship (de

Haas, 2010). Furthermore, having social networks already in the host country, commonly referred to in migration studies as “*network migration*” or “*chain migration*” (Castles et al., 2014: 40), has also been considered a key reason for migration to specific countries (Ryan et al., 2009; Anderson et al., 2007). Therefore, the reasons, facilitators, and decision making processes in migration are complex and there are many factors, both at the individual and personal level, e.g. wanting to improve one’s life, and at the wider structural level, e.g. immigration rules such as freedom of movement, that contribute to migration.

In regard to the empirical studies around A8 and A2 migration, there are elements of all of these theories coming into play as a way to explain migration, and so in practice it is not as simple as it has been portrayed above. The push-pull model is particularly relevant, as with the examples of the A8 and A2 countries, post-Communist countries are less wealthy than the original European Union members and in many cases there are higher unemployment rates (Wolchik and Curry, 2011). With the 2004 EU expansion, the UK was one of three countries³ that elected to allow A8 nationals access to the paid labour market immediately. Therefore, due to economic growth, A8 nationals could earn higher wages in the UK than in their countries of origin (Cook et al., 2011). In their study on CEE migration in Liverpool, Scullion and Pemberton (2010) have also asserted that key push and pull factors for CEE migration to the UK have been economic in terms of wage disparity and employment opportunities, along with easier accessibility to the UK with accession to the EU. Therefore, while there have been criticisms of the push-pull model that will be delved into more in the next section, it is a useful tool for conceptualising the processes behind the decision to migrate in this case (Castles et al., 2014).

It is clear in the above accounts that one of the key ‘pull’ factors for CEE nationals migrating to the UK has been employment. Indeed, according to Vargas-Silva and Fernández-Reino (2019) from The Migration Observatory, CEE nationals are much more likely to migrate to the UK for employment than other European nationals, who largely come to study. Additionally, Cook et al.’s (2011) participants largely migrated from the A8 countries for work, further fuelled by the earning disparity between their country of origin and the UK. Specifically in relation to Scotland, Orchard et al. (2007), in their report for the Scottish Government on A8 migrants in Edinburgh noted that the primary reason for migration was economic, e.g. employment. In the London homelessness charity Broadway’s (2007) report

³ Sweden and Ireland were the other two countries.

exploring why A8 nationals were accessing homelessness services in London, the reasons their participants gave for migrating were also largely economic (e.g. employment, higher standard of living and unable to find employment in their country of origin). Other reasons were that they were encouraged by their social networks, had heard stories about people's experiences of migrating to the UK, or had no family connections in their home country. There were also those who came as a result of personal issues (e.g. conflict with their family), curiosity at living in the UK, spontaneously deciding to migrate, and because it was easier to migrate to the UK with EU membership (Broadway, 2007).

While migrating for employment is evidently a key driver for migration to the UK, the Broadway (2007) report highlights that there can be other reasons and facilitators for migration to the UK. Among such facilitator and reasons cited by migrants are the life opportunities compared to their country of origin, the work/visa opportunities for EU nationals, and the prevalence of English as the dominant language (Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Anderson et al., 2006). In Orchard et al.'s (2007) study, 37 out of 67 participants said they moved specifically to Edinburgh as a result of family and friends residing there, and 21 participants said it was because they had some pre-arranged accommodation. In Czerniejewska and Goździak's (2014) study exploring return migration, the Polish men interviewed had initially migrated to the UK for a variety of reasons, and relationships played a key role in the decision making process behind choosing the UK as the destination. 'Push' factors in these cases were relationship breakdown, following new romantic relationships, or joining friends or siblings who had already migrated. These could have been bolstered by the UK being one of the first countries to allow A8 nationals to engage in the labour market, encouraging migration and then fuelling chain migration. Therefore, this highlights that while migrants were 'pushed' from their country of origin by economic factors and feeling their life opportunities were limited, what facilitated them being 'pulled' to the UK was having social networks, and thus "*chain migration*" (Castles et al., 2014: 40). Additionally, it has been noted in migration literature that migrants can also migrate to facilitate sending remittances back to their country of origin, bringing in elements of NELM (Castles et al., 2014). Subsequently, I argue that it is not possible to have a grand narrative around reasons for migration, each migrant will have different motivators, reasons and facilitators for their migration that can incorporate any number of migration theories.

Precariousness after arrival

Initially, the UK was welcoming of CEE migrants, yet a rise in xenophobia with the UK deciding to leave the EU and the strains of the financial crash, means that the UK Government's stance around EU migration has changed in recent years (Dwyer et al., 2019; Crown, 2017b). The last section discussed the push-pull factors influencing immigration. This model assumes that migrants have knowledge and perfect information of the pull factors as this informs their migration (de Haas et al., 2015). However, it is possible that expectations do not marry to reality, especially given the rapidly changing landscape of the UK (de Haas et al., 2015). Therefore, the expectations that fuelled migration can be unfounded. In regards to the UK, it has been shown by Spencer et al. (2007) and Pires and MacLeod (2006) that lack knowledge of what it is like to reside in the UK can result in expectations that are unmet, or unforeseen problems e.g. lack of employment, council tax etc. Broadway's (2007) report also noted that the majority of their A8 participants who were homeless had not tried to gain any knowledge of the UK prior to arrival. Those who had sought information had generally received it from their social networks. For those who did not seek out information, they generally relied on media (e.g. television, newspapers etc.), or felt secure in the knowledge that their accommodation and employment had been organised, or they had previous experience being in the UK (Broadway, 2007). Additionally, Broadway (2007) noted that some of their participants were unaware of needing documents, such as a National Insurance number, to work in the UK, and the long-term effects of not possessing such documents e.g. difficulties accessing welfare. Furthermore, in Orchard et al.'s (2007) study, 17 of their A8 participants had to access homelessness services, and of these few of them understood their rights and entitlements, or had planned their migration in detail. Therefore, Cook et al. (2011) suggests that while CEE nationals were able to use their agency and decide to migrate, their ability to use their agency when in the UK was hindered due to:

Social structures and regulatory frameworks but also importantly by aspects of individual biography and identity that are subject to change as migrants live their lives across time and space (Cook et al., 2011: 56)

The following sections will highlight different ways in which structures and regulatory frameworks within the UK, along with their biographies, can hinder CEE nationals in using

their agency once having migrated. Firstly, the restrictions around accessing welfare will be discussed, before moving on to the employment market and housing market.

Welfare and the Habitual Residence Test

An example of such a social structure that hinders the agency of EU migrants is the Habitual Residence Test that people need to pass in order to gain most welfare (Citizens Advice, 2019). The Habitual Residence Test was introduced by the UK Government in 1994 (Kennedy, 2011b), and despite the formation of the Scottish Parliament in 1998 it has remained a reserved issue where the UK Government controls the policy around this for the rest of the UK (The Scottish Parliament, 2019).

At present the Habitual Residence Test is in two parts. The first part was an expansion of the test and introduced in 2004. It determines if the applicant has the right to reside within the UK (Kennedy, 2011b). For an EU national to have the right to reside, they need to be a qualified person. This means they are classed as either a jobseeker, worker, economically self-sufficient, self-employed, a student, or a direct family member of someone with a right to reside (Crown, 2015; Crown, 2017a). All of these qualified person categories have their own individual qualifying requirements and restrictions around accessing welfare (Gower and Hawkins, 2013; Kennedy, 2011a; Kennedy, 2015; Homeless Link, 2014; Crown, 2015; Migration Scotland, 2019). Migration Scotland (2019) note that due to the complexities of determining whether a person has a right to reside, along with challenges in evidencing their status, there can be differences in opinion within and between social services, Local Authority or the Department of Work and Pensions (DWP).

The second part of the Habitual Residence Test has been a criterion since its inception in 1994, and determines if the applicant also needs to prove habitual residence, as some qualified person categories, such as worker or self-employed, do not (Kennedy, 2011b). If it is decided that they need to prove habitual residence, for example if the applicant is a jobseeker, to pass this part of the test, the applicant needs to demonstrate that they have an intention to settle in the UK and have resided in the UK for an appreciable amount of time (Citizens Advice, 2019; Homeless Link, 2014). This is decreed on a discretionary basis, and there is no definition of what constitutes an appreciable amount of time (Homeless Link, 2014; Kennedy, 2015).

However, as well as having to pass the Habitual Residence Test, the type of welfare that EU nationals can access has been restricted in recent years, thus making the system even more

complicated. For instance, the Jobseeker's Allowance (Habitual Residence) Amendment Regulations 2013 and The Housing Benefit (Habitual Residence) Amendment Regulations 2014 were introduced meaning EU migrants in the UK who were classed as jobseekers would not be entitled to welfare until they had resided in the UK for three months and were not eligible for Housing Benefit, therefore increasing risk of homelessness for this group (Crown, 2013; Crown, 2014a). In regards to the latter, the Social Security Advisory Committee (SSAC), which is an independent statutory body, reviewed the legislation on the Housing Benefit changes and raised concerns that it would rise in homelessness amongst EU nationals yet the legislation was not amended (Kennedy, 2015). Recently, the Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group (HRSAG) in their Ending Homelessness report recommended re-instating jobseekers rights to Housing Benefit, and further suggested EEA nationals who were eligible for homelessness assistance be granted welfare for six months (HRSAG, 2018). However, regardless of not being in receipt of Housing Benefit, jobseekers would be eligible to apply for homelessness assistance and should be given temporary accommodation by their Local Authority (Migration Scotland, 2019).

All of the restrictions documented in this section serve to limit what EU nationals can access while staying within the UK and increases their risk of homelessness through placing holes in the safety net should they experience financial difficulty. Additionally, Dwyer et al. (2019: 138) note that in the UK, with the increasingly restricted welfare access for all claimants, coupled with "*welfare chauvinism*" where migrants have limited or restricted entitlements compared with nationals of the host country, can promote a range of negative outcomes for migrants. For instance, the complexity of the system can mean that advisors can be misinformed on migrants' rights, leading to wrongful denial of welfare and assistance. Boobis et al. (2019), in their scoping report on migrant homelessness in the UK for the homelessness charity Crisis, highlighted that the complexity of the system means EU nationals can be wrongly denied welfare. Dwyer et al. (2019) also notes that at the extreme, it also creates an environment whereby discrimination and racism can lead to denials of assistance, yet due to the complexity of the system it can easily be hidden.

Employment Market

Structural barriers after migration are also evident within the employment market. For instance, Broadway's (2007) report noted that all of their A8 participants (n=32) had either received work prior to migration, or planned to obtain work after they had migrated. Of the

latter, they reported expecting more employment options than they had prior to migration, and that work would be quick and easy to find. However, Cook et al. (2011) highlights that CEE migrants have been disadvantaged within the labour market, and subsequently Broadway's (2007) report noted that their participants did not find the UK employment market to be what they had expected. Additionally, work is frequently cited in research as being gained via social networks (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014). Since migrants in general are typically found in employment which is considered precarious (e.g. hospitality) (Anderson, 2010a; Barnard and Turner, 2011; Garapich, 2011; Garapich, 2010; Cook et al., 2011), this means that drawing on these networks could hinder them gaining more stable employment. Broadway (2007) also noted that the majority of their participants had worked in manual labour, e.g. construction, hospitality work etc., and that their employment had largely been gained via word of mouth. This was the same in Orchard et al.'s (2007) study for the Scottish Government on A8 nationals in Edinburgh, as the majority of A8 nationals they surveyed worked in the hospitality or retail sectors.

Contributing to the precariousness of their employment, according to Jayaweera and Anderson's (2008) analysis based on the Labour Force Survey (LFS), it was inferred that that A8 migrants had a higher probability of being in temporary employment than UK nationals (Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008). However, there is speculation that the figure supplied by the LFS is an underestimation as other datasets, such as the Workers Registration Scheme (WRS) register, indicate there were far more A8 nationals employed in temporary work during this time period (Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008; Ryan et al., 2009; Anderson, 2010a; Anderson et al., 2007). Although it must also be noted that the London based homelessness charity Homeless Link reported that as a result of people having to pay money to join the WRS, not everyone who migrated to work in the UK could have registered in the WRS register (Homeless Link, 2006). Regardless, these studies and statistics hint at inequalities that CEE nationals face when accessing the UK labour market.

A8 nationals earning below minimum wage has also been documented by Anderson (2010a). For instance, in 2008 8.8% of A8 nationals were earning below the minimum wage of £5.35 and 64% earned between £5.35 and £5.99 an hour. Getting paid less than the minimum wage has also been indicated to be more likely for CEE migrants than for migrants from Australia, New Zealand, USA and Canada in the UK (Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008). Additionally, CEE migrants were also seen to be particularly vulnerable in the employment market with their hours varying weekly, therefore indicating a lack of stable work for A8 and A2 migrants

(Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008). From this lack of stable work, and the higher probability of working variable hours in poorly paid employment, it can be inferred that both A8 and A2 migrants could be at a higher risk of poverty than other migrants. Furthermore, in Broadway's (2007) qualitative data, 22 of the 29 participants who had worked also noted that their employment had been irregular, forcing them to look for and change employment frequently.

Being in precarious employment, such as the work highlighted above, is frequently documented regardless of migrants' experiences and qualifications. For example, in the Scottish context, Orchard et al. (2007) in their report for the Scottish Government stated that there was a mismatch between educational attainment and employment outcomes of the A8 nationals they surveyed, with graduates in the sample largely working in low-paid and low-skilled employment. More recently, Moskal (2014) found that Polish migrants in her study in Scotland generally held less skilled employment than when they were in Poland, and were effectively deskilled through migration (Moskal, 2014). However, this is not just specific to Scotland. Datta et al. (2009: 415) also noted in their study looking at how migrants had navigated the employment market in London, that their participants had become deskilled after migration due to "*a combination of language problems, the non-transportability of qualifications and discrimination*" meaning they had to take on lower skilled employment. They argued that while their participants migrated to London to improve their lives, the barriers they encountered reduced their ability to use their agency to do so. Scullion and Pemberton (2010) also noted in their Liverpool study that their CEE participants' skills was mismatched with their employment, and despite aspirations to achieve higher skilled employment, there was a resignation that they would remain in the low skilled jobs that they were occupying. A possible explanation for these difficulties are the complexities of trying to get qualifications translated to the UK system, as in Broadway's (2007) report, their A8 participants noted they needed help and support in undergoing this process.

Furthermore, language competency has been cited by Anderson (2010a) as one of the reasons why migrants can be confined to sectors characterised by low pay, high exploitation, and precarious employment terms. Spencer et al. (2007) noted that due to lack of language competency it can be harder to comprehend the instructions that employers give. They observed that this can lead to dismissal, which can heighten one's chance of becoming homeless. Czerniejewska and Goździak's (2014) participants, especially those with low levels of English, were in work where the workforce was defined by "*gender, age, ability to*

communicate English, and resident status” (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014: 91). By this, Czerniejewska and Goździak (2014) mean that migrants who had low levels of English were especially likely to be working in sectors where migrants are common, thus negating the requirement to know English yet efficiently confining them to low-paid and insecure work.

Accepting they would not be able to gain higher skilled employment until their English language proficiency improved was something that Scullion and Pemberton’s (2010) CEE participants mentioned. This was also recognised in Cook et al.’s (2011) study that explored the motivations and experiences of A8 migrants who arrived post-EU expansion. Here proficiency in English was recognised by participants as a way to achieve employment closer to one’s skillset. However, while it was recognised, due to the unsociable hours and poor rate of pay, it was seen to be incredibly difficult to engage with services which helped migrants improve their levels of English such as language classes or engaging in group hobbies (Cook et al., 2011). Because of this, participants in Spencer et al.’s (2007) study exploring the experiences of Central and East European migrants working in low-wage jobs in the UK noted that migrants should know the importance of knowing some English before migrating. However, Pires and MacLeod (2006) also noted that even if those migrating were proficient in English, there were still difficulties that arose from accents, with many in their study struggling with this.

Lower proficiency in English can also negatively impact access to resources and opportunities (Anderson, 2010a). For example, being in employment that is below their skillset in industries that predominantly have migrant workers does not just impact migrants’ economic stability, it can also impact their social networks. Anderson (2010a) notes that being employed in sectors in which unpredictability of working patterns and atypical hours are a normality can also adversely affect migrants’ forming networks. For instance, in Spencer et al.’s (2007) study CEE participants (Czech, Lithuanian, Polish, Slovak, Bulgarian and Ukrainian) who worked in sectors where their colleagues were mostly migrants (e.g. construction, hospitality etc.) largely associated with migrants and not UK nationals. This can mean that migrants do not form ties with UK nationals who may know more about how UK society functions than a migrant and thus could be useful sources of information.

With the restrictions from welfare, e.g. Housing Benefit, the income that EU nationals are able to attain via employment can be vital to preventing homelessness (Boobis et al., 2019).

Boobis et al. (2019) notes that working outside of the legal employment structure can also mean migrants have less evidence to provide to pass the Habitual Residence Test, further limiting welfare accessibility. However, the literature suggests that the ability of migrants to utilise their agency and gain more secure employment is constrained due to structural factors. Low-paid, insecure employment and deskilling does not just impact economic security, but also the social networks that one can form, meaning migrants have the potential to become isolated. This can then impact their experiences in the host society and create a higher risk of migrants being impoverished with a limited safety net.

Housing Market

As well as disadvantage in the UK's welfare system and employment market, inequality in the housing market is something that appears frequently within research on migrants. For instance, within the academic literature, possessing poor quality, precarious housing is frequently mentioned by migrants (Spencer et al., 2007; Perry and Sim, 2011; Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Anderson et al., 2007; McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009; Robinson, 2010; Perry, 2008). This accommodation is usually obtained either through being tied to employment or residing in the Private Rented Sector (PRS) (Spencer et al., 2007; Perry and Sim, 2011; Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Anderson et al., 2007; McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009; Rolfe and Metcalf, 2009). In Pemberton's (2009) study exploring the effect A8 migrants had on the housing market in England, and in Orchard et al.'s (2007) study researching A8 nationals in Edinburgh, the majority of their A8 participants were residing in the PRS. Pemberton (2009) posits that this could be because they lacked knowledge around alternative housing options, or they had a tendency to adopt the same accommodation as they had had in their country of origin, or their accommodation was attached to employment.

In Broadway's (2007) study, they asked their A8 participants how they had arranged accommodation for their arrival to the UK. Seven of their 32 participants had arranged to stay with family and friends, six had accommodation that was tied to their employment, six planned to stay in the Private Rented Sector (PRS), three in hotels, three planned to sleep on the street, one expected to live in a squat, and six had no plans. Those who had no plans had either spontaneously decided to migrate, or they had known it would be difficult and felt sleeping on the street was an accepted consequence of that difficulty. Within Orchard et al.'s (2007) study, 49 participants had arranged accommodation before arriving in Edinburgh,

largely through friends or family. It is common within the literature that migrants live with friends or contact networks in which they have in the host country to try and gain accommodation (McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009; Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve, 2007). In Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve's (2007) study around the housing experiences of new immigrants, their Polish participants would arrive and reside in insecure housing situations. In these cases, many of these participants had arranged their accommodation prior to migration through drawing on social networks, approaching lettings agencies, and searching online or in newspapers. While these social networks were important, Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve (2007) assert that drawing on them can also reflect the limited knowledge that their participants had of the UK housing market. Furthermore, none of the participants had sought advice on the housing market from advisory bodies. In their Scottish Government paper, Rolfe and Metcalf (2009) noted that in regards to A8 migrants, they were more likely to search for housing independently rather than use housing services.

In Broadway's (2007) report, on arrival to the UK, eight of their A8 participants stayed with friends or family, eight slept on the street, four stayed in a hotel, and four resided in accommodation provided by their employers. One participant was arrested on arrival and spent their first night in police custody, and it was not clear where six spent their first night (Broadway, 2007). It is clear here that the accommodation plans that these participants had did not often work out, and over the course of their time in the UK they frequently changed housing, moving between different informal arrangements and the PRS. For their A8 participants residing in accommodation that was tied to their work, they viewed it as insecure and found it difficult to assert their rights and need for quality accommodation. Subsequently many had to leave the accommodation because their work ended, they were let go, or they had an accident and could not work. Moving from the PRS was usually because they did not have money for rent due to being unemployed, or not earning enough from their employment. Moving from friends was usually because they felt they had overstayed their welcome, or there was a change in circumstances that meant they had to move. However, Broadway's (2007) report does note that there were some instances where participants had found work and were able to move out and into their own housing.

In Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve's (2007) study, while there were few problems in accessing accommodation, the quality and security of the accommodation was often low. For example, Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve (2007) report that their participants were not always provided

with tenancy agreements or were aware of their rights, increasing their risk of exploitation. Additionally, participants had little eligibility for welfare due to the pre-2011 restrictions where workers registered with the Workers Registration Scheme could only access welfare after being in continuous employment for 12 months (Kennedy, 2011a). However this, coupled with their insecure employment that was often via agencies where minimum hours were not guaranteed, meant that they could not always afford rent and made homelessness a real possibility.

Migrants may also qualify as statutory homeless in Scotland due to living in overcrowded accommodation (Crown, 1987), and overcrowding is frequently mentioned within the literature (Spencer et al., 2007; Broadway, 2007; Perry and Sim, 2011). In Spencer et al.'s (2007) study, 44% of 207 participants mentioned they shared a room with a minimum of one person who was not their partner. Spencer et al. (2007) noted that while overcrowding was sometimes the decision of the tenants to reduce costs, it was also engineered by landlords to increase profits and so it had structural aspects outside of the tenants' control. In Broadway's (2007) report around A8 nationals accessing homelessness services in London, they highlighted that 12 out of 36 participants had lived in overcrowded accommodation. For example, one of their participants had stayed in a three-bedroom flat with 20 people and another in a one-bedroom flat with five people. If these situations were to deteriorate, then this can then increase the risk of street homelessness for these groups as they may be unable to secure alternative accommodation.

These accounts suggest that CEE migrants can be particularly vulnerable to homelessness in the UK through taking on insecure accommodation. Key informants who worked with homeless migrants in Boobis et al.'s (2019) study noted that there have been cases where migrants end up in unsuitable accommodation due to lack of knowledge around their rights and, for instance, what is and is not a reasonable amount of rent to pay, leading to exploitation. Furthermore, while the restrictions to welfare that Gryszel-Fields and Reeve (2007) identified as a barrier are no longer in place, the new regulations around 'right to reside' introduced in 2004 (Kennedy, 2011b), which A8 and A2 nationals are now subject to, means that CEE migrants can still have difficulties gaining welfare. Furthermore, Broadway's (2007) participants found accommodation costs to be a lot higher than they had initially expected, and they thought the standards would have been higher. Therefore, the issues around claiming welfare and employment can have a direct impact on CEE nationals'

tenancy security and thus heighten their risk of homelessness yet this has not been explored in Scotland.

Conclusions on migration experiences

Mostowska (2011) asserts that those who migrate for employment opportunities are a vulnerable group in regards to the housing market because of their economic vulnerability, their decreased networks in their country of origin, low language competency and cultural and social differences (Mostowska, 2011: 28). While not applicable to every CEE national, these sections have sought to demonstrate the various ways in which CEE nationals can be in a precarious position upon and after arrival to the UK. The cumulative disadvantage with the limited welfare possibilities coupled with insecure, low paid employment alongside insecure housing, means that the risk of CEE migrants becoming destitute and homeless is very real. However, Fitzpatrick et al. (2015a) note that research has largely focused on how refused asylum seekers and those with no recourse of public funds can become destitute rather than other migrant groups such as EEA nationals. Fitzpatrick et al. (2018) also had difficulty recruiting EEA nationals in their UK-wide study on destitution in 2017, only recruiting four EEA nationals. Subsequently, EEA and CEE migrants are underrepresented within current research on destitution and so this needs to be explored further. Furthermore, this vulnerability particularly is exacerbated due to the UK deciding to leave the EU, as EU nationals are now being encouraged to apply for settled status to guarantee their rights should the UK leave, yet to be eligible for this and/or permanent residency, applicants need a paper trail to prove continuous residence (Crown, 2019a). Without receiving settled status, if the UK were to leave the EU, EU nationals could face deportation (Boobis et al., 2019). Therefore, there needs to be further research on CEE nationals' experiences of migrating to and living within Scotland, such as in the employment market, as much of the research discussed thus far is either not in the Scottish context or it is outdated by recent policy and political developments.

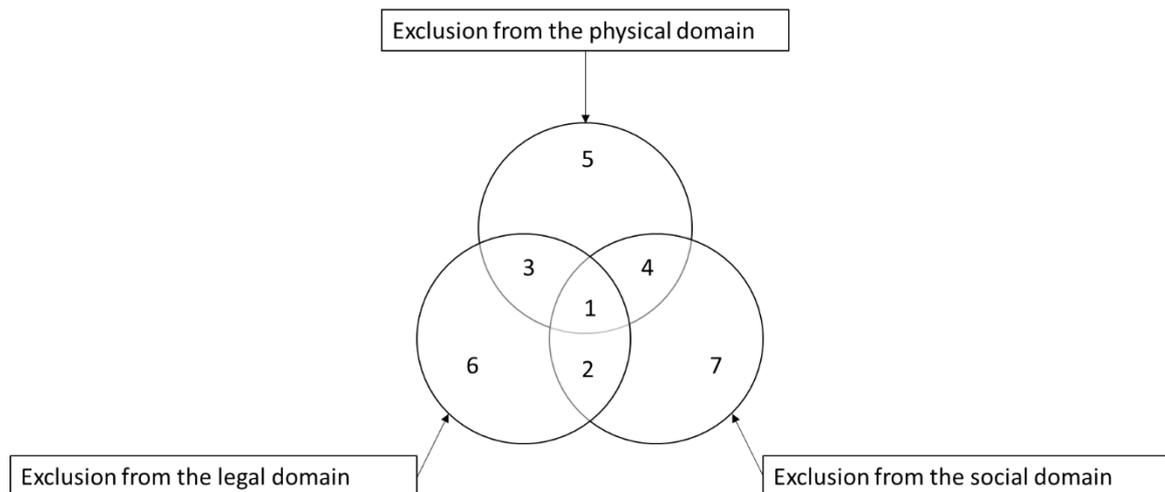
The latter half of this chapter will now address what could happen if a CEE migrant became homeless in Scotland. Specifically, it explores definitions of homelessness and migrants' journeys into homelessness, along with detailing the Scottish statutory homelessness system and the challenges in alleviating migrant homelessness.

Defining homelessness

There are many types of homelessness, and definitions of homelessness can be complex and have significant impacts on the lives of homeless individuals. Homelessness as a word, once broken down, literally means someone who does not possess a home. Cresswell (2004) views attachments within the house as forming the home. Cresswell (2004) further states that in Western society, the concept of home refers to an ideal, not just a place. Therefore, the word home implies that there are social relations (e.g. family) within a structure, it creates images of warmth and comfort that transcend the image of a dwelling (Watson, 1984). Subsequently, the term homeless as opposed to something such as houseless, implies that the person is deprived of more than a physical structure in which to reside in. Watson (1984) argues that using the term homeless is further complicated by research that does not specify the population they are focusing on within the label homeless. She argues instead that a more realistic view of homelessness or housing need is that of a scale, as the term homeless can encompass many situations. Without this, the homeless population are treated as homogenous, and this concept will do nothing to aid understandings and strategies for preventing or alleviating homelessness.

The ETHOS definition conceptualised by Edgar et al. (2004) is a scale that defines types of homelessness. With ETHOS “*Exclusion from the physical domain*”, “*exclusion from the legal domain*”, and “*exclusion from the social domain*” are presented as three circles, overlapping to form seven areas – see Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Diagram of ETHOS definition of homelessness:



Adapted from: (Edgar et al., 2004: 6)

These seven sections denote different types of homelessness and housing exclusion that one can experience. Homelessness in this case is split into two sections: rooflessness and houselessness. Rooflessness is marked by the number one in the above diagram. It is at the intersection of the three spheres as it is when someone is excluded from the physical domain as they have nowhere to live, they are excluded from the legal domain as they have no ownership of a property that can be legally acknowledged, and they are also excluded from the social domain as they have no safe and private place for social connections (Edgar et al., 2004: 6). Houselessness is marked by the number two. While it is the same as rooflessness in that it means someone is excluded from the social and legal domains, someone who is houseless is not excluded from the physical domain as they have somewhere to reside, such as a hostel (Edgar et al., 2004). Even though this has been deemed an improvement on conceptual definitions of homelessness, there have been questions regarding the suitability of the model to individual states within the European Union (García and Brändle, 2014; Amore et al., 2011; Busch-Geertsema, 2010). Edgar and Meert (2005) do acknowledge that the statutory definitions of homelessness will vary with member states and so the situations listed under the headings roofless and houseless can be tailored to suit the context of the data collection.

Therefore, this research will view homelessness as encompassing the roofless and houseless categories of the ETHOS definition, along with being hidden homeless such as living temporarily with friends and/or relatives or other informal living arrangements (Mayock et al., 2015). Even though the latter is classed in ETHOS under Insecure Housing, it is being

viewed as homelessness in this study in line with the Scottish homelessness legislation, which is broadly not being able to access suitable accommodation – this will be discussed later in the Scottish Statutory Homelessness System section (Crown, 1987).

Journeys into homelessness

Within mainstream homelessness literature, there have been discussions around pathways into homelessness (Clapham, 2003; Chamberlain and Johnson, 2011; Fopp, 2009). For instance, Chamberlain and Johnson (2011) identified five ideal type pathways into homelessness that can form part of an analytical framework. The first pathway is Housing Crisis, which is where people can experience a financial crisis that instigates their homelessness e.g. unemployment. The second pathway is Family Breakdown. Chamberlain and Johnson (2011) assert that there are two patterns to this pathway, either the relationship breaks down due to domestic violence, or the relationship just ends with one partner leaving. The third pathway is Substance Abuse, as substance abuse can make it harder to engage in employment, thus leading to debt. The fourth pathway is Mental Health and is where homelessness is a result of mental health issues resulting in family breakdown or later in life with caregivers passing away. The fifth pathway is titled Youth to Adult and is where someone was homeless as a youth, as this creates a higher risk of experiencing homelessness as an adult.

Aspects of Chamberlain and Johnson (2011) pathways can be seen in Orchard et al.'s (2007) work, as out of their 17 A8 participants who were homeless in Edinburgh, many had experienced relationship breakdown, or unemployment leading to losing housing, or health problems. It was noted by Orchard et al. (2007) that those who had to use homelessness services, in comparison to those who did not, tended to have one or more of the following:

- Low levels of English proficiency
- Lack of knowledge and preparation for life in the UK
- Low levels of money on arrival
- Lower level of educational attainment
- Lack of information on local housing, employment, and general living conditions
- A higher level of health issues (Orchard et al., 2007: 44)

However, these pathways, and aspects such as those identified by Orchard et al. (2007), largely address individual causes or factors of homelessness, not structural – with the

exception of Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) Housing Crisis pathway. Clapham (2002) sought to address this imbalance with his iteration of housing pathways. Clapham (2002: 62) defines a pathway as “*patterns of interaction (practices) concerning house and home, over time and space*” and further elaborates that:

The housing pathway of a household is the continually changing set of relationships and interactions, which it experiences over time in its consumption of housing. (Clapham, 2002: 64)

Clapham (2002) particularly draws on Giddens (1984) theory of structuration to explore people’s housing pathways and experiences in their housing histories – structuration theory will be discussed in more detail within Chapter Two. I agree with Clapham's (2003) assertion that while the construction of ideal type pathways such as Chamberlain and Johnson (2011) is a useful starting point to explore homelessness, researchers also need to take note of the structural elements and the policy interventions around the issue to create a more complete picture.

The structural challenges that migrants can come into contact with have been abundant within this review, as even though many migrants gain employment in the UK, they can face disadvantages and discrimination in the labour market, housing market and welfare sector, and through having limited social network formation and fluency of the language of the host country (Spencer et al., 2007; Fitzpatrick et al., 2012; Perry and Sim, 2011; Anderson, 2010a; Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Cook et al., 2011; McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009; Orchard et al., 2007). As mentioned previously, many migrants find themselves in precarious, low-wage employment regardless of qualifications (Anderson, 2010a; Moskal, 2014; Johnsen and Sosenko, 2012; Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Cook et al., 2011; Orchard et al., 2007). It can also be difficult for migrants to increase their English proficiency due to being in employment with low pay and unsociable hours, as this can mean it is harder to engage with English language classes (Cook et al., 2011), thus leaving migrants with limited employment options and financial insecurity. Therefore, there are structural aspects to migrants becoming homeless, and all of this makes migrants particularly at risk of poverty and homelessness. FEANTSA (2013) stressed that a main theme coming from migrants who are experiencing homelessness is lack of secure employment and discrimination in the housing market and lack of residence status. Furthermore, it has been seen that migrants sometimes have their accommodation tied to their employment, and so if they lose that

employment they lose their accommodation, and as a result they can be at risk of homelessness (Homeless Link, 2006).

It is because of the range of experiences that migrants can have of homelessness that McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars (2009) suggested that there may be two types of migrants who are homeless. Firstly, there are those who may have difficulties when entering the UK due to things such as language barriers and lack of information, but once they have entered the labour market, they are able to alleviate their homelessness. Secondly, there are those who possess more longstanding vulnerabilities (e.g. substance use) as well as language and employment difficulties. Therefore, becoming homeless can be related to issues that arise from being a migrant (e.g. language barriers), and from additional, needs not inherent to a particular population (e.g. substance use) (McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009).

In relation to McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars (2009) distinction, this distinction was visible in Orchard et al.'s (2007) study of A8 nationals in Edinburgh. As noted previously, 17 participants in this study had to access homelessness services. There were younger A8 nationals who accessed the homelessness services for only brief periods while finding employment and housing, or just to access the low-cost facilities and food. There were also those who would return for short periods if their accommodation fell through. However, during the research, Orchard et al. (2007) noticed that there was a sub-group of older A8 nationals who relied on the service heavily. These nationals tended to have low levels of English proficiency and may have had substance use issues or health problems. Use of these services could also lead to fatigue due to late nights in the services, early mornings when the night shelters close, and disturbed sleep due to the night shelter arrangements (e.g. lack of privacy). This could worsen their situation, and further issues could develop such as binge drinking or committing crime. However, more recently, Fitzpatrick et al. (2012) has suggested that CEE migrants are less likely than UK nationals and other migrants to have multiple vulnerabilities and thus experience Multiple Exclusion Homelessness (MEH). Furthermore, Johnsen and Sosenko (2012) and Homeless Link (2006) note that of those that do have multiple vulnerabilities, these generally stem from alcohol dependency and not substance use (Johnsen and Sosenko, 2012; Homeless Link, 2006).

This thesis does not aim to answer what the root of CEE migrant homelessness is, or address whether migrant homelessness is due exclusively to either individual or structural level factors. Fitzpatrick et al. (2012) note that accounts of causes of CEE homelessness can be at

odds with some reporting that CEE homelessness as a result of structural factors and others reporting that CEE homelessness as a result of individual issues e.g. substance use. As Mostowska (2013) states, these debates are unresolved, with evidence for structural factors (e.g. labour and housing markets) and individual factors. However, what the previous literature discussed here suggests is that while individual factors, such as the pathways identified by Chamberlain and Johnson (2011), can be applicable when discussing migrant homelessness, the wider structural factors also need to be considered. Therefore, instead of focusing on either structural factors or individual factors, both need consideration.

Scottish Statutory Homelessness System

The lack of risk behaviours amongst CEE nationals has led Homeless Link (2006) to raise concerns that if those who only need assistance with employment to alleviate their homelessness access some homeless services, they could become more entrenched in their homelessness and engage in wider risk behaviours. Therefore, CEE migrants could then require additional support to alleviate their homelessness.

However, the structure of the statutory Scottish homelessness system means that it can take time to find settled accommodation, if one is eligible. Once homeless, navigating the complexity of the Scottish homelessness legislation and restricted welfare entitlements can disadvantage all homeless EEA migrants as, if they do not understand their rights, this can severely limit their options for aid (Garapich, 2010). With the formation of the Scottish Parliament in 1998, the Scottish Parliament is able to control housing policy, and as such homelessness policy, for Scotland. Subsequently, this policy is independent to the rest of the UK (The Scottish Parliament, 2019). Therefore, in Scotland all EEA migrants with a right to reside are eligible for homelessness assistance, however, if an applicant applies for assistance within three months of arrival they can be determined a ‘burden on the state’ and refused aid (Shelter Scotland, 2019a; Migration Scotland, 2019). Under the Housing (Scotland) Act (1987), a person who is homeless is broadly regarded as someone who does not possess access to suitable and reasonable accommodation (Scottish Government, 2005; Crown, 1987).

At the time of this study, if someone made a homelessness application to their Local Authority they would be subject to three tests that determine the type of assistance they will receive. The first test concerns whether they are homeless in line with Scotland’s statutory definition of homelessness. The second test, Intentionality, classes applicants as either

intentionally homeless or unintentionally homeless (Scottish Government, 2005). The latter means the person became homeless through no fault of their own, and the former means that they became homeless because of their own action or inaction (Scottish Government, 2005). Since 2012 in Scotland all unintentionally homeless people are entitled to settled housing and assistance from the Local Authority in gaining this, and those who are intentionally homeless are entitled to temporary accommodation (Crown, 2003; Scottish Government, 2013; Fitzpatrick et al., 2015b). The third test, Local Connection, requires the applicant to demonstrate that they have a Local Connection to the area in which they are making their application (Anderson and Serpa, 2013). If the applicant has a stronger Local Connection in another Local Authority then they may be referred, and if they do not have a Local Connection in any Local Authority then the Local Authority in which they first made their claim has the duty to process their application (Scottish Government, 2005).

In regard to migrants, the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 changed the definition of homelessness making it so that if an applicant had a house that was reasonable to occupy in “*the United Kingdom or elsewhere*” they would not be classed as homeless (Crown, 2001). Additionally, the Scottish Government's (2005: 35) homelessness code of guidance states that someone may not be homeless if they have accommodation outside of the UK that is “*reasonable*” to occupy and where the person:

- is entitled to occupy by virtue of an interest in it (for example as an owner or tenant) or by virtue of a court order;
- has a right or permission, or an implied right or permission, to occupy (for example as a lodger or an employee with a service occupancy); or
- currently occupies as a residence by virtue of some protection given by law. The person may have a positive right to occupy the accommodation, or may be protected only by a restriction on another person's right to repossess the accommodation. (Scottish Government, 2005: 35)

The guidance also stipulates that as it can be difficult to ascertain if someone has accommodation outside of the UK “*if evidence is not readily available, it should be assumed that the applicant does not have access to accommodation elsewhere*” (Scottish Government, 2005: 35). While Local Authority workers are encouraged to be sensitive and mindful of language barriers or cultural sensitivities, this creates a potential area for

discretion to be used in denying migrants homelessness claims, as if workers determine that it is “*reasonable*” for the person to occupy overseas accommodation the applicant could have their claim denied (Scottish Government, 2005: 35).

It is acknowledged that since this study was completed there has been updates to the homelessness legislation and guidance within Scotland (Scottish Government, 2019b; Crown, 2019b). This work will follow the legislation and guidance prior to these updates, as it was that iteration in which participants (both homeless and workers) were discussing engaging with. More details of the changes and the implications are available in Chapter Seven.

Alleviating Homelessness

In regards to CEE migrants, according to Fitzpatrick et al. (2012) since the EU expansion in 2004 there has been a rise of nationals from the new Member States being homeless and sleeping rough in major Western cities. Fitzpatrick et al. (2015a) also notes that there has also been an increase of homeless CEE nationals within the UK. It was noted by Fitzpatrick et al. (2015b) and Kennedy (2015), that the restrictions placed on EEA migrants accessing Housing Benefit in 2014 could result in a higher risk of homelessness for CEE and EU nationals (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015b; Kennedy, 2015; Crown, 2014a). However, once homeless the fast changing and complex reserved immigration and welfare policy can, in addition to the complications of the devolved Scottish homelessness system, hinder the alleviation of CEE migrants’ homelessness. For instance, confusion and ambiguity around policy can create problems for homelessness service providers across the UK in providing EU migrants with correct advice (Homeless Link, 2006; Coote, 2006; Garapich, 2010). In Coote (2006) study exploring the issues faced by Scottish Local Authorities in providing housing and homelessness services to A8 migrants, it was reported by participants that there was confusion around A8 migrants’ rights as, at the time, they had to be registered with Worker’s Registration Scheme (WRS) and have right to reside in order to be eligible for assistance. Although the WRS and worker permit schemes are no longer in operation for A8 and A2 migrants, EU migrants are still required to pass the Habitual Residence Test and have a right to reside to claim welfare assistance (Kennedy, 2015). Furthermore, it depends on what classification they have as to whether they qualify for Housing Benefit (e.g. jobseekers who have never worked in the UK do not) (Kennedy, 2015). Therefore, welfare

for CEE nationals is not automatic and so issues can still arise in obtaining it, thus causing complications with homelessness alleviation (Fitzpatrick et al., 2015a).

Issues around welfare conditionality impacting homelessness assistance have been apparent in both Scotland and England. For instance, in Scotland the Child Poverty Action Group (CPAG), in their report detailing case studies of migrants trying to claim welfare to map the consequences of the welfare reforms, noted that during the homelessness tests there were cases where Local Authority's had confused entitlement for welfare, specifically Housing Benefit, with the entitlement to homelessness assistance (McKechnie, 2015). While assistance is reliant on having a right to reside, it is not reliant on having Housing Benefit, yet this confusion led to some cases not getting the assistance they were entitled to (McKechnie, 2015). Furthermore, in Orchard et al.'s (2007) study, A8 nationals who were homeless were unhappy with services that provided advice around welfare and by their Local Authority, feeling they were being ignored due to being an A8 national. They also felt that they had been given misinformation, as they had initially been told they were entitled to welfare when in fact they were not due to the transitional restrictions. Within the sample there was the feeling that advisors did not understand the entitlements of A8 nationals, and workers who were surveyed expressed a desire to know more about A8 nationals' entitlements.

Within the English context there has been a larger and more recent body of research on how complicated entitlements and welfare conditionality can impact homelessness assistance. For instance, in London Johnsen and Sosenko (2012) have noted that services have also failed to give appropriate advice and assistance to migrants once they are homeless. Specifically, Johnsen and Sosenko (2012) noted homelessness service staff turning away A8 migrants from temporary accommodation services due to being misinformed on A8 migrants' rights and entitlements (Johnsen and Sosenko, 2012). This was also found to be the case in Homeless Link's (2006) study, again in London, with 30% of the services in their sample (n=43) reporting difficulties getting the correct information to share to clients, and felt this could act as a barrier for A8 homeless migrants engaging with them. Another barrier for A8 nationals accessing services was highlighted by Broadway's (2007) study in London. They noted that losing passports while homeless meant that A8 nationals could not access certain services, and they sometimes had to take on illegal employment to regain them. More recently, Dwyer et al. (2019) conducted a study around the impacts of the UK welfare reforms on EU nationals in England. In this study one participant, through a combination of

losing his employment and having issues with his mental health, became homeless. Having been sleeping rough for months and relying on homelessness charities for daily provision this led to him losing all of his documents to prove his history of residency and employment. His claim for welfare was subsequently refused and he was unable to access temporary accommodation. At a follow-up interview, he had appealed the decision on his entitlement with a support worker from a homelessness service and “*within five minutes*” the decision was overturned and he received assistance (Dwyer et al., 2019: 142). From this he was able to receive welfare and begin to receive support. It was noted in this study that Job Centre staff who were responsible for welfare allocation frequently appeared confused on the entitlements of EU nationals. Poor advice from these advisors frequently led to complications in welfare applications (Dwyer et al., 2019). The convolutedness of the welfare system for migrants can also disadvantage appeals, as in Boobis et al. (2019) work key informants who worked in the sector reported that organisations who supported applicants were not able to appeal decisions as they welfare system was so complex. Dwyer et al. (2019) also notes that migrants are not always aware of what they are entitled to, and so this also creates further problems if there is confusion around entitlement on both sides, some migrants could then slip through the homelessness safety net.

In addition to the issues mentioned above, it was noted by Homeless Link (2006) and Garapich (2010) in their research around CEE homelessness in London, that homelessness services often do not have the resources to help migrants with the challenges specific to them, such as language barriers. This can also discourage homeless migrants’ engagement with services and complicate alleviation of homelessness (Garapich, 2010; Homeless Link, 2006). Boobis et al. (2019) notes that language barriers can mean migrants may not get the right support, especially since entitlements and rights to welfare and homelessness support are complicated for migrants. Particularly, in Homeless Link's (2006) study, language barriers were the most common issue service providers highlighted in providing support to the A8 nationals. This was also noted by A8 migrants who were homeless and workers in Orchard et al.'s (2007) study, as there was a lack of multilingual staff and interpreting in advice services and Job Centres. Possessing unrealistic expectations on the support available has also been reported by Garapich (2010) and Homeless Link (2006) to hinder alleviating CEE migrants’ homelessness. All of this has the potential to result in the person becoming more disillusioned and harder to engage with. Although it needs to be noted that Mostowska (2011) states that places where free food could be procured were generally viewed positively

by their homeless Polish participants in Brussels. However, exclusion criteria such as only providing services to nationals of the country, substance users or to specific groups (the term “*blacks*” is used) (Mostowska, 2011: 40), also served to foster resentment towards these groups by Polish migrants. Broadway (2007) also notes that some of their A8 participants reported UK nationals who were homeless being xenophobic, believing that A8 nationals receiving support was reducing the support that they could access. This made the A8 nationals who experienced this feel discriminated against.

Perhaps due to the barriers in receiving support, CEE migrants who are homeless can also help each other. Garapich (2010) found that some participants did have extensive knowledge or rights, where best to beg, places to go for food, and other such information useful to street homeless individuals. Mostowska (2014) highlights that “*daily survival strategies*” of homeless Polish nationals in Belgium were similar to Belgian nationals in that they involved trying to obtain basic necessities e.g. food, hygiene facilities etc., which could use up a lot of their time. Mostowska (2011) also highlights that Polish people who were homeless in Brussels also supported each other in finding new places and making phone calls. Here accessing low threshold services was a “*basic survival strategy*” (Mostowska, 2011: 43). Broadway (2007) also noted that the majority of their participants had found homelessness services via word of mouth, generally from those who were the same nationality. Additionally, the knowledgeable individuals in Garapich's (2010) study were important in creating homeless networks, as they were sought out by others if they were experiencing difficulties for information. Therefore, although finding services when homeless can take time (Mostowska, 2014), the social networks that are formed whilst homeless could provide assistance (Garapich, 2010; Mostowska, 2011). However, there are limits to knowledge on the street, and in Garapich's (2010) study, despite having extensive knowledge of resources, the knowledgeable individuals found the welfare systems to be complex (Garapich, 2010)

Furthermore, Broadway (2007) and Johnsen and Sosenko (2012) found that in response to homelessness, many A8 migrants in London withdrew from their networks in their country of origin, or hid their homelessness from their networks due to feelings of shame. Ryan et al. (2009) in their study that examined the dynamics of family relationships and migration strategies in the Polish population in London, found that many received emotional support from family back in Poland. While migrants can create support networks in the host country, the ties back in the country of origin also remain an important source of social capital and support (Ryan et al., 2009), yet through becoming homeless CEE migrants may distance

themselves from these relationships (Johnsen and Sosenko, 2012; Broadway, 2007). Mostowska (2013) asserts that there are social pressures to have a successful migration, and that people cannot return to their country of origin with nothing. For instance, Mostowska (2014) noted that “*transient workers*”⁴ who are expected to send back remittances may choose not to inform their family about their situation and thus dispel the illusion of a “*successful migration*” (Mostowska, 2014: 122). Furthermore, a couple who were interviewed conveyed fear at returning due to feeling shame at their homelessness and destitution (Mostowska, 2014). Participants also expressed a “*sense of guilt, shame, letting down the family, but also hurt, being unjustly harmed by their loved ones*” (Mostowska, 2014: 127).

A possible explanation for these reactions could be the normalcy around migration. For instance, in the first part of this review, it was highlighted that migration was seen as a “*normal occurrence*” in Poland (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014: 90). While this assertion is only in relation to Poland, it is not a significant leap that the normality with which migration is viewed with the EU expansion, could impact CEE nationals’ views on migration and make failed migration more stigmatised, regardless of the barriers CEE nationals can face upon migrating to the UK. Therefore, the reasons for wanting or not wanting to return are complex, however, these accounts highlight how the ideal of a successful migration can then hinder CEE nationals who are homeless in seeking support from their family. Thus, they could become more isolated with fewer support networks to draw upon to alleviate their homelessness.

Conclusions on homelessness experiences

Overall, the Scottish homelessness system is complex, as are journeys into homelessness and the alleviation of homelessness. Reserved immigration and welfare policy and the devolved housing and homelessness policy create a system that is difficult to navigate both for applicants and advisors. While advisors can give ill-informed advice by accident, the complexity of the policies can also obscure discriminatory practices. Even though this is the case for all people who are homeless, it has been highlighted that it can disproportionately impact migrants.

However, as noted in the first half of this chapter, again much of the research that has been drawn on is either outdated in light of recent policy and legislative changes, or it is either in

⁴ Those who lose accommodation repeatedly due to seasonal work, alcohol addiction, illness etc.

an English or international context, lowering the transferability of findings to the Scottish context due to the devolved nature of housing and homelessness policy. Additionally, while aspects of the accounts given in this section chime with research on UK national homelessness there are aspects, such as language barriers, complex entitlement etc., that exclusively apply to migrants and which need to be investigated further. Therefore, there needs to be more research conducted on CEE migrants' routes into and experiences of homelessness in Scotland, and how they engage with homelessness services.

Conclusion

While this chapter has sought to give an overview of how CEE migrants could be disadvantaged when migrating to Scotland, or the UK, and how this can impact the risk and their experience of homelessness, the key word here is *could*. EEA, and CEE nationals, are underrepresented in current research on destitution in the UK (Fitzpatrick et al., 2018). Additionally, much of the literature that has been drawn on within this review is from before the transitional restrictions were lifted in 2011 and 2013. The context of the UK has changed since then, with A8 and A2 nationals needing to pass the Habitual Residence Test for welfare, the Housing Benefit amendment and the Jobseekers Amendment (Citizens Advice, 2019; Crown, 2014a; Crown, 2013). As I noted in the introduction to this thesis, the UK has also decided to leave the EU as of June 23rd 2016 (Crown, 2017b). This has led to increased reports of CEE migrants experiencing increased hostility (Townsend, 2017; England, 2017; Rzepnikowska, 2019) and homeless and non-homeless EU migrants' futures in the UK becoming uncertain. EU nationals now need to register with the EU Settlement Schemes in order to be allowed to live and work within the UK after the UK has left the EU (Crown, 2019a). Furthermore, in May 2016 the Home Office also conducted "*administrative removals*" on EU nationals sleeping rough, as it was claimed sleeping rough was a breach of the Treaty Rights that allowed them to reside in the UK. This has since been decreed in as unlawful by the High Court in 2017, but has implications for how it will impact homeless EU migrants (Maitland, 2016; Duce, 2017). Therefore, the context and environment of the UK is drastically different to how it was when most of the research discussed in this chapter was being conducted.

Another critical issue for the existing evidence base is that whilst immigration and welfare legislation is reserved to the UK Government, housing legislation is devolved to Scotland (The Scottish Parliament, 2019). This means that Scotland has different procedures for

housing allocation and homelessness assistance. Since most of the research that has been discussed in this review has not been discussed in the Scottish context, it does not account for migrants' experiences of the Scottish housing system. Therefore, while the arguments presented thus far can be indicative of CEE migrants' experiences, they may not represent the reality of being a CEE migrant navigating contemporary Scottish, and UK, society and the Scottish homelessness system, which is what my study seeks to address through answering the following questions:

1. What are the main routes into homelessness for CEE migrants?
2. How does homelessness change CEE migrants' lives?
3. How do CEE nationals engage with homelessness services to alleviate their homelessness?
4. How well do homelessness service providers respond to the care and support needs of people from the CEE countries?

The following chapter will now discuss the theoretical framework that aided answering these questions.

Chapter Two: Outline of Theoretical Framework

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the gap in empirical knowledge that this thesis seeks to address. Thus, this thesis seeks to explore CEE migrants' journeys into, and experiences of, homelessness in Scotland. It was evident in the previous chapter that CEE migrants' journeys into homelessness and experiences of homelessness within the discussed research were influenced by wider UK structures, such as the changing welfare entitlement, and their own individual issues, such as substance use. As Mostowska (2013) stated there is evidence of both structural and individual factors contributing to migrant homelessness. While Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathways approach to homelessness is useful, I highlighted via Clapham (2002) that it is also important to look at the wider structural factors these pathways are situated in. Yet Neale (1997) notes that theoretical explanations of homelessness tend to either emphasise structure or agency, oversimplifying homelessness. Structural advocates tend to attribute the reasons for someone becoming homeless to wider factors within society. Those who emphasis an agency approach tend to adopt one of two positions. Firstly, it is the person's fault for becoming homeless, taking an individual blame approach. The second position is that while it is the person's fault for becoming homeless, it is because of a personal failure and they cannot be held fully responsible (Neale, 1997).

Within her article, Neale (1997) documents many different theoretical perspectives, assessing their merits for exploring homelessness and concludes that a useful way to advance our understanding of homelessness can be, amongst others, to overcome the structure versus agency divide that has been documented and instead view them as inter-related. Similar to Clapham (2002) in his housing pathway approach discussed in Chapter One, Neale (1997) asserts that this can be achieved through using Giddens (1984) theory of structuration. Within his theory of structuration, Giddens (1984) views that agency (action) and structure (societal rules and systems) reinforce each other, with people's agency upholding societal structure. He also acknowledges that structures can also become independent of people's agency, and beyond their control. However, Gregson et al. (1987: 83) notes that this does not cover what properties structures have or "*the practices implicated in their reproduction*". Furthermore, Baber (1991) notes that Giddens' exaggerates the abilities of agents to be able to alter the structures in which they are embedded. It is the latter critique that particularly jars with the present study, as it was seen within the previous chapter that CEE migrants could have their agency constrained in a variety of ways by the structures of society (e.g.

lack of language proficiency, knowledge of the UK etc.) that prevented them from being able to alter the structures.

I agree with Neale (1997) and Clapham (2002) that we have to adequately theorise the complexity of these macro and micro levels, the inter-relatedness between structure and agency, and capture the power relations between agents and structures. However, I argue that Giddens (1984) structuration theory does not capture the complexity, constraints and interaction of structure which I found within my research. I argue instead that the work of Pierre Bourdieu offers us a richer framework to understand peoples' experiences of structure and agency while homeless and their experiences of homelessness, along with the ways in which people's agency can be constrained by structures. Therefore, in this thesis I will largely draw upon the work of Pierre Bourdieu. I will primarily utilise Bourdieu's three main concepts: habitus, capital and field (Bourdieu, 1986a). Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy will also be used alongside Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital. While the rationale for adopting these concepts will be expanded upon within this chapter, I have chosen Lipsky (2010) to explore the hierarchies within the structures that Bourdieu (1986a) outlines, and Putnam (2000) to highlight the nuances of social networks that Bourdieu's (1986b) concept of social capital glosses over.

This chapter will outline these concepts in more detail, how they are being defined in the present study, and how they fit together before outlining how they have been used in other areas of migration and housing studies.

Habitus, Capital and Field

While Pierre Bourdieu avoided drawing comparisons with his own life, his concepts of field, capital and habitus clearly were inspired by his own history (Grenfell, 2008a). For instance, while Bourdieu was born to a family with modest wealth, he is now regarded as one of the most influential social philosophers of the 20th century (Grenfell, 2008a; Grenfell, 2008b). As he himself started with few resources and became a renowned academic, Grenfell (2008a: 12) notes that Bourdieu spoke about his work as “*a way of making sense of the social forces which had shaped his life trajectory*”. From this, it is not surprising that his key concepts of habitus, capital and field relate to how people navigate different spheres within society and their resources in doing so.

Within Bourdieu's work, habitus, capital and field work together and are inter-dependent and co-constructed (Thomson, 2008). Bourdieu (1986a) presented the following equation to summarise this relationship:

$$[(\textit{habitus})(\textit{capital})] + \textit{field} = \textit{practice} \text{ (Bourdieu, 1986a: 101)}$$

Here habitus and capital combine with field to influence practice. These concepts all inter-relate and cannot be used in isolation (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). To understand the concepts in this equation, it is important to define each of them as they relate to present study. However, it needs to be acknowledged, as Edgerton and Roberts (2014: 212) argued, that Bourdieu phrased the definitions slightly differently over the course of his long career and treated them more as "*thinking tools*". Therefore, the definitions of habitus, capital and field I outline in this section are the ones that contributed the most to the current project.

Habitus

In *The Logic of Practice* Bourdieu (1990) defined habitus as:

The conditionings associated with a particular class of conditions of existence produce habitus, systems of durable, transposable dispositions, structured structures predisposed to function as structuring structures, that is, as principles which generate and organise practices and representations that can be adapted to their outcomes without presupposing a conscious aiming at ends or an express mastery of the operations necessary in order to attain them. (Bourdieu, 1990: 53)

These structured structures shape people's socialisation which then impacts their "*perception of the social world*" and subsequent decisions (Bourdieu, 1986a: 170). Thus, structured structures become structuring structures in that they shape people's present and future practices. This process is ongoing and active throughout the life course, as people are engaged in making their own history and thus creating structured structures, e.g. going to university, can change people's outlook on life. However, while there are choices in the history that the structured structures and structuring structures makes, Maton (2008) highlights that these can be constrained depending on the position one occupies in society and if one's habitus either highlights options or obscures them. For instance, a person born into a family where no one has gone to university may not be aware of going to university if no one around them has done so. In their family they have a history of military service they

follow this and join the military after secondary school. While in this case university was an option, the person's habitus obscured it, while highlighting the military path, leading them to believe their only option was the military. Therefore, there are many factors in play in decision making processes (Maton, 2008).

Within this vein, with regards to migrants, their habitus will have been formed in a country that is not the one in which they are residing. Habitus links to how people navigate fields via their doxa (Bourdieu, 1990). Bourdieu (1990: 68) defined the role of doxa as:

Doxa is the relationship of immediate adherence that is established in practice between a habitus and the field to which it is attuned, the pre-verbal taken-for-granted of the world that flows from practical sense. Enacted belief, instilled by the childhood learning that treats the body as a living memory pad, an automaton that 'leads the mind unconsciously along with it', and as a repository for the most precious values (Bourdieu, 1990: 68)

What this means is that doxa is the “*taken-for granted*” knowledge about how a field (and society) works (Bourdieu, 1990: 68). For instance, within the UK if a UK national becomes unemployed they may try and access welfare. This is a very mundane example, yet this taken-for-granted knowledge can mean that those who do not have it are at a disadvantage in navigating the field of UK society. For instance, if a migrant became unemployed, but were from a country where there was no welfare state, or provision for people without work, they may not have the taken-for-granted knowledge to try and access support. Within the last chapter Dwyer et al. (2019) noted that EU migrants did not always understand what welfare they were entitled to. Therefore, a possible explanation for this limited awareness could be because the services for welfare are different than those in the country in which they migrated from. Their habitus and “*taken-for-granted*” knowledge (doxa) around welfare was gained in different fields in the country of origin where the processes to obtain welfare, if it was available, are different (Bourdieu, 1990: 68). The fields of the UK are different, and migrants' habitus and doxa may not be immediately transferable to this new environment, thus creating confusion when interacting with UK-specific fields e.g. welfare services, NHS etc. Therefore, habitus and doxa are useful theories in which to conceptualise the migration process and the challenges being a migrant can raise.

However, habitus is only the first part of the equation. Habitus is not the only factor which can impact people's experiences and how they navigate society and aspects of society. The

resources people have available to them are also important to this, and they can be impacted by the capitals that people possess. We will now explore this in more detail through looking at Bourdieu's concept of capitals.

Capital

Bourdieu (1986b: 241) argued that capital is:

What makes the games of society – not least, the economic game – something other than simple games of chance offering at every moment the possibility of a miracle.

By this, Bourdieu (1986b) is advocating that capital are the resources that people can use to navigate society strategically and not via blind luck. Although there are many types of capital identified by Bourdieu, this research will focus on economic capital, cultural capital, and social capital as these were the ones that emerged from the literature reviewed, and the analysis, as being most influential.

Within the present study, economic capital is defined as money or something which can be directly converted into money (Moore, 2008; Bourdieu, 1986b). Economic capital is more tangible than cultural and social capital.

Regarding cultural capital, according to Bourdieu (1986b) this type of capital can exist in the embodied state, objectified state and institutionalised state:

- *Embodied state* - (Bourdieu, 1986a: 70-71) notes that the embodied cultural capital of the prior generation can help the current generation acquire embodied cultural capital “*from the beginning, that is, in the most unconscious and impalpable way*”. In this way, embodied cultural capital is very similar to habitus, and Bourdieu (1986b) defines it as a long-lasting disposition of the mind and body. For instance, language, mannerisms, knowledge etc.
- *Objectified state* - Bourdieu (1986b) notes that objectified cultural capital is where one possesses cultural goods or goods with a cultural value e.g. artwork etc. However, to be able to fully use objective cultural capital, people need embodied capital.
- *Institutionalised state* – While an objectification of cultural capital, Bourdieu (1986b) argues that institutionalised cultural capital is distinct from objectified cultural

capital in that it is the formal and institutionalised recognition of a person's cultural capital. For instance, via qualifications such as a degree, PhD, diploma etc.

These definitions are similar to the concept of human capital (Sjaastad, 1962) that was discussed in Chapter One, however they widen it to include formal recognition of their skills, e.g. qualifications, not just their skills in themselves. This is important, as within the previous chapter, cultural capital was seen to impact the employment migrants received due to, for instance, institutionalised cultural capital being undervalued with their qualifications not being recognised (Moskal, 2014; Datta et al., 2009) or not having embodied cultural capital with lack of fluency in English (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014). Embodied cultural capital in the form of English fluency was also seen to impact CEE migrants' abilities to communicate with homelessness services (Homeless Link, 2014; Garapich, 2010). Therefore, cultural capital is a useful way to conceptualise the different ways in which migrants skills can be valued in the host country compared to the country of origin which can increase the risk of destitution and can subsequently affect their ability and resources to alleviate homelessness.

Turning to social capital I deviate from Bourdieu and instead use Putnam's (2000) notion of bonding and bridging social capital, yet to justify why this is the case Bourdieu's (1986b) theory of social capital needs to be outlined. Bourdieu (1986b) viewed social capital as being intrinsic to access to resources. He viewed the durability and richness of the connections as vastly important, and he defined social capital as follows:

Social capital is the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition - or in other words, to membership in a group which provides each of its members with the backing of the collectively-owned capital, a 'credential' which entitles them to credit, in the various senses of the word. (Bourdieu, 1986b: 51)

Under this definition groups are connected due to shared attributes and resources, and must be selective in the exchanges permitted and who they allow admittance to in order to maintain their group's integrity. These exchanges between people creates mutual recognition and subsequent group membership. However, with each entry into the group the limits of legitimate exchange are reassessed, and so current group members act as custodians to safeguard the limits of the group and maintain their exclusivity. Bourdieu (1986b) used the

example of marriage and says that if someone is marrying a group member, and so marrying into the group, it would then be the business of the whole group and not just those getting married. This is because depending on the characteristics of the individual marrying the group member, the overall group identity and boundaries can be placed at risk. Social capital in this sense relates to economic and cultural capital, and can either aid or hinder their accumulation depending on group membership (Baron et al., 2000; Portes, 1998).

While this seems applicable to the study at first glance, Field (2003) argues that this view of social capital and its benefits is only really applicable to elites and is not considered as beneficial in other spheres. Furthermore, Field (2003) and Portes (1998) also argue that Bourdieu does not acknowledge possible negative effects generated as a result of one's social capital. This is particularly important for the current study, as for instance, it was highlighted by Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve (2007) in the previous chapter that the social networks migrants rely on for housing means that they are frequently in low quality and insecure housing after migration. Additionally, once homeless, due to CEE migrants being less likely to experience Multiple Exclusion Homelessness (MEH) than other migrants and UK nationals (Fitzpatrick et al., 2012), they could become entrenched in their homelessness once they access homelessness services and come into contact with risk behaviours (Homeless Link, 2006). Therefore, while Bourdieu concerns himself with the concepts of power and inequality, he does not address the disadvantages that those who hold or do not hold social capital could possibly encounter, and the varying effects of different social capital, which are relevant to this study.

In light of this, I have adopted Putnam's (2000) concept of social capital. While Putnam (2000) has written extensively on social capital, the concepts which are of interest to this study is that of bonding and bridging social capitals. Putnam (2000) suggests that out of all the ways in which scholars have suggested social capital can form, bonding social capital and bridging social capital are some of the most important. Using terms taken from Gittell and Vidal (1998), Putnam (2000: 23) defined these as:

Bonding social capital constitutes a kind of sociological superglue, whereas bridging social capital provides a sociological WD-40

In this incarnation of social capital, bonding social capital is where there are strong bonds between people in a group (e.g. those with the same ethnicity, nationality etc.) (Putnam, 2000). This can encourage exclusive identities and homogeneity in groups. By contrast,

bridging social capital is where there are weaker bonds, but they are more cross-cutting across groups (e.g. those of different ethnicities, nationalities etc.). Bridging capital is more useful for gaining information external to one's close group (Putnam, 2000).

Putnam (2000) was aware to some extent of the negative consequences of social capital. For instance, in regards to bonding social capital, Putnam (2000) warns that this could then make group members form antagonistic feelings towards non-group members, and thus create more divides between groups and (while he does not state it explicitly) hinder the formation of bridging social capital. However, despite these potential disadvantages, Putnam argues that both bonding and bridging social capital can have overwhelmingly positive effects (Putnam, 2000). Portes (1998) while not writing about Putnam, but about bonding social capital and terming it strong ties, notes that there can be four disadvantages to possessing large quantities of bonding social capital. First, he argues, as does Putnam (2000), that it can lead to excluding outsiders (Portes, 1998). Second, Portes (1998) says that others whom you possess bonding social capital with can then hinder your accumulation of resources (e.g. money, business etc.) through relying on you to share, and thus limit your personal development. Third, being involved in communities or close groups can create pressure to conform to the dominant norms of that community/group (Portes, 1998). This can then hinder the freedom one can exercise and the privacy one can enjoy, subsequently effecting individual outcomes. Fourth, Portes (1998) suggests that group cohesion can be through perceptions of being oppressed and marginalised, and thus if this were to change through, for example, one member gaining success, this can dissolve the group. To maintain this type of solidarity, "*downward levelling norms*" can emerge, that can prevent social mobility and perpetuate disadvantage through being seen as a norm for that group (Portes, 1998: 17). Therefore, while Portes (1998) views social capital as producing positive outcomes, he also stresses that equal attention needs to be given to the negative outcomes. This does not weaken Putnam's (2000) concepts, rather it strengthens them further to provide greater nuance and relevance to this study.

Therefore, the reason for using Putnam's (2000) theory of bonding and bridging social capital over Bourdieu (1986b) in the present study is that it provides a more nuanced view of social relations and networks that are applicable to this study. Both bonding and bridging social capital were seen in the previous chapter to have an impact on the migration process and experiences after migration. Bonding social capital was seen to influence the decision to migrate, e.g. having family or friends in the host country (Czerniejewska and Goździak,

2014), help arrange housing and employment (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014; Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve, 2007), and signpost to services once homeless (Mostowska, 2011). Yet, what hinders migrants is a lack of bridging social capital. For instance, it can be difficult for migrants who are homeless to form bridging social capital with services, and service providers, as it was seen in the previous chapter that language barriers, not understanding entitlement and receiving misinformation were significant barriers in receiving support (Dwyer et al., 2019; Garapich, 2010; Homeless Link, 2006).

Field

Having defined the capitals being used in this study, I now turn to the next part of the equation which is field. This is because while it is useful to look at the habitus and capitals that people have, we need to look at the social space that interactions happen in. As Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992: 101) state “*A capital does not exist and function except in relation to a field*”. Bourdieu (1998a) defined a field as:

A field is a structured social space, a field of forces, a force field. It contains people who dominate and others who are dominated. Constant, permanent relationships of inequality operate inside this space, which at the same time becomes a space in which the various actors struggle for the transformation or preservation of the field. All the individuals in this universe bring to the competition all the (relative) power at their disposal. It is this power that defines their position in the field and, as a result, their strategies. (Bourdieu, 1998a: 40-41)

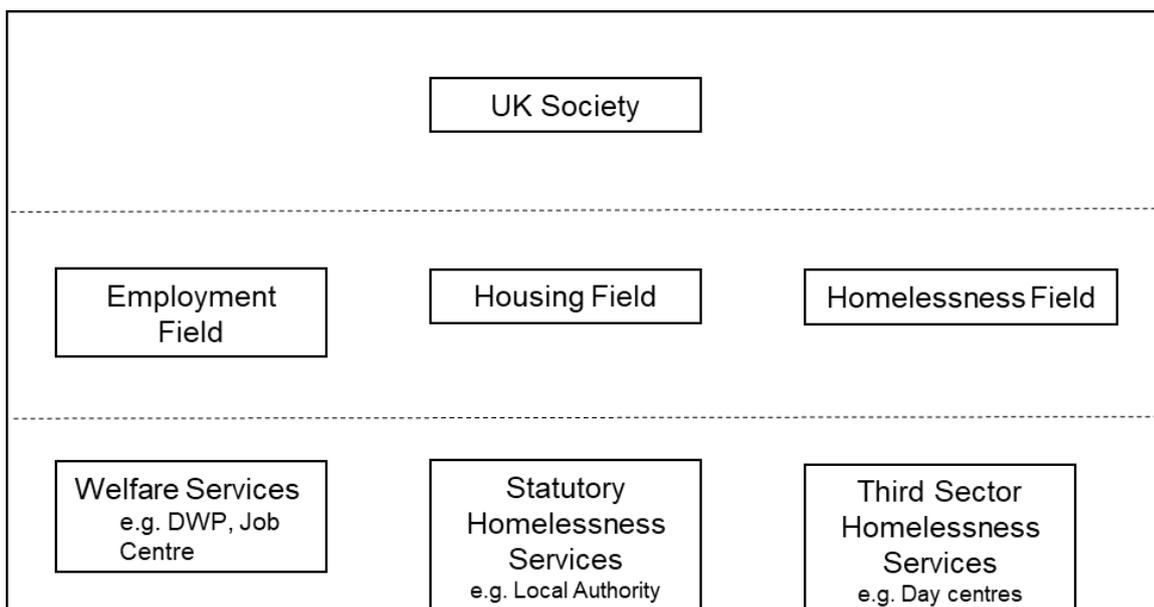
This is a rather abstract definition, but simply a field is a segment of social space (Schmitz et al., 2017). A useful analogy of a field that is frequently used is a football pitch, as it captures the struggle and competition inherent within fields. Using the football analogy, playing grounds have boundaries (e.g. statutory homelessness services, welfare services) and have their own rules that novice players need to pick up.

Players who start off with certain types of capital in the beginning are advantaged in navigating the field (Bourdieu and Wacquant, 1992). However, those in positions of power within the field can subvert the rules, and this is where I draw on Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy. Within this work street level bureaucrats are those who work in the public sector and who are instrumental in the delivery of policy. According to Lipsky (2010: 13), “*street-level bureaucrats have considerable discretion in determining the nature, amount,*

and quality of benefits and sanctions provided by their agencies”. An example of this is the Scottish homelessness tests, as housing officers have discretion in deciding whether an applicant is intentionally or unintentionally homeless, thus dictating the services that the Local Authority will provide (Scottish Government, 2005). Therefore, while there are wider rules that street-level bureaucrats need to adhere to, there are areas for discretion as rules will not cover every aspect of working life (Lipsky, 2010). For instance, there is not a manual listing every single situation that someone can be intentionally homeless as it is too complicated an area to reduce to that format. Therefore, rules of the field can also be subject to the discretion of street-level bureaucrats changing the state of play.

However, field is not without its criticisms. According to Thomson (2008), critiques of field include where do you draw the line and where does the field stop? In response to this, Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) assert that the boundaries of a field are where the effects of the field cease to exist. Additionally, according to Thomson (2008), Bourdieu frequently discussed field in four parts. The overarching field of power (e.g. UK society), the broad field under consideration (e.g. housing), the specific field (e.g. homelessness system), and the social agents in the field as a field in themselves (e.g. migrants who are homeless). This can be too many fields, and Thomson (2008) also discusses how Bourdieu also reduced numbers of fields in some of his analysis. Therefore, in order to make this more manageable, this thesis will focus on the following fields that were identified as key sites of struggle in the CEE participants’ stories (see Figure 2 below):

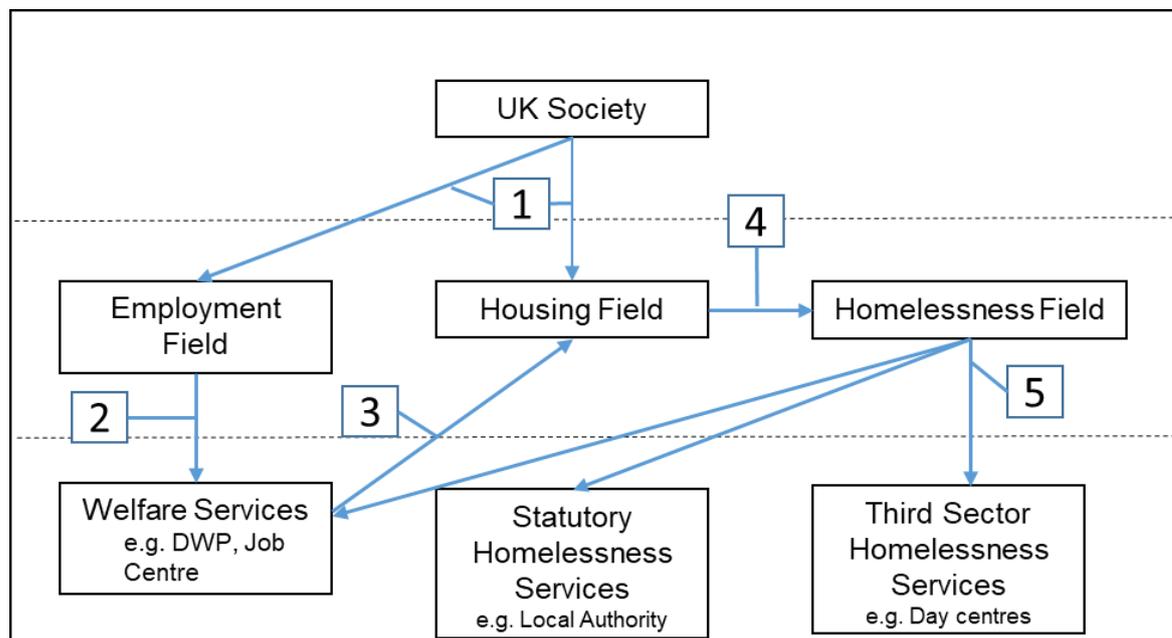
Figure 2: Outline of fields in the present study:



To break this down, in the first tier, UK society is the dominant field in which all the others are subfields. Simply, it is the overarching context that the research has taken place in. At the next level, employment field, housing field and homelessness field are more abstract and amorphous subfields that participants have encountered yet cannot see. In this sense the employment field, housing field and homelessness field are less tangible (corporeal) in every day experiences, yet they can be instrumental in shaping migrants interactions in UK society. At the third level is welfare services, statutory homelessness services and third sector homelessness services, and these are smaller fields that participants have physically interacted with.

While presented as separate here, all of these fields and subfields interact together to influence people’s experiences in UK society. For instance, in the previous chapter, it was demonstrated that the legislation changes to welfare entitlement means CEE migrants who are jobseekers are not be eligible for Housing Benefit (Crown, 2014a). The diagram below (Figure 3) demonstrates how this can have an impact on the fields:

Figure 3: Example of CEE migrant interacting with fields:



Here a CEE migrant enters UK Society. Number 1 in the above diagram signifies them entering the fields of employment and housing. In the field of employment they are a jobseeker. However, because of the changes to Housing Benefit entitlement highlighted in the previous chapter (Crown, 2014a), their status in the employment field as a jobseeker can impact their experiences in the field of welfare services and what they are and are not entitled

to – noted by Number 2. The lack of Housing Benefit can then impact their experiences in the field of housing (depicted by Number 3) as, without Housing Benefit, paying rent could be difficult. This can lead them to enter the homelessness field (Number 4) and subsequently have further interactions with the field of welfare services along with the fields of the statutory homelessness services and third sector homelessness services (Number 5).

The above example is relatively simple, as will be seen later in this thesis, it was not always as clear as this. However, what this example serves to do is highlight how CEE migrants' experiences in certain fields of UK society can impact their experiences in others, and the rules of one field can impact the rules of another. All of these fields can be interconnected, and some connections had far reaching consequences. This thesis aims to highlight CEE migrants' experiences in these individuals' fields and in the intersection of these fields.

Overall, having discussed the definitions this study is adopting, the equation presented in the introduction to this section becomes clearer:

$$[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice \text{ (Bourdieu, 1986a: 101)}$$

Practice can be impacted by people's habitus and position in the field (dictated by capital) which impacts how they can navigate the field (Maton, 2008). While this can seem deterministic, Bourdieu (1998b) does view that people have agency in their practices as they are:

Not particles subject to mechanical forces and acting under the constraint of causes; nor are they conscious and knowing subjects acting with full knowledge of the fact, as the champions of rational action theory believe [...] in fact, "subjects" are active and knowing agents endowed with a practical sense, that is, an acquired system of preferences, of principles of vision and division (what is usually called taste), and also a system of durable cognitive structures (which are essentially the product of the internalisation of objective structure) and schemes of action which orient the perception of the situation and the appropriate response. (Bourdieu, 1998b: 24-25)

Therefore, despite habitus and doxa, people are "active and knowing agents" as to how they use their practice and navigate the field (Bourdieu, 1998b: 25). These decisions will be influenced by their habitus, doxa, capitals and position in the field, but it does not mean

people's futures are entirely pre-determined and that they have no agency in how they navigate fields.

Theory in Practice

Within migration and housing research, using a Bourdieusian framework to explain advantage and disadvantage is not new. While the last section covered the concepts and how they could be applicable to the literature reviewed in the previous chapter, this section demonstrates how Bourdieu's (1986a) concepts of habitus, capital and field, along with Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital have been used within research across migration and housing studies.

Within migration research, Erel (2010) argues that looking at economic capital, cultural capital and social capital helps explain how people are positioned within fields. Erel (2010) collected life stories of women who had migrated to Germany and the UK from Turkey and analysed the data using cultural capital as a lens. She drew particularly on embodied cultural capital through examples of language acquisition and knowledge, and institutionalised cultural capital through education. Erel (2010) states that a Bourdieusian approach to cultural capital can highlight the power relations in trying to get cultural capital recognised. Here, using a treasure chest as a metaphor, Erel (2010) asserts that migrants are bargaining with the new systems and people which whom they are interacting with as to the value of the treasure (cultural capital) they have brought with them. Within this process, migrants treasures are usually valued less as they have "*limited powers over the rules of the game*" (Erel, 2010: 649). By this, Erel (2010) means migrants are in a disadvantaged position in the field. However, migrants are not without agency and can also add new treasures (cultural capital) to their chest. Therefore, using cultural capital, she documents how her participants gained and lost cultural capital via migration, highlighting how agency, both individual and collective, was an important factor in accruing new cultural capital. Moskal (2013) also used Bourdieu (1986b) economic, cultural and social capital to explore Polish migrants experiences of migration and employment in the host country. For instance, she noted that her participants' cultural capital, in the form of qualifications, was devalued upon migration as it did not have the same meaning and transferability within the Scottish context, frequently leading to downward mobility. However, social capital with those in the host country became more important, often facilitating migration.

Moving to housing studies, Hochstenbach et al. (2015) used Bourdieu's concepts of capital, habitus and field to explore young people's housing pathways in Amsterdam. Hochstenbach et al. (2015) views that habitus and capital are useful in housing studies, particularly in explaining different housing pathways through multiple housing fields. This article views that people's habitus determines what capital they have, and the types of capital they have varies in usefulness depending on the field of housing they are in e.g. owner occupier, Private Rented Sector (PRS) etc. Hochstenbach et al. (2015) was particularly interested in economic, cultural and social capital. Economic capital was defined as the income or other financial resources people had. Cultural capital was having an understanding of the housing market, education etc. Social capital was the information or housing they could gather within their social networks (Hochstenbach et al., 2015: 260). The findings of Hochstenbach et al.'s (2015) work suggested that participants would tactically use social and cultural capital to try and navigate the field of housing to gain housing and have a linear and stable housing pathway. Some young people used a combination of their cultural and social capital to try and gain accommodation informally, such as drawing on social capital to obtain an illegally sublet room. However, Hochstenbach et al. (2015) noted that young people who had limited capital were increasingly likely to have a chaotic housing pathway and have setbacks.

Closely related to the current research, within migrant homelessness studies Mostowska (2013) used bonding social capital and bridging social capital as a way to explain homeless Polish migrants' social networks in Oslo. Mostowska (2013) views that forming bridging social capital was linked with having competency with Norwegian and, chiming with Erel (2010), having qualifications that were recognised in Norway. Mostowska (2013) also draws upon Granovetter (1983) strong and weak ties. Similar to bonding social capital and bridging social capital, weak ties are those formed between acquaintances, and strong ties are those formed with, for example, close friends and family (Granovetter, 1983). The findings of this research suggest that bonding social capital/strong ties, were useful for short terms survival, such as gaining sleeping places. However, bridging social capital/weak ties, were useful for engaging with groups outside of homelessness (Mostowska, 2013). This highlights how important it is to understand the nuance of social interaction, and why Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital are more applicable within the current study than social capital as Bourdieu (1986b) devised.

Cumulatively, these studies have used Bourdieu, or in Mostowska (2013) case bonding and bridging social capital, to highlight disadvantage in migration, in the employment market,

housing market, and homelessness. However, while these studies have all used aspects of habitus, capital and field, there has not been a study that uses these theories combined to explore migrant homelessness. It is clear from these examples, and the examples given in the previous section, that Bourdieu can help explain the issues that CEE migrants can experience and which arose in the previous chapter.

Conclusion

This chapter has highlighted the usefulness that Bourdieu's (1986a) concepts of habitus, capital and field combined with Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital and Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy to the current study. This theoretical framework provides an informative lens with which to glean understanding of CEE migrants' journeys into and experiences of homelessness, both at the macro and micro level. To put it simply, through migration CEE migrants enter the fields of the UK e.g. housing, employment etc. These fields have rules which CEE migrants capital (economic, cultural and bonding and bridging social capital) and habitus either help or hinder them in adhering to, and these rules can also be manipulated by those higher within the hierarchy of the field, as outlined using Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy. This then influences how CEE migrants can navigate the fields of the UK, e.g. housing market, and accrue more or less capital in the UK, thus impacting their experiences post-migration and subsequent experiences of homelessness.

Having outlined the theoretical framework I have adopted in this thesis, the remainder of the thesis will now outline the empirical work undertaken.

Chapter Three: Methodology

Introduction

The previous chapter outlined the gap in knowledge that this thesis seeks to address. This thesis seeks to explore CEE migrants' journeys into, and experiences of, homelessness in Scotland. The reasons for undertaking the work in Scotland have already been touched upon, but in brief it was because I am situated within Scotland and already had contacts within the Scottish homelessness sector due to prior work. I also wanted to explore the impact that the reserved power of immigration, and the changes the UK government had made to immigration policy which have been documented in Chapter One, had impacted CEE nationals in navigating the Scottish homelessness system. I chose two cities in which to conduct the fieldwork based on the volume of EU nationals who resided in these cities along with the number of homelessness services available.

At the time of starting my PhD, I had been working in the Scottish homelessness sector for almost a year. During this time, I worked with migrants who were homeless and became more aware of the challenges around engaging with this group within this environment. While I did not provide advice, I gleaned the web of structure that migrants had to navigate in order to alleviate their homelessness, and wanted to investigate it further. Additionally, with the push in the UK to understand how Adverse Childhood Experiences (ACEs) can lead to adult homelessness (Theodorou and Johnsen, 2017), I began thinking about how the experiences before, during and after migration could impact adult homelessness. Therefore, from reviewing the current literature, my research questions were as follows:

1. What are the main routes into homelessness for CEE migrants?
2. How does homelessness change CEE migrants' lives?
3. How do CEE nationals engage with homelessness services to alleviate their homelessness?
4. How well do homelessness service providers respond to the care and support needs of people from the CEE countries?

These questions required a qualitative methodology in order to be addressed. This is especially pertinent given the limited knowledge around CEE migrants' homelessness in Scotland, especially given the recent policy and political changes, and the exploratory nature of this research. Additionally, given that CEE migrants made up over half of the EEA migrant population in Scotland (137,000 out of 221,000), it only makes this study more

pressing (National Records of Scotland, 2019). The following chapter will outline the epistemological and ontological roots of the research before addressing the practicalities around how fieldwork was set up and data was collected and analysed.

Roots of the Research

As already stated, to answer the research questions I have taken an interpretivist qualitative approach. Subsequently this research was informed ontologically and epistemologically by Interpretivism. Crotty (2015: 10) states that “*each theoretical perspective embodies a certain way of understanding what is (ontology) as well as a certain way of understanding what it means to know (epistemology)*”. Therefore, ontology is how we perceive reality and epistemology is what constitutes as knowledge and knowing.

The interpretivist approach, according to Crotty (2015: 67) “*looks for culturally derived and historically situated interpretations of the social life-world*”. This means that reality and experiences are subjective and open to individual interpretation (Guba and Lincoln, 1994). Hence each participant has their own subjective reality and interpretations of that reality. This was reflected in the first chapter, where it was seen that CEE migrants can have many different experiences of migration, life in the UK and homelessness. This research is interested in the multiplicity of the lived experience, and by this I mean the various ways in which people live and perceive their lives. It particularly focuses on understanding CEE migrants’ interpretations of their experiences of homelessness and third sector homelessness workers interpretations of their experiences engaging with this group. Guba and Lincoln (1994) argue that knowledge is generated in the interaction between the researcher and the researched, and that the aim of interpretivist research is to understand people’s subjective realities and experiences, not to create grand generalisations. In this sense, as Mason (2002) argues, it is people’s interpretations and perceptions of the world that constitutes data, and through taking an interpretivist approach I am interested in people’s individual or collective meaning of the world (Mason, 2002). As Rubin and Rubin (2005: 29-30) state:

Interpretivists are usually not interested in averages but in syntheses of understandings that come about by combining different individuals’ detailed reports of a particular event or cultural issue. Interpretivist researchers try to sort through the experiences of different people as interpreted through the interviewees’ own cultural lenses and then weigh different versions to put together a single explanation.

Here, the researcher is working with the data created with participants to pull out meaning. However, Rubin and Rubin (2005) note that researchers can make “*cultural assumptions that influence what they ask and how they construe what they hear*” (Rubin and Rubin, 2005: 9). If researchers are not careful, there can be issues in terms of faithfulness to the participants’ worldviews as through the interpretation of the data researchers are imposing their own subjective viewpoints of reality onto the data (Scotland, 2012). Therefore, understanding is never a complete process and there is a need for reflexivity by researchers using an interpretivist approach regarding their interpretations and understanding their own views around the topic area. For instance, having previously worked in homelessness services with CEE migrants, this has undoubtedly coloured my perception of the study. While this has aided me in the development of the study, as I was aware, for instance, how problematic language barriers could be and had experience communicating with people who were not fluent in English, I was careful not to let these experiences drive the research. This has been a tricky balancing act, however, the questions I have asked and how I have approached the research have largely been rooted within literature, my experiences in fieldwork sites, and the accounts of the participants. Additionally, I posit that it would be difficult to find a research method, even positivist, that would be completely unaffected by the worldview of the researcher. For instance, in quantitative analysis, how variables are coded will involve a degree of subjectivity on behalf of the researcher. Furthermore, due to the subjective nature of knowledge, it means that findings cannot be generalised or transferable to contexts outside of the research (Scotland, 2012). While there can be similarities with other contexts, for instance, Polish migrants’ experiences of homelessness in the UK can be similar to the experiences of Polish migrants in Belgium, as seen in Mostowska's (2014) work, it does not mean that their experiences will be identical.

To enable insights into people’s understandings of their subjective experiences, qualitative methods are best suited. In order to understand the multiple methods adopted in this research, it is important to discuss Mason's (2011) concept of facet methodology. Mason (2011) states that facet methodology is where the object of study is a gemstone and different methods highlight different facets:

Imagine that the gemstone encapsulates the thing we want to understand and explore – living resemblances or critical associations for example. In facet methodology, the facets in the gemstone are conceived as different methodological-substantive planes and surfaces, which are designed to be

capable of casting and refracting light in a variety of ways that help to define the overall object of concern (Mason, 2011: 77)

This complements the ontology and epistemology of this research, as facet methodology views that there is not one way of knowing the world (Mason, 2011: 78). To apply this to the current study, in this case the gemstone is ‘CEE migrants’ journeys into and experiences of homelessness in Scotland’. Different methods will highlight different perspectives (i.e. facets) of this issue. For instance, surveys will not yield the same insights as interviews, but through applying a range of methods different insights into the various different facets of the issue will emerge. Therefore, to generate various insights into ‘CEE migrants’ journeys into and experiences of homelessness in Scotland’, I have conducted qualitative biographical semi-structured interviews with CEE migrants’ who are homeless and qualitative semi-structured interviews with people who work with those who are homeless. The former traced CEE migrants’ experiences of migration and life in the UK, and Scotland, leading up to experiences of homelessness and the point of interview. The latter explored issues that homelessness workers encountered in working with migrant, and CEE, groups. Alongside these methods, I also conducted observations within homelessness services. The remainder of this chapter will focus on how I used these within this study.

Setting up the research with CEE participants

Biographical Interviews

For the interviews with the CEE migrants, I felt that an interpretivist qualitative biographical approach was particularly appropriate. Roberts (2002: 3) defines biographical research as:

Work that uses the stories of individuals and other ‘personal materials’ to understand the individual life within its social context

While there are many terms and definitions attributed to types of biographical research, such as life story and life history, in practice Roberts (2002) notes that these distinctions are often difficult to maintain. Therefore, I will use the term ‘biographical’ when describing the interviews undertaken with the CEE participants and adopt the definition Roberts (2002) gave above.

Within homelessness research, examples of biographical research can be seen in the works of May (2000), Mayock et al. (2012) and Šikic-Micanovic (2013). May (2000) suggests that taking a biographical approach can allow a more in-depth examination into how challenges

and opportunities are negotiated by people who are homeless. In his study focusing on the homelessness journeys of people living in temporary accommodation May (2000) utilised a biographical approach. This involved looking not just at his participants' homelessness, but their employment and personal circumstances in the same period, to give more context to their homeless trajectory. Information in this study was recorded on paper, and involved an interview guide and the completion of a grid to map their trajectories and circumstances over time. Once the initial interview ended, May (2000) drew up a rough timeline of their history and talked through it with participants to check the accuracy. Once the biographies were completed, he took a small number of the original sample and interviewed them to expand on the participants view on their life history and their experiences.

In Mayock et al.'s (2012) study on female homelessness in Dublin, biographical interviews were also utilised along with observation. Similar to May (2000), Mayock et al. (2012) utilised biographical interviews to capture not just the women's homelessness journeys, but also captures "*multiple biographies by capturing transition and change, along the same timeline, in the women's personal, social and economic circumstances*" (Mayock et al, 2013: 66). Within these interviews, the women were invited to tell their histories, and after this had finished, specific questions were then formulated from their histories.

Within Šikic-Micanovic's (2013) study, she used biographical methods to explore the experiences of people who were homeless in Croatia. To Šikic-Micanovic (2013), biographical research shows:

How far social structures provide opportunities and constraints for human agents at the same time as showing how individuals, with their own beliefs and desires, take actions despite the social structures that underlie the immediacy of their experiences (Šikic-Micanovic, 2013: 100)

Šikic-Micanovic (2013) also noted that even if her participants were not aware of the structural aspects of their stories, it was possible to pull these out within the analysis and show the impact that structure had on individual experiences. The approach in this study was to use a survey to gain demographic data, followed by a semi-structured interview that covered life before and after homelessness.

While each of these studies were exploring homelessness in different contexts, and used different methodologies to investigate, the understanding of biographical methodologies are

the same. Inspired by these studies, there were several reasons in undertaking a biographical approach. Firstly, complimenting the epistemology and ontology of this research, a biographical approach sought to understand peoples changing views and experiences, identify what they viewed as important and relevant, and allowed interpretations of their accounts of their past, present and future (Roberts, 2002). Secondly, this approach served to link micro contexts to macro, as the CEE participants could discuss themselves and how they situate themselves in their life, but also how they relate to and have experienced wider structures in society, such as homelessness policies (Ojermark, 2007). As Merrill and West (2009: 183) argue, this can highlight the “*middle ground*” and show the importance of both the individual experiences and wider societal context that these experiences are situated in. Ultimately, a biographical approach strives to understand how:

Lives are lived at particular historical moments, shaped by specific societal forces and discourses, to which people may respond in different and diverse ways (Merrill and West, 2009: 187)

Simply, a biographical approach complemented both the aims of the study and the theoretical framework that was outlined in the previous chapter, as it can highlight the micro and macro contexts that the CEE participants’ lives and experiences are situated in as it was seen in Chapter Two that Bourdieu was striving for with habitus, capital and field (Maton, 2008). Therefore, I decided it was best to start the interviews discussing pre-migration and leading up to the point of interview. Starting pre-migration was particularly important as it was highlighted in Chapter One that the experiences that people have before, during and after the migration process to the UK can impact the inequalities they experience, their trajectories into homelessness and the decisions they make while homeless.

To collect this data, the interview schedule for the CEE participants was split into seven parts, including introduction and conclusion (see Appendix 1 for the interview schedule with probes). Section One allowed me to introduce myself to the participant and, regardless of having met prior to the interview in most cases, the information sheet was gone over again and consent was sought. Section Two centred around the participant’s demographics, asking them to describe themselves to not presume the participants identities (e.g. gender). Section Three delved into their life before they migrated, focusing on what their life was like which followed onto Section Four that prompted discussion of their life immediately after migrating to Scotland. Section Five explored their life in Scotland (and the UK) up to the

present day. This documented their journey into homelessness, their experiences of services, relationships, and experiences since the UK chose to leave the EU. I also decided to incorporate photo elicitation, where I asked participants to provide photos of places that were important to them in their daily lives. Therefore, it was in this section that if the participant had photos of places that were important to them these were discussed (n=4). It is important to note that I did not use these in the analysis, I only used them as a way to generate conversation. Section Six then delved into the participant's future plans before Section Seven concluded the interview.

In practice the questions did change order and interviews were not always linear as the interview schedule was designed, as the conversation frequently jumped backwards and forwards in chronological time. However, one aspect that did remain the same in most cases was ending the interview on future plans. This helped create a sense of optimism and visibly mitigated the distress that the accounts of journeys into homelessness and experiences of homelessness sometimes generated. So too did asking about places that were important to them after asking how they came to their current situation, as this brought positive memories to the forefront. This suggests that when conducting research on peoples' experiences of homelessness, future researchers should incorporate a range of questions that do not all necessarily focus on homelessness into their research design.

Recruitment plan and sampling criteria for CEE participants

The sampling method for interviews with the CEE migrants was purposive (Matthews and Ross, 2010). The requirements were that participants were a national of one of the A8 or A2 countries and were homeless at some point during their time in Scotland in line with the homelessness definition in this research that was outlined in Chapter One (broadly those who are roofless, houseless or in insecure or inadequate housing).

In the course of developing this research project, I decided that the best way to recruit CEE participants was through three different methods. The first was through initially conducting interactive observations at homelessness services (day centres, support centres etc.). This allowed a rapport to be built with the people engaging with these services. It also gave me an insight into the homelessness services, as though I had previously worked in them I had removed myself from these prior to starting fieldwork. The interactive element of these conversations allowed me to become comfortable with the people I was working with and allow them to become comfortable with me in turn. The second approach to recruitment

involved homelessness services (e.g. day centres, support centres etc.) and migrant services (e.g. support groups etc.), distributing my information sheets and either scheduling appointments with me if I had a visit scheduled, or asking them to contact me if they were interested. For this I provided a variety of ways to contact me, such as social media (Facebook and WhatsApp), phone and email. None of these were my personal accounts, and all were set up for the purpose of this research, similar to Mayock et al.'s (2014) approach when researching youth homelessness. I recognised early on in this project that the first two approaches would only allow me to gain access to people who were frequenting services. To resolve this, snowball sampling was used as the third recruitment method to try and gain access to those who may not be going to services. This approach allowed the CEE migrants recruited through the first two recruitment methods to suggest others they thought might be interested in taking part. I offered participants a £10 supermarket voucher for taking part in an interview.

For the first and second recruitment methods, I had to obtain sites in both cities. I decided to use services that did not supply accommodation, to try and recruit people in a variety of housing situations. To shortlist sites, I chose services in each city based on how many days/hours they were open, if they had CEE migrants frequent them, and the feasibility of me being able to arrive on time since I was commuting from another city on public transport. Within City 1, all observation sites provided services ranging from tea and coffee to food, advice, and one also provided basic utilities such as clothes washing and storage. Within City 2, all observation sites were frontline services that ranged from providing tea and coffee to food, as well as advice and activities, and basic utilities such as clothes washing facilities. This allowed an informal environment in which to get to know the people using the service and gauge if any CEE migrants present would be interested in taking part in in-depth biographical interviews. I designed and supplied leaflets which were displayed in services that gave a brief summary of why I was there observing as well as an overview of the research and my contact details should any CEE migrants wish to take part (Appendix 2). I also designed and supplied leaflets and information sheets for the interviews in the services (see Appendix 3 and 4). These leaflets were also translated into the languages of the CEE countries (a process that will be discussed more later in this section). Additionally, I gave leaflets to staff in the services to inform potential participants of the study if I was not present – in line with recruitment method two.

While the above account of sampling seems rather simple, the research did undergo a number of changes prior to this taking place. Initially I hoped to interview CEE migrant women who were homeless at three points over a year. I had also planned to conduct in-depth ethnography through following three migrant women's lives over a short period of time. Instead the research focused on CEE migrants in general, using a biographical approach to capture journeys from pre-migration to present day, supplemented by observations in homelessness services. The initial approaches were amended for a variety of reasons which will now be outlined.

Firstly, retention was a cause of concern. The risk of losing participants was very real, especially with advent of the UK preparing to leave the European Union which occurred after I had secured funding from the ESRC. I also thought that retrospective accounts of life stories would yield more data around how they came to be in this situation and better answer the research questions, rather than three snapshots over a year. Therefore, biographical semi-structured interviews were adopted.

Secondly, given my prior work in homelessness services, I thought conducting interactive observations throughout would engender trust with participants and enable recruitment for interviews rather than targeting specific participants over a short period of time. Additionally, I thought using photo elicitation to capture places that were important to the participants would be less intrusive access to the participant's life outside the interview room.

Thirdly, while the literature review I conducted in my first year had highlighted that recruiting women may be difficult, it did not make it seem insurmountable. After almost two months of observations in City 1 it became apparent that most of the CEE women that I did encounter were not interested in taking part and that getting 20 interviews in City 1 and City 2 was unlikely. At the same time, CEE men were approaching me asking to be interviewed and to tell their story. I had had a few men tell me their stories informally, and in these accounts I recognised many of the issues I had suggested in my initial scope of the literature that CEE women could face. Due to this, it was decided to expand the sampling and also interview men.

Interpreter and Translator Recruitment

I recruited interpreters and translators to cover the main languages of the CEE countries I was interested in to try and combat any potential language barriers. In an approach similar

to Lee et al. (2014), bilingual university students were first approached and asked if they would like to act as an interpreter in the research. The rationale for this is that there is no national quality standard for interpreters outside of the criminal justice sector in Scotland, therefore professional interpreting agencies are not guaranteed to provide high quality services. This was achieved through contacting universities and university societies within City 1 and City 2 and distributing an advertisement. All interpreters and translators used in this research had been or were currently in UK higher education or they had previous experience of interpreting. I used these criteria as to be able to study at a Scottish university or college they would need to prove competence in English and experience interpreting would mean they would know what to expect, and so this worked as a quality check. The languages of interest were:

- Czech
- Estonian
- Hungarian
- Latvian
- Lithuanian
- Polish
- Slovak
- Slovene
- Romanian
- Bulgarian
- Russian

I decided to include Russian as it was thought to be a good common language between the Baltic States (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania) which were harder to find interpreters/translators for.

In total 27 people were recruited as volunteers to do translation and/or interpretation. These people covered all of the languages except Slovene – Slovene translation was achieved through a translation company.

The research with CEE participants in practice

I received ethical approval from the General University Ethics Panel (GUEP) in June 2017 (see Appendix 5). This was amended in August 2017 (see Appendix 6) to incorporate phone

interviewing. Data collection started in October 2017 and in November 2017 I received approval from GUEP to expand sampling to include men (see Appendix 7).

Recruitment in practice

For the first recruitment method, in City 1 I visited the three sites once a week to conduct observations. I did not stay at one service very long due to the environment not feeling safe – for example a service user repeatedly grabbed my shoulders and staff did not intervene. The other two services I visited for one and a half months and the other was for three months. Once I had expanded the research criteria to include men, the collection of interviews took approximately one and a half months, but I was there for just over three months in total. For the sites that operated on more than one day, I asked if they would distribute my information sheets to any CEE migrants who frequented their service when I was not there. Through this method I gained five interviews.

In City 2, I visited the three observation sites once a week. One service I elected to drop in every couple of weeks due to it primarily being an advice service with people coming in for quick appointments. In this service staff would try and make appointments for me, although no one kept their appointments and I disengaged from this site after three visits. The other two sites I visited for two months. Through these methods I gained nine of my interviews in City 2. The recruitment for both City 1 and City 2 in these services was through a mixture of people seeing the leaflets and approaching me or being told by people who used the services or those who worked in the services about my research.

For the second recruitment method, I contacted migration and homelessness services within the central areas of both cities and asked if they would advertise my research to CEE migrants frequenting their service and assist in scheduling appointments or referral. I received six participants through this method. On occasion I would also schedule visits to these services in case anyone there during my visit would want to be interviewed – and sometimes I would bring an interpreter if a service recommended it.

I employed the third recruitment method (snowball sampling) alongside the first and second recruitment methods. This led to me interviewing friends or acquaintances of participants who accessed the services already despite its aim to get those who had no access to services. No one I interviewed had no contact with homelessness or migration services.

Before each interview, I would get the contact details of each participant should I need to contact them after the interview (see Appendix 8) and go through the consent form with them (see Appendix 9). I also gave them a copy of the interview schedule without probes (see Appendix 10).

Profile of participants

The demographics of the participants were varied. Participant’s ages ranged from between 29 and 64, with an average age of 38. This means that many participants had been teenagers or children towards the end of the Soviet Union and in the post-Communist era. Three participants identified as female and 17 identified as male. For 15 participants this migration was their first time in the UK, and five had been to the UK prior to this but only for short stays. While it was difficult to get accurate timelines, participants’ length of time in the UK ranged from one month to over 14 years. Most participants had arrived post-2011, after the restrictions on the A8 countries ended. I recruited all of these participants via homelessness or migration services, with 10 being in City 1 and 10 in City 2. The following table (Table 1) presents the profile of the CEE participants’ nationalities:

Table 1: Breakdown of CEE participants’ nationalities:

Nationality	Number
Polish	10
Romanian	4
Lithuanian	3
Latvian	2
Czech	1

Although the biographical interviews were successful, the success of the photo elicitation was mixed. While everyone was asked if they had photos to discuss, many interviews were ‘then and there’ so there was not the option for them to take photos before the interview. Additionally, many participants did not feel inclined to do this either. To wait for them to take photos and have them developed (if using one of my disposable cameras) meant there was a high possibility of the interview being lost due to the participant having a chaotic lifestyle and/or moving from the city between the instruction to take photos and the interview. The last point was particularly worrying as over the course of the observations several people I had formed a rapport with and spoke to weekly suddenly left to go to other

cities or countries and I would find out on my next visit. Therefore, I decided to prioritise the collection of interviews over photos. With the services that referred people to me to interview, there was not the option to meet beforehand and discuss the photo component (although two participants recruited this way did get in touch with me and provided photos). Due to these difficulties, as I was primarily interested in gaining an interview with the photos serving to facilitate discussion, it was only if the person had photos or had to wait on an interpreter being available that the photo elicitation was suggested. If this was not the case and they wanted the interview done that day then I did not push the photo methods for risk of losing the interview.

In total three participants took part in the photo elicitation in City 1 and one in City 2. They all had photos on their phones (none took them only in response to the research) and either emailed them to me or I took photos of them using my phone. The discussion of the photos was sometimes quite brief, and I had to prompt more discussion around the places they had captured and what they meant to them. Also I did not see these photos prior to interview, making them completely new to me. This was useful as it meant people explained them more, and they often took our discussion away from homelessness and into other aspects of their lives e.g. interests, favourite activities etc. This helped bring out other aspects of their identities, as people who were relatively new to the cities and wanted to explore, or places that were important enough for them to have taken a photo because they provided respite from their situation. While the photos were just used to elicit conversation and not in the analysis, I view this method as particularly important. It emphasised the participants' multifaceted identities and also generated a visibly positive reaction in participants through casting their mind away from the negative aspects of their situation.

Translating in Practice

Following the requirements of the University of Stirling's General University Ethics Panel (GUEP), I had all of the research materials (e.g. information sheets, consent forms, advice leaflets, contact forms etc.) translated in the languages mentioned previously⁵. Whilst not all languages were required in the actual fieldwork, this precaution was taken as at the beginning I was not certain which languages I would encounter. This was a lengthy process, and even though ethical approval was granted at the end of June 2017, due to the process of recruiting translators and interpreters, getting confidentiality forms signed (see Appendix 11) and

⁵ Only the English versions are included in the appendices due to the word limit applied to this work.

getting the documents translated, that data collection began at the beginning of October 2017.

Co-ordinating the translation of the research materials was challenging as I am not fluent in any of the languages of the countries that were being targeted in this study. To aid the translation, I would run the translations through Google translate, identify parts that did not make sense, and ask the translators to back-translate those sections. Participants who used the translations were appreciative of them and commented that they were of a good quality. Having the interview schedule translated was also immensely helpful, as whilst some interviews were conducted in English, there were certain words that caused confusion and which the translations helped dispel.

It needs to be mentioned that there were cultural issues in conducting these translations. The biggest issue was with the word 'homeless' as in other languages this word can, as it does in the UK, have stigmatising connotations. Keeping this in mind, I asked my translators to flag if there were issues with this and if the negative connotations were present I asked them to use a different phrase. I felt this was important as there is a risk that if using translations in research and the researcher is not aware of the cultural context the language is situated in, this can create challenges in recruiting participants or building rapport once out in the field. In my case while asking for rephrasing led to sentences not making as much sense as they would have had the word 'homeless' been used, I was conscious of not wanting to make participants think I held the stigmatising views contained in the language. I was also on hand frequently during the fieldwork and as such could explain the research in person if there was confusion.

Interpreting in Practice

Edwards (1998) comments that it is rarely acknowledged that researchers need training in working with interpreters. I had never worked with interpreters prior to this research and so I undertook training from the Scottish Refugee Council. The course was titled 'Working with Interpreters', lasted one day, and covered the process of hiring interpreters along with good and bad practice when using interpreters in interviews. For instance, using first person and the different types of interpreting (e.g. consecutive, simultaneous, phone etc.), making sure interpreters were safe, briefing interpreters beforehand and debriefing afterwards to mitigate distress etc. This more than anything else informed how I worked with my interpreters during this research and was invaluable.

In line with guidance on conducting interviews with an interpreter (gained both from reading literature and my training), I gave training before using people as interpreters on this project (GVAWP, 2011; Edwards, 1998). This involved informing the interpreter of the purpose and nature of the interviews and research, as well as the possibility of distressing themes being discussed and the protocol if either the participant or the interpreter becomes distressed or if there were issues of safety (GVAWP, 2011). All interpreters signed a confidentiality agreement before assisting me with interviews.

During the fieldwork I would send out timetables of observation times and my volunteers would respond with their availability to avoid my calling them whilst they were indisposed. Arranging interpreters for interviews was challenging, and there were instances when appointments were made but participants did not show up. In these cases, I then sought an interview from others who used the service and required an interpreter so the interpreter's time was not wasted. It does need to be noted that this was rare.

On a practical level I set up the interview room beforehand, with the chairs arranged in a triangle formation as suggested in my training to try and reduce power imbalance and make it seem more like a conversation between myself and the participant with the interpreter facilitating. Only in one instance was this not the case, with the interpreter being opposite me and the participant sitting in the middle. In this case, initially the participant mainly spoke to the interpreter, not to myself, and whilst it did not detract from the interview the lack of eye contact between myself and the participant did feel slightly alienating to me (Edwards, 1998). In the other interviews where the room was set up correctly the participant mainly addressed myself which felt less disruptive and more intimate.

There were also times where interpreters would slip into third person and I would have to ask them to revert to first person. My interjection was a little disruptive, but when this did occur it always happened at the start of the interview and so was easily smoothed over. Once the data collection was over, I met up with interpreters and asked them to translate the exchange into first person to ensure accuracy. Participants also sometimes interjected in English, as all of the CEE participants were able to speak English to some extent. These English interjections were sometimes participants making extra comments or correcting the interpreter if they had not fully interpreted what they had said.

In total eight of the 20 interviews involved interpretation. The level of candour from participants where interpreters were used and where they were not did not vary dramatically.

I thought prior to the study that if speaking in their first language participants might be more comfortable and thus disclose more, however I noticed no great difference in the accounts regardless of the language they were conveyed in. Personally, I found it easier to have an interpreter present, as in some cases where an interpreter was not present there were sometimes problems with my accent being understood (despite the participants in these cases having a very good level of English). Additionally, when interviews were conducted in English, I sometimes had problems with participants' accents and syntax. It was due to this that after transcribing the English interviews, I had an interpreter look over them whilst listening to the audio files, since they had more familiarity with the accents and syntax of the CEE participants.

I went through the same quality checking process for the interpreted interviews. In these cases, I transcribed the interpreted English and met up with interpreters who listened to the audio files and amended the transcripts to ensure the participants were represented as faithfully as possible. The quality checking was time consuming, however, through it I became far more aware of the nuances of the languages I was working with, as my interpreters would discuss with me potential ways to phrase sentences in English that would best convey what the participants had been saying. They would also explain words that were difficult to convey in English since there were culturally specific connotations and meanings attached. Therefore, while the initial interpretation had generally been to a high standard, I feel that if I had not gotten the interpretation checked then the data, and my understanding of it, would not have been as rich as it is.

Homelessness worker interviews:

Recruitment for interviews with homelessness workers

For interviews with the third sector homelessness workers on their experiences of working with CEE migrants and migrants in general, I decided to recruit participants primarily from the homelessness services where the CEE participants were recruited from. I also decided as the CEE migrants recruited through these services may discuss their experiences of that service, that it would be unfair to ignore the viewpoint of the homelessness workers. These workers would have current or previous experience working with CEE migrants which was one of the participant parameters for these interviews. Additionally, as contact had already been established to recruit CEE migrants, I thought access to workers would be easier than using an organisation new to the research. All homelessness workers who participated

received an information sheet (see Appendix 12) that provided information about the aims of the research and interview. I also asked them to fill in a consent form (see Appendix 13).

In City 1 interviews were conducted with seven third sector homelessness workers and in City 2 with five third sector homelessness workers. Their roles varied but they were all primarily support orientated. Years of experience in the homelessness sector ranged between 1.5 years and 18 years. The average length of time working in the sector was seven years.

No interviews were conducted with staff in statutory services, e.g. Local Authorities, in either City 1 or City 2. Having tried and failed to obtain interviews from this group in City 1, I decided not to obtain interviews in City 2 as this would not have been a fair representation as both cities had different ways of discharging their homelessness duty.

Semi-Structured Interviews

I decided it was best to employ semi-structured interviews with people who worked in the homelessness services. This is because I was interested specifically in how they experienced working with migrants and CEE nationals. I wanted these specific issues to be addressed while also leaving room for both myself and the participant to veer from the questions and explore any other areas of interest that could emerge in the course of the interview (Bryman, 2016).

The interview schedule contained four sections and workers were given a copy – see Appendix 14 for details. Section One allowed me to introduce myself (if I had not done so before) and outline the research before asking for consent. Section Two asked about the participant's background within the homelessness sector. Section Three discussed the participant's experiences working with homeless migrants and their training for this aspect of their work. Section Four asked them if they had any recommendations on how homelessness services could improve their responses to migrants who were homeless before concluding the interview.

Research Ethics

As this research involved CEE migrants who were homeless, a group of people who are considered vulnerable, precautions had to be taken. Many of these participants had experienced a mixture of substance use, family breakdown, the criminal justice system, the social care system, throughout their lives. Due to this, I took great care to consider the implications this research could have, the harms and the ethics, which this section will now

outline. It is important to note that to ensure fairness, these procedures were the same for the homelessness workers as well.

Informed Consent

Interviews

Before conducting interviews with the CEE migrants and third sector workers, I gave the prospective participants an information sheet (See Appendix 4 for CEE and Appendix 12 for worker) detailing the nature of the research - translated beforehand in the case of the CEE information sheets. Both the CEE and worker information sheets also asked if they wanted an interpreter present at the interview and if this was the case then it was arranged (Stella et al., 2016). Additionally, I created shortened leaflets of the information sheets for prospective CEE participants as a way to initially gain interest since the information sheets were quite long – view Appendix 3.

I arranged locations to conduct interviews in advance, and if the participant was uncomfortable with this then I told them they could suggest an alternative. Before the interviews commenced, I asked the participants if they had any objections to being audio recorded and, if using an interpreter, the interpreter and myself taking notes (Hesse-Biber and Leavy, 2011). Once more I took the participants through the information sheet and asked if they consented (Farrimond, 2013).

Observations

I gave information sheets detailing the research to staff/volunteers and I asked for permission from the organisations to conduct observations in line with recruitment method one. The organisations were liaised with to create appropriate ethical procedures around informing the service users of my presence, such as placing posters and leaflets in prominent locations around the day centre (Farrimond, 2013). In all cases this involved my placing the information sheets and leaflets, along with information sheets describing the observations within the locations (see Appendix 2). In two locations I also wrote my name and research purpose on the noticeboards.

However, due to some homelessness services (e.g. day centres) being open to the public, with service users moving in and out, it was not possible to inform every one of my presence and purpose. If I was having informal conversations with service users, then I attempted to make it known that I was a researcher. While I took anonymised notes after visiting site, I

did not take detailed notes as I was uncomfortable with the concept that people may not have realised why I was there. It is also for this reason that I have only used these notes to provide contextual information in relation to what participants (both CEE and homelessness worker) discussed in the interviews.

Confidentiality

I communicated to all interview participants that anonymity would be upheld as strictly as possible, but that this may not have been possible at all times. This was in case, for example, if any participants mentioned current high-risk behaviour, such as suicide or self-harm. I made participants aware from the beginning of the research that if any concerns were raised then this would have been reported to the relevant authority (in most cases the service where interviews were being conducted in or their manager/key worker). While it did not have to be used during the fieldwork, I developed a protocol to follow should any adverse events arise, see Appendix 15, and this was approved by sites before research commenced.

I conducted most of the CEE migrants' interviews within homelessness services. These were always in private rooms, and while windows meant that some people could look in (for my and, if present, my interpreter's safety), participants were aware of this and did not object. Two interviews occurred in cafés and in these instances the location was checked with the participant beforehand. Cafés were chosen depending on the volume of customers, the possibility of getting a clear audio recording, and ease of access.

Most of the third sector homelessness worker interviews occurred at the participant's place of work, and when this was the case care was taken to conduct the interview in a private room accessible only to the researcher and the participant to ensure confidentiality. As with the interviews with CEE migrants where cafés were used, cafes which had few customers and with 'quiet corners' were chosen, and the location was always checked with the participant to ensure they were happy with it.

Additionally, all external organisations or people who had to access the data (e.g. interpreters, translators) signed confidentiality agreements prior to gaining access to materials. Regarding the reporting of the data, identifying characteristics, such as name, exact age, have been modified as much as possible without losing the quality of data. Data was also stored in line with the Data Protection Act 1998 (Crown, 1998).

Participant Safety

As mentioned, some of the participants were classed as vulnerable because of their circumstances. The Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC, 2019) views that:

Vulnerability may be defined in different ways and may arise as a result of being in an abusive relationship, vulnerability due to age, potential marginalisation, disability, and due to disadvantageous power relationships within personal and professional roles (ESRC, 2019)

Therefore, before any interviews commenced or an approach was made, in line with the guidance, I assessed the vulnerability of the participant within the context of the study and the potential consequences of their participation (ESRC, 2019). If the topics discussed in the interviews resulted in participants becoming distressed, then the interviews were stopped, and I asked if they would like to stop or continue either after a break or at a later date – whenever this happened they wanted to continue after a break. I also prepared and arranged the translation of leaflets containing information of services that may have been able to assist the participants if they became distressed or requested help – again no participants needed these.

As the CEE interviews were biographical, unlike those with the homelessness workers, this bear's separate ethical consideration. With biographical research there are concerns that this type of research can raise painful memories (Roberts, 2002). Like, for example, in counselling, participants were reliving their lives for me, yet unlike a counsellor, I am not trained to help participants cope with traumatic memories (Roberts, 2002). During the interview if the participant or interpreter was uncomfortable at any point, the interview would stop, and the participant/interpreter would be asked if they wished to continue (GVAWP, 2011). This happened in one case as a participant got distressed, yet after a break they wished to continue. As previously mentioned, I arranged the interview schedule in such a way so that once the negative experiences were discussed (e.g. what led to homelessness) more positive experiences were invoked (e.g. favourite places) to try and quell bad memories. Additionally, after interviews I checked the wellbeing of participants and in most cases we had a debrief session where we spoke about topics other than those in the interview to try and dispel negative memories the interview raised.

Interpreter Safety

In line with Glasgow's Violence Against Women Partnership's (GVAWP) guidance on conducting interviews with women who have experienced gender-based violence and may need an interpreter, I trained my interpreters beforehand which included the protocol if either the participant or the interpreter becomes distressed (GVAWP, 2011). I arrived with the interpreter and left with the interpreter, and at no point was the interpreter left alone with the participant. At the end of each interview I met with the interpreter and debriefed, ensuring that they were not adversely affected by the interview, and made them aware of counselling services and that if something did disturb them later they could discuss it with me (GVAWP, 2011). Whilst I did not need to refer anyone to counselling services, there were interviews that were challenging and so debriefing was helpful as it gave a space to discuss that and ensure emotional wellbeing.

I also briefed before and debriefed afterwards with interpreters who were checking the audio against the transcript to ensure interpretation was as faithful as possible. Even though we were removed from the physical interview environment, distressing themes did appear in these interviews. While none of the interpreters were distressed by this in practice, I was aware throughout the data collection that this could still be traumatic and so these precautions were important.

Researcher Safety

I considered researcher safety in great detail prior to conducting the fieldwork. Before and after each observation and interview I contacted a colleague (who is also a friend) by phone. I told them of my location (e.g. organisation name), my time of arrival, where possible the contact details of the site, and the expected finishing time. I also kept my phone on me in an easily accessible place throughout my observations and interviews. While I did not have to use it, if my colleague had not heard from me after the expected finishing time, they would have followed the protocol in Appendix 16. When conducting my observations, I made sure I was visible to staff/volunteers and if I had to go somewhere where I would not be visible then I made it known and always carried my phone.

Even though I gathered rich contextual information from my observations, I completely underestimated the emotional strain these observations would cause on me. This was especially hard as some of these observations were taking place during winter with most of the people I was interviewing and interacting with rough sleeping and as such their health

was deteriorating rapidly. Researchers do not exist as impartial and unemotional machines, and I would frequently hear people's stories during these observations even if I was not doing an interview with them and regardless of their nationality. This took its toll and due to this I accessed University counselling services before starting the fieldwork in City 2 in March 2018. This helped immensely and allowed me to distance myself from my work more so than I had been doing previously, making the data collection process a lot easier emotionally.

Reflections on fieldwork

While there are limits to qualitative methods and Interpretivist research regarding generalisability and transferability (Scotland, 2012), I feel that the insights gained would not have been gleaned via other methods and engagement and response from participants would not have been as positive. This is particularly applicable to the interviews with the CEE participants. It was noted by homelessness services that my engagement levels were much higher than they had expected, and many of those I interviewed had, in the past, not wanted to take part in this kind of research. On reflection, I attribute this high level of engagement to many aspects of the data collection, but primarily an amalgamation of my observations in services allowing me to build relationships, having the research materials translated, and the CEE participants wanting their life stories to be known and not just their experiences of homelessness. Regarding the latter point, even in cases where I had not gotten to know the participant through the observations prior to interview, the accounts were incredibly candid because the biographical nature of the interview allowed us to build a relationship as the interview progressed, it did not jump straight into the distressing topics while I was effectively a stranger. All these aspects helped me build meaningful relationships with participants and enabled me to gain their trust, contributing to the openness and positivity of the interviews.

I also noticed that when I was doing the biographical interviews, participants were able to reflect critically on their situations and how they came to be in their current situation because the interview style allowed them the space to do so. They would also devise strategies or plans on how to alleviate their homelessness. While I had to work with gaps in memory or unclear timelines, the methods generated rich data and seemed to foster engagement, create a positive experience for participants despite discussing trauma, and create space for them to reflect and plan. Through being an interview about life, where

homelessness was just one aspect, it also allowed a focus on positive memories, that would not have been the case normally, for instance in homelessness or welfare applications. Therefore, when I reflect on these methods, despite the limitations and challenges I experienced in using them, I feel they were the most appropriate ones to use in this context and had benefits beyond the generation of data.

Analytical Process

Transcription

I deliberately chose to transcribe all of the interviews myself. For me this served an analytical purpose, as through this I was able to get more familiar with my data and start thinking of themes that were emerging across transcripts. I kept as much detail in the transcripts as possible – although sometimes it was impossible to hear segments or words this did not majorly detract from the transcript. I also included the non-verbal responses as well (e.g. nodding) where I had made notes or recollected from interviews, however, it is acknowledged that some of these non-verbal responses will have been lost (Mason, 2002). Additionally, I took a break between the City 1 and City 2 components of the research in order to transcribe some of the City 1 interviews. This enabled me to reflect on my questioning and modify my interview schedule to ask the City 2 participants questions about themes that emerged in the City 1 interview.

Thematic Analysis

I analysed my data thematically through using a mixture of NVivo and paper. The reason for choosing thematic analysis is because this study wanted to understand, in the case of the CEE participants, their experience of homelessness and, in the case of the homelessness workers, their experiences of working with this client group. Additionally, it was aimed to identify areas where interventions could be placed to prevent the participants becoming homeless or to ease them out of homelessness. In regards to the biographical data from the CEE participants, narrative analysis is commonly associated with this method (Roberts, 2002). However, it would have been problematic due to almost half of the interviews utilising interpreters meaning the transcripts are one step removed from the participant. While they represent what participants said, the wording of these interviews are translations of what the participants were saying, thereby making it problematic to analyse how the participants were portraying themselves and their lives through word choice, phrasing etc. I decided instead to follow Braun and Clarke's (2006) thematic analysis for both the CEE and

homelessness worker interviews. According to Braun and Clarke (2006) there are six phases to thematic analysis:

1. Familiarising yourself with your data
2. Generating initial codes
3. Searching for themes
4. Reviewing themes
5. Defining and naming themes
6. Producing the report (Braun and Clarke, 2006: 87)

As noted already in this chapter, I transcribed all of my data and reviewed most of it with interpreters. Therefore, by the time I was ready to start analysis, I was already very familiar with the data in line with Stage 1.

To generate initial codes (Stage 2), I created a codebook deductively from the interview schedule and my notes from transcription (Miles and Huberman, 1994: 81). I piloted this with five of the biographical interviews and from that further codes were inductively created. This makes my approach a hybrid, starting with deductive codes to organise the data, and then inductively coding. From these broad codes, I printed off the extracts under each code and if the code was too broad then sub-codes were inductively drawn out. For example, from the initial code 'Service Experience' which contained any information about participants discussing their experiences of services, I created the sub-codes Local Authority, Third Sector and so on. This further refined the data and enabled me to highlight what it was about participant's experiences of services that was important in their stories. I also kept a coding diary throughout the coding process to document as a way to keep track of what codes and sub-codes were intended to capture and highlighting any changes I had made to the coding framework. This enabled me to be consistent and accountable in my coding.

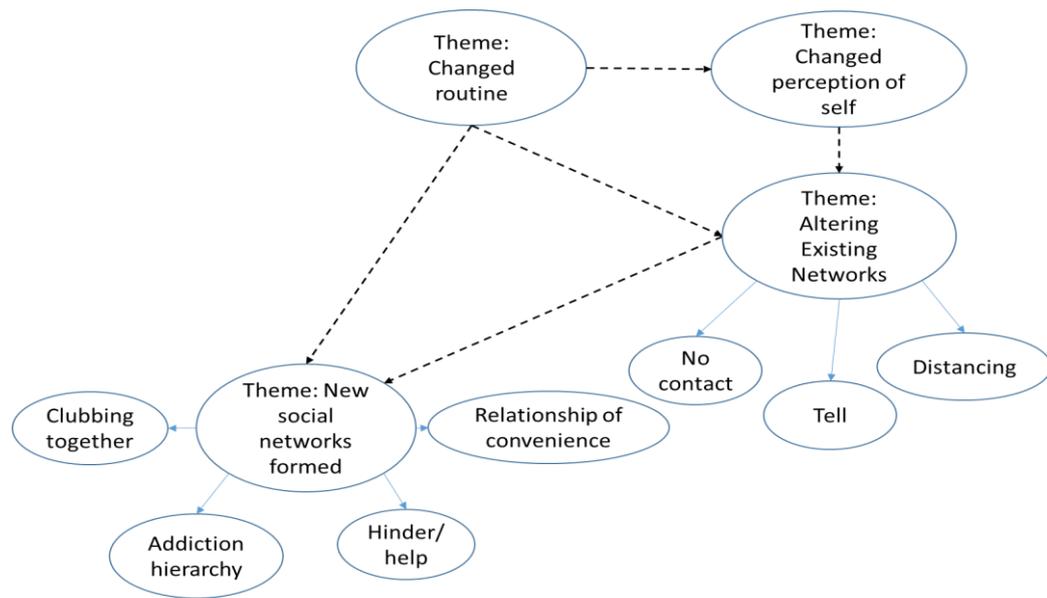
From the codes and sub-codes I wrote up summaries describing participant's experiences within these codes. I then printed these summaries and micro-coded them (Stage 2). To take the example of the code Service Experience, I would print off the extracts under its sub-code Local Authority, summarise participants' experiences in these extracts and micro code these summaries to enable me to look for themes in the participants' responses. I would then write descriptive summaries of each participant's experiences contained in the Local Authority sub-code e.g. "*Seven CEE participants had not tried to get help from the Local Authority.*".

The summaries enabled me to see minute patterns in participants' experiences in the Local Authority sub-code. While this approach helped me to generate themes (Stage 3) across participants stories such as "*negative experiences with Local Authority*", in Clarke (2017) lecture at the University of the West of England, she cites these themes as being "*bucket themes*" or "*domain summaries*" in that it is a summary of an area in the data and surface level. It is purely cataloguing what the participants were saying about their experiences. For instance, stating "*negative experiences with Local Authority*" does not look at a deeper meaning, such as why they had had a negative experience.

However, from writing these domain summaries, I got an overview of what the patterns were in the entire dataset. Through reading and re-reading these summaries and referencing the data, I was able to generate more interpretive and conceptual themes and look for themes that bridged between codes – what Clarke (2017) terms "*storybook themes*" (Stage 3). In Storybook themes, the researcher interprets the data and is able to piece together a story from the clinical domain summaries in a more interpretive and conceptual way. Instead of reporting "*X number of participants said A, B and C*", it takes it further to say what this could be emblematic of in a more abstract way, drawing out themes that bridge across the dataset. To use the Local Authority example, I looked beyond the experiences being negative and noted storybook themes such as "*power disparities*" and "*rationing of resources*". These were more abstract and looked at the underlying processes that were happening, rather than the shallow surface description of "*negative experiences with Local Authority*" that I highlighted previously.

After generating these storybook themes, I then reviewed them through going back to the data (Stage 4). Once I was satisfied that they were representative of the data, I wrote the themes up and created thematic maps to identify the links between themes. The outline below (Figure 4) is an example of an early thematic map for the second findings chapter:

Figure 4: Example of a thematic map



Here the larger ovals are the main themes and the smaller circles are the sub-themes I identified stemming from them. The dashed arrows represent the links between the main themes. While Braun and Clarke (2006) advocate writing (Stage 6) after the thematic maps are finalised (Stage 4) and the themes are defined and named (Stage 5), I found myself going backwards and forwards between Stages 4, 5 and 6. While Stages 4, 5 and 6 are presented separately, writing (Stage 6) helped me analyse and engage with the data and refine my themes and the story they were telling (Stages 4 and 5). This is one of the benefits of thematic analysis, as the approach is flexible and Braun and Clarke (2006) acknowledge the back and forth of analysis. Additionally, I produced maps similar to the above example throughout the writing up of the analysis chapters, as themes changed and evolved as I analysed and wrote about the data. This is not uncommon, as while the process Braun and Clarke (2006) outlined seems linear, they acknowledge that those using thematic analysis frequently go back and forth between stages.

In accordance with Bryman (2016) outline of the processes of conducting and analysing qualitative research, after I had written up my analysis I revisited the theory that I had thought applicable at the start of my PhD. Amending the theoretical framework in light of my data, I generated the theoretical framework that was outlined Chapter Two. Through applying this framework as a way to conceptualise my data and analysis, and tying in the empirical literature outlined in Chapter One, I then outlined my findings and discussion.

Conclusion

To conclude this chapter, the research methodology which informed this work was complex. I had to be meticulous in every detail to both minimise the potential for harm to participants, interpreters and myself, while also trying to gain robust data about this sensitive topic. Despite the difficulties and challenges documented within this chapter in applying my methodology, I believe that from the careful consideration employed from the inception of the methodology through to the data collection and analysis, it helped minimise the distress that talking about this sensitive topic could cause. This could not have been clearer than the moments where CEE participants wanted to speak with me further post-interview despite our interview covering upsetting topics, or when they used the interview as an opportunity to reflect on how to improve their situation or talk about aspects of their lives they had never previously shared with anyone. Without employing careful consideration to every aspect of the fieldwork and data collection process, I feel I would not have received as positive a response from both the CEE migrants and third sector homelessness workers whom I interviewed, or attained as much depth within the data. The following three chapters will now outline these findings generated from this data, drawing out the key themes and issues that I identified.

Chapter Four: Post-Migration: Ideals, Dreams and Reality

Introduction

We expected dogs with pretzels on their tails. However, we found it difficult. It took a while to set everything up and then when I realised how many things we have to do to actually start work and find work here. (Cristian via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

The above quote was from Cristian, a Romanian participant in City 1. What Cristian was conveying with this is that he, and the friends he travelled with, expected the UK to be so prosperous that even dogs have food. Yet once he had migrated, he realised his preconceptions of life in the UK were unfounded. This best exemplifies the accounts heard about the CEE participants' ideals before they came to the UK, and the reality that many were faced with upon migration.

This chapter unpacks the CEE participants' ideals, ambitions and their experiences upon and after arrival that contributed to their homelessness. The main theme in this chapter, and which reoccurs throughout is precariousness from migration to the point the participants became homeless. Understanding these early experiences and the disadvantage in which many found themselves in, I argue is key in understanding the homelessness journeys of the participants. As highlighted through Cristian, many of the participants migrated with ideals about the UK and the success and prosperity in which they could achieve through migration. By success I mean getting a stable home and work with good pay (again relatively defined). However, the trajectory that many participants outlined was first to migrate and with migration would come success and prosperity. This view does not acknowledge the reality of starting in a new country, with a new language and systems which, as highlighted by Cristian and many of the CEE participants, held multiple challenges and disadvantages.

This chapter will firstly discuss the reasons for migration, and the ideals, aspirations and knowledge participants held about the UK prior to migration against the backdrop of migrating for success. Using the concept of field as outlined in Chapter Two (Bourdieu, 1998a), the chapter will then explore participants experiences after they entered UK society (field of the UK) and how they navigated specific fields in the UK. In this chapter, the key sites of struggle that are present are in the employment market (field of employment) and the housing market (field of housing). Through employing the concept of field to explore participants experiences in these areas, this chapter highlights the challenges and

disadvantages that the participants had to contend with after migration in navigating the rules of these arenas due to their capital, habitus and doxa. Subsequently, this chapter explores how this limited their agency and contributed significantly to them becoming homeless.

The Migration Success Ideal

Reasons for migration

Within migration literature, there are many theories around migration (Massey et al., 1993). It was seen within Chapter One that literature on migration frequently discusses migrants migrating to achieve, what they feel, will be a better life (Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Anderson et al., 2006; Castles et al., 2014; Broadway, 2007; Scullion and Pemberton, 2010; Cook et al., 2011; Orchard et al., 2007). The ideal for migration for success is a powerful driver within migration literature, and as Mostowska (2014) states there is a lot of social pressure in sending countries to have a successful migration. My CEE participants were no exception, and in many accounts, participants implied migration was to herald success and was based on their aspirations of having a better life in the UK than they had in the country of origin.

In general, participants' attitudes about the UK prior to migration indicated that they felt UK was a prosperous country for their earning potential and employment opportunities. Almost three quarters of the participants mentioned migrating to the UK for economic reasons, as they felt they had limited options in their country of origin. I identified that many participants' accounts alluded to a migrating for success ideal. For instance:

[from first trip] I knew that the possibilities of, em, doing what I want to do and get enough money to, for living and for traveling and eh, like to buy house or to, eh, buy car, I can buy, I can find all this [...] here than in Poland (Lena, Poland – City 1)

What Lena is suggesting is that gaining economic capital via migration means that she can do “*what I want to do*” and thus have a higher quality of life in the UK than she had in Poland. However, by saying “*possibilities*” instead of certainties, this conveys a sense of risk and uncertainty in the options and opportunities available to her as it suggests these possibilities were not guaranteed.

Participants never explicitly acknowledged this uncertainty, and accounts did not leave room for their ambitions not coming to fruition. The power of the migration for success story was

strong within the accounts of the CEE participants, as many associated migration with achieving a higher quality of life – which they understood as achieving greater economic capital. This ties into the push-pull theory of migration (Castles et al., 2014). For instance, Cristian was ‘pushed’ from Romania due to finding it difficult to secure employment after the fall of Communist leader Nicolae Ceaușescu in 1989. He was ‘pulled’ to the UK by the perceived difference in economic capital he could earn:

Cristian via Interpreter: So it's just difficult in Romania, obviously as said before, it's difficult for me to live here on £220 a month. I'm asking you after you finish your studies, you wouldn't go to work in Romania after you've studied all these years, I don't think. £300 a month you would be paid there, it's 10 times more in this country so that's an incentive. £1 an hour in security in Romania, so you understand.

Researcher: Wow.

Cristian via Interpreter: Even a nurse in a hospital wouldn't have more than £300 a month in wage. Prices are a lot higher than here as well.

Researcher: Just for food and basic necessities.

Cristian: Yes. (Cristian via interpreter, Romania– City 1)

As suggested here, for the majority of the participants, the attraction of potential higher rates of economic capital, in comparison to their situation or prospects prior to migration formed key drivers for migration. However, while participants were attracted by the “*better money*” (Lukas, Lithuania – City 1) and the idea that “*everything was good*” (Gabriel, Romania – City 2), these assertions seemed to be based more on the ideals from the migration success ideal, not knowledge about the fields of the UK.

Other reasons for migrating to the UK were: moving to join a sibling or a partner (in one case as a result of addiction problems in the country of origin), moving as a result of family breakdown in country of origin, or for fun or adventure. These reasons and facilitators were often paired with economic ones, e.g. moving for employment, and highlights the complex processes around the decision to migrate that were discussed in Chapter One.

Within the accounts it also became apparent that half of the sample had *aspirations* for their life in the UK and not *plans* as I had defined them. Here an aspiration is defined as an abstract idea of what you want to do, and plan is something you have thought out and taken steps to achieve. Common aspirations that participants told to me were abstract, such as achieving success through finding general work and housing, and for things to go well, with no mention given to the particulars. For instance:

I'm thinking maybe I'm coming this place and been everything alright. I'm I'm stay this place, normal life and if I maybe everything like this. (Piotr, Poland – City 2)

Yeah, I said if I'm going to find a place where I feel good, I'm going to stay there. (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

In these cases Piotr had migrated to Scotland and thought that everything would be okay, that he would be able to set up a “*normal*” life for himself. David as well was migrating to find a place where he felt at peace and had migrated from London to Scotland in an attempt to find it. There are no plans here, only vague assertions and hopes.

While the participants' above discussed their aspirations, just under a quarter of participants stated that they had no plan. Here they relied on social networks to help them settle and thus had not placed much thought into plans or aspirations. This indicates the importance of migrants drawing on their bonding social capital, as in these cases they had a safety net to fall back on. However, the accounts also suggest that this can also be a double-edged sword, as they can rely on their social networks for everything, and do not research or plan themselves. This has the potential of leaving them vulnerable should the arrangement with their social networks change or, as will be seen later in this chapter, they provide misleading information.

Due to the research primarily being focused on post-migration to the UK, it is not possible to evaluate how much capital participants arrived in the UK with. However, what the accounts suggested was that most participants did not have concrete, step by step plans. What I argue is that having a plan for migration is essential to know what resources are at ones' disposal and how to utilise them in the new system. It was seen in Chapter One that while migrants could be 'pulled' to countries, their expectations of 'pull' factors, and thus the foundation of their plans, could sometimes not marry to reality and subsequently lead to

difficulties in having a successful migration (de Haas et al., 2015). As Cristian said at the start of this chapter, he was “*expecting dogs with pretzels on their tails*”. However, “*Expecting*” is not knowing, and not planning migration made achieving the migration success ideal, and realising the ideals held prior to migration, a lot more challenging as they were essentially entering the fields of the UK unprepared.

Lack of knowledge

It has been highlighted within the literature that lack of knowledge around concepts such as council tax, which migrants can be unfamiliar with, can lead to difficulties integrating and settling in their host country as it results in arrears and financial insecurity (Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Spencer et al., 2007; Orchard et al., 2007; Broadway, 2007). Therefore, knowledge of the systems of country one is moving to is essential, and as implied by the previous excerpts, this was something the CEE participants had not planned for. Additionally, the CEE participants showed limited knowledge about the fields of the UK, and Scottish, institutions and structures. For instance, when asked about how much knowledge they had prior to arrival, participants said:

I'm thinking maybe is UK this is, this is England and Scotland is all, all the same. I thinking like this, I'm seeing something films, cinema, yeah. Scotland and England and I'm thinking maybe this is one country. I'm no thinking maybe this is half Scotland half... it is different, yeah, truly is different (Piotr, Poland – City 2)

No just watched Braveheart movie. [...] I've been looking for some YouTube videos how Poles live here, y'know, try to learn something like what to do, how to make first steps. But language is the most important I think. (Igor, Poland – City 2)

Yes of course, it's great history. Even from movies with Vikings and stories, I like it. What I can remember. (Gabriel via interpreter, Romania – City 2)

I didn't really know anything about it, and to be honest I didn't know about insurance policies or tax [...] the only thing I knew was you drive on the left side (Antoni via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

The quotes above show the importance of media ('films', 'movies') as well as an importance of social media ('YouTube') as sources of information about Scotland and UK, similar to the findings in Broadway (2007). However, the information participants said they covered was only related to history and culture, not contemporary life and structures, e.g. council tax. This implies that participants were ill-equipped to navigate the different fields of UK society, as they did not have knowledge of the different rules. This is particularly highlighted by Antoni saying he "*didn't know about insurance policies or tax*". Furthermore, participants' habitus and doxa had been formed in different fields in different societal contexts e.g. their country of origin. This means that their 'common sense' understandings of how different fields (e.g. employment) operated was not necessarily applicable to UK society. Simply they would not necessarily have known how to 'play the game' of UK society. It has been indicated in Chapter One that lack of knowledge around these systems can create disadvantage, as migrants are effectively navigating these new fields without knowing the rules and how the environment in which they have found themselves in operate.

Other sources of knowledge about the UK and Scotland were siblings and friends, but often the information exaggerated the positives of living in the UK:

Just I listen for this girl oh she's here really nice, if we make money we can get better life, y'know. Then I coming UK I start working food factory, I get £240 and I need in one month pay £317 pound. Yes energy, gas yes. [...] But no and I get this money I stay, I work about 11 and ½ hour in factory, and I have £240. I say "what I do? Why I go in this fucking place, England, and I lose my work?" In Germany I live and I, in 5 days I get 560 euros in one week, 5 days. I work 7 ½ hour and when I come in this... is shit. (Valter, Lithuania – City 2)

Valter had previously been working for a car company in Germany, but his girlfriend in the UK said that earnings were better in the UK. This is reminiscent of the above where participants did not have plans as they relied on their bonding social capital in the UK for information and to set up their life. Valter's case highlights the risk of doing this, as in this scenario he relied on his girlfriend and did not research himself. Therefore, he ended up working in a food factory, a job less skilled and well paid than his previous one. Despite the ideal of the UK being a prosperous nation, as outlined in the first section, Valter's account suggest it was not always the case in practice, and some were further disadvantaged than they had been prior to migration. Valter also expresses frustration around his situation in the

UK being worse than what he had initially expected, and suggests that he was misled by his girlfriend. Therefore, while Chapter One highlighted that ‘migrant’ networks can be a main source of information for prospective immigrants around housing, employment and other prospects in the host country, the accounts here have shown they can also hinder successful migration (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014; McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009; Robinson and Reeve, 2006; Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve, 2007).

Overall, participants were entering new fields, seemingly unaware that their capital would be valued differently than in the fields of their country of origin. It is evident in these accounts that the fields within the UK (e.g. employment) were not the same as their country of origin, or the country they migrated from, and the accounts suggest that participants’ were largely ill equipped to deal with this and did not possess applicable habitus or doxa. The rules of the fields of the UK, and the value placed on participants’ capital, were different than those which they were familiar with prior to migration. However, through only gaining knowledge of the fields of UK society via sources such as informal networks and media, participants did not express having awareness of the extent of the differences prior to arrival. This could then lead to them being disadvantaged on arrival. For instance, Valter thought his capital would be valued more in the field of the employment in the UK than in Germany because his girlfriend told him it would, but it ended up being the opposite.

Additionally, it was suggested in the accounts that the lack of detailed knowledge of contemporary UK, and Scottish, society described above was a key factor in unravelling the plans and aspirations noted in the previously:

I was expecting that I will find a job quickly. But, uh, I came to reality very quickly. No bank account, no job, no nothing. So I was lucky I was in [City 2] where is free food. (Aleksis, Latvia – City 2)

Expectations not marrying to reality in regards to employment is similar to the findings in Broadway's (2007) report. As with Valter, Aleksis saying he “*came to reality very quickly*” links to the aspirations that were discussed earlier in this chapter, as he realised that it was not possible to meet his initial aspiration. This highlights again how having only aspirations did not prepare participants when they came across challenges. I understood this as meaning that without knowledge and a detailed understanding of the fields in the UK and things such as gaining employment, finding tenancies, creating bank accounts, these participants were in a precarious position upon their migration to the UK.

Even when prior knowledge was gained from a personal previous experience of visiting or even working in the UK this knowledge could be imprecise or misleading. In Aleksis's case, for example, he had been in the UK 12 years prior and, as the previous quote highlighted, he thought it would be easy to get employment. However, Aleksis did not take into account the changes in this field prior to arrival which hindered his ability to settle, e.g. the 2008 financial crash. Therefore, these previous trips also meant that there were sometimes unrealistic expectations and aspirations, as depending on the time between the previous and current migration, life in the UK and the fields they were entering, e.g. the employment, could have changed.

Overall, this section has demonstrated that prior to migration to the UK, the CEE participants accounts were full of ideals and aspirations for their migration, which I linked more broadly to the theme of the migration success ideal. The migration success ideal was a powerful ideal with the CEE participants' accounts, yet it was only an ideal. It has been shown that many participants did not have extensive knowledge of the fields of the UK, or a plan, prior to arrival to transform this ideal into a reality. However, the literature in Chapter One informs us that knowledge of these systems is essential when migrating. As we will see in the next section, the lack of planning and knowledge of these systems seriously impacted participants financially, within the labour market, and in their housing.

The following two sections will now explore this disadvantage, and the consequences of it, further through, to use the terms of Bourdieu (1998a), looking at participants' experiences in the fields of employment and housing.

Precariousness in Employment

As highlighted previously, participants largely did not have extensive knowledge or plans when migrating to the UK. Often migrating was based on the idea of the migration success ideal. Part of this was the view of the UK being prosperous, and this could perhaps explain why almost three quarters of participants had not arranged employment prior to migrating. Therefore, this section will discuss the precariousness that the CEE participants experienced in the field of employment.

Limited Employment Options

While it was not always possible to get exact details on participants' employment history, 18 CEE participants had worked (definition here being earned money through labour) during

their time in the UK. In total just under half of the CEE participants mentioned drawing on bonding social capital via their siblings or friends based in the UK to arrange employment at least once during their time in the UK. In general, most participants discussed working in sectors where it was seen in Chapter One that migrants are a common source of labour, such as hospitality or manual work (e.g. factory work, picking fruit, construction, care work, car washing etc.) during their time in the UK (Spencer et al., 2007; Broadway, 2007; Orchard et al., 2007). This leads onto another theme within the migration literature, that migration can deskill migrants resulting in the development of migrant dense sectors (Moskal, 2014; Datta et al., 2009). As highlighted with Valter's account, in the last section, this theme was also present within the accounts of the CEE participants. For instance:

I had a new experience because, eh, I never worked in Poland as a kitchen porter or assistant chef, so for me it was, eh, new experience. So that is my experience, eh, later I worked at a car wash, but eh, my job is welder. I want that work as welder, but, eh, I had documents from Poland and the new employer, eh, told me "Okay [name] I know you have experience but you have Polish document, eh, you cannot work in England you have to make English/Scottish document, so you have to make that again from beginning" but, eh, I don't have enough money because this is very, very expensive the course, so I said "Okay, thank you."
(Szymon, Poland – City 1)

This suggests that Szymon's cultural capital, in the form of qualifications, not translating was one of the reasons for his deskilling. Lack of qualifications bridging was also presented in Chapter One as a reason for migrants having to take on lower skilled work than they were capable of doing (Moskal, 2014; Datta et al., 2009; Scullion and Pemberton, 2010; Orchard et al., 2007). In Szymon's case, this led to him having to adopt employment in hospitality, a sector he had never worked in and a migrant dense industry, limiting his options for progression. In this case, Szymon lacked the economic capital to gain the UK equivalent of his Polish qualification. This limited his ability to use his institutionalised cultural capital and meant he had to take on less well-paid and secure employment in the hospitality sector, thus accruing lower levels of economic capital.

Lena also spoke about how she knew she would have to start as a "basic worker" due to her degree being valued less in the UK:

I was aware I would need to start as a basic worker, but [...] I do not agree with the one thing which I found myself unfair, because, eh, people in UK much better treated with the degree they've done like in USA or here rather than people from different country, and it's not about thinking who's better and who's worse, it's about, I think, if we've got the same level of knowledge and skills why not to get a chance to actually even have a proper assessment (Lena, Poland – City 1)

While Lena accepts this as her reality, she still views it as an injustice. In this case, her degree had covered the same subjects as the UK equivalent, it was just the country it was earned in that was different. Through saying that qualifications earned in the USA are also valued the same as qualifications in the UK, it implies that there is a hierarchy about how certain countries' educational systems are viewed in the UK. Within the participants' accounts, it was evident that migrants' institutionalised cultural capital can be valued less in the field of employment. As with Lena, this constrained their agency to gain high skilled employment, positioning them lower in the hierarchy of the field and resulting in them having to take on insecure and low-paid employment, thus impacting their economic capital and developing migrant dense sectors.

Another theme that I noticed which emerged in the accounts was that it can be difficult to gain more stable employment due to not having embodied cultural capital in the form of English proficiency. A quarter of participants discussed this, stating that not having a high level of English would limit the employment opportunities:

Speak English this is first step, communication. For me stupid people, stupid people who came here without this language, stupid people [...] without language want a good job? No way. (Maja, Poland – City 2)

While Maja is implying it is migrants that are “stupid” if they do not learn the language and expect a “good job”, being in migrant dense sectors can also contribute to lack of language learning. For instance, participants mentioned that when they were in low skilled jobs, e.g. working in hospitality, they could sometimes just converse in their first language. This means that migrants can be confined to migrant dense sectors because their skills and qualifications are not held with the same regard as employers, and being in these sectors can also hinder them developing proficiency in English due to them working with fellow nationals, which further limited their options. Therefore, the rules within the field of employment can create multiple points of disadvantage that can be difficult to overcome,

meaning migrants can find it harder to earn higher rates of economic capital and gain more prestigious forms of cultural capital.

Amelia discussed how she was able to develop her English and break out of housekeeping to bar work through transferring department

In the housekeeping department it was a case of like in our team we had 11 Polish people and three English, so that was a massive, like, the vast majority of people were Polish. So I felt really comfortable, with that but then on the other hand it didn't really benefit me. I can already speak Polish so that's why I made the transfer to the bars. (Amelia, Poland – City 1)

However, Amelia had to make the transfer herself, and at that point her level of English was already quite high. This suggests that it can be difficult for CEE nationals in low-skilled work with low levels of English to be able to break out of migrant dense sectors. This can then limit the development of their embodied cultural capital and can disadvantage them long-term, as it hinders their ability to learn English and expand their cultural capital, e.g. institutionalised, to be able to attain more secure employment in the UK context.

Insecure and Informal Employment

Perhaps due to the reasons discussed in the previous section, there was a theme amongst the CEE participants of engaging in insecure and informal employment. Within the literature, sectors that have high volumes of migrants as employees are notorious for their insecurity, precariousness and exploitation (Jayaweera and Anderson, 2008; Anderson, 2010b). This was also present within this study as, for instance, seven participants mentioned not having a contract for any work they had done in the UK, placing them in a disadvantageous and precarious position in regards to their employment rights.

However, having a contract does not always give security depending on the type of employment. Nine participants mentioned doing agency work in order to get employment during their time in the UK. Agency work is work where applicants are linked up to employers via an agency, however, it was highlighted in Chapter One that the work is not always guaranteed (Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve, 2007). Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve (2007) noted that agencies offered insecure employment where minimum hours are often not guaranteed. Because of this, although in most cases agency work was contracted, the contracts did not always protect participants. As Maja said:

Maja: Agency give you contract but, eh, you don't have a date, contract, only start and they can do it... what they want.

Researcher: So they give you a contract and send you out to places

Maja: Yes, yes (Maja, Poland – City 2)

Maja's accounts highlights the power disparity between these agencies and the people who use them to find employment. The account suggests that despite having a contract the agencies did "what they want" (Maja, Poland – City 2). Additionally, here the agency just gave her a start date, there were no guaranteed hours or length of contract. Similar to Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve (2007), as the work was not guaranteed nor well paid, it limited the economic capital participants engaging in agency work could accrue and subsequently could impact their safety net should the agency not procure work. Therefore, while employment contracts can give more security, they will not always guarantee stability in these sectors, as gaps in employment could occur.

I also observed that gaps in employment were common, as many participants spoke of having had employment that was short-term. Where participants specified, these roles were largely in migrant dense sectors. In some cases, short-term work that lasted at most three months was the only work that they mentioned doing whilst in the UK. This is similar to Broadway's (2007) findings, as the work in which their participants had undertaken had been irregular, leading to them having to change employment frequently. Additionally, including Sebastian, a quarter of participants mentioned being paid cash in hand at some point during their time in the UK:

Sebastian via Interpreter: There wasn't like y'know, it was only one day of work, you have work, it was a bit of work.

Researcher: Yeah so it was like that cash in hand thing again. No contract.

Sebastian via Interpreter: Yeah. Every week, no contract. (Sebastian via interpreter, Poland – City 2)

Being paid cash in hand, as Sebastian was, means there are a lack of bank statements to prove residency. Coupled with the lack of contracts and gaps in employment that many participants had, this can cause serious issues in alleviating homelessness, as will be seen in

Chapter Six. This can also have impacts later in their migration journey. For instance, the limited paper trail means that it could be harder to prove residency and pass the Habitual Residence Test in order to claim welfare (Citizens Advice, 2019). As it was highlighted in Chapter One, this also has implications with the UK leaving the EU as, if they wanted to stay in the UK, they would need a paper trail to show continuous residence to apply for settled status or permanent residency to protect their rights and lower the risk of deportation (Crown, 2019a; Boobis et al., 2019). Yet, despite this risk, no CEE participants mentioned planning for if the UK left the EU – beyond just leaving the country - and over half of the CEE participants either appeared unconcerned or were more focused on how it could damage the UK, not their residence. Although this could in part be due to the uncertainty around the UK/EU negotiations.

Overall, overwhelming numbers in this sample had experienced precariousness in the field of employment in the UK through insecure, low paid, or short-term work. Having a history of employment in unstable or low-skilled sectors, e.g. hospitality, agency, seasonal etc., can also hamper their ability in future to get employment that is stable as they may not have the relevant work experience. The only two participants who were working in stable, salaried employment at time of interview had gone to university either in the UK or their country of origin, and so they had the institutionalised and embodied cultural capital to make the transition from having been in insecure employment during their time in the UK or previous visits. The next section will now explore participants' housing and homelessness journeys where, amongst other things, the exploitative employment and lack of stable work documented in this section will be shown to also impact many participants precariousness on arrival and vulnerability to homelessness.

Precariousness in Housing

Using the ETHOS definition of insecure housing and homelessness, Table 2 categorises the housing situations of 18 of the CEE participants at the point of interview (Edgar et al., 2004):

Table 2: Participants housing situations at the point of interview:

<i>ETHOS</i>	<i>Participants' Accommodation Type</i>	<i>Number</i>
<i>Roofless</i>	Sleeping rough, in a tent or using temporary night shelter.	10
<i>Houseless</i>	Temporary accommodation provided either privately or by LA e.g. hostel, Private Sector Lease etc.	5
<i>Insecure Housing</i>	Uncontracted accommodation	2

Additionally, one participant had secure housing at the point of interview and one had accommodation through Private Sector Leasing (PSL) and another's housing situation was unclear⁶.

This section will discuss key examples of participants' journeys into homelessness and the housing situations above in relation to Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathways approach, before widening the lens to explore the wider issues participants experienced in relation to the fields of housing and the wider UK. This will capture both their individual circumstances at the micro level (e.g. substance use), but also highlight the wider precariousness participants experienced as they tried to navigate the field of housing.

Journeys into Homelessness

Each of the following cases details an individual participant's housing history and journey into homelessness. These were chosen as they all contain elements of Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) homelessness pathways that were discussed in Chapter One: Housing Crisis; Family Breakdown; Substance Abuse; Mental Health; Youth to Adult. Of these pathways, Substance Use, Housing Crisis and Family Breakdown were the most pertinent

⁶ It was not clear who provided his housing and whether or not it was temporary, however, he was just about to get settled housing from the Local Authority.

within the CEE participants' accounts, along with Friendship Breakdown which I have added as an extension to Family Breakdown. Examples of each of these will now be given.

Piotr – Substance Use

One of the longest running cases of repeated homelessness was in Piotr's account. In Piotr's case, his history was muddled, but he detailed having his accommodation tied to work on arrival, before moving in with his partner. He moved city, living with a friend, before his partner joined him in a shared flat. In 2013/14 he was asked to leave by his partner due to his addiction issues. While substance use issues were rare within the sample, concurring with the literature on migrant Multiple Exclusion Homelessness (MEH) (Fitzpatrick et al., 2012), Piotr's account fits into the Substance Use pathway identified by Chamberlain and Johnson (2011). In Piotr's case, he had been homeless and going back and forth between hostels, friends since 2013/14. In general, Piotr's history of written tenancy agreements was fragmented, and it was clear he had largely drew on his bonding social capital through residing in insecure accommodation with friends when he was not on the street or temporary or emergency accommodation. He detailed cyclically building his life up before using substances and losing everything:

Before I no have like this very big problem with alcohol and drugs, yeah. 24 years ago, and then... now I have, I have like this situation, every couple months I'm start again and I'm lose everything and after I'm wake up and thinking what I'm doing and after I'm start building everything again. (Piotr, Poland – City 2)

In this instance of homelessness, Piotr was unable to pay his friend rent and was asked to leave, starting the cycle again.

Lukas – Substance Use

In Lukas's case, he had always had his accommodation tied to his employment and had no written tenancy agreement for it. This is common in the migration literature and gives employers more control over their employees (Anderson et al., 2007; McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009). He had been allowed to stay on in his accommodation despite his employment being terminated, before his alcoholism led him to being asked to leave:

I want working, no work need, make it something, I'm starting drink just one day he [boss] call and say "leave this place, go somewhere" (Lukas, Lithuania – City 1)

As with Piotr, Lukas's account fits into Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) Substance Use pathway. Lukas then stayed with a friend before the friend passed away and he was street homeless.

Maja – Housing Crisis

Maja was first homeless in England because her ID was stolen. After she replaced her ID, she experienced repeat homelessness due to leaving rooms as the landlords kept increasing the rent. This fits into the Housing Crisis pathway (Chamberlain and Johnson, 2011), and exploitation in the PRS is discussed frequently in the migration literature. For instance, Gryszel-Fields and Reeve (2007) noted that while securing housing was easy, many of their Polish participants did not have written tenancy agreements that increased the possibility of exploitation. This was also reflected in the current study, as Maja stated she had landlords for these rooms, yet she never reported having written tenancy agreements. Without these agreements she was vulnerable to exploitation and these sudden rent increases as there was not proof on what terms had been agreed at the start of the tenancy – this will be discussed further in the next section. Eventually, she migrated to Scotland homeless and part of the reason she said she preferred to be on the street was because of her chaotic experiences of the Private Rented Sector (PRS):

Yes, every time the same. I pay, they want more I said no. Kick out. The same every, why I don't wanna rent a room, because I said to myself, "another fucking time I'd have paid for fucking kicked me out". You understand? Sorry. [...] Better I like no pay and nobody kick me out because we live in the street nobody kick you out on the street, only police officer. (Maja, Poland – City 2)

In this case it is clear to see these negative experiences in the PRS impacted her trust in the UK housing system and would make it a lot harder to alleviate her situation.

Arturs – Family Breakdown

Arturs had a written tenancy agreement for accommodation provided by his friend when he first arrived in England in 2011. He then lived with colleagues before moving into insecure accommodation with his partner in 2014 where he did not have a contract:

Arturs: But no contract, no. [...] How else can you write contract with girlfriend, I dunno? [Laugh] For one year, sign

Researcher: [Laughs] Yeah, how long will we be together? [Laughs].

Arturs: Maybe two? [Laughs] (Arturs, Latvia – City 1)

This highlights the difficulty in negotiating tenancy agreements with partners. This participant ended up homeless repeatedly (he estimated at least ten times) due to a cycle of relationship breakdown and then reconciliation. Arturs account fits into the Family Breakdown pathway (Chamberlain and Johnson, 2011). Arturs then permanently migrated homeless to Scotland in 2017.

David – Friendship Breakdown

David had lived in various uncontracted accommodation heard about via word of mouth. For instance:

I used to walk daily through London, I travelled from the bus station to the train station... I met him at the bus station as I was walking around London and he was just going back home so I got his phone number and that's how. (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

Here David detailed hearing about a room from a fellow Romanian national who was returning to Romania via bus, and so he drew heavily on bonding social capital and embodied cultural capital to gain insecure accommodation. However, after living in various uncontracted accommodations, David became homeless after his friend asked him to leave his accommodation as he did not have money for rent since he was unwell and unable to work:

That was the darkest time for me because there was no job, there was no money and I got sick. And then he told me to leave, and I thought he was a friend, but as I said before there's not friendship anymore. (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

In Chamberlain and Johnson (2011) work, the Family Breakdown pathway largely relates to romantic relationships or kin. I highlight here that it should be expanded to include friendship, as homelessness can also be the result of platonic relationship breakdown as this was present in many accounts. This shows the difficulties with drawing on bonding social capital and renting insecure accommodation from friends, or those who are thought of as friends. Subsequently, in David's case, he went on to arrive in Scotland homeless.

Even though I have highlighted that there are aspects of the CEE participants accounts that fit into Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathways, as noted in Chapter One these pathways do not capture everything. For instance, Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathways approach does not acknowledge that migrants can have migration specific routes into homelessness. For instance, almost a quarter of participants were homeless on arrival to the UK. In these cases these participants had limited bonding and bridging social capital within the UK at the point of migration, as Darius discussed:

When it comes to not speaking language, a foreign language, like it's really difficult for those who came here first, because afterwards loads of people have brought their friends and families so it was easier to accommodate and integrate, but for those who were alone like myself I didn't speak the language and it was really difficult. (Darius via interpreter, Romania – City 2)

Darius's limited bonding social capital meant there was less of a safety net from homelessness, and he spent his first days in Scotland trying to find people who were Romanian to ask them for help with his situation. While an extreme example, it highlights the impact migration can have on migrants' bonding social capital, reducing their support networks and increasing their risk of homelessness. This also highlights that achieving the success that was envisioned in the first part of this chapter can be harder for those who first migrate, with no established bonding social capital to aid their adjustment to the fields of the UK. While "*chain migration*" has been thought to make migration easier (Castles et al., 2014: 40), it does not acknowledge the difficulties the first link in the chain can experience.

Furthermore, to fit the CEE participants' accounts into categories as I have done so robs these accounts of their nuance and only presents a partial picture of events. I argue that Bourdieu (1986a) and Putnam (2000) can provide more of a nuanced explanation, while also highlighting the interaction between structure and agency. For instance, in David's example, he used his agency through drawing on both embodied cultural capital and bonding social capital to gain housing. However, through not gaining a contract for his housing and residing informally with his friend, when he no longer had the economic capital to pay rent, he was vulnerable to eviction due to the wider rules in the field of housing and thus entered the field of homelessness. Therefore, to present his homelessness as only being a result of relationship breakdown, as Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathway does, and not acknowledge the

wider context that this was situated in, e.g. tenancy insecurity, meaning the account of his journey into homelessness is incomplete and surface level.

Regarding tenancy security, it was not often clear within the accounts how participants had procured their housing, the type of housing it was (e.g. PRS, sub-let etc.), or the type of tenancy agreement they had (e.g. short assured or assured) if any. However, it was suggested in the accounts that housing was largely in insecure accommodation where the tenant had no written tenancy agreement, for instance Private Rented Sector accommodation provided uncontracted by a third-party landlord or employer, or they were a non-tenant occupier, for instance accommodation provided informally via friends/partners. Insecure accommodation has long been acknowledged within migration literature along with the exploitation that can occur (Spencer et al., 2007; Perry and Sim, 2011; Pires and MacLeod, 2006; Anderson et al., 2007; McNaughton-Nicholls and Quilgars, 2009; Broadway, 2007). For instance, lack of tenancy agreements, informal accommodation, and low awareness of rights was seen in Chapter One to increase the risk of homelessness and exploitation for CEE nationals (Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve, 2007). This added to my CEE participants' vulnerability in the field of housing, and I noticed that in all of the accounts given in the previous section, and in the wider dataset, when the majority of the participants became homeless (or repeatedly homeless in the case of nine participants), they did not have written tenancy agreements and were residing in insecure accommodation.

Due to the devolved nature of housing policy, there are different rights around written tenancy agreements in Scotland and England. In Scotland, most landlords need to provide written tenancy agreements (Citizens Advice Scotland, 2019). Within England, tenants have fewer rights to a written tenancy agreement (Citizens Advice Scotland, 2019). While in the UK, over half of the participants had never had a written tenancy agreement for their housing, or discussed informal living arrangements such as staying with friends, In contrast, nine of the CEE participants had at least one written tenancy agreement for their housing during their time in the UK, however, it was clear in many of these cases that they had accommodation with and without written contracts during their stay in the UK. The majority of the CEE participants had housing in both Scotland and England, and so while you could argue that it was the participants fault for not getting a written tenancy agreement, the fact that they were not offered one by their housing provider suggests there are wider problems in the field of housing.

As with the field of employment, the lack of documentation placed them at a disadvantage in the field of housing. While there were two cases where participants had become homeless through losing accommodation where they had a written tenancy agreement, the majority experienced homelessness from losing uncontracted accommodation. Even though many participants were already in insecure situations due to their substance use or their reliance on bonding social capital, a lack of written tenancy agreements meant that it could be harder to prove the terms that the housing was obtained under and make them vulnerable to exploitation.

It was not clear in all cases why participants did not always have written tenancy agreements or secure housing. However, similar to the work of Orchard et al. (2007) and Gryszel-Fields and Reeve (2007) there was a theme within the data that most of the CEE participants had relied on bonding social capital, via friends and family, to provide accommodation at some point during their stay in the UK. In these accounts' tenancy agreements, both written and oral, were not mentioned. This suggests that many of the living arrangements with friends and family in were casual, making it likely that CEE participants who received housing this way during their time in the UK were non-tenant occupiers in Scotland and excluded occupiers in England. Both of these statuses give limited protection against eviction and a dearth of enforceable rights (Shelter England, 2019; Shelter Scotland, 2019b). This makes their accommodation extremely insecure.

It is possible that the CEE participants were not aware of the importance of written tenancy agreements and arranging accommodation via official channels. For instance, Igor gave the following reason for not having a written tenancy agreement:

I have place to stay, I have work. I must keep my mind on it. Didn't think about work, maybe I need to do it legally. [...] Rather there is my room, see you later.

(Igor, Poland – City 2)

As well as trusting their friends and family, this also suggests that participants could also have been more focused in having a roof over their heads and earning money rather than ensuring all of their accommodation was secure and their rights enforceable.

Additionally, as highlighted in David's account in the previous section, being unable to pay rent due to things such as losing employment, coupled with being in insecure accommodation, was often quickly succeeded with being asked to leave accommodation. As

noted previously, employment was largely in insecure, low-paid sectors. Therefore, insecurity that the CEE participants experienced in the field of employment also created disadvantages within the field of housing, increasing the risk of them experiencing homelessness. This is similar to the findings of Broadway (2007), where being unemployed or in employment with low earnings was the most frequent reason for having to leave PRS accommodation. Furthermore, as with employment, the lack of documentation means that it was harder to receive homelessness assistance, as Chapter Six will address. Subsequently, while lack of tenancy security was not always the only reason for homelessness, it did consistently appear across the accounts to contribute their vulnerability to homelessness and, as will be seen in Chapter Six, hindered their ability to alleviate it.

From these selected accounts it is evident that the relationship participants have had with insecure accommodation and the Private Rented Sector has been complex and is entangled with their experience of the field of employment, thus influencing their entry into the field of homelessness. While some of the accounts around journeys into homelessness chime with Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathways approach, I have drawn more on the structural contributors, such as lack of written tenancy agreements, formal housing arrangements and disadvantages via migration, with personal situations providing context. I argue focusing on the individual and micro-level reasons detracts from the structural issues that impact participants' lives and allows a focus for individual blame. In none of the cases has a CEE participant said they always had a written tenancy agreement for their tenancy and over half of them had never had one or only discussed informal, short-term living arrangements. It is not possible to determine why the participants did not always ensure that they had a written tenancy agreement in place, but is evident that many trusted that friends and acquaintances would be reliable in sourcing or providing housing. This highlights the risk in relying on bonding social capital and means it was highly likely that that the CEE participants were non-tenant occupiers or excluded occupiers, leaving them with little rights in regard to their housing (Shelter England, 2019; Shelter Scotland, 2019b). For instance, many were asked to leave accommodation and would have been hindered in challenging it as a result of this lack of legal protection. In many cases their homelessness could potentially have been avoided had they had a written tenancy agreement that clearly stated their rights. While it has been shown that in many of these cases it was not a singular event that led to homelessness, the role of insecure accommodation and the precariousness these participants experienced in their housing prior to homelessness made them more vulnerable.

Furthermore, it will be seen in Chapter Six, that this lack of documentation created further issues in trying to gain assistance while homeless. Therefore, while there were additional micro factors that contributed to homelessness, there are issues with the wider field of housing that have wide-reaching consequences and need to be stressed.

Conclusion

Overall, what this chapter has sought to demonstrate is that while participants came to the UK with aspirations and ambitions of making their migration prosperous, the reality is that their position in the UK was extremely precarious and there were many barriers in which to achieve their visions. Coming with little knowledge of the UK and limited plans meant that participants were ill equipped to navigate the bureaucracy and fields of the UK, as oftentimes their capital was not valued the same as it was in their country of origin. Furthermore, relying on bonding social capital via friends or family who may not be the best equipped in setting up secure and well-paid employment and stable housing can create a cycle of disadvantage and hinder the development of bridging social capital. From friends and family, or from their own knowledge, many participants had exaggerated expectations of what to expect from life in the UK. This meant that the reality often did not meet what had been promised and unexpected challenges arose.

While there are individual factors that contributed to expectations prior to arrival not being realised, there were also issues in the wider fields of the UK. In regard to the field of employment, it has been documented that many participants were largely in insecure, low-paid and low-skilled services e.g. hospitality, due to their embodied and institutionalised cultural capital not being valued the same in the UK. This means they attained a history of low-skilled work in the UK, and this, along with limited opportunities to learn English, could constrain the accruing of more cultural capital and thus options for future work outside of these sectors.

Furthermore, in none of the accounts was there evidence that participants had consistently had written tenancy agreements. Despite each participant having a unique situation, across the accounts a lack of written tenancy agreements have been shown to have made them even more vulnerable to exploitation by landlords or the people they were staying with e.g. through sudden eviction or rent increases. Therefore, while the accounts could fit into Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathways at the micro-level to explain individual factors, I stress that the wider issues in the fields of the UK, such as the lack of stable and contracted

employment and housing throughout their time in the UK, also need to be acknowledged. Due to this, participants were placed in more precarious positions than they would have been had they had a written tenancy agreement, or employment contract, as at least in those cases they would have, in theory, some protection from exploitation. Instead, on arrival participants experienced multiple disadvantages, partly due to their migration status, which contributed to their homelessness.

Structurally, as will be highlighted in Chapter Six, the lack of documentation via written tenancy agreements or employment contracts also has implications in how they were able to 'play the game' in the field of homelessness. Therefore, these early disadvantages in migration can have severe negative consequences on their ability to navigate the fields of UK society and to alleviate homelessness and create future stability.

However, before addressing structure, the emotional and personal impacts of homelessness need to be addressed. Having had expectations that migration would be profitable and improve quality of life, becoming homeless would seem to be the antithesis to this plan. Therefore, the following chapter will now focus on how the participants' lives changed and how they responded to this turn of events on a personal and emotional level.

Chapter Five: Life Changing With Homelessness

Introduction

Before I didn't even know what this word homeless meant, and it was better. A lot of things in life is better to not know, because then it affects you more. (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

In this quote, David is referring to now knowing what the word “*homeless*” meant and how this has personally impacted his view on his situation and made it worse. While the previous chapter discussed participants experiences prior to and after migration to the UK, it focused largely on the structural inequalities that contributed to participants’ homelessness and destitution, not the ways in which these situations personally impacted the CEE participants.

Therefore, using Bourdieu’s (1998a) concept of field as discussed in Chapter Two to contextualise participants’ experiences, the following chapter focuses more individually on how participants’ lives were restructured with entry into the field of homelessness. Here the field of homelessness represents physically being homeless and all the life changes, struggles and challenges that being subject to the rules and hierarchies within this arena entails. This chapter will focus on how entering this arena and being homeless constrained participants’ agency in structuring their daily routine and subsequently impacted their sense of self and their social networks.

Yet, as well as acknowledging the wider structure within the field of homelessness, and the smaller fields of third sector homelessness services and welfare services, that participants had to engage with and which affected their courses of action, this chapter also brings attention to how participants used their constrained agency in navigating homelessness. The participants in this study were not passive actors being swept along by events. They had thoughts, feelings and opinions on their situation, and these also guided their actions where possible. To use the analogy of a play, the field formed the set, the rules of the field influenced the direction of the scenes that participants found themselves in, but through using their capitals participants could ad-lib to some extent within this.

The aim of this chapter is to highlight the ad-libbing and the use of this constrained agency in the context of participants’ responses to their homelessness. However, it will also emphasise the influence the overarching field of homelessness, and the homelessness system, had on participants’ responses to their situation.

Being Homeless

Since becoming homeless, three quarters of the CEE participants mentioned using homelessness services as part of their daily routine⁷. It was clear in the accounts that participants' lives were regimented by the times that they could access services. If they did not use services at certain times, they would not get any food or provisions for their basic survival. Reliance on services is particularly salient within the homelessness literature. As Mostowska (2014: 125) noted, finding services and accessing services formed part of the “*daily survival strategies*” of homeless Polish migrants in Belgium. However, while my CEE participants' basic needs were being provided for, it meant that they did not have any options other than to use these services at these times, constraining their agency to do other things. Through being in the field of homelessness they now had to access the field of third sector homelessness services which they relied on for their basic necessities and follow the rules of the agencies within this field. While there does appear to be a choice here, to use services or not to use them, in reality if they did not there is a high chance they would not have survived. These services were important to daily life, and when these services were closed, as was the case for most of these services on Sunday in one of the cities, Maja remarked:

Library closed, McDonalds kick you out. This is terrifying. When wake up on Sunday the first question homeless to homeless, “how we can survive fucking Sunday?” (Maja, Poland – City 2)

Through saying it was “*terrifying*”, Maja highlights the reliance that most people who are homeless have on services to be there. Yet when they are not, as was the case here, it can be difficult to survive.

Despite this reliance, there was shame around requiring assistance from agencies in the fields of third sector homelessness services and welfare services. This was best encapsulated by the following quotes:

I don't want to be like “oh please hand me” I'm a young man y'know, need to do something for myself, can't be like “oh please [...] I don't speak English please help me”. No, not for me (Igor, Poland – City 2)

⁷ The majority of services that were referred to were third sector low threshold services e.g. emergency night shelters and day centres.

I find it humiliating. I am ashamed that I exist like this. To go and ask for a piece of bread or to have to rely on the £80 that they give me, it's embarrassing. It's humiliating not to have my own money and having to rely on someone else to give it. (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

Here, David and Igor are ashamed that they need to access the field of welfare services. They are ashamed of how their agency is constrained in these fields, meaning they need to rely on these services. However, it needs to be noted that this sense of shame or embarrassment did not deter people from claiming welfare, and many had to in order to survive. Rather it negatively impacted how they perceived themselves.

Although, it is important to highlight participants' use of agency. At the point of interview, half of the CEE participants said that they really enjoyed green spaces such as public parks and nature. The most frequent reason for this was that nature was felt to be relaxing and helped them forget the circumstances in which they were in. Antoni sums it up nicely:

[Likes green space] Why? Because I feel calm, I don't feel this, I don't know I don't even know what to call it, how to say it, calm I sit, I listen to the song of the birds, I watch the leaves, and I just think about what I need to do, where to go, how to organise it all, I just make a plan in peace and quiet. I see people who come and sometimes it rains, sometimes it's one person, darn it's nice to watch things like that, the years that I just watched bad things and blood and beatings, however I myself took part in them, I won't say I didn't. For me it's something different, like an escape, it's nice for me to watch things in me, to just sit down and be like darn I'm a free human, nice, nice, it's nice now. (Antoni via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

Through saying green space was “*like an escape*” implies that he was able to find moments in it for himself, away from the reality of homelessness and the “*bad things*” he had witnessed and done in his past. For him, being outdoors in nature allowed him time to organise his thoughts, appreciate his freedom and escape from reality.

Additionally, being homeless also gave CEE participants the opportunity to explore the cities that they were in, and many mentioned just walking and discovering new aspects. Other participants also mentioned going to gaming clubs, leisure centres, museums or the cinema when they could. Therefore, while participants' agency was constrained through having to

follow the rules of the homelessness system and having to go between services at certain times, this was not the only aspect of their lives.

However, despite homelessness not being the only aspect of participants' lives, being in the field of homelessness and having to rely on services and follow their rules, did have an impact on their self-perception of their situation. There is a difference between becoming homeless by an objective definition and then *feeling* homeless. For the CEE participants, having their agency constrained by the rules of services within the field of third sector homelessness services, such as only being able to access to certain services at certain times, was a key feature of feeling homeless, not just the lack of physical housing. As Antoni remarks:

[On viewing himself as homeless] Damn, I mean yeah, there's no other expression. I have nowhere to go, I use the institutions that work in this city and help people who have no home so I can't say I'm not homeless, yes at the moment I am homeless, there's nothing to hide. (Antoni via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

Despite Antoni previously describing how he was “*a free human*” and how he enjoyed being able to go to the park, this did not negate the impact that having to access homelessness services had on his feelings about his situation.

Feelings of homelessness were also associated with having nowhere to go and no place where you can be yourself and do what you want:

Yes, as long as I don't have my own house. I never like depending on people. To be able to go in when somebody else wants to, to have to eat when somebody else wants to. I like to enter when I want to and eat when I want to and sleep where I want to. It's my life and I want to do what I want to do. (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

Home it is home, you back in home. Not back in some B&B or some not, like for example temporary accommodation you can do nothing. If I have a home I can do how I wanna, but if it's not mine what can I do in there. (Filip, Lithuania – City 1)

Here David and Filip were not able to construct their day how they would want and the space in which they occupied was not *theirs*. Instead it was run by homelessness services, and they

had to follow the services rules, and the wider rules of the field of third sector homelessness services, thus constraining their agency and giving them a lack of security and control over their lives.

These extracts and accounts are linked to the design of some homelessness services as, highlighted previously, many services run to specific timetables. For example, in some of the services in which I did observations, there were strict times on when things such as coffee and food were served, and outside these times people could not get access to these resources. While these rules are common in the field of third sector homelessness services, being subject to them constrained CEE participants' abilities to use their agency and made them *feel* homeless.

However, despite meeting the criteria of the study, a quarter of participants perceived themselves not to be homeless or as being only partially homeless. For instance, Patryk:

There's two points of view, it's a 50/50 question, generally I have a place to sleep, so I'm not really homeless but I am homeless, I don't know how long I'll be able to sleep here, I don't have my own flat, I don't have a place to live and I sleep in the shelter for the past four years (Patryk via interpreter, Poland – City 2)

As discussed above, the reason Patryk felt 50% homeless ties into the notion of constrained agency and security. Since Patryk had a place to sleep, he did not feel he was homeless, but then because he was unsure about how long he would have that place to sleep he felt homeless. This suggests that homelessness is not just about having a roof over one's head, but also a sense of rootlessness and uncertainty.

Other reasons participants expressed for not viewing themselves as homeless were not being hopeless, and knowing it was temporary and having money to be able to rent a flat and support that could be relied on. For instance:

I didn't consider it as like being 'homeless' homeless because I knew that, like, eventually I would have a flat because I had the money to like have a flat. Em, so I would know that like was like temporary situation and if anything I can always ask my parents or grandparents to like, eh, send me transfer of, eh, money so I was like I'm going to be fine, and I had savings as well. (Amelia, Poland – City 1)

However, what is different about Amelia's case to the others outlined was that she had economic capital she could draw on in that she had money. It was discussed in the previous chapter that participants' employment situations, and thus economic capital, was often insecure, and so many would not have had the same economic capital at their disposal as Amelia. She also knew that she had bonding social capital she could call on should her situation worsen, something which, as will be seen, many participants did not have or did not want to do. Therefore, unlike most participants', Amelia was relatively well equipped to navigate the field of homelessness, and she was not homeless for long. As will be seen next, not everyone had this level of support in which they could fall back on.

Overall, it was evident in this section that feeling homeless is much different than being categorised as homeless. The accounts demonstrate that feeling homeless was not necessarily due to lack of shelter, as the ETHOS definition advocates (Edgar et al., 2004). It was due to not having complete agency and control over one's life. It is also clear that this was exacerbated through having to navigate the field of third sector homelessness services, and the rigid structure of homelessness services that many participants had to rely on for their basic needs to be met.

Homelessness Impacting Employment

It is also important to note that participants did try and navigate the field of employment while they were homeless, yet their homelessness and lack of housing hindered this, further reducing their agency and ability to generate economic capital. Maja discussed the difficulties maintaining regular work while on the street and without housing:

Maja: One month [...] last year very good job I lose this job because I sleep here and I was chest infection. I can't go to fabryka [factory] with chest infection. Ask staff [in night shelter]. 8 days. 11 hours working. 3-4 hours freezing outside [waiting for night shelter], 10 o'clock came here. [...] And I sleep and I pray "please, please five hours sleep". No. 4.30am wakey wakey. Too quickly, coffee. Quickly send me the street, bus [go to work].

Researcher: And then you got ill

Maja: But if somebody in this time tell me "[name] I give you room to rest, to shower, rest" I be have this job for this day. (Maja, Poland – City 2)

In this case having to stay in the night shelter during winter, which was only open late at night, and work in a job that had long hours and early starts meant Maja got ill and was unable to continue the employment. In Maja's case it was the physical toll of being homeless that led to her being dismissed. If Maja had been adequately supported through being given accommodation that she could access at any point, she would not have had to wait outside in winter for shelters to open and then would not have gotten ill. This means she would have been able to retain this job and alleviate her situation, yet the rules in the field of homelessness impacted her ability to navigate the field of employment and gain access to the field of housing.

However, it was not just physically being able to retain work while homeless that impacted the CEE participants' employment. In Szymon's case, it was stigmatisation around his homelessness that led to him being dismissed by his employer:

I cannot work without home. Eh, I had, I had a job and I work at, in restaurant, and when I lost the B&B, so I slept on the street and someone, eh, saw, someone from, eh, my job, saw, eh, where I sleep on the street and next day, eh, my boss told me "come with me to my office" and told me "sorry, but someone told me, eh, you slept on the street so you will tell me, you have a home?" I say "no, I don't have a home, at the moment homeless" so "sorry, you have to out [go]". Eh, because this restaurant have high prestige, five star, and my boss told me "sorry but if someone found out, eh, I hired homeless people, so I can lost the prestige, I cannot, so you have to out [go]". (Szymon, Poland – City 1)

Here, Szymon's employer was concerned that if it was found out that he employed someone who was homeless, it would damage the reputation of the restaurant. Therefore, the solution was to dismiss Szymon. Therefore, while Maja's account highlights that physically retaining a job while sleeping on the street is difficult, the stigmatisation of his homelessness by his employer added an additional barrier and made it impossible for Szymon.

Much of the work the CEE participants took while homeless was taken from friends or was informal, e.g. collecting scrap metal or working in a car wash. In many cases this was a means to get some economic capital. For instance, Igor and Gabriel mentioned doing this type of work while homeless to try and earn money to replace their passports (Igor's expired and Gabriel's was stolen):

I tried to make money for the passport working on a car wash for £30 a day, for 10 hours, £3 an hour. I just take how much money I need working for a week, maybe a week and a couple days and left without saying any word. (Igor, Poland – City 2)

There's this other guy that I work with [...]. I was supposed to go today as well, but I told him I got something to do, but I'm going in the afternoon. Cause I need money for the embassy tomorrow, I don't know how much all of this is going to be. (Gabriel via interpreter, Romanian – City 2)

Similar to Broadway's (2007) participants, in both of these cases they were disadvantaged in that they could not take on legitimate employment to try and earn money to replace their passports, as without their passports they cannot prove their entitlement to work (Crown, 2019d). However, not having a passport limits them in the services they can access while in the UK to help with their homelessness e.g. welfare. This creates a Catch-22 where migrants are forced into taking on exploitative, low paid work to get their passports replaced in order to be able to access statutory services and have their homelessness addressed. For instance, Igor was earning £3 an hour when the minimum wage is at least double this in the UK (Crown, 2019c). In this way their agency is constrained as they have to take on low positions in the field of employment to be able to navigate the field of homelessness and gain access to the statutory services in that field to try and get housing.

Overall, despite trying to retain employment, in many cases this was impossible with homelessness, or they had to take on illegitimate employment where they were being exploited. This made it harder for the CEE participants to gain the economic capital to be able to alleviate their homelessness, further constraining their agency and options.

Altering Existing Networks

Being homeless meant that the CEE participants' existing bonding social capital altered. Almost half of the CEE participants were not in touch with their friends whom they had had prior to homelessness at the point of interview. In relation to family, it was only a minority of the participants who had no contact due to reasons such as losing contact years prior to homelessness or having no living family. This section will explore these networks in more detail and discuss how becoming homeless altered the CEE participants bonding social capital with their family and friends.

Shame and Stigma

Shame and stigma emerged as a common theme around whether or not CEE participants would tell their families about their homelessness. Regardless whether they were currently in contact, half of the CEE participants said they had not or would not tell their families (e.g. mother, father, brother, sister etc.) about their homelessness. This is similar to the findings of Broadway (2007) and Johnsen and Sosenko (2012) where after becoming homeless their participants distanced themselves from their networks in their country of origin. In my study this was a very emotional point. For example, Filip got very defensive when asked if he would ever tell his family or friends about his situation:

Researcher: Do they know about your situation like your family and your friends?

Filip: Neh,neh nobody.

Researcher: Would you ever tell them?

Filip: Nah.

Researcher: Why?

Filip: For what? Why must I tell them? It's my life not their life. It's my business not their business, and that's it, simple. (Filip, Lithuania – City 1)

Filip was very clear that it was his “*business*”, not his friends or family. However, through asserting that “*it's my life not their life*” and the defensiveness this exhibits, it also suggests shame at his situation and a desire to hide it from his family or friends.

Igor explicitly discussed feelings of shame and stigma playing a role in him not telling his family:

Mmm, I feel ashamed. Everybody thinking “oh somebody go to UK, have plenty of money”, not y'know, when you staying here, when you would like to work here and live in Poland, not going to be easy, but if you want to stay here, nothing cheap, y'know, everything cost. (Igor, Poland – City 2)

Igor's account harks back to the visions of a successful migration painted in the first chapter and how the expectations and aspirations of life in the UK often did not match reality

(“*nothing cheap, everything cost*”). In Igor’s case, the implication of his migration having ‘failed’ prevented him from telling his family. This was also the case for David who said he had not told an ex-girlfriend whom he was still close to:

No. No, no one knows anything. Why would she? It would be difficult for her as well if she know it was not going well. When you’re abroad everybody at home thinks “oh he’s abroad and everything is going so well”. But not everything is pink. [Not everything is seen through rose glasses] (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

It is clear in these accounts that it was the shame of not meeting the migration success ideal that was discussed in the previous chapter which prevented them from telling their loved ones. David also highlights that telling his ex-girlfriend would cause her harm, and he does not want to do that to her.

While these discussions centred more on telling family members, Igor and Antoni also recounted their mechanisms for hiding their situation from their friends while still maintaining contact:

Researcher: do you keep in touch with anyone you worked with before?

Igor: Em, yeah, we are communicating on Facebook but it’s all like “oh [name] come to the pub” or “come somewhere”, “oh I can’t just now, I’m broke”. I never say it, what is happening, but “oh I can’t I’m busy” or “I’m working a lot”. Y’know, still have to lie. Don’t feel good with that at all, maybe I should just say the true and everybody gonna understand. I feel shame. (Igor, Poland – City 2)

Researcher: Do your friends know about your situation here?

Antoni via Interpreter: No. On Facebook I cheat and lie, act like a normal common person, I don’t feel good about it, but I am ashamed of it. [...] last time I wrote, my friend wanted me to speak with her over webcam and said to me “What don’t you have a camera on your laptop?” And I said I bought a computer 2 days ago and that I have to buy a camera still, just buying time you know. It’s just with my friends from Poland I am a liar, I need to lie to them. (Antoni via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

In these cases, Igor and Antoni had developed strategies to distance themselves from their friends while maintaining contact. Both were ashamed of their situations and did not want their friends knowing. However, from the accounts it is evident that neither of them felt comfortable lying to their friends (“*don’t feel good with that at all*” Igor, and “*I don’t feel good about it*” Antoni via interpreter), yet the shame they felt about disclosing their homelessness overrode this.

These accounts suggest that due to the migration success ideal discussed in the previous chapter, participants did not want to contradict this image in contacting their friends or families for support and, in many cases, wanted to resolve their homelessness themselves. These accounts chime with the findings of Mostowska (2014: 122), where Polish nationals who were homeless in Belgium hid their situation from their families so they could still convey the illusion of having a “*successful migration*”.

It is perhaps this theme of stigma that drove participants to want to alleviate their situation themselves, without help from their friends or family:

Researcher: Would you ever tell them about your housing situation?

Jakub via Interpreter: I know I’ll get sober and I will sort it all out, then yes. For sure.

Researcher: But not now?

Jakub: Now no, now no.

Researcher: Why? Why not now?

Jakub via Interpreter: My mum’s a very loving, emotional person, family person.

It would fucking break her heart. (Jakub as himself and via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

Jakub’s account links back to David’s, in saying that telling his mother about his homelessness would cause her emotional distress and he wants to prevent that. As with Jakub, many participants also stated that they would tell their family members about their homelessness after they have alleviated it. I noted that this could be a way of affirming that this is only temporary, and they are fixating on a point in the future where they are no longer homeless as a way to cope with the present situation. Additionally, it is also possible that

this links back to feelings of shame and is a way to negate the concept of ‘failing’ migration and the stigma of having been homeless. For instance, if you tell someone about a bad experience when your circumstances are improved, it could mean that it is easier for the listener to hear, but also that it reflects better on you as you are out of that situation at the point of telling. While they will have ‘failed’ at migration in the past, they have made a ‘success’ of it again once more, and so their momentary failure no longer matters. There was also an element of moving beyond the field of homelessness when I enquired about future plans, and an attitude of homelessness being a temporary situation. Many CEE participants discussed alleviating their homelessness, despite the challenges highlighted in doing so in this chapter, and starting a family and having a home. For instance:

I no want being homeless something like this no. Maybe I have normal job, normal life, something normal family (Piotr, Poland – City 2)

I wish to have a wife, I have children, y’know, yeah but y’know, just your dream (Filip, Lithuania – City 1)

This highlights that despite the challenges in navigating the field of homelessness, the CEE participants still had a hope that it could be resolved and they could have a successful migration, as they aspired to in Chapter Four. Therefore, despite all the barriers and challenges the CEE participants had encountered, there was still faith in the migration for success ideal.

Furthermore, in some of the accounts there was this fear that once family and friends knew they would blame the person for their failed migration. For instance, Szymon relayed the following:

I don’t want back to Poland. Because I don’t want. Eh, I want, eh, repair my life here, not in Poland, because, eh, when my family find out, when I came back to Poland, so it’s my life is terrible. “Oh, eh, you had the job, you had good money, why you come back? You start drink again”. So y’know, too much talk. [...] so that’s why I don’t want back to, eh, Poland. Because I don’t want hear many complain about me and my life, what I did, eh, “you are like your father”, no I don’t want hear this. So that’s why I don’t want back to Poland. So like I said, the decision about arrive to UK, is now, I think, maybe was wrong or not, but I

no want everything, and my situation here, now, it is everything my fault.

(Szymon, Poland – City 1)

Szymon did not want to return to Poland and have to explain to his family why he had to return, as he felt they would complain about how he squandered his opportunity due to his alcohol dependency. However, he did not detail a previous experience of his family reacting in this way and he states at the end about his situation being his fault. This implies that he felt ashamed of how his migration had turned out and was projecting these feelings onto the hypothetical reactions of his family. Additionally, through saying he wants to “*repair*” his life in the UK and not in Poland, he is taking ownership of his situation, and exercising his constrained agency through resolving to alleviate his homelessness himself without his family finding out. However, this view point also does not acknowledge the structural constraints that were highlighted in the previous chapter that contributed to him entering the field of homelessness, it only focuses on individual blame.

The stigma of being a ‘failed’ migrant has been documented in the literature to prevent repatriation (Mostowska, 2013; Mostowska, 2014). One third sector worker also mentioned the stigma around return migration and the ‘personal failure’ belief meant that trying to get people to repatriate was difficult, even if it was the better option:

It was always seen as you live abroad so you’re really wealthy, so that stigma and I had few people I supported who would say I would go back but I’m ashamed. So there was those emotional baggage as well, and that was a huge barrier because people didn’t want to admit to their mistakes or they didn’t want to just say it didn’t work out, so they prefer to stay here. (Zofia, Worker – City 1)

These accounts present a view that you either achieved ‘success’ via migration or ‘failure’, there was no in-between or room for struggle. As with the previous chapter, this highlights the strength of the migration success ideal, and this may have been exacerbated though coming from countries with a recent history of emigration (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014). Thus, those in ‘sending’ countries can have certain notions around migration in which those who migrate feel they are under pressure to conform to and which can affect their decisions when they do not. While a worker, Zofia was also a CEE national, and this could also explain why she was the only third sector worker who discussed migration in a ‘success’ or ‘failure’ way in relation to repatriation and returning to family.

Telling Families and Friends

Despite this section largely focusing on those who had not told their family about their homelessness, it needs to be acknowledged that some CEE participants did choose to tell their friends and family about their situation in Scotland. In total, just over a quarter of participants had told their families about their experiences of homelessness. In three cases families were mentioned as providing support: in two cases either the sibling or the parents sent money, or in third case a parent sent goods they could use. Lukas describes this as reciprocating the support he had given his mother:

Lukas: She understand me, but eh, y'know like I'm working and always help [...] always send money every month, and now she sends for me

Researcher: So she sends you-

Lukas: No money, something like cigarette. (Lukas, Lithuania – City 1)

Rationalising his mother giving him support in return for the money he provided earlier in his migration as a form of reciprocity could be a way in which to claim some power and agency back in the situation and preserve his sense of self. Although, it needs to be noted that families were not always supportive. Two participants mentioned that their families thought they had to sort it out themselves, again suggesting an individual blame narrative as they had 'failed' migration.

In almost a quarter of cases it was evident that friends outside of homelessness services and/or from before homelessness knew about their homelessness. Again, in some of the accounts there was the attitude amongst participants' that even though their friends knew, they should alleviate their homelessness themselves. For instance:

Lukas: No, we know everything, yeah I'm talking about this yeah. Y'know I no call help, for me no need help for me everything okay, I make it everything personal. I like make everything personal

Researcher: Yeah make it yourself

Lukas: I'm everything return. I return my life, all my life. (Lukas, Lithuania – City 1)

Lukas was very clear that he wanted to alleviate his homelessness himself, as shown above and in his previous quote where he specified his mother only sent cigarettes and not money. Again, this highlights a desire to retain some agency. However, in some cases, friends who resided locally did provide support e.g. temporary shelter, food, work, advice etc. For instance:

They've been very supportive. They've been very supportive and they told me either I did have a choice to borrow money and rent a room again from another the same agency [...] or either ask for help. (Lena, Poland – City 1)

Throughout her interview, Lena asserted she had always been independent prior to experiencing homelessness, and it is perhaps due to this that she did not take up the support her friends offered, thus retaining some agency. Yet, the support being offered was really appreciated, and they were able to advise her on where to go to alleviate her situation.

However, while important to note these cases where participants told their family and friends, it does need to be highlighted that these cases were a minority within the dataset.

Overall, in response to homelessness participants tended to distance themselves from their friends and family, and it was a minority of participants who told family and friends about their situation. One possible explanation for this are the 'migrating for success' and 'UK as prosperous' ideals that were discussed in the previous chapter. It was evident in the accounts that the shame of not meeting these ideals hindered participants in seeking help from their friends and family. However, there was also an element of wanting to take control in one's life and claiming back agency in a situation where it had been constrained. This 'do it myself' attitude, or only wanting to tell family once their homelessness had been resolved, also hints at personal shame of being in a situation where they could use their families' help in the first place. While they wanted to protect their family member(s) from the worry or strain of knowing about their situation, it also suggests they also did not want to have to admit their situation while they were still living it and only acknowledge it had happened after the fact. However, as Ryan et al. (2009) notes, these networks are important avenues for support, and so what this serves to do is isolate them from potential support networks, both emotional and physical.

Forming New Networks

Being in the field of homelessness and having to use services in the field of third sector homelessness services, did not only change participants' perception of themselves and their relationships with their bonding social capital prior to homelessness, it also led them to form new bonding social capital. In total 18 CEE participants had used homelessness services and discussed socialising with people who used the services. This section will discuss how the CEE participants navigated their new relationships with others who used services, and the advantages and disadvantages they brought.

Meaningful Relationships

One theme that emerged in my analysis was that the relationships that CEE participants formed in homelessness services were largely due to necessity. By this I mean, had they not been having to frequent those services, the relationships would not have been made. For instance, Lukas stated that he always saw the same people at services and as such had to say hello:

Lukas: Yeah. But y'know, if you no have job, no have money, eh, benefits very small [...], you go somewhere where's food, always same people. Hello, hello [mimes saying hello to people in services].

Researcher: It's always the same people

Lukas: Hello, goodbye. [Laughs]

Researcher: So have you not tried to get to know anyone?

Lukas: Neh

Researcher: So like you've not, eh, you don't come here to get to know people, you come here for the computer, not to make friends.

Lukas: Just no have friends, no friends just talking little bit short times for one, for another one. (Lukas, Lithuania – City 1)

Here Lukas is describing how he talks to people in services and hangs out with them, but these relationships are not meaningful to him. Sebastian had a similar sentiment:

Sebastian via Interpreter: Don't really have friends. I've got, y'know, mates.

Researcher: Are you talking about the guys out there?

Sebastian via Interpreter: Yeah

Researcher: Why would you not call them friends?

Interpreter explains: [...] In Poland we have really like really good friends friends, it's kind of like increments of friends. (Sebastian via interpreter, Poland – City 2)

Here the interpreter explained that in the Polish language there are degrees of friends and different language to express how close the relationship is. Therefore, Sebastian is specifying that while he has “mates” in services, they are not “friends” in a meaningful sense. These accounts suggest that while participants bonding social capital changed when they became homeless, it does not mean that these new relationships were permanent and valued the same as their previous bonding social capital. Once their homelessness had been alleviated, they would not necessarily seek these people out if their only reason for associating with them was that they were in the same place.

Sticking Together

When asked who they mainly spent their time with, one third of CEE participants specified that they mainly formed bonding social capital with those from Central and Eastern Europe. Eight of the third sector workers interviewed also specified that CEE nationals tended to group together:

I mean you cannae really obviously, you cannae really say things like this but it is, it's like Polish corner over there, the Romanian guys all clubbing together, I mean they will, the Romanian guys do beg more so y'know, they'll go out and do what they're doing and then come back. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

I also noticed this whilst conducting the observations that there were set areas in services where different groups (typically CEE, non-EU, and UK) would congregate, or if a group was in one area people who were not in that group would avoid the area. While it was difficult to get reasons why this was the case, Antoni stipulated it was due to language barriers:

Researcher: Do you hang out with people outside of the service?

Antoni via Interpreter: Yeah, it's mainly here but it's mainly with Polish speakers because Scottish guys speak too fast. (Antoni via interpreter, Polish – City 1)

Another possible explanation for CEE participants hanging out together is that within the interviews, and during the observations, it became apparent that there were tensions between UK and CEE nationals within services. These revolved a lot around stereotypes about Polish people, and even though some of the CEE participants were not Polish they got abuse directed at them because of misidentification:

Sometimes, British guys say “Fucking Polish, fucking Polish” I say “Maybe fucking Polish, I’m no from Poland” [Laughs]. (Lukas, Lithuania – City 1)

Five third sector workers also mentioned hostility and xenophobia in low-threshold services like day centres. Similar to Homeless Link's (2006) work where A8 nationals were scapegoated for the reasons UK nationals had problems, and Broadway (2007) reporting that UK nationals who were homeless felt they received less support because of A8 nationals, the xenophobic comments tied into the misconception that CEE, in most cases Polish, nationals get preferential treatment:

[had overheard] “oh y’know if I was Polish or whatever I’d be getting loads of support, I’d have the government throwing money at me, it would be y’know fantastic, y’know” (Ben, Worker – City 1)

[had overheard] “Oh they’re getting everything send them back” (Damion, Worker – City 2)

Y’know you hear all the time “if I was Polish I’d have a house” it’s like you wouldn’t, come on. [Laughs]. (Angus, Worker – City 1)

This suggests tensions being created due to scarce resources available fuelling xenophobic statements like these. However, the lack of access to the field of welfare services and services in the field of third sector services that were exclusively for EU nationals also created tensions and feelings of discrimination amongst CEE nationals:

They’ll say the Scottish people they can get accommodation they can get benefits, and they will use the term black people, can be in this other shelter but but we

cannot, and this is usually, and to be fair this is usually the Polish who as I've said are really quite outspoken and feisty [...] and it's trying to explain to them that they're not being discriminated against but when you look at their situation I think they do feel... I think they do feel left out, I think they feel, well I know, I know that they feel discriminated against basically. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

In this city there were specialised services, including accommodation, within the field of third sector homelessness services for asylum seekers and only one specialised service for EU migrants which only provided advice, not accommodation. UK nationals in general have an easier time navigating the field of welfare services. Subsequently, this account suggested that CEE nationals in these services largely felt left out, and so coupled with the xenophobia from UK nationals, it could be another reason why CEE nationals largely stayed together. This chimes with Mostowska's (2011) study where Polish nationals felt resentment towards other groups who had more services accessible to them.

Another possible explanation for CEE nationals staying together was connected to substance use. Similar to Fitzpatrick et al.'s (2012) work, CEE nationals were less likely than UK nationals to have experienced drug addiction. Drug use was thought by the third sector workers to be less prevalent amongst CEE nationals than UK nationals who typically had dual addiction, yet nine commented on CEE nationals abusing alcohol:

Mainly alcohol, there's a couple of them, that have picked up drug addictions through being in the homeless scene in [City 2] and maybe if they've not got something to drink they'll take something, they'll take something before you know it, but see the majority it's alcohol. (Damion, Worker – City 2)

Subsequently, alcohol issues were much more prevalent among the CEE participants than drug use. Eight of the CEE participants mentioned having issues with alcohol. The severity of these issues varied. Similar to the findings of Homeless Link (2006) where increased alcohol consumption was commonly reported, two of these CEE participants started using alcohol more since becoming homeless, with both attributing it to the reality of sleeping on the street. Antoni expressed the decision to drink more alcohol as follows:

A person living on the street who has nowhere to go except somewhere like [low threshold service], they entertain themselves so that they either drink something or have a smoke and will sit on a bench and maybe it's cold but the whole picture

the whole world gets foggy and he doesn't give a shit, sorry. I am at home [...] a person coming back from work from teaching, can do their time nicer in a different way. [...] a homeless person won't do that you know, he'll go steal something, he'll go sell it, he'll sell it he'll buy drugs alcohol, what will he buy? A TV? What will he do with that? He'll pay for a hostel, £8 or £12, why? If you can fucking get a half bottle and live the night with your head spinning around, that's what homeless people think [...] if I am homeless the thinking is so that why should I that amount of money like £12 or £8 just to get a bed and sleep for one night, I'll go get some sleep, I'm homeless anyway I sleep on the street most of the time anyway so it's money wasted, that's what a homeless person thinking. What use is it for me that I sleep in a 6 person dorm where I have a bed only maybe that I can shower, no one will feed me no one will give me anything (Antoni via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

The point Antoni is making here is important. He rationalises that higher rates of alcohol consumption was about short term gains to long term gains. He questions spending money on a hostel that he would only get for one night, with no provision of food or services and the knowledge that he would be back on the street the following morning, and feels alcohol is the better, more cost-effective option. Therefore, this was a rational choice where increased alcohol usage was more of a coping mechanism in dealing with the reality of life on the street and being in the field of homelessness.

Five of the CEE participants mentioned histories of alcohol abuse before arriving in the UK. Two of these participants were also addicted to drugs predating their time in the UK, and only three CEE participants mentioned current drug use. All of these participants were trying to curb their addictions with varying degrees of success – no one had completely stopped taking substances at the point of interview, but many were trying to cut down. Two participants with drug use problems discussed how forming bonding social capital with people in the field of homelessness who were also using substances was problematic to their quitting. For instance, Jakub:

It's of course known that everyone has in theory control over their own life, but when you're around bad people than you lose a bit of that control, it's your own fucking choice, but the choice is being controlled by other people [...] cause if

they want to fucking take something then what are you not gonna try it? That's how you end up in trouble (Jakub via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

This highlights how accessing homelessness services for those who already have addiction issues can heighten the risk of entrenchment, as in Jakub's case he was exposed to more risk behaviours.

It became apparent in the interviews that there was a hierarchy between those who used drugs and those who used alcohol. Zofia explained that in Poland there was a hierarchy of addiction, as “*there is hierarchy within the addiction so if you drink you're not as bad as if you take drugs*” (Zofia, Worker – City 1). Damion also elaborated on this:

A lot of the Eastern European guys have been offered drugs and they flip their lid, they really don't, they see it as obviously quite scummy to be taking heroin and stuff like that so, and eh, a dislike for the old Scottish guys, the Scottish people who are kinda heroin users, people who take Valium and stuff, you see the difference, you see them sitting gouching or whatever and they hate it, they point it out to the staff, “why are they here?” (Damion, Worker – City 2)

Other nationals in the sample (e.g. Romanian) also said they avoided people in services who used drugs:

I just saw some of the, of bad stuff with these people who inject [drugs] and fight amongst each other. I avoid talking to them and if they ask me something I just say I don't know. If they want a cigarette and I have one I give it to them. I don't overcomplicate things. (Gabriel via interpreter, Romania – City 2)

In total, just under a quarter of CEE participants who had accessed the field of third sector services said that they chose to avoid those who were using drugs. All of these accounts suggest a hierarchy in attitudes to addiction, with alcohol not been seen as problematic by CEE nationals but using or being addicted to drugs such as heroin as an anathema. Similar to Fitzpatrick et al.'s (2012) findings, drug use was emphasised by third sector workers to be more prevalent among UK nationals who were homeless, and so this could be another reason for CEE nationals largely “*clubbing together*” (Donna, Worker – City 2).

Although there were worries amongst the third sector workers that through only staying with people of the same nationality, or other migrants, that there would be less integration into

UK culture. Linked to this, half of the workers discussed ideas of entrenchment and limited opportunities depending on the CEE nationals' networks:

People reported then it's really difficult to move on. Because if somebody was getting into a tenancy or try to sustain the change, very often people knew where they were, and that would cause additional distress and also issues, so within the tenancy very often antisocial behaviour because it's very difficult to cut the links, and this what people were reporting that when they tried to cut the links it's quite difficult to start from almost y'know, pretending that I haven't been involved in, it's hard to put it to the past. So so that would be probably one of the main disadvantages setting up the new boundaries with your peers from that time of your life. (Zofia, Worker – City 1)

What Zofia is describing is that because people form bonding social capital with others who are homeless, when they receive housing their housing can be put in jeopardy. This is because their former networks will know where they are and antisocial behaviour can occur, but also because it can be hard to start a new life with no social networks and so they can sometimes go back.

New networks as a resource

Despite the negative aspects to forming these new networks in the previous section, there were also positives to CEE nationals “clubbing together” (Donna, Worker – City 2). Donna highlighted how this type of bonding social capital with fellow nationals can also provide day-to-day comfort:

There's also obviously the food thing as well, I mean while we give free food and they do enjoy it, they've got different food things that they like and dislike. I mean I don't know where they get it from, but more so the Polish guys will bring in some of their own stuff I sometime feel as if I'm on holiday when I come in cause they can be sitting there [...] spreading this lovely stuff on their toast in the morning and you're like oh, it's em, so that's quite, aye. So they're maybe sitting [...] with wee tins of fish in the morning and sharing things with each other across the table, and that's nice to see as well. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

In this case, the Polish nationals in that service would share food that was common in their country of origin as a way of supporting each other. This account also highlights that the

food being served in homelessness services may not be food that migrants are accustomed to, suggesting the needs of migrants are not built into existing service provision.

Furthermore, as well as emotional support, it became apparent in the analysis that this new bonding social capital could also act as bridging, as they were also a useful resource to draw on for navigating the field of the homelessness system and gaining access to the fields of third sector homelessness services, statutory homelessness services and welfare services. This is similar to the findings of Garapich (2010), Mostowska (2011) and Broadway (2007). Almost half of the CEE participants initially found services via people who were also homeless and, in most cases, the same nationality:

I didn't know at the very beginning that something like this [service] exist, but from one person to another, when you spend some time on the street you meet another person and the chances are that this other person would be Polish there's no chance that you wouldn't meet another Polish person cause they keep close to the city centre and it's from one word to another and that's how you find out about this. (Patryk via interpreter, Poland – City 2)

Additionally, Patryk's assertion that you would most likely find someone on the streets who was Polish as suggests the prevalence of these nationals in these groups, something that I noticed during my observations and in the proportions of the sample. While this was not raised in interviews, it implies that it could be harder for migrants who have less of their fellow nationals in the UK to get support for their homelessness in the way that Patryk described.

However, not everyone found services via their fellow nationals or people on the street. Six CEE participants first engaged with services because members of the general public told them where to go (in once case they paid for a taxi to take them there). Only four CEE participants went straight to services and from this one participant engaged after being signposted by friends as well as helplines, two from street teams and/or public services (e.g. police, hospital) showing them, and one used the internet to scope out services before engaging. Being unable to find services and having to wander in hope of finding them was also mentioned by David:

I also walk around trying to find, I've got a list of addresses where I can go and eat, and try to find them. I waste 3-4 hours a day like this and then I have to walk home. (David via interpreter, – City 1)

David expressed frustration at having to try to find services, as he was unfamiliar with the city, and so a list of addresses was meaningless to him. Yet he did not have bonding social capital with people who were also homeless as a way to navigate this, as many other participants did. Therefore, without these resources, it made it harder to navigate the field of homelessness, and added another dimension in which migrants can be disadvantaged due to their migration status.

However, while initially accessing services could be difficult, once in them there was support from other people who were homeless who used the services for finding out about other resources and services that could be accessed. As highlighted by Igor:

Researcher: So how did you find these services?

Igor: Step by step, I move here “oh you want to go to somewhere else, I show you!”

Researcher: [Laughs]

Igor: [Laughs] Y'know?

Researcher: So was it just the people you met using the services?

Igor: Yeah they going somewhere else, I like “where are you going”, “oh come on you want to take some food come with us we'll show you”. (Igor, Poland – City 2)

In these cases, it is suggested that accruing bonding social capital with people who were homeless was a positive thing, as it helped CEE participants to navigate the bureaucratic structures in the field of the homelessness system. Additionally, almost all of the third sector workers discussed people's support networks in services in a positive way, stating that they provided support and knowledge of local services or welfare. This was the case in the work of Mostowska (2011) and Garapich (2010) around Polish migrants who were homeless. In these studies, Polish nationals would receive assistance from others who used services or who were homeless in getting access to further resources e.g. more services, welfare etc.

Although, a third of the third sector workers cautioned that CEE nationals gaining knowledge from others who were homeless as it meant that misinformation was rife and could have serious consequences on CEE nationals' trajectories out of the field of homelessness. This was particularly highlighted by Donna and Clara:

[Talking about Polish nationals] because it is such a minefield, no, they, they will still listen to others on the street as well, they will still look at other peoples experiences and think that that's just it. We had a woman who was entitled to accommodation and it was all going ahead with her, she'd stopped engaging with workers and when we finally got a hold of her she said but I heard it's just people with children who get houses, so there is no point I will just stay on the street, and she actually still is on the street just now. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

This guy was from the Czech Republic, he'd been told by his friend that he needed to apply for a crisis grant with the Scottish welfare fund with help getting clothes and money to work, y'know, and so he came in and that's what he wanted to do but [...] to get a crisis grant they won't offer it for either of those things so although he was told by his friend he was told the incorrect [...] we then have to sift through the misinformation to find out what he needs and then y'know put him I the right direction. (Ben, Worker – City 1)

In these two cases, it was evident that while the CEE nationals the third sector workers engaged with supported each other, it led to misinformation being spread between them. This had serious consequences for people's housing trajectories and navigating the field of homelessness successfully. What this suggests is that while participants' new bonding social capital can be said to be positive in that it helped them access services in the fields of third sector homelessness services, statutory homelessness services and welfare services, it could also hinder them in getting help once they were connected to the services through misinformation. Therefore, misinformation meant that the CEE nationals could be further disadvantaged in navigating the field of homelessness, and this will be discussed further in Chapter Six.

Overall, participants, through being forced to frequent homelessness services in the field of third sector homelessness services for basic necessities, formed new bonding social capital once homeless. Many participants chose to interact with others who were the same nationality as them or also migrants, and many of these relationships were relationships of

necessity. While there were substantial concerns among the third sector workers interviewed that bonding social capital with others who were homeless could lead to misinformation and entrenchment, these networks could provide support and sometimes acted as bridging social capital to other services. Additionally, participants did have a certain degree of agency in who they interacted with and how meaningfully. For instance, some participants chose not to associate with those who used drugs.

Furthermore, in the last section it was evident that participants were largely distanced from their friends and families. Therefore, while there were negative aspects to the relationships participants formed in homelessness services, in many cases I inferred that these relationships would be the closest ones that they had.

Conclusion

In many cases, participants' lives changed drastically once they entered the field of homelessness. While participants could engage in other activities, such as going to parks, daily routines were largely regimented around going to third sector services at certain times to get food and provisions and there was shame at having to access welfare to gain economic capital. This lack of control in the field of third sector services was a key contributor in participants feeling homeless. Even though all participants could be categorised as experiencing homelessness, many *felt* homeless because they were not able to do what they wanted, and their agency was constrained. This was further compounded through having difficulties engaging in the field of employment while also being homeless, often having to take on exploitative and underpaid work to gain economic capital and assist them in navigating the field of homelessness.

Participants also frequently, and consciously, distanced themselves from their family and friends in response to their homelessness. This was either by not contacting them or hiding their situation from them. It was here that the concept of shame was strong, with some highlighting the pressures and expectations around migration as informing this decision. Especially coming from a country where migration is common, as Igor said: "*Everybody thinking 'oh somebody go to UK, have plenty of money'*" (Igor, Poland – City 2). Stemming from this there was also an overwhelming ideal of 'fixing' their situation and their migration themselves, and not relying on family or friends as a way to retain some control.

Having to navigate the field of third sector homelessness services also meant that while participants' bonding social capital with their family and friends weakened, they developed

more with those who used services. While the third sector workers highlighted that this was not necessarily always negative (for instance with the example of providing Polish food to each other), it can make it harder to move on, as seen with the examples of misinformation and entrenchment. These relationships in services were largely ones of convenience, although there was a degree of agency that participants used to determine their new bonding social capital that is important to acknowledge.

The picture from the data at the end of this is that participants responses to their homelessness left them isolated from their life prior to homelessness and with few places in which to draw support and resources. As much as people wanted to resolve their homelessness themselves, the following chapter addresses how CEE nationals engaged with the field of homelessness and the fields of statutory homelessness services, welfare services and third sector homelessness services, documenting the barriers they, and the third sector workers interviewed, faced in trying to alleviate their homelessness.

Chapter Six: Experiences Engaging With Homelessness Services

Introduction

Constantly being told by people you don't really understand that you need to go somewhere else and get given a piece of paper and a map that you can't necessarily read, it's hugely frustrating, hugely frustrating. Like he's run all over the city, em, it's having [...] resilience to get through it when it should be something that is there and accessible and easy to do because you're already at the lowest point you can get, you don't have resilience. (Rebecca, Worker – City 2)

The previous chapter discussed how the CEE participants' lives changed when they became homeless and entered the field of homelessness. It mostly focused on how they navigated being homeless and how the life changes that came with this resulted in the CEE participants routines and social networks changing. From this it was seen that many wanted to alleviate their homelessness themselves and retain some control over their lives, without help from their family and friends. Therefore, this chapter explores how CEE participants, and CEE nationals the third sector workers had engaged with, tried to engage with services and alleviate their homelessness.

This chapter will draw on the specific fields of welfare services, statutory homelessness services and third sector homelessness services as outlined in Chapter Two (Bourdieu, 1998a). These fields represent services that CEE nationals had to access while homeless. For instance, as noted in Chapter Two, the field of welfare services includes services such as the Job Centre, the field of statutory homelessness services relates to interacting with Local Authorities to alleviate homelessness, and the field of third sector homelessness services includes homelessness day centres. Through differentiating these services and analysing them as smaller fields instead of, for example, having a broad 'field of homelessness services', this chapter shows how these different fields and rules within them interact and clash with each other thereby complicating the alleviation CEE nationals' homelessness and constraining their agency along with that of the workers who were trying to support them.

Ultimately, as this chapter will show, CEE nationals were extremely disadvantaged in navigating these fields due to being migrants, as this meant their capital, doxa and habitus was less compatible with the structures in UK society and limited their agency. What should be "*there and accessible and easy to do*" (Rebecca, Worker – City 2) quite simply was not.

Therefore, while in the previous chapter the CEE participants expressed views such as wanting to alleviate their homelessness themselves, their agency to do so was constrained due to the rules of these fields and the wider field of homelessness.

Subsequently, using both the interviews with the CEE participants and the third sector workers, this chapter will explore how CEE nationals navigated these different fields with their different rules and hierarchies to try and exit homelessness. It will then address the challenges that the third sector workers encountered in trying to support CEE nationals and finish by discussing how the third sector workers felt homelessness services, and therefore the support in which they could offer, could engage better with migrants who are homeless.

Engagement with Statutory Homelessness Services

Experiences with engaging with the field of statutory homelessness services through making a homelessness application or getting housing via their Local Authority were mixed within the sample. In total 13 CEE participants had tried or spoken to their Local Authority officials about making an application. As noted previously, I was unable to gain interviews with Local Authority workers, therefore this section will focus on the CEE participants experiences, and the experiences of CEE nationals whom the third sector workers had engaged with, and their interactions with their Local Authority to try and receive homelessness assistance.

Lack of Understanding

With the majority of CEE participants, it was evident in the accounts that there was little understanding about what had happened when they had entered the field of statutory homelessness services and interacted with their Local Authority. This is clear in the following excerpts:

Researcher: And have you applied as homeless to [the Local Authority]?

David via Interpreter: I'm not sure what I did. (David via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

Researcher: Do you know what the terms intentionally homeless and unintentionally homeless, have you heard of these terms?

Igor: I don't even know that words. (Igor, Poland – City 2)

It is clear from these accounts that while all of these participants had developed bridging social capital with their Local Authority through applying for homelessness assistance, yet when asked to recount what had happened many were unable to. One possible explanation for this was provided by Piotr:

Researcher: Did you have to fill in a form with the council and then they gave you someone to help you try and get housing

Piotr: Yeah yeah yeah

Researcher: So how was that process, do you remember?

Piotr: I no remember, this is, this is somebody do it for me this everything. (Piotr, Poland – City 2)

Piotr's account suggests that some homelessness workers do everything for the people making the homelessness application, leaving the applicant with little understanding of the process. While it is good that he received help in making his application, it was clear that he had not followed what had happened. If he had, he may have understood how to get the most benefit from his bridging social capital with his Local Authority and thus been better able to navigate the field of statutory homelessness services.

Power Disparities and Gatekeeping

The CEE participants' lack of embodied cultural capital and understanding of the field of statutory homelessness services severely hindered how they were able to use their bridging social capital with their Local Authority. The power disparity between Local Authority workers and applicants for homelessness assistance was evident in both the interviews with the CEE participants and the third sector workers. Within the accounts of the CEE participants and the third sector workers, it was suggested that there were many cases of Local Authority workers using their discretion when working with CEE nationals'. It needs to be noted that the accounts from here on are in relation to specific Local Authority workers and are not necessarily reflective of the Local Authority as a whole.

Lena and Lukas had particularly negative experiences with individual Local Authority workers that impacted their experiences navigating the field of statutory homelessness services. Lena felt she had been unfairly treated throughout her encounters:

I saw how the systems working and I'm actually fed up of using cheap excuses, and I'm terrified, terrified absolutely terrified of lack of training and knowledge and, uh, who is actually working in a housing department (Lena, Poland – City 1)

In this case, Lena's private issues were discussed with a housing officer in the corridor and not a private office. Paperwork was also lost in the post and only when her support worker from a third sector agency stepped in she received it. She was already in a vulnerable situation through having to present as homeless, yet through what she perceived the lack of training of the Local Authority workers she engaged with, it made the situation more challenging. In this instance, Lena was particularly powerless, and drew on her bridging social capital with third sector workers to intervene so that she received her paperwork. She discussed how she felt she was deliberately getting the wrong information:

I am pretty sure that he [housing officer]... he was giving me the wrong information because he was never expect that I will come back for help (Lena, Poland – City 1)

In the end, Lena researched a potential temporary housing solution and when she asked her housing officer, she was told they had forgotten to inform her of this option. While she ended up receiving this, it was only through Lena's insistence and her drawing on her bridging social capital through enlisting the support of a third sector worker that she was able to successfully navigate the field of statutory homelessness services. However, the process took longer as a result and worsened what was already an emotional and stressful situation.

Not all participants had the resources to combat the power imbalance like Lena. For instance, Lukas encountered problems even accessing the field due to gatekeeping by receptionists at his Local Authority. Having been made unexpectedly homeless and taken to his Local Authority's homelessness help centre, Lukas had had a housing officer assigned. However, when he went to speak with them, he was told by the receptionist they were away on holiday. When Lukas asked where he could go, he described the following exchange:

Y'know I'm asking the girl from the reception, eh, like she say for me "Your house officer say for you go two weeks somewhere". I say maybe possible come back to this [night shelter] she say "I dunno, I dunno". She say "I don't know". I'm stay and think what I'm doing now. I want eat, I want sleep somewhere, I

want for shower, and [to be told] go somewhere holiday for two weeks! (Lukas, Lithuania – City 1)

In this case, Lukas was told to leave and come back in two weeks when his housing officer was available. While he eventually got support, he did not mention being given support from Local Authority workers about what to do for those two weeks, and it is implied that he did not receive any information around where he could go from the Local Authority. In this situation he was particularly powerless as he had just become homeless and did not know the city or services that were available to him. This is similar to David's account in the previous chapter where he was wandering the city trying to find addresses, further highlighting the vulnerability that migrants have because of their migration status and how service providers do not always take this into consideration when providing advice, thus creating more distress.

Similar to Lukas's experience, gatekeeping at reception was also mentioned by two third sector workers from City 1 as preventing CEE and EU nationals navigating the field of statutory homelessness services successfully and receiving assistance. For instance, Angus recounted the following:

I spent hours sat in their waiting room with people so y'know Friday morning meet them out there at 8 o'clock and queue and sometimes they're in the waiting room 3-4 hours and I sit there I see it again and again and again. [...] It seems like EEA nationals are much more likely to get turned away, there's a lot of gatekeeping going on at reception, just asking bizarre questions like "When did you arrive in the UK?" "Oh you've got to be here three months, come back in three months" or y'know "you haven't got a Local Connection" so someone has just arrived from Romania. [...] I have spoken to the council and they insist it doesn't happen and they haven't been told to do that, but em, they're much more likely to be turned away because [...] a British person is much more likely to stand their ground, em, and insist that they're being seen by a housing officer, especially if you've told them to say that. They might understand better that you're entitled, that is what you're entitled to. (Angus, Worker – City 1)

In this case, the receptionists were quizzing EU applicants about their length of stay and making decisions based on this which they did not have the authority to do. While Local Authorities can decide that an applicant is a 'burden on the state' if they become homeless

within three months of arrival (Migration Scotland, 2019), Shelter Scotland (2019a) note that this should not be determined when one presents oneself as homeless. Rather the Local Authority should still investigate the situation of the applicant before reaching this decision (Shelter Scotland, 2019a). Furthermore, within the Scottish Government (2005: 26) Code of Guidance on Homelessness, it stipulates that receptionists should not carry out informal “*first screening*” of applicants. It is clear in these accounts that this was not always the case.

These are clear cases of street level bureaucrats using their discretion to hinder CEE nationals accessing the field of statutory homelessness services and receiving the assistance they are entitled to. The start of this section highlighted that many of the CEE participants did not understand what had happened when they had engaged with their Local Authority. As Angus indicated above, without this knowledge of the field of statutory homelessness services and their rights, it means that CEE, and EU, applicants lacked the embodied cultural capital to challenge receptionist gatekeeping or flawed decisions to fully draw on their bridging social capital and navigate the field to successfully alleviate their homelessness. Additionally, the CEE participants did not have the habitus and doxa to be able to intuitively play the game and object to their treatment, as their habitus and doxa were formed in different fields in a different society which further disadvantaged them in navigating the fields of the UK. To use the metaphor of football, the Local Authority had studied the rules studiously and knew every rule of the game, as is their role. While the CEE nationals were on the pitch, they had never played before and had no one explain the rules. There was no way they could win.

Rationing of Resources

Almost half of the CEE participants stated that they were not eligible for assistance from their Local Authority. It was clear in these cases that there were many instances of street level bureaucrats using their discretion to deny giving support to CEE nationals and prevent them drawing on this bridging social capital to access the field of statutory homelessness services. However, it was not clear in these cases whether discretion was deliberately used in a way to deny support and entry to the field of statutory homelessness services or if this was how the Local Authority workers had interpreted the often-confusing legislation around assisting EU migrants’ who are homeless. Regardless of the underlying motivation, it became apparent that Scottish homelessness legislation is largely framed around supporting UK nationals, not migrants, meaning there were more areas where discretion could be employed. For instance, specifically in relation to their migration status, Cristian and Aleksis

had been told by Local Authority workers that they were not eligible for housing assistance. This was because they had accommodation in their country of origin:

Cristian via Interpreter: They [Local Authority] wouldn't help me much because of my situation in Romania.

Researcher: What was your situation in Romania?

Cristian via Interpreter: So the house, because I'm classed as having a home, a permanent home in Romania, I have a share into the house owned by my parents which would be inherited by me, so I wouldn't receive any help here. (Cristian via interpreter, Romania – City 1)

Aleksis: They have like a street team or something which is like they provide legal advice how to carry on with the accommodation, house issue, benefits and stuff like that, but for me to get that accommodation I need to provide paper that I'm homeless in Latvia and here. You understand?

Researcher: Why?

Aleksis: Because if I have property in Latvia I'm not homeless and "Sorry, sorry, you are not eligible" (Aleksis, Latvia – City 2)

Two third sector workers in City 1 also mentioned CEE nationals not being determined as entitled to assistance as they had a house in their country of origin. In these cases, it did not matter if another family member was living in the house, and thus it was unavailable for them to live in, or if it was unsuitable. It only mattered that their name was attached to it. As James and Fiona highlight:

One of guys, I think em either inherited a property or is down as an owner of a property but it's their sister that owns it in Romania, and he's been here sleeping rough for 4 years. [...] he was like intentionally homeless because he had a home back in Romania, and I understand that obviously the housing crisis and all that stuff, but he has been sleeping rough for 4 years so obviously there is reason and it's [...] just in a kind of dismissive way not really enquiring as to why he's not occupying that property. (James, Worker – City 1)

Because they happen to have a claim to property in Romania even though, even if it's unsuitable and they have no access to employment opportunity there, em, yeah was used as the reason that the council don't have a duty to house them.

(Fiona, Worker – City 1)

The Scottish Government (2005: 35) guidance and Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 (Crown, 2001) does state that if the applicant had a house in another country that was “reasonable” for them to occupy, they could be assessed as not being homeless and thus not entitled to assistance. In the cases mentioned by Fiona and James, they state the accommodation their clients had access to was unsuitable or they were not able to occupy it, but the ambiguity within the legislation and guidance leaves room for discretionary judgements. This highlights how Local Authority workers can adopt the role of street level bureaucrats and use their discretion when assessing homeless migrant applicants more so than with UK nationals.

James and Fiona also mentioned that in the past, Local Authority workers had used the Local Connection stipulation as a means to deny providing assistance and access to the field of statutory homelessness services:

Researcher: And you mentioned the Local Connection, is that used as a barrier?

Fiona: Yeah the council will say, em, if you don't have a Local Connection then [city] don't have a duty to house you within, cause you could go anywhere.

(Fiona, Worker – City 1)

In this case, if a person had no Local Connection with the Local Authority they have applied in, the Local Authority should either send them somewhere that they do or assist them regardless (Scottish Government, 2005; Shelter Scotland, 2019a). It is evident in these cases that this was not the case, and it appears that Local Authority workers were using Local Connection to deny migrants' access to the field and thus statutory homelessness assistance.

Therefore, these accounts suggest that the homelessness assessment criteria were being used as rationing criteria to prevent the CEE participants, and fellow nationals, being able to access the field of statutory homelessness services. While it is impossible to determine if it was malicious or from misunderstanding the system due to not having the Local Authority workers perspectives, the accounts suggest that Local Authority workers were adopting the role of street level bureaucrats and using their agency and discretion to influence

homelessness assessment outcomes and regulate who could access the field of statutory homelessness services. CEE nationals were particularly vulnerable to this due to their migration status providing more bureaucratic grey areas and potential pitfalls that could be used to deny them assistance, and they had limited capacity to challenge these decisions. While there are rules set down in the homelessness legislation, the level of discretion in the legislation and guidance meant street level bureaucrats were able to work around them and, as previously highlighted, CEE participants did not have the embodied cultural capital, habitus, or doxa to challenge their decisions.

Limited Access to Welfare

It was not just the power disparities participants had in being unable to argue their rights, and the homelessness assessment criteria being used against them, that emerged as barriers to receiving assistance and navigating the field of statutory homelessness services. As Piotr notes, positive experiences with his Local Authority were generally associated with successfully navigating the field of welfare services, as this made accessing the field of statutory homelessness services, and thus receiving assistance, an easy and quick process:

For me, for me, for me simple, different for other people... maybe you have benefits it's no, this is alright, it's more quickly, more easy. If you no have benefits, now you no have chance. (Piotr, Poland – City 2)

Here Piotr is saying that if you do not have welfare “*you no have chance*” at receiving assistance, and that because he had access to welfare he got support. Thus, this suggests that not having welfare, and the economic capital it provides, means it can be difficult for CEE nationals to receive support via their bridging social capital with their Local Authority and alleviate their homelessness.

However, successfully navigating the field of welfare services to try and receive welfare was often not that simple. Providing the evidence to pass the Habitual Residence Test, and thus access welfare, was cited by three third sector workers as a barrier. As noted in Chapter Four, the CEE participants did not have a consistent history of having written tenancy agreements and employment contracts. Therefore, this would make it harder for them to produce the evidence required to pass the Habitual Residence Test and receive welfare, e.g. such as proving length of stay in the Common Travel Area (Citizens Advice, 2019).

In regard to this, Filip mentioned that he felt the Job Centre discriminated against EU nationals as, whenever people put in welfare claims, the Job Centre always found a gap in their time of residing in the Common Travel Area:

Job Centre request that you bring the statements for three months that you living longer than three months in UK. But every time they found some, eh, gaps what you can be suitable for resident. (Filip, Lithuania – City 1)

Because of these gaps in the evidence meaning people could not prove they had resided in the UK for three months without a break, this means that these people would not be able to pass the Habitual Residence Test. Filip's account highlights how important it is for EU migrants to have a paper trail of their economic activity in the UK, as it can hinder EU nationals navigating the field of welfare and thus impact navigating the field of statutory homelessness services. Through many of the CEE participants not having a consistent paper trail as highlighted in Chapter Four, and thus not being able to access the field of welfare services and gain economic capital, this then means homelessness can be harder to alleviate. Also, with the advent of the UK leaving the EU, it can also have implications on their receiving settled status or permanent residency, and thus their ability to remain in the UK (Crown, 2019a; Crown, 2017b; Boobis et al., 2019). Yet as previously mentioned, no CEE participants mentioned planning for this potential outcome.

However, it was not just getting access to the field of welfare services that hindered CEE nationals' alleviating their homelessness, but what welfare they *could* access once in the field. It was noted by some of the third sector workers that since 2014 and in recent years there had been a rise in the number of CEE nationals accessing homelessness services. This was also noted by Piotr:

Before been easy because been... five Polish people per year homeless, night, night shelter maybe sleep the winter, now is 20 and, and Romania, Bulgaria, Lithuania, Latvia, Estonia, this is too many, too many countries, too many persons and, and now Scotland change with the restriction for these people who no working (Piotr, Poland – City 2)

While the reason for this increase is unclear the timeline, and Piotr's assertion that Scotland has changed restrictions for those who are not working, suggests the Housing Benefit

changes for jobseekers in 2014 could be partly responsible for an increase in CEE nationals accessing emergency homelessness services (Crown, 2014a).

Furthermore, it became apparent that the restrictions around Housing Benefit for EU migrants who are jobseekers, introduced in 2014, also played a large role in hindering the alleviation of CEE national's homelessness (Crown, 2014a), validating the concerns raised when these measures were first introduced (Kennedy, 2015). Here, the reserved power of welfare clashed with the devolved power of homelessness. For instance, CEE nationals being denied statutory assistance because they did not have access to Housing Benefit was noted by a quarter of the third sector workers:

What very often the local council was doing was “Well you don't receive benefits so we won't accommodate you”, they bypassed that without checking if the person was at the time eligible for housing benefit so again loads of advocacy with the council in the past. (Zofia, Worker – City 1)

Donna: It's difficult because now I'm, I do, I do work closely with people from the council and I'm starting to have an understanding of their frustrations as well because then you think we're going to be putting people up when we know they have no way for paying for it, and [...] who is footing this bill at the end of the day when it's becoming more and more and more? So I do understand their frustrations and why they try and put people off but it still, it's wrong and it does happen and it's been happening recently

Researcher: Yeah like since 2014?

Donna: Mmmhmm. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

In Zofia's case, she highlights that they had to do a lot of advocacy in the past for people being deemed ineligible for accommodation by their Local Authority due to not receiving Housing Benefit. Donna also highlights Local Authority workers tried to deter migrant applicants who were not in receipt of Housing Benefit, as it can be difficult for the Local Authority's budget management. This is important to note as there is a duty to respond to CEE nationals' homelessness if they have a right to reside yet do not have access to Housing Benefit (McKechnie, 2015; Migration Scotland, 2019). However, what Donna is suggesting is the wider constraints of welfare policy can make it difficult for Local Authority's to have

the funds to be able to uphold their statutory duty, limiting the decisions they can make. While these are only suggestions, as no Local Authority workers were interviewed in this project, this indicates that Local Authority workers' agency is also constrained by the field of welfare services. Therefore, even though CEE nationals should still be entitled to assistance if they have a right to reside but no access to Housing Benefit (McKechnie, 2015; Migration Scotland, 2019), there are wider barriers at the UK Government level in the field of welfare services. These barriers then impact the field of statutory homelessness services at Local Authority level, meaning the issues in the field of welfare services need to be addressed in order for CEE nationals' needs to be met.

However, what this means is that without Housing Benefit, and thus economic capital, CEE nationals can be disadvantaged in navigating the fields of homelessness and statutory homelessness services, as even though people should receive temporary accommodation while their homelessness application is being processed and that receipt of Housing Benefit should not prevent them receiving assistance, it is clear that this was not always the case (McKechnie, 2015; Migration Scotland, 2019). Again, this ties in with the point in the previous section and suggests that Local Authority workers are taking the role of street level bureaucrats and using their discretion and agency which rations the resources that CEE nationals can access in the field of statutory homelessness services, thus making their homelessness harder to alleviate. As noted previously, this may or may not be deliberate, as the CEE nationals' eligibility is confusing. As McKechnie (2015) noted, Local Authorities have been known to wrongly conflate right to reside, and thus eligibility for assistance, with entitlement to Housing Benefit. However, it has also been acknowledged that Local Authority workers are working with increasingly restricted resources (Burn-Murdoch, 2018), and this could also be a motivator in limiting the support given as their agency is also contained due to the wider field of welfare services. Both of these points link with the concerns that Dwyer et al. (2019) raised, as the complexity of the welfare system can result in wrongful denial of welfare, but the complexity also creates a smokescreen where discriminatory practices can be obscured. Regardless of the underlying motivations, the outcome is that CEE nationals' experiences in the field of welfare services hinders them successfully navigating the field of statutory homelessness services and the value of their bridging social capital with their Local Authority.

However, in some cases the Local Authority in both cities were reported by the third sector workers to give temporary accommodation to someone not in receipt of Housing Benefit and

process their homelessness application, thus granting them access to the field of statutory homelessness services. In this case, if the CEE national was unintentionally homeless they would then get settled housing, even if they were not in receipt of Housing Benefit. While on the surface this is positive, it can also be a double-edged sword. This is because three of the third sector workers mentioned that if a person received settled housing while not in receipt of Housing Benefit, or with no way to pay for it, they would accrue rent arrears and subsequently be evicted. Angus details the consequences that this could create:

Angus: It's £300 a week for B&B and if they're not entitled to housing benefit none of that is getting paid but the council still has a duty to provide them with accommodation but the, y'know, the worst thing that can happen to people in that situation is they get offered a house, because then they can't, they get offered a council house or a housing association house they can't stay there for free so the next thing that will happen is they'll be in court with rent arrears and they'll get evicted and they'll be intentionally homeless and you end up with the whole thing, so I don't think, em, for me that's the biggest problem. That's the biggest problem.

Researcher: Do they have to pay the rent arrears when they're in temporary accommodation? If they get housing

Angus: I've never asked, I've never known of anyone to be asked, the council have said that they're not going to actively pursue them for the debt, but the debts' still there, the debt still exists. (Angus, Worker – City 1)

It is evident here that even though CEE nationals are entitled to temporary accommodation while their homelessness claim is processed if they have a right to reside but are not in receipt of Housing Benefit (McKechnie, 2015; Migration Scotland, 2019), if they were placed in settled housing and had no income they would be unable to afford their rent. They would then accrue rent arrears, which would follow them, and could result in eviction. If they then decided to go to the Local Authority for homelessness assistance they could be declared intentionally homeless depending on the discretion of the person conducting the assessment (Scottish Government, 2005). While the CEE participants did not discuss this outcome, the third sector workers did, and due to the discretionary nature of the homelessness system it is a possibility. Therefore, even when CEE nationals can use their bridging social capital with

their Local Authority to alleviate their situation and gain access to the field of statutory homelessness services, it may not be a long-term solution and can create more problems in future.

The crux of the matter is that the rules of the fields of the welfare services and the Scottish statutory homelessness services do not complement each other, with the activities and rules in the former impacting the activities and rules of the latter and making an already confusing system even more so. The lack of agency and the discretion that Local Authority workers have to use due to this clash, leads to CEE nationals either being denied access to the field of statutory homelessness services, or they are given access and it creates a cycle where the main outcome is repeat homelessness. This highlights a new perspective on the idea of entrenchment within homelessness, as here the CEE participants, and fellow nationals, were caught in the crossfire between these fields which led to prolonged homelessness.

Furthermore, the cycle can be extremely difficult to break out of, as once in it, people's agency becomes extremely constrained. As Donna highlights, this can have a very negative impact on people's mental health and emotional state:

[advocacy services] were coming in and really fighting for the rights of these guys, challenging all these decisions about not taking homelessness applications, not being granted accommodation, and y'know, taking it to judicial review, em, and winning the cases for these guys and getting them put up in B&Bs and stuff for the 28 days investigation, and then come 2-3 months down the line they were all coming in to me with these big bills for 2 grand, 3 grand, and that's it. Then they were back out on the street again, and right okay you can argue they'd had a wee bit of respite for that time in the B&B, but then what's that doing to their mental health, y'know? They're there, they're settled and then they're back out again and they've got all these big rent arrears which is probably going to stop them from getting accommodated in future. I don't know the answer. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

This process this could also be emotionally damaging for workers when engaging with CEE nationals. In particular, Grace and Donna discussed supporting people in these cases being difficult for them emotionally:

I think there's challenge in as much as we can't help them like we want to, cause they're not entitled to the same thing a British citizen would be, so that's a challenge. You sometimes feel like you're not helping them, so if someone, if it's a Polish man comes in and wants help with accommodation and things, if he hasn't been in the country long enough, he's not going to get it, and having to tell somebody that really doesn't know it all, when you have to send them back out to sleep on the street it's not great, cause that's not what we're there for.
(Grace, Worker – City 2)

It's just so frustrating for the guys now that em, that a homeless application will be taken, they can access accommodation but when you know that they've got no way of paying for that you almost feel that you're setting them up to fail.
(Donna, Worker – City 2)

Therefore, it needs to be acknowledged that this notion of “*setting them up to fail*” (Donna, Worker – City 2) also contributed to the third sector workers feeling hopeless, as they were unable to change the outcomes and had to work within the fields of the statutory homelessness services and welfare services.

Overall, even though I was unable to gain interviews from Local Authority workers, from the accounts presented in this section it appears that there was a lot of discretion and questionable decisions made by Local Authority workers regarding CEE nationals' homelessness and access to the field of statutory homelessness services. It has been seen that CEE participants lacked the embodied cultural capital to be able to use their bridging social capital with their Local Authority effectively and challenge Local Authority workers' decisions. However, their migration status also made them vulnerable to not receiving what they were entitled to, as it gave their Local Authority workers' more areas in which to use their discretion and challenge their access to, and ability to navigate, the field of statutory homelessness services. For instance, as mentioned by the CEE participants and the third sector workers, there were cases of homelessness decisions being influenced by people having houses in their countries of origin even if they could not access them or claims that they never had a Local Connection. Therefore, the Local Authority workers were also able to determine how successfully the CEE nationals were able to use their bridging social capital in the field of statutory homelessness services.

However, attention needs to be paid to the wider context that these decisions took place in. One of the biggest barriers to receiving assistance from the Local Authorities was tied to receipt of welfare and the lack of economic capital that ensued. It has been demonstrated in this section that it could be difficult to provide the evidence required to pass the Habitual Residence Test and receive welfare. Additionally, issues around the 2014 Housing Benefit restrictions also hindered CEE nationals in receiving assistance from their Local Authority. This highlights the field of welfare services clashing with the field of statutory homelessness services. It was also highlighted that Local Authority budgets are under increasing pressure, and so due to this, the Local Authority's workers agency in giving decisions could be constrained as a result in order to try and lower Local Authority's expenditure. Subsequently, in the field of statutory homelessness services, the third sector workers and CEE participants indicated that CEE nationals were either wrongfully denied assistance outright and thus prohibited from accessing the field, or they were given access regardless of not having Housing Benefit. In the case of the latter, the third sector workers noted, both anecdotally and from examples with their clients, that if a CEE national was deemed unintentionally homeless, they were given temporary accommodation and then settled housing. Yet because of the lack of Housing Benefit, they were subsequently evicted due to rent arrears and thus entered the field of homelessness again. Therefore, the welfare restrictions in the field of welfare services coupled with discretionary practice in the field of statutory homelessness services, and the clashes between these two fields, meant that it was extremely difficult for CEE nationals to successfully navigate the statutory homelessness field and be able to draw on their bridging social capital effectively to exit the field of homelessness.

Engagement with Third Sector

18 of the 20 CEE participants accessed services in the field of third sector homelessness services. By this I mean services such as day centres where you could get food, showers etc., advice centres, and emergency night shelters set up in winter. This section will discuss the CEE participants' experiences engaging with these services.

Third Sector as Lifeline

Perhaps linked to the barriers faced when trying to use their bridging social capital in the field of statutory homelessness services, most CEE participants' spoke positively about developing bridging social capital in the field of third sector homelessness services. For instance, when speaking about the emergency night shelter Gabriel said:

Researcher: Do you find services like this one helpful?

Gabriel via Interpreter: Of course, cause I don't always have work, I didn't always have a place to sleep or food so yes. I would be afraid to be out on the street with all the junkies. (Gabriel via interpreter, Romania – City 2)

For Gabriel, connecting with the night shelter gave him a safe space to sleep. He was not alone in this and many viewed low threshold services like this as keeping them alive. For instance, Aleksis and Sebastian:

Aleksis: They have this big hall, they put like 40 mattresses. It's not a problem for me and all that, and of course at December I cannot stay on the street because it's like 0 degrees or minus 2 or something.

Researcher: Yeah that's insane. Yeah.

Aleksis: That's not a possibility. So, uh, I was grateful that I'm, that I can survive. Because it's literally, it's not like metaphor or something (Aleksis, Latvia – City 2)

They help a lot y'know mainly, when you had the staying overnight there [night shelter], [...] it was warm and you had food, so what else can you say? There's nothing really to say it's just, y'know, they do genuinely help a lot. Y'know, and they can help with stuff like my friends had got a sleeping bag and stuff like that. (Sebastian via interpreter, Polish – City 2)

These accounts highlight just how important emergency third sector homelessness services were for basic survival. While there are concerns around CEE nationals becoming entrenched in homelessness though engaging with homelessness services (Homeless Link, 2006), these accounts suggest that with the only other option being staying on the street, CEE participants were especially grateful for these services and being able to access the field of third sector homelessness services.

Availability of Services

Another reasons that CEE participants were grateful for services was that these types of services would not have been available to people who were homeless in their country of

origin. For instance, Antoni mentioned how these types of services would not be available in Poland:

It was surprising to see these [third sector homelessness service] and services like this in Scotland, because they help you and yeah it works pretty well instead of just leaving you to your own and y'know, if you are ill you will always get support, it's not like in Poland. In Poland you're on your own. (Antoni via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

From this, Antoni went on to discuss how he was surprised at the services available, and how the produce distributed was of a high quality (e.g. Marks and Spencer's) but still free. He said:

I am very positively surprised and I rate organisations like this [third sector homelessness service] really well, because I know that it's one of not many cities that has something like this so, some kind of [third sector homelessness service], some help, the vans that go around [...], the meals given by the churches. I really didn't expect this. Once when I went to the church really, I saw that they give out original stuff, not opened, Mark and Spencer. I mean darn, like boxers cost like a dozen pounds and here at the church a person got it for free, most of the people don't respect that, some do, but when I look from a perspective of a foreigner and a Pole who came here and ended up like this I really highly rate this, and I think it is important for people here who end up in a situation like that and not a different one. (Antoni via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

Accounts like Antoni's suggest that being able to access the field of third sector homelessness services, with the knowledge that such a field does not exist or have the same scope in their country of origin, meant they were more grateful for their existence in Scotland. This links with Mostowska's (2014) participants, where some were particularly appreciative of services in Brussels as they felt in Poland they would have had less resources available. Therefore, in contrast to the CEE participants' accounts of engaging with the field of statutory homelessness services, their engagement with the field of third sector services was viewed in a more positive light.

Challenges in Providing Support

This section will discuss the challenges that the third sector workers highlighted they encountered trying to support CEE nationals in the field of third sector homelessness services, and the fields of statutory homelessness services and welfare services.

Complex Entitlement

For the third sector workers interviewed, supporting CEE nationals with their homelessness was far from simple. Linked to the changing immigration legislation and entitlement, five of the third sector workers mentioned that they were confused by the rules around welfare and habitual residency – out of these five, four were support workers whose role it was to guide participants through the system. Therefore, the field of welfare services made it harder for CEE nationals to receive support from workers in the field of third sector homelessness services in navigating the field of statutory homelessness services. The frequent changes in the field of welfare services around EU nationals' entitlement made supporting CEE nationals quite complicated, as Donna highlighted:

It's the changes, so there's so much for me and I think 'Do I retain all this information?' cause it is gonna change and it is just so different for different people. I've got a wee flow chart up there which is quite good [...] I can have a look and ask certain questions and see where we go from there, but even that's pretty basic and even then, again you're often on another, another route with... with different individuals. Em, so really time consuming and really heart-breaking cause these people have come here with big dreams of making a better life for themselves and here they are in a homeless drop-in centre, and y'know, it, things just are not good for a lot of these guys. By the time they reach us, they're pretty desperate. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

Donna's account highlights the difficulties in supporting this group, as the information around entitlement is complicated and does change. She also expresses the emotional cost of this, as those she supported arrived to the UK with ideals, very much like the CEE participants in this study, yet found themselves in a homelessness service, desperate for support.

The complexity around providing advice led to two of the third sector workers saying that they would refer CEE nationals to other agencies they felt were more knowledgeable and able to help CEE nationals navigate these fields:

You sometimes feel like you're not helping them, so if someone, if it's a Polish man comes in and wants help with accommodation and things, if he hasn't been in the country long enough, he's not going to get it, and having to tell somebody that really doesn't know it all, when you have to send them back out to sleep on the street it's not great, cause that's not what we're there for. And then a lot of them, even after being here for months and months with not be entitled to benefits or housing, so that's a big issue. Like with a Scottish man we'd just make a claim this benefit and that will help, but you can't do that with them. So a lot of them we have to refer to other agencies [...] and things cause we're quite, we're wary of getting into the legalities of things, because if we gave them the wrong advice, what if they were deported or, we've always been told don't get into that send them somewhere where they know the legalities of it. (Grace, Worker – City 2)

While it is positive that in City 2 there was a place in which CEE nationals could be referred to, the process of referral to other services means that it can take CEE nationals longer to navigate the fields and have their homelessness addressed. Grace also highlights the pressure of giving the right advice, as helping migrants navigate the fields of statutory homelessness services and welfare services is very complex. However, she also stresses the emotional impact this has on her, as her agency and how she could help was constrained by the rules in the field of welfare services.

Additionally, similar to Boobis et al. (2019) and Orchard et al. (2007), due to the complexity of the different legislations interacting, misinformation from workers in the fields of statutory homelessness services, welfare services, and third sector services was also mentioned by two of the third sector workers. For instance, Angus recounts the following discussion he had with an employee at the Job Centre:

Researcher: Do you think misinformation is a big issue then?

Angus: I think it is I think it is I see it all the time, see it all, misinformation and even from the job centre, the job centre have really, real big, I had an argument with the job centre not so long ago about whether or not Russia was in Europe,

y'know. [Laughs]. Because they're trying to apply a test which is only applicable to EEA nationals and I'm going "Last time I checked Russia..." [...] but he was adamant that Russia was in the EEA y'know and this is a decision maker at a Job Centre, and I'm like y'know, do we really want to take this to a tribunal on the grounds of whether or not Russia is in Europe. (Angus, Worker – City 1)

The contradictory information being given by various agencies made it harder for third sector workers to support CEE nationals in navigating the fields of welfare services and statutory homelessness services. Thus, it was harder for CEE nationals to navigate the field of homelessness, as it was difficult to ascertain what information was correct. As Filip highlighted:

Some good, some bad. Depends with whose start working, y'know, with which person y'know. [...] One say like that what is not possible, and another give it for you full information with everything without any problem you can do it. (Filip, Lithuania – City 1)

Here Filip stressed that it was not the organisations that were good and bad at providing an information, it was certain people within the services. You could go to the same service twice, get different workers each time and different levels of support and advice. Therefore, the bridging social capital that CEE nationals formed with services in the field of homelessness could be negative. Coupled with the misinformation that was spread via CEE nationals new bonding social capital within services, as highlighted in the previous chapter, this creates more potential pitfalls in navigating the field of homelessness.

Therefore, as Donna said in the previous chapter, due to the complexity of the legislation around supporting CEE national who are homeless, the field of homelessness for EU migrants “*is such a minefield*”. However, it is important to recognise the emotional impacts of falling foul of this minefield. For instance, Donna went on to say that this has an emotional cost on her as a worker, as “*there's a lot of people getting their hopes built up and that's the thing, that, that just really breaks my heart*” (Donna, Worker – City 2). Therefore, while misinformation hinders support on a bureaucratic level, and was discussed quite clinically in Chapter One (Dwyer et al., 2019; Johnsen and Sosenko, 2012; Homeless Link, 2006; McKechnie, 2015), it needs to be remembered that those involved and affected by this are people with emotions. Emotion has been laced throughout the accounts in this section, and CEE nationals having their hopes built up only for it to fall apart and third sector workers

having to pick up the pieces has a negative emotional impact on both sides. Subsequently, third sector workers can feel they are “*not helping them*” (Grace, Worker – City 2) due to their agency to provide support being constrained by the rules in the field of welfare services and the wider challenges CEE nationals face in getting support. Misinformation only exacerbates this making it even harder, emotionally and bureaucratically, for third sector workers to provide effective support and help their clients successfully navigate the field of homelessness.

Language Barriers

Similar to the work of Homeless Link (2006) and Orchard et al. (2007), language barriers emerged as a key theme in hindering the third sector workers in supporting CEE nationals navigate the field of homelessness. This was largely around how language barriers caused additional difficulties in interacting, building relationships with, and providing support to CEE nationals. For instance, Ben said the following:

The ability to joke and add nuance to things, is kind of lost y’know, and you don’t kind have that, y’know, so I think my relationship is definitely better with those guys they can speak better English. (Ben, Worker – City 1)

The relationships that workers build with clients is important to the successful alleviation of homelessness (Galbraith, 2019), however, as Ben says, language barriers can hinder the development of this relationship. This means CEE nationals’ homelessness can be harder to alleviate as they are unable to form meaningful and helpful bridging social capital with workers in the field of third sector services due to language barriers, and as such they cannot help them navigate the field of homelessness and the fields of welfare services and statutory homelessness services.

To address these language barriers, half of the CEE participants mentioned that in services they had had someone interpret, or had been offered an interpreter, in the past. When specified, these were usually in relation to accessing statutory services (e.g. Local Authority, Job Centre etc.). However, it was noted by the third sector workers interviewed that there was a dearth of interpreters in services in both cities. For instance, Jessica said:

I can understand that the [service] are going to advise me [on an issue] and tell me [solutions]. Unfortunately I don’t think the majority of Romanians are quite aware because obviously that language barrier, and then the amount of services

that don't have translators or great communication links, so therefore you're either reliant on their friend or just to kind of wing it slightly. (Jessica, Worker – City 2)

Here Jessica is saying that because of the language barriers and lack of interpreting in services, she could not be sure that many of her Romanian clients were aware of what services and fields they could access and form bridging social capital with for support. This chimes with the literature on language barriers and service provision discussed in Chapter One (Garapich, 2010; Homeless Link, 2006; Boobis et al., 2019)

Angus also mentioned there being a lack of interpreting and translation specifically in the field of third sector homelessness services due to funding constraints:

There's an issue with lots of the advice agencies now and support agencies, I mean [service] is really really lucky cause we have Language Line which I believe is incredibly expensive, um, and we're just so lucky that we've got that resource, but I know that, em, I know [service] have had their translation services removed (Angus, Worker – City 1)

The lack of funding available for third sector services to access interpretation, meant providing support and assisting CEE nationals in navigating the field of homelessness difficult. This suggests that the third sector workers' agency was constrained due to these wider issues in the field of third sector services, and they were unable to provide the support that they wanted to.

In relation to this lack of interpreting and translation facilities in the field of third sector homelessness services, both Julia and Zofia were bilingual workers and mentioned that they tended to get clients referred to them whom they shared a language with. This was one way to overcome language barriers, and a further five of the third sector workers across Cities 1 and 2 mentioned bilingual workers, either in their organisation or externally, being relied on heavily for interpretation or translation in providing support. As Grace highlights, this can put a lot of pressure on these individual workers:

So that was fantastic when we did have them [external agency] because they had a, [...] [worker] he spoke Romanian, and he was just constantly flogged with people wanting to talk to him, it was insane the amount of people but it's just cause he could speak both sides of it. (Grace, Worker – City 2)

Therefore, while this seems a viable alternative, it can place pressure on the existing workforce in what is already a challenging environment, suggesting that more support needs to be provided to third sector workers to manage language barriers.

Other ways of addressing language barriers that were mentioned by the third sector workers interviewed were through having volunteer interpreters or access to Language Line (a telephone interpreting service)⁸. However, in regard to Language Line, even though Angus said previously they were “*so lucky that we’ve got that resource*”, it could be limiting in providing support:

Even if you do have access to a like a translation service like that we used here Language Line, it’s very difficult to have a complex conversation with a third party (Ben, Worker – City 1)

Here Ben highlights that with telephone interpreting, it can be difficult to have a complex conversation. Despite being better than nothing, it is not perfect, and means it can still be difficult to meaningfully engage with CEE nationals and teach them the ‘rules’ of the game.

Another way to work around language barriers, largely mentioned by third sector workers with no access to interpreting or translation services, was using Google translate. However, with this there were issues with incorrect translation as James highlighted:

[Researcher’s Romanian interpreter] she mentioned that there was, we said “Always give change”, and she was like “this, it’s translated change as like a change in your life”, and it’s like what so we’re asking to promote a philosophical development, it’s just it was ridiculous and I imagine [people] looking at it and going “These people are idiots, how are we supposed to trust these people with advice or anything?” so it’s, I think that is a big barrier.
(James, Worker – City 1)

In James’s example, one of my Romanian interpreters was in this service and noticed their sign in Romanian that used the word change. However, while it was intended to mean change as in money, it actually meant change as in altering their life. This highlights a flaw with Google translate, as while they meant change as in money, Google translate was unable to identify this and thus it was incorrect. This then made James concerned that they would not

⁸ Of the five third sector organisations that workers were recruited from one had volunteer interpreters and two had access to Language Line (telephone interpreting)

be trusted with providing advice, having gotten this very simple phrase wrong. This is concerning, as it implies the lack of credible translation and interpretation could impact the way in which CEE nationals engage with services, lowering the trust they have in third sector homelessness services to provide effective support.

Donna also mentioned that there could be issues around literacy or local dialects and relying on Google translate:

You've spoken to me this morning about confidentiality, sometimes that goes out the window in here because I may have to shout a friend over who can speak the same language because obviously I don't have the funds to get translators and stuff. So em, Google translate is okay, but then you're sometimes dealing with guys who its local dialect and, again our guys by the time they're here, they are pretty desperate, they're, you're maybe dealing with guys who haven't had much of an education back home, they don't really have any skills , so even with the Google translate it's, y'know, they're staring at that, that's as blank a page to them as it is to me, em, so that can be difficult and again adds to this sort of time, time consuming stuff that I was speaking about. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

Therefore, using Google translate was difficult depending on the context, and it was also time consuming when workers often had large caseloads. This implies that there needs to be more support for third sector workers in addressing language barriers, as currently, the methods they are relying on have the potential to make situations worse through incorrect translation or interpretation.

Moving away from technology, in services without immediate access to interpretation or translation services this was a common strategy mentioned by half of the third sector workers. This method was also mentioned by some of the CEE participants. For instance, Jakub mentioned that he sometimes helped interpret for other service users:

I was sometimes helping because there was a problem, well not really a problem but people wanted to help but couldn't because the others couldn't fucking explain what they wanted (Jakub via interpreter, Poland – City 1)

However, this suggests there is a hierarchy in that migrants using homelessness services who can understand and speak English are potentially in positions of power over those who do not. Additionally, three of the third sector workers mentioned they were worried about the

quality of the interpretation and translation in these instances, and Donna noted that confidentiality was then problematic:

I've said before about the confidentiality thing, y'know, em, so it would be treating the EU nationals with the same [...] well they are treated with dignity and respect and whatever else but then obviously that, that privacy thing is right out the window. I mean, if you've gotta shout a guy over to tell his friend that he's entitled to £30 next week and then he knows that, y'know, that's, whole host of issues, but if it's the only way that you can communicate, em, aye, perhaps.

(Donna, Worker – City 2)

Therefore, despite being an effective solution, this can hinder the support that CEE nationals receive and as Donna highlighted “*that privacy thing is right out the window*”. While not highlighted in the sample, it is possible that this could result in the person requiring interpreting not being fully forthcoming depending on the service user who is interpreting for them, and thus affect how they engage in the service. Additionally, it could also mean that the information provided could be incorrect, as seen in the previous sections the homelessness and welfare systems for EU nationals are complex (e.g. Habitual Residence Test) and could be difficult to interpret correctly. Therefore, while the methods in which third sector workers are using to overcome language barriers can be helpful to an extent, they have the potential to exaggerate issues of misinformation and thus hinder the alleviation of CEE nationals' homelessness.

Overall, due to CEE nationals' migration status, there were many barriers for them to get quality support in the field of third sector homelessness services and for the third sector workers to be able to support them. Due to confusion around entitlement, it could be difficult for CEE nationals to be provided with correct information. Because of this the third sector workers often had to refer them to other agencies which took time. However, the third sector workers also reported cases of misinformation from other agencies and other fields, e.g. field of statutory homelessness services, meaning that their bridging social capital with these agencies could be negative. Coupled with the misinformation from their new bonding social capital that was highlighted in the last chapter, this can negatively impact CEE nationals navigating the field of homelessness. On a bureaucratic level, this could hinder CEE nationals' ability to alleviate their homelessness, as well as the third sector workers' abilities

to support them. However, it also had an emotional cost on both the CEE nationals and the third sector workers that is important to acknowledge.

Language barriers in services was also a serious issue, as it could be difficult without the use of interpreters to communicate complex information, such as entitlement information. This means that it can be difficult for CEE nationals to accrue the embodied cultural capital needed to challenge issues such as Local Authority workers' use of discretion and effectively use the bridging social capital gained in the field of third sector services. To use the football metaphor again, without the coaches (the third sector workers) being able to communicate the rules of the game to their players (CEE nationals), it can be hard for them to successfully navigate the pitch against the opponent (e.g. those higher in the hierarchy of the field, such as Local Authority workers and statutory homelessness system, welfare system etc.) and win. This could contribute to the negative interactions the CEE participants reported having with their Local Authority in the field of statutory homelessness services earlier in this chapter.

Despite many of the third sector workers and CEE participants discussing the various 'work arounds' they had used or seen in practice, these were never perfect and it was very much weighing up the pros and the cons with each. Developing 'work arounds' also does not address the wider issues in the field of third sector homelessness services such as lack of funding for interpretation and translation. Overall, the inability to communicate constrained the third sector workers' agency and ability to provide support, as it made it harder to give advice and support CEE nationals in navigating the fields of statutory homelessness services and welfare services. Therefore, this made it harder for CEE nationals to form bridging social capital, and subsequently cultural capital, to successfully navigate the field of homelessness.

Improving Services

All 12 of the third sector workers spoke about how services could be improved and work well with homeless migrants. Linked to the previous section, almost all of the third sector workers specified more access to interpretation across services which would make referral and engagement easier. There were a variety of ways it was suggested this could be done. One worker suggested organisations could link up and share interpreting resources. Another mentioned having a designated phone line you could call to get access to interpretation at any point. Training up bilingual service users as interpreters was another suggestion:

Having people who [...] they speak both languages, giving them some training about confidentiality and stuff like that they could then set up their own charity, social enterprise, whatever, and do it from that. They already have the skills of translation, even if it's not official, if it's just a helping hand like a buddy system or like advocacy, something like that someone to go along with you, it would help. (Rebecca, Worker – City 2)

Another suggestion was to have peer support from people of those nationalities who had previously been homeless. Recruiting more bilingual volunteers was also suggested as an option, or having classes to train volunteers in specific languages.

Where interpretation access was not possible it was suggested by one worker that other methods of communication should be developed by services e.g. drawing. One worker also mentioned having literature translated as an improvement, but acknowledged there would be problems with literacy.

While interpretation and translation was largely in relation to individual casework, the third sector workers also specified ways in which they thought institutions could change the way they operated to better serve migrants who were homeless.

For instance, three of the workers mentioned services should be trained on the culture that the main migrant groups were coming from:

It is about understanding the cultural differences, people do laugh about that, but it helps understanding behaviours a lot because as I said especially with, with middle aged older men, again I will talk about Poland towards women the attitude, sometimes it comes across as, eh, sexist, but genuinely it might not be. (Zofia, Worker – City 1)

I think to be fair most of the services do work well for them, but it probably would be a bit more, just a bit more of understanding of cultural things as well, y'know like their cultural issues [...] obviously there'd be religious things as well that we maybe don't understand. Or, I don't know, like how they are if there's a difference with women or things cause there so much that we really don't know, and em, and I think we're all quite respectful of, of, of people and how they live their life and, and what their morals and values are but maybe we could be doing with a wee bit more understanding. (Donna, Worker – City 2)

There was also one suggestion of having more training in the issues that migrants can face in the UK to promote more understanding.

Linked to the lack of information around entitlement, three of the third sector workers also mentioned wanting services to have more understanding of the rights of EEA nationals. In addition to this, one worker suggested having a specifically trained member of staff. Another suggestion was to have quick reference cards for workers to give to service users.

Two workers suggested having better links with embassies and countries to facilitate repatriation better. One of these workers suggested embassies should help set up those wanting to return with work so that they would not go back to nothing or that they should try and facilitate job linkage in the UK.

In City 2, two workers also suggested that more services specifically for EU migrants should be created, as in this city there was a dearth of services for this group.

Additionally, one worker said that they should be more proactive in informing service users of things like council tax, and that Local Authorities should have a list of next steps when rejecting someone for homelessness assistance.

Overall, the third sector workers had many ideas on how homelessness services could engage better with migrants. Addressing language barriers was key, however, it was also thought that training, such as cultural awareness training and entitlement training etc., could also improve service delivery. However, it does need to be acknowledged that these would require a lot of investment by the Scottish Government, Local Authorities and third sector agencies to become reality. They also do not acknowledge the wider issues in the fields and the wider systematic injustices rendered on CEE nationals.

Conclusion

While in the previous chapter CEE participants strongly expressed the ideals that they would alleviate their homelessness themselves, this chapter has highlighted the issues many faced in doing so.

It has been demonstrated that interactions with their Local Authorities in the field of statutory homelessness services were mixed. Lack of understanding around rights and entitlements meant that it was frequently reported by third sector workers and CEE participants that they were unable to get assistance, and access the field of statutory homelessness services, when in fact they would have been eligible. Therefore, despite forming bridging social capital with

their Local Authority, for many CEE nationals the value of this capital varied as a result of gatekeeping through street level bureaucracy and lacking the cultural capital to challenge these decisions.

Linked to issues in the first chapter, it was also difficult for CEE nationals to provide the evidence needed to pass the Habitual Residence Test and navigate the field of welfare services. However, even if they did receive welfare, there were cases where lack of Housing Benefit, largely as a result of the 2014 reform, was reportedly used by Local Authority workers as a reason to deny assistance and access to the field of statutory homelessness services. Lack of Housing Benefit coupled with pressures on Local Authority budgets were also thought to have constrained Local Authority workers' agency in making decisions. While in some cases Local Authorities still gave assistance, as they are meant to if the applicant has a right to reside, it was also shown that this could be a double-edged sword and result in repeat homelessness. These welfare restrictions, and thus this issue, is specific to EU migrants, and as Donna said, the system was "*setting them up to fail*". Therefore, CEE nationals encountered further challenges in utilising their bridging social capital with their Local Authority's in the field of statutory homelessness services created by the recent changes of the 'rules' in which the field of welfare services operates in.

In this context, where it is difficult to receive statutory assistance, the majority of CEE participants were grateful for the bridging social capital they formed with low-threshold services in the field of third sector homelessness services. However, while the CEE participants were grateful for the third sector services and positive about them, the third sector workers highlighted a number of barriers to they encountered in providing support to CEE nationals in navigating the field of homelessness and the fields of statutory homelessness services and welfare services. While the third sector workers did suggest ways of improving services and addressing these barriers, these were largely related to individual solutions or institutional changes, not the problems in the wider fields.

Overall, this chapter has highlighted the wider systemic barriers that CEE nationals have to overcome to receive homelessness assistance. The culmination of these systemic barriers and clashes between fields means CEE nationals have very little agency to control the alleviation of their homelessness, and there are few ways in which they can win.

Chapter Seven: Discussion and Conclusion

Introduction

In this thesis I have highlighted that migrant homelessness is a complex issue, with many facets. However, this thesis has cast light on certain facets of the issue, illuminating the inequality and disadvantage that CEE migrants can experience from the moment they arrive in the UK. At the beginning of this thesis in Chapter One, it was highlighted that that CEE migrants could experience disadvantage within the UK due to precariousness after arrival, for instance via lack of knowledge, insecure housing, employment and increasingly restricted access to public services. It was postulated in Chapter One that this could lead to an increased risk of homelessness and destitution, and that once homeless it harder for their homelessness to be alleviated due to their migrant status, e.g. services would not be deigned to cater to the needs of these groups (e.g. language barriers) and the restrictions on welfare for EU nationals. It was also indicated that there could also be a shame to becoming homeless, due to the pressure of being a successful migrant that could prevent CEE nationals returning to their country of origin. These are just a few examples of the disadvantages and challenges that it was thought CEE nationals could face, however, the key word is *could*. These were potential conclusions that I drew, based largely on research that had either been conducted outside of the Scottish context, before the UK introduced a myriad of policies that restricted EU nationals' entitlements and/or before the UK decided to leave the EU. Therefore, I proposed to explore CEE migrants' contemporary experiences of homelessness in Scotland and answer the following research questions:

1. What are the main routes into homelessness for CEE migrants?
2. How does homelessness change CEE migrants' lives?
3. How do CEE nationals engage with homelessness services to alleviate their homelessness?
4. How well do homelessness service providers respond to the care and support needs of people from the CEE countries?

Through undertaking biographical interviews with 20 CEE nationals in two Scottish cities, 12 interviews with third sector homelessness workers who worked with CEE nationals and observations in homelessness services in both cities, these questions have been addressed. At the beginning of this thesis, a CEE national's potential trajectory through the fields of the UK was outlined (see Figure 3 in Chapter Two). To apply this to the findings, in Chapter

Four it was shown that the CEE participants entered UK society (field of UK society) where the different rules compared to the fields/arenas in their country of origin constrained their ability to draw on their capital and thus their agency. This then hindered them in navigating the other arenas of the UK, such as the employment market and housing market (fields of housing and employment), as their capital was valued differently and they did not have the taken for granted knowledge of UK systems which contributed to them becoming homeless.

Chapter Five focused on the CEE participants' after they had moved out of the field of housing (and generally the field of employment) and into the field of homelessness. It explored their experiences and use of agency in navigating and learning about this new arena along with the changes being in it caused in their lives, particularly to their bonding social capital.

Finally, Chapter Six delved into the smaller fields of third sector homelessness services, welfare services and statutory homelessness services. It focused on CEE nationals' experiences in these spheres as they tried to use their constrained agency to alleviate their homelessness while contending with challenges such as Local Authority workers (street level bureaucrats) using their discretion. It also documented third sector workers' experiences working with these fields (e.g. field of statutory homelessness services) to try to support this group.

Ultimately, through tracing CEE nationals' trajectories in these fields, the interactions they had within them, and what influenced these interactions (e.g. capital, doxa etc.), Chapters Four, Five and Six highlighted that there are multiple arenas in UK society where CEE nationals' agency is constrained, thus increasing their risk of homelessness and impacting their ability to alleviate their homelessness. Therefore, through using the theories of Bourdieu (1986a) (habitus, capital and field) combined with Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital and Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy as a lens with which to view these interactions, this thesis has offered unique findings on CEE migrants' experiences of homelessness in Scotland.

This chapter will now draw out the key findings from this project that advance the current knowledge on CEE migrant homelessness and relate them to the questions listed above. The first section will consider the findings of Chapter Four in relation to the first research question, the second section will discuss the findings of Chapter Five to address the second research question, and finally the third section will examine the findings of Chapter Six to

address research questions three and four. Each of these sections will also have a subsection discussing the implications that these findings have on future research and policy and practice. After these discussions, the methodological and theoretical implications, and the limitations of this study, will then be addressed. The final section will then conclude this thesis with my reflections on the project as a whole.

Routes into Homelessness (Research Question 1)

The first research question was concerned about routes into homelessness. It was demonstrated in Chapter One that there was little empirical research on CEE migrants' routes into homelessness, especially in the Scottish context and in light of the political and policy changes in recent years. Chapter Four indicated that there was not one trigger point, rather there were multiple sources of disadvantage and precariousness experienced by the CEE participants across their experiences of migration that then amalgamated to increase the risk of becoming homeless. Disadvantage was present from the moment the CEE participants decided to migrate. As with Cook et al.'s (2011) participants, my CEE participants were largely 'pulled' to the UK (Castles et al., 2014) for economic reasons and to improve quality of life. Within Chapter One, de Haas et al. (2015) asserted that while migrants can be 'pulled' to countries, their expectations that form the 'pull' factors can sometimes be unfounded and not marry with reality. It became apparent that this was also the case for my CEE participants as they were migrating with the aspiration of achieving success via migration, yet they had limited understanding, planning and knowledge for their migration meaning their expectations did not meet reality. Using the work of Broadway (2007), Pires and MacLeod (2006) and Spencer et al. (2007), I highlighted in Chapter One that a lack of knowledge of processes in the UK, such as council tax, can lead to expectations not being met or unforeseen issues arising. Concerning my CEE participants, it was seen in Chapter Four that the lack of understanding and knowledge about the UK led to them being disadvantaged in navigating the fields of UK society (Bourdieu, 1998a) and increased their risk of destitution and homelessness. This lack of knowledge was further compounded due to their habitus and doxa (Bourdieu, 1990) being developed in different fields and societies (Bourdieu, 1998a), thus meaning it was not automatically transferable to the UK and they did not have the same 'taken-for-granted' knowledge to play the game or know the rules and structures of the fields they were entering.

The implications from this are that migrants need to be more informed before migration, and sending countries need to encourage their citizens to research the society in which they are migrating to. While Freedom of Movement and EU membership makes migrating easier (European Parliament, 2019), the EU member states are not homogenous in how their societies are set up, and so this preparation is vital to limit the risk of migrants coming to harm. Furthermore, information around UK society should also be accessible to migrants once they are in the UK.

Similar to the participants in Cook et al.'s (2011) study, when my CEE participants migrated they encountered barriers in the UK from “*social structures and regulatory frameworks but also importantly by aspects of individual biography and identity*” (Cook et al., 2011: 56) which meant their cultural capital, institutionalised and embodied, (Bourdieu, 1986b) was not as valued in UK society, contributing to their homelessness. Disadvantage due to different fields in UK society became particularly apparent within the fields of employment and housing and significantly contributed to homelessness (Bourdieu, 1998a). Regarding employment, the CEE participants had largely taken on insecure, low-paid employment over the course of their time in the UK. This chimes with the wider migration literature around post-migration employment being precarious that was discussed in Chapter One (Anderson, 2010a; Barnard and Turner, 2011; Garapich, 2011; Garapich, 2010; Cook et al., 2011; Broadway, 2007). While taking on employment can be seen as a choice, the CEE participants’ agency, and as such their range of choice, was shown in Chapter Four to be constrained by wider rules of the field of employment. For instance, being in precarious employment was sometimes attributed to lack of institutionalised cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) through deskilling, as some of the CEE participants qualifications did not bridge over to UK society. This is similar to the findings of Moskal (2014), Scullion and Pemberton (2010) and Datta et al. (2009) where their participants were in lower skilled positions than they had been in their country of origin. Lack of embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) in the form of English language competency also hindered the CEE participants in gaining more skilled and stable employment. As Czerniejewska and Goździak (2014: 91) stated in Chapter One, their CEE participants with low-levels of English were in employment where the workforce was defined by “*gender, age, ability to communicate English, and resident status*”. However, through using a Bourdieusian framework of “*[(habitus)(capital)] + field = practice*” (Bourdieu, 1986a: 101) my findings add to this literature. I argue that disadvantage due to the individual capital of the CEE participants not being as valued within

the UK field of employment means they can end up in low-skilled and precarious employment, however, it can also be difficult to break out of this and gain capital that is valued in the UK due to the wider rules and structure of the field. For instance, my findings demonstrated that being in employment where you do not need to speak English can make it harder to learn English and thus gain the cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) to attain more secure employment. Additionally, as Cook et al. (2011) stated, once in employment that has unsociable hours and is precarious, it can be difficult to access English language classes, making it more difficult to gain the appropriate cultural capital to aid migrants rising in the hierarchy of the field.

Furthermore, it became evident that there was a lack of stable employment contracts, significant gaps in employment, and cases of being paid cash in hand in many of the CEE participants' accounts. It was thought that this was due to CEE migrants largely being employed in migrant dense sectors, most notably agency work, which in Chapter One I highlighted through Jayaweera and Anderson (2008) and Anderson (2010a) as being notorious for insecurity and precariousness. This was shown to significantly impact the CEE participants' rights around retaining their employment and gaining sufficient economic capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) to make savings and mitigate the threat of homelessness. Therefore, while the CEE participants' capital was devalued upon arrival, this had implications for their prospects in the UK as it meant that there were limited opportunities to accrue more valued capital and use it to rise in the hierarchy of the employment field (Bourdieu, 1986b; Bourdieu, 1986a). Effectively, this confined many of the CEE participants to lower levels in the field of employment and precarious working conditions that increased their risk of homelessness and further constrained their agency.

I showed in Chapter Four that participants' experiences in the field of housing were equally insecure and precarious as their experiences in the field of employment, heightening their risk of homelessness. Similar to the findings around employment, it was demonstrated that elements of Chamberlain and Johnson's (2011) pathways approach were applicable to the CEE participants homelessness journeys, however, it became apparent that there were issues in the wider field of housing (Bourdieu, 1998a) that also contributed – similar to Clapham's (2003) approach. For instance, similar to the findings of Gryszel-Fieldsned and Reeve (2007), the majority of my CEE participants had histories of residing in informal accommodation that was arranged via bonding social capital. An implication of this is that relying on bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) to arrange accommodation can mean that

migrants may overly rely on them to arrange everything and learn nothing about the housing market to which they are going into. In this way, bonding social capital can both help and hinder migrants in navigating the field of housing (Bourdieu, 1986a; Bourdieu, 1998a; Putnam, 2000).

In most cases, within their housing histories my CEE participants were not clear on how they had procured their housing, the type of housing they were occupying (e.g. sub-let, PRS etc.), or what type of tenancy agreement they had if any. Despite this individual lack of knowledge, it became clear that all CEE participants had resided in accommodation that had no written tenancy agreement, and over half of the CEE participants never discussed having a written tenancy agreement for any of the housing. It was not clear why the CEE participants did not always have tenancy agreements, but one explanation was having accommodation arranged via their bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) with friends and family. In these scenarios written tenancy agreements were not mentioned, and it is likely that they were non-tenant occupiers if their housing was in Scotland, or excluded occupiers if their housing was in England (Shelter Scotland, 2019b; Shelter England, 2019). This status would have given them very little rights and limited protection against eviction. Similar to the findings of Gryszel-Fields and Reeve (2007) and Rolfe and Metcalf (2009), housing arranged by housing services was rare. Coupled with precarious employment, the CEE participants' lack of tenancy security over their time in the UK contributed to many housing situations falling through when, for instance, employment was lost or rents were unable to be paid. This is similar to the discussion in Broadway's (2007) report where PRS accommodation had to be vacated due to being unable to pay rent as a result of unemployment or low-paid work.

My findings show how the precariousness that the CEE participants experienced in the field of employment directly impacted their experiences in the field of housing and amalgamated to increase their risk of homelessness (Bourdieu, 1998a). Furthermore, the precarious employment, coupled with the lack of employment contracts and written tenancy agreements, means it would be harder to provide the evidence to be deemed eligible for settled status to protect their rights if the UK left the EU, thus increasing the risk of deportation (Citizens Advice, 2019; Crown, 2019a; Boobis et al., 2019). It also lowered the likelihood of the CEE participants being able to receive welfare, as it was noted by Filip in Chapter Six that the Job Centre always found gaps in people's residence history, meaning they could not pass the Habitual Residence Test. The need to meet bureaucratic requirements to obtain support, which the CEE participants did not have knowledge of nor always the

ability to fulfil due to their structural disadvantage, increased the likelihood of their falling through the homelessness safety net. Additionally, this also hindered the CEE participants and their fellow nationals in successfully navigating the field of homelessness (Bourdieu, 1998a). My methodology was integral to obtaining this finding as had my thesis not explored the CEE participants' experiences from pre-migration up to present day, the implications of the disadvantage and precariousness experienced in early migration and how it impacted their future homelessness journeys would not have been realised. Simply, the accounts of the CEE participants' routes into homelessness would not have been as rich as they could have been.

While I acknowledged in Chapter Four that there were individual factors, such as substance use or relationship breakdown, that influenced routes into homelessness, focusing on these obscures the wider context, issues and power struggles within the wider fields of UK society (Bourdieu, 1998a). As it was highlighted in Chapter One, there is evidence for both individual factors and structural factors contributing the homelessness (Mostowska, 2013). Through adopting this outlook within this research, and drawing on Bourdieu (1986a) and Putnam (2000), both the individual problems the CEE participants faced and the issues within the wider fields of UK society that contributed to homelessness have been demonstrated, adding a further dimension to the existing literature. If these factors had been addressed, e.g. through employers recognising qualifications and providing more stable and secure employment or housing providers providing written tenancy agreements, it is possible that many instances of homelessness amongst the CEE participants would have been avoided.

Implications

There are many implications from the findings of Chapter Four. There needs to be measures in place to protect migrants from unscrupulous employers and enable their qualifications to bridge effectively over to the UK. Furthermore, the housing sector needs to have more regulations in monitoring housing providers and ensuring accommodation is not provided without a written tenancy agreement or some form of security. There also needs to be more awareness amongst migrants about different types of tenancies and rights that come with them, along with services to access for advice and information. It is also recognised that there were preparations that the CEE participants could have made prior to migration, such as having plans or learning about UK society and structures that could have reduced their

risk of homelessness. Subsequently, countries with high emigration rates also need to challenge the myth that with migration can come instant success and encourage planning and preparation. Echoing Homeless Link (2006) recommendation that more information be made available by the UK Government to prospective migrants, the UK and Scottish Governments needs to make information around migration, e.g. right to reside, accessible to migrants as currently it is only available in English. This could perhaps be done through the development of an online tool or website specifically about migrants' entitlements in the UK which is translated into the languages of the main migrant groups and includes audio options to address literacy issues.

Life changing with homelessness (Research Question 2)

Chapter Five addressed the second research question through discussing how the CEE participants' lives changed after becoming homeless and how they responded to it. Similar to Mostowska (2014), once the CEE participants became homeless their lives were regimented around which homelessness services they could access and the times in which these services were in operation, further limiting their already constrained agency detailed in Chapter Four. It was shown in Chapter Five that being homeless in the ETHOS definition (Edgar et al., 2004) and feeling homeless were different. It was seen in Chapter One that to be homeless was comprised not just of a lack of shelter, but also a place of comfort (Watson, 1984). My findings concur with this, and delve deeper into the roots of *feeling* homeless, noting the CEE participants attributed it to a lack of agency and control over how they lived their lives. Here, the CEE participants had to navigate the field of homelessness (Bourdieu, 1998a) where they had limited power, and as such constrained agency, with which to shape their lives. In a way, having to structure days around services dehumanised the CEE participants, defining their lives around their homelessness and further ingraining it into their sense of self. This is an important and original finding in the area of migrant homelessness, and many expressed frustrations with their lack of control over their time and structure of their day. As David said "*I like to enter when I want to and eat when I want to and sleep where I want to*". It was also indicated that there was a shame at having to rely on welfare to support themselves, further changing the CEE participants' sense of self. However, Chapter Five also showed that it was difficult to keep regular employment while homeless, and that work gained was largely informal, exploitative, and low-paid. This further constrained the CEE participants' agency and ability to resolve their homelessness

independently of the homelessness and welfare systems, meaning many had to engage with the fields of welfare, statutory and third sector homelessness services.

In Chapter Five, I demonstrated that having had the structure of their daily life changed, the CEE participants bonding social capital also changed (Putnam, 2000). Within Chapter One there were two options indicated in the literature that migrants could take in response to their homelessness. The first option was migrants returning to their country of origin due to failing migration through experiencing hardship and homelessness (Czerniejewska and Goździak, 2014). In contrast, in Mostowska's (2014) study her Polish participants in Belgium did not return to Poland or tell family about their homelessness due to shame of not having a “*successful migration*” (Mostowska, 2014: 122). Within my findings my CEE participants took a similar tactic as Mostowska's (2014) participants through planning not to return or tell their families about their difficulties. Subsequently, as also highlighted by Broadway (2007) and Johnsen and Sosenko (2012) in Chapter One, many of the CEE participants responded to their homelessness through distancing themselves from ‘old’ bonding social capital, e.g. family and friends (Putnam, 2000). This was through either cutting off contact or not telling them about homelessness and pretending that they were okay. Similar to Mostowska (2014) it was implied by participants that reasons for this distancing were linked to the ideal of the successful migration that was present in Chapter Four. As Igor said “*I feel ashamed. Everybody thinking ‘oh somebody go to UK, have plenty of money’*”. This was a very emotional point and indicated how migration was perceived by the CEE participants and those in the country of origin as either a ‘success’ or a ‘failure’, there was no room for variation or struggle. This led to many of the CEE participants wanting to resolve their homelessness themselves, and many discussed how they would tell their families after they had done this. Unlike Czerniejewska and Goździak's (2014) participants, it was also suggested that perceiving they had not achieved the success that they had initially set out to, or what they felt was expected of them, was also a barrier to returning. I attributed this to shame at having to explain to family why they had had to return. Therefore, the binary of successful and failed migration is harmful, both physically through prolonging homelessness and psychologically. These binaries need to be deconstructed to acknowledge the broad range of migration outcomes, as there were parts in the CEE participant stories where they could have been considered successful and parts where they could be considered as having failed. There also needs to be an acknowledgement of the contextual factors that can impact migration outcomes and a move away from individual blame.

Participants' daily lives changing and their response to homelessness being to distance themselves from family and friends meant that they became isolated with few places to get support. From the findings in Chapter Five, I suggested that this isolation, along with having to access services for survival, meant the CEE participants quickly formed new bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) with people who also used services. It became apparent in Chapter Five that many exercised their constrained agency through controlling to an extent who they associated with. Additionally, relationships with other service users (normally fellow CEE nationals) were formed largely out of necessity, as participants suggested they would not have formed these relationships had they not been homeless. This new bonding social capital also acted as bridging (Putnam, 2000), as it was also a resource that helped link the CEE participants up to other services and places for support. This is similar to the findings of Broadway (2007), Mostowska (2011) and Garapich (2010) that were highlighted in Chapter One, where their participants supported each other in finding services and engaging with service providers. Therefore, it was demonstrated in Chapter Five that this new bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) provided both material support in the form of access to resources, but also emotional support through for instance sharing culturally significant food. However, due to the complexity around EU migrants' entitlement to welfare and homelessness assistance, there were also cases of these networks disseminating misinformation that also hindered the alleviation of CEE nationals' homelessness. Subsequently, although these networks were deemed as a largely positive resource by the third sector workers and CEE participants, there were also negative aspects as well.

In contrast to the concept of entrenchment in homelessness services due to being exposed to more risk behaviours that was discussed in Chapter One (Homeless Link, 2006), my findings suggest that the CEE participants, and other CEE nationals the third sector workers had come into contact with, were selective about who they engaged with which lowered this risk. For instance, in Chapter Five it was shown that CEE nationals expressed disdain in forming bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) with service users who used drugs, and only a minority of the CEE participants engaged in substance use. This finding provides a possible explanation on why Fitzpatrick et al. (2012) found fewer cases of Multiple Exclusion Homelessness (MEH) amongst CEE nationals compared to UK nationals and other migrant groups and should be investigated further. I also suggested in Chapter Five that this could be one of the reasons why the CEE nationals tended to associate with fellow CEE migrants than other migrant groups or UK nationals.

Being subject to xenophobic comments from other service users was also thought to bolster group cohesion. Regardless if they were from Poland, these comments often drew on the stereotype that Polish migrants are the root of problems in the UK (Rzepnikowska, 2019) and the rhetoric that Polish migrants were coming to the UK to exploit the welfare services (Dwyer et al., 2019) that were discussed in the introduction to this thesis. This is similar to the comments that Broadway's (2007) A8 participants received from UK nationals who were homeless, believing they were receiving less resources as a result of the A8 nationals frequenting the services. Ironically, similar to Mostowska (2011), CEE nationals also came into conflict with other service users due to the lack of available services for them in comparison to UK nationals and asylum seekers. I observed that this conflict over scarce resources led to distinct groupings being formed and maintained, discussed both in the interviews and witnessed in my observations, where service users mainly associated with their fellow nationals. However, forming bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) in this way then resulted in excluding outsiders (in this case other services users). This exclusion of outsiders was one of the disadvantages of bonding social capital that was discussed by Portes (1998) in Chapter Two. In this case, it prevented CEE nationals from forming bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) with other nationals who could perhaps have been a source of help in alleviating their homelessness e.g. UK nationals who were service users and not xenophobic could have more knowledge of the area and the avenues of support that were available.

Overall, to answer the second research question, the CEE participants' lives changed drastically with becoming homeless. Although there has been research around how CEE migrants' lives can change with homelessness, Chapter Five added to this literature and emphasised how the changes that homelessness brought were both emotional as well as the physical. It did so by focusing specifically on the impact that migration status and being homeless had on how the CEE participants' lives were changed and how they used their constrained agency to respond to their situations. This is important, as even though the CEE participants were constrained by the wider rules of the fields in which they were occupying (Bourdieu, 1998a), they were not passive actors with their lives determined by factors beyond their control. While they were limited by the fields they were embedded in, they still had thoughts and feelings about their situations and were able to use their agency, albeit in a limited way, to influence their daily lives and form hopes and plans for the future. Investigating their use of agency, even though it was constrained, aided me in generating

insights into why certain decisions were made or reactions were expressed, giving a more nuanced view of the CEE participants' experiences of homelessness and their lived reality.

Implications

From the insights gained in Chapter Five, there were several implications raised. Firstly, to address feeling homeless as a result of lack of control, one possible way to give back control or a sense of agency to people who are homeless is through allowing them to be involved in the design of service delivery or be able to give feedback on the service. Secondly, distancing from family and friends due to feeling shame at not achieving the successful migration they wanted suggests that countries with high emigration rates need to be aware of the social pressures around migrating. However, as well as being aware of the social pressure, they need to actively work to negate it so that migrants who need help or support from family and friends in the sending country feel they can ask for it. Thirdly, in Chapter One bonding social capital (Putnam, 2000) amongst people who are homeless was largely viewed as either just facilitating access to resources (Mostowska, 2011; Garapich, 2010) or in a negative way through encouraging entrenchment (Homeless Link, 2006). While aspects of these did appear within the findings, it is important to also acknowledge the emotional support these networks can bring to migrants, such as sharing culturally specific foods, especially since many did not have family or friends to provide support. Therefore, future research should also look into the emotional importance of bonding social capital, as even though many of these relationships were largely based on necessity, they played an important role in the CEE participants' daily lives.

Experiences engaging with services (Research Questions 3 and 4)

I highlighted in Chapter One that there was a dearth of research on CEE migrants' experiences of homelessness. Therefore, unlike the other chapters where there was a body of evidence that my findings could relate to, Chapter Six gave mainly original insights into CEE migrants navigating the field of homelessness, particularly due to the policy and political changes in recent years. It particularly focused on the CEE participants' experiences engaging with the fields of welfare services, and statutory and third sector homelessness services, along with third sector workers experiences engaging with CEE nationals. This section will separately consider the accounts given about engaging with Local Authority workers and services and third sector homelessness workers and services, before discussing the implications raised from the experiences documented.

Local Authority

The CEE participants felt their experiences with their Local Authority and Local Authority workers in the field of statutory homelessness services were largely negative and many did not understand what had happened in these interactions. While I was unable to gain interviews with Local Authority workers, the CEE and third sector worker participants stated they frequently experienced issues of gatekeeping at reception and use of discretion by Local Authority workers through their drawing on migration status to deny assistance (e.g. house in country of origin, Local Connection etc.). In these cases, I noted that CEE nationals did not have the embodied cultural capital (Bourdieu, 1986b) to challenge these decisions, as they did not know or understand the system. Furthermore, using the Bourdieusian framework, the participants suggested that CEE nationals often did not have doxa and taken-for-granted knowledge (Bourdieu, 1990) that those socialised within the UK would possess, which could tell them that they were entitled to some sort of assistance and help them navigate this field. In essence, all of these aspects prevented the CEE participants from asserting their rights. While Coote (2006) found that Local Authority workers were confused around A8 nationals entitlement, there are elements in my findings of street level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2010) actively exercising discretion when allocating resources. The Scottish Government's (2005) guide on providing assistance to those who are homeless explicitly states that:

4.6: No homeless person should ever be refused the right to make a homeless application. Particular care should be taken to ensure receptionists or general inquiry staff do not carry out any informal "first screening" of applicants, either deliberately or unwittingly. (Scottish Government, 2005: 26)

As mentioned in Chapter Six, this guide also states that if someone has no Local Connection, then it is the Local Authority to which they applied that needs to house them (Scottish Government, 2005). Additionally, while the Scottish Government (2005) guidance and the Housing (Scotland) Act 2001 (Crown, 2001) discusses people having a house overseas as a criterion to deny assistance, it had to be reasonable to occupy and suitable (Scottish Government, 2019b). However, it was shown in Chapter Six that some third sector workers mentioned cases of migrants who had accommodation overseas being denied assistance regardless of the accommodation being unsuitable or inaccessible. This builds on existing evidence, e.g. HRSAG (2018) Ending Homelessness report, and suggests that the Scottish

homelessness system was devised without consideration to the unique situations of migrants, thus presenting more areas where Local Authority workers can use discretion. This suggests that the Scottish homelessness system may not currently be equipped to consider and process the complex and unique situations that migrants can face.

Furthermore, it became apparent in Chapter Six that the issues experienced by the CEE participants at Local Authority level were further influenced by issues in the field of welfare services (Bourdieu, 1998a). It was discussed by the third sector workers that providing evidence to satisfy the Habitual Residence Test (Citizens Advice, 2019) and thus gain welfare was challenging, as noted in Chapter Four there was often little documentation for the CEE participants activities in the UK. My findings also suggested that in recent years there had been an increase in CEE, and EU, nationals using homelessness services. I cannot say why these numbers had increased, it was implied within my data that the Housing Benefit changes for jobseekers in 2014 had a part to play (Crown, 2014a). While inconclusive, this finding concurs with the concerns raised in Chapter One that these changes would result in an increase in EU nationals' homelessness and requires further investigation (Kennedy, 2015).

Although it was not clear within my findings whether the Housing Benefit changes resulted in a rise of homelessness, it was clear within my interviews with third sector workers that the changes had significantly hindered the alleviation of CEE nationals' homelessness. For instance, the third sector workers frequently mentioned that the lack of Housing Benefit and welfare equated to a lack of support from statutory services for their clients. As noted, no Local Authority workers were interviewed in this project, but my findings could link with McKechnie's (2015) work. In Chapter One, it was noted that McKechnie (2015) reported Scottish Local Authority workers could be conflating welfare eligibility with eligibility for homelessness assistance, when applicants just need to have a right to reside to receive support for their homelessness. This suggests that there needs to be more training at Local Authority level on EU nationals' rights and entitlements. However, there are also wider issues at governmental level that constrain the ability of Local Authorities to address CEE nationals' homelessness and which also need to be addressed. For instance, as noted throughout this thesis, the EU nationals' entitlements and rights are complex, and there is a lack of clarity at governmental level on EU nationals' rights and entitlements and how these play out in respect to the devolved and reserved powers. Yet, while Local Authority workers could have also been confused by EU nationals rights and entitlement, it was also recognised

that Local Authority budgets are under increasing pressure (Burn-Murdoch, 2018). My findings suggested that the constrained agency of Local Authority workers was due to limited budgets, and that this could be one of the reasons that support was not being granted to CEE nationals on the grounds of not them receiving Housing Benefit. However, denying someone assistance because they are not in receipt of welfare goes against the statutory homelessness duty that Local Authorities are responsible for meeting (McKechnie, 2015). Again, this is where future research with workers in Local Authorities would be useful, as if this is the case, it suggests that there needs to be more funding allocated by the Scottish Government to Local Authorities to help them support EU nationals who are homeless.

Yet, while it is important to explore interactions with Local Authorities, I demonstrated that there are also wider issues within the field of welfare services (Bourdieu, 1998a) that can worsen CEE nationals' experiences of the field of homeless and the field of statutory homelessness services, making it harder to navigate these fields successfully. While providing support regardless of welfare eligibility is part of the Scottish statutory system (McKechnie, 2015) and at face value could alleviate CEE nationals homelessness, I highlighted in Chapter Six that this could be a double-edged sword for applicants. For instance, my data highlights that if support is given and a CEE national is not in receipt of Housing Benefit, they can accrue rent arrears and when given settled accommodation will be evicted and potentially declared intentionally homeless. This has the potential to create a vicious cycle of repeat homelessness, something that the third sector workers commented they saw frequently in their work. It also demonstrates the dilemma that both statutory and third sector workers in this sector can face, as in this scenario, Donna (Worker – City 2) noted that soon after receiving housing, her clients who were not in receipt of Housing Benefit *“were all coming in to me with these big bills for 2 grand, 3 grand, and that’s it. Then they were back out on the street again”*. Not only does this cause distress at the time at the time for CEE migrants and workers, it was shown in Chapter Six that these arrears would then follow the applicants, making it more difficult for them to secure housing in future. Therefore, regardless of whether Local Authorities provide support for homelessness, the structure of the UK welfare system means that the options for CEE nationals without Housing Benefit to successfully have their homelessness alleviated in the long-term are limited. Furthermore, despite many CEE participants wanting to work, it was seen in Chapter Five that retaining employment and gaining employment while homeless that was not exploitative and under-paid was difficult. This coupled with the limited ability to receive

welfare, further limits CEE nationals' options and ability to afford accommodation or pay back rent arrears that are accrued from trying to access statutory support without welfare or sufficient income.

These examples around welfare eligibility hindering homelessness assistance highlights the reserved UK Government controlled field of welfare services clashing with the devolved field of the Scottish homelessness system (Bourdieu, 1998a). The consequences of this for CEE nationals who were caught in the crossfire were that they could become repeatedly homeless, subsequently damaging their emotional wellbeing and chances of alleviating their homelessness. It also highlights that the CEE participants, third sector workers and the Local Authority workers were constrained by these wider policy and legislative changes. Subsequently, even though there were, for example, cases of Local Authority workers reportedly acting as street level bureaucrats (Lipsky, 2010), their power of discretion only extended so far due to being constrained by the wider rules of the field (Bourdieu, 1998a). It is also important to note that the issues with the wider system was also emotionally damaging for the third sector workers who would support them and try and advocate on CEE nationals' behalf, who felt the system was a Catch-22 and that they were effectively setting their clients up to fail. This gives a new perspective on the concept of entrenchment in homelessness, as here it was suggested that CEE nationals were becoming trapped in homelessness due to issues in the wider fields (Bourdieu, 1998a), not from coming into contact with risk behaviours in services as it was suggested could be the case in Chapter One (Homeless Link, 2006).

Third Sector Services

In contrast to the findings regarding accessing statutory support, the CEE participants' experiences in the field of third sector homelessness services were viewed in a largely positive light in Chapter Six. Many CEE participants who accessed third sector services were grateful for the support they provided. It is possible that their stance on this was amplified due to negative experiences with their Local Authority and Local Authority workers and the limited support they would have received in their country of origin. This is similar to the findings of Mostowska (2014) where her Polish participants who were homeless in Brussels were particularly appreciative of services as they felt they would have had little support in Poland.

However, while CEE participants found their experiences of third sector homelessness services as largely positive, the third sector workers interviewed found entitlements confusing and had witnessed CEE nationals get contradictory information around entitlement from services that hindered the alleviation of their homelessness. This concurs with the research by Orchard et al. (2007), Johnsen and Sosenko (2012) and Homeless Link (2006) discussed in Chapter One, where those who worked with CEE nationals did not understand their rights and entitlements and thus gave the wrong information or wrongly withheld services. While the negative aspects of bonding social capital were discussed in Chapters Two and Five (Portes, 1998), the negative aspects of bridging social capital have not been explored (Putnam, 2000). Putnam (2000) viewed bridging social capital as a positive resource that connected people to wider opportunities. However, my findings suggest that bridging social capital can also be negative, as networks that should have helped alleviate homelessness instead gave the wrong advice that severely impacted CEE nationals' abilities to address their homelessness.

As well as complications around entitlement, it was also difficult for workers to build relationships with their CEE service users and provide support due to language barriers. Galbraith (2019) argues that forming relationships with people who are homeless are a key part of alleviation, as without a positive relationship it can be difficult to provide support. Therefore, not being able to form meaningful relationships with their CEE clients means that it can be harder to support them and alleviate their homelessness. Similar to the findings of Homeless Link (2006), Orchard et al. (2007) and Garapich (2010) in their research around CEE homelessness, in my research language barriers were exacerbated due to a lack of interpretation services being available, and so the third sector workers had to develop a variety of workarounds. I noted in Chapter Six that these were far from perfect, as the third sector workers found it difficult to engage meaningfully with CEE nationals and often translations were incorrect. As well as being more time consuming in providing support, the third sector workers mentioned being worried about the quality of the translation, meaning that migrants with language barriers are not necessarily receiving the same quality of support as those without. Therefore, while they are trying creative ways to deliver services, it could create problems with misinformation via poor translation, as it has been seen throughout this thesis that CEE nationals' entitlements are particularly complex, and misinformation can have serious consequences of the alleviation of their homelessness. The 'work arounds' also do not address the wider issues of lack of funding for language support in the field of third

sector homelessness services. Another method identified by third sector service workers, which was particularly concerning, was using other service users as interpreters. An implication of this is that the person needing interpretation may not be fully forthcoming to the worker as they are aware their fellow service user who is interpreting will also hear what they have to say. It was also suggested that this method could create a hierarchy in services, placing migrants who were able to interpret in a position of power over those who needed their services.

Overall, this thesis has given fresh insights into contemporary homelessness provision for CEE nationals in the Scottish context. These insights are important, as already stated in Chapter One, there is little understanding of how CEE nationals navigate the devolved Scottish homelessness system, especially with all of the policy and political changes in recent years. Subsequently, to answer the third and fourth research questions, this research has indicated there have been many challenges for CEE nationals in accessing homelessness services and for services to provide support to CEE nationals. For instance, support was hindered by discretionary practice by Local Authority workers (Lipsky, 2010), clashes between the fields of welfare services and statutory homelessness services (Bourdieu, 1998a), and a lack of resources e.g. interpretation, and importantly a lack of clarity around the system e.g. reserved welfare and devolved homelessness. It was highlighted by the third sector workers that supporting CEE nationals was complicated due to the issues they encountered in the fields of welfare services and statutory homelessness services (Bourdieu, 1998a), along with more general issues around migration, such as language barriers. While it is encouraging that the CEE participants' felt their experiences with third sector services to be good, this could also reflect the lack of resources available to them due to the welfare conditionality and barriers in accessing statutory homelessness assistance. Due to this, and knowing that services in their country of origin were scarce, similar to Mostowska's (2014) participants, they were grateful for what they could access.

Implications

The implications from the CEE participants' experiences engaging with their Local Authority, and the third sector workers experiences supporting this group, are that there needs to be more consistency in decision making at Local Authority level and training for both Local Authority and third sector workers about what EU nationals are and are not entitled to. Local Authorities also need to monitor and prevent gatekeeping at reception, as

this, along with use of discretion in denying people assistance based on no Local Connection, goes against the guidance set out by the Scottish Government (Scottish Government, 2005). It is acknowledged that the Scottish Government is currently reviewing the Intentionality and Local Connection criteria, and has made applying the Intentionality test a discretionary power for Local Authorities from November 7th 2019, rather than a legal duty as was the case during this study (SPICEe, 2019; Crown, 2019b). The Local Connection changes will be implemented in approximately one year's time (SPICEe, 2019). Despite these changes being introduced, they just mean that Local Authority workers have more discretion in their practice as now they can decide whether or not to use the Intentionality test. SPICEe (2019) have also raised concerns that this could mean that there are inconsistencies in practice, with some Local Authorities choosing to use these measures and others deciding against using them.

Furthermore, my findings suggest that the Scottish homelessness system needs updated to incorporate the unique circumstances of EU, and CEE, migrants and to prevent discretionary decisions based on applicants' migration status - such as deny assistance for having a house in the country origin without thorough investigation. However, I recognise that due to the impact the welfare reforms had on the CEE participants, and CEE nationals supported by the third sector workers, there also needs to be support at government level. This could be through either the Scottish Government making provisions for these migrants through giving Local Authorities more funding to support them, or with action from the UK Government to end the restrictions on jobseekers entitlement to Housing Benefit, as welfare is a reserved power (The Scottish Parliament, 2019). This is in line with Homelessness and Rough Sleeping Action Group (HRSAG), where they recommended re-instating jobseekers rights to Housing Benefit, and further suggested EEA nationals who were eligible for homelessness assistance be granted welfare for six months (HRSAG, 2018). While it is welcomed that the Scottish Government has pledged £30,000 for peer-to-peer support for migrants with no recourse to public funds, this does not address the needs of EU jobseekers who are unable to access Housing Benefit (Scottish Government, 2019a). There also needs to be more clarification set out by both the UK and Scottish Governments on EU nationals' rights and entitlements and how they relate to the devolved and reserved powers.

Due to the high regard in which third sector services were held by the CEE participants, the third sector workers accounts provided important insights into where third sector services need improvement in order to help this group more effectively. On a practical level, it was

shown that those who work with CEE, and EU, migrants need training or the means to access resources which can reliably inform them on their clients' rights to prevent the spread of misinformation. Therefore, the third sector workers interviewed felt ways to improve services were largely through receiving more support with tackling language barriers, along with training around cultural differences and welfare entitlements. Additionally, they expressed a need for more services to help this group as the issues in which they can come across in trying to get homelessness assistance often require specialist knowledge to give advice on. The latter point could also help address the feelings of CEE nationals as being left out and as such the tensions between different groups of service users that was mentioned in the previous section. These suggestions are similar to what homelessness workers wanted in Orchard et al.'s (2007) study. Within the context of migration to the UK as a whole, there is a need to increase these services as CEE migrants are not a minority of migrants within Scotland – as stated earlier in this thesis CEE migrants make up over half of the EU migrants within Scotland (National Records of Scotland, 2019). As there are many instances in which CEE migrants, can fall through the bureaucratic cracks of the housing, employment and homelessness systems, to not implement more services in which to help this group shows a failure on behalf of both the UK and Scottish Governments to help growing portions of their population. This implication also mirrors HRSAG's, where they recommended the Scottish Government allocate funding for an independent advocacy service for EEA nationals who have no access to public funds, e.g. welfare, and create emergency accommodation, advocacy and immigration and legal aides for migrants who are not entitled to homelessness assistance and are destitute (HRSAG, 2018: 10).

It was also noted by some of the CEE participants that services (both statutory and third sector) could be difficult to find, as they were not familiar with the geography of the city. Therefore, homelessness services could be improved through becoming more accessible in order help migrants find and engage with services. It is recognised that services are stretched, and staff do what they can, but simply having maps and information leaflets translated has the potential to lower the amount of people who are told about services yet unable to find them. I acknowledge that the Scottish Government has pledged to spend £5000 on translating, printing and publishing information about rights and the services that are available (Scottish Government, 2019a), however, this type of information changes frequently. For instance, homelessness services hours can vary, along with the services offered. This means that the materials can quickly be outdated, incurring more translation

costs that could surpass the £5000 allocated. There also needs to be more investment in interpreted audio information, as translation does not address the needs of migrants who are not literate in their first language. Therefore, the implications are that more work needs to be done around language provision, and if successful, these measures could increase engagement and as such help alleviate homelessness more effectively.

Theoretical Implications

Using the framework of Bourdieu's (1986a) habitus, capital and field combined with Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital and Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy, this thesis has contributed to a body of evidence on migrant destitution and homelessness in the UK, offering further insights from the Scottish perspective in the wake of the changing political climate. While it was shown in Chapter Three that previous studies had used some of these concepts in the areas of migration, housing and migrant homelessness (Erel, 2010; Moskal, 2013; Hochstenbach et al., 2015; Mostowska, 2013), there had not been one that used them all as a lens with which to explore migrant homelessness. Therefore, this section will highlight the usefulness of adopting these concepts as way to study migrant homelessness.

While habitus and doxa were important to consider (Bourdieu, 1990), capital and field became particularly useful in highlighting the difficulties that migrants can face once having migrated (Bourdieu, 1986b; Bourdieu, 1998a; Putnam, 2000). It was shown that migrants' capital can be devalued by actors within the UK upon migration due to wider bureaucratic requirements meaning they cannot rely on it to increase their prospects, which forces them into low-paid low skilled work. From here, the capital needed for them to attain a more stable situation can then be harder to accrue, hindering their negotiation of the various fields of UK society. In regard to bonding and bridging social capital, these concepts were important in providing insights into the nuances of the CEE participant social relationships and the advantages and disadvantages of these throughout the migration process (Putnam, 2000). It was possible to see how both bonding social capital and bridging social capital helped and hindered the CEE participants navigating the fields of UK society. Despite replicating Putnam (2000) and Portes' (1998) fears that bonding social capital can hinder people from improving their social situation, my findings contribute and advance our understanding of bridging social capital by presenting how it can also be negative - as it was shown with the misinformation being provided by homelessness services that bridging social capital is not

as positive as Putnam (2000) asserted. Therefore, future research could explore this concept in more depth to provide more nuance to bridging social capital than there currently is.

Furthermore, “[*habitus*](*capital*)] + *field* = *practice*” (Bourdieu, 1986a: 101) and Putnam's (2000) bonding and bridging social capital combined with Lipsky's (2010) street level bureaucracy created a useful lens through which to view the CEE participants navigating the field of homelessness. I particularly want to highlight the strength of these concepts in Chapter Six for exploring and explaining the CEE participants, and fellow nationals, experiences with the statutory homelessness system and welfare services. It was possible to see the overarching structure that the CEE participants and homelessness services were embedded in, along with local level practice, while also highlighting the constraints that this multi-level context placed on Local Authority workers and the CEE participants' agency and third sector workers' ability to support their clients. Therefore, instead of treating homelessness and experiences of homelessness as structure versus agency, these theories were able to bring out the inter-relatedness between these two concepts as Neale (1997) advocated.

Methodological Implications

It was shown in Chapter Three that using biographical methods have a lot to offer in terms of exploring homelessness and that its use in this area is not new (May, 2000; Mayock et al., 2012; Šikic-Micanovic, 2013). I do not dispute their usefulness in this area, and I feel that it would have been difficult to get the same richness to my data had I used other methods. However, I argue that we need to think more broadly about these methods, particularly in relation to their usefulness outside of academic research. As noted in my Reflections on Fieldwork section in Chapter Three, during my interviews with the CEE participants, they would sometimes reflect critically on their situations, how they came to be in these situations, and devise strategies or plans on how to alleviate their homelessness. This is because the biographical interview gave participants the space to have this reflection, not just on their homelessness but their lives in general. Therefore, I feel biographical methods could be useful not just for knowledge generation in academia, but also within homelessness service delivery. For instance, had I been a homelessness worker instead of a researcher, the points in my interviews where the CEE participants were reflecting on their situations would have been a great opportunity to provide, or signpost to, support that was available. Additionally, during my observations I would see some of the participants post-interview.

These participants often updated me on their lives and decisions they had made to try and improve their situations. While I cannot claim the biographical interviews had any contribution to these decisions, they did help me build a relationship with people where they would feel comfortable talking with me after the interview. This is extremely important in the context of homelessness where rapport between homelessness workers and people who are homeless are integral to homelessness alleviation (Galbraith, 2019).

To translate these methods into a practitioner context, instead of long forms and interviews in assessments for, for example, temporary accommodation admission, a biographical interviewing approach can have a lot of offer. This approach would generate the same information as these forms/interviews and allow insights into the person's cultural background and history prior to homelessness that could be beneficial to helping them alleviate their homelessness. Importantly using this interview style would help build a rapport between homelessness workers and service users, and make engaging with homelessness services a more positive experience than what currently is quite a clinical and cold process. I also argue that using a biographical approach would also prevent the person from becoming defined by their homelessness, and instead treat their housing situation as only one part of their life.

Therefore, while it is acknowledged that workers would need to undergo interview training, the long-term benefits of adopting these methods could be increased engagement, more positive experiences of the homelessness system for both migrants and UK nationals going through it, and a greater understanding of service users' situations which could aid homelessness alleviation.

Limitations of the study

While this study has provided important insights into CEE migrants' experiences of homelessness in Scotland and presented new avenues for research, it is not without its limitations, as I reflected on in Chapter Three. Building on the limitations discussed within my Reflections on Fieldwork section in Chapter Three, through not being a national of any of the countries under investigation it is possible that there are cultural motivators or issues behind aspects of the CEE participants' stories that have not been accounted for. However, being an 'outsider' was also useful, as participants would frequently break culturally specific concepts down for me, such as how they viewed friendship, which was integral to parts of the analysis.

Despite my best efforts, the sample of the CEE participants is heavily weighted towards men. This means that gendered aspects of homelessness were not accounted for, and so future research should strive to investigate CEE women's experiences of homelessness.

As mentioned in Chapter Three, I was also unable to get access to Local Authority workers responsible for homelessness assistance within City 1, and so without City 1 it then did not make sense to recruit ones from City 2, as both cities have different ways of discharging their homelessness duty both would have been required. Therefore, future research should aim to gather the views of Local Authority workers alongside those of other statutory services, e.g. the Job Centre, in order to represent all the actors involved in providing homelessness assistance.

This project has also only interviewed CEE migrants who experienced homelessness, and there is no comparison with CEE migrants who had not. Therefore, it is not possible to determine what factors influence the difference between CEE migrants' outcomes. Additionally, the majority of CEE participants were homeless at the time of interview, thus it was not possible to follow up with them after/if they exited homelessness.

Overall, these limitations do not detract substantially from the work undertaken within this thesis. Rather they provide further avenues for research that were not possible within the scope of this project.

Conclusion

To conclude I want to stress the human cost that has been highlighted within this research. The biographical methods used stressed the importance of homelessness as only being part of someone's life, not their entire life, as the term 'homeless people' connotes. However, based on the interviews with the CEE participants, homelessness can quickly become someone's life in a physical and affective sense if it is not resolved, as has been seen in the cases of repeat homelessness. This is detrimental not only to their physical health, and to chances of alleviating their material circumstances, but also for CEE migrants' emotional health and wellbeing. It has been shown within this thesis that CEE migrants have a particular risk of this, due to the lack of help that has been documented, along with the barriers they face in mainstream society, such as in the employment market. The homelessness and welfare systems, as they currently are, are "*setting them up to fail*" (Donna, Worker – City 2). However, one of the most poignant findings for me during this research was that many of the CEE participants imagined futures beyond homelessness,

where they had work or had started a family or had a home. Yet, because of the challenges and barriers they faced in navigating the Scottish homelessness system, along with the disadvantage they had experienced earlier in their migration, it would be extremely difficult to make these dreams for the future a reality. The added complication of the UK deciding to leave the EU, and the uncertainty around the future of UK and EU relations, means the CEE participants' futures in the UK are even more precarious. Therefore, my research highlights that addressing individual causes of homelessness will not prevent migrant homelessness if these journeys are not evaluated alongside the structural factors that actively contribute to the risk of homelessness while also hindering alleviation. While unpalatable and bleak a prognosis, it is imperative that this message is given, as not doing so means CEE nationals can easily fall through the ever-widening cracks in UK and Scottish society.

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Appendix 1: Interview Schedule - CEE Participants

Before recording:

Introduce myself and, if applicable, the interpreter.

Go through information sheet and ask consent.

Recording:

Demographics:

- 1) How would you describe yourself?
(Probe around: **age, gender, country of origin**, relationship status, sexuality, parental status, profession, partner's profession, **education**, religion, class.)

- 2) Can you rank these descriptors by importance?

Pre-migration:

- 3) Just to start, can you tell me about your life before you came to the UK?
(Probe around: what were their experiences of early life? Have they migrated to other countries than the UK? Did they have adverse life experiences before migration?)

- 4) Why did you decide to migrate to Scotland?
(Probe around: what motivated them to come to Scotland? When did they come to Scotland? Did they have connections in Scotland? Did they have a job set up? How much did they know about the UK?)

Post-Migration:

- 5) What were your experiences like when you first arrived in the UK?
(Probe around: What information did they have on arrival? What was their plan for their migration? Did they experience hostility from being a migrant? How much English did they know? Have they had employment and housing contracts?)

Homelessness:

- 6) How would you describe your current situation?
(Probe around: Do they view themselves as homeless? Do they see their current situation as better than one they would be in before migration?)

- 7) What led up to your current situation?
(Probe around: When and why did they first become homeless? Do they understand their entitlement?)
- 8) What places do you normally go in your daily life?
(Probe around: Where do they feel safe? What is their routine? Favourite places?)
- 9) Who do you normally spend time with in your daily life?
(Probe around: Do they know other people who are considered homeless? Who do they interact with on a daily basis?)
- 10) Have you maintained contact with any family or friends outside or within the UK?
(Probe around: Do they contact family/friends via Skype? Do they discuss their current situation with family/friends?)
- 11) What have your experiences been like with homelessness services?
(Probe around: Do they know what they are entitled to? Do they get help from services? If they do not then why? If they do, does it make a difference? Is language an issue? How important is knowing English for using these services and life in the UK in general? Have they had a homelessness assessment?)
- 12) Since the UK's decision to leave the European Union, have your experiences of life in Scotland changed?
(Probe around: Do they feel welcome in Scotland? Do they experience increased hostility? Have their views of Scotland altered?)

Future plans:

- 13) What are your plans for the immediate future?
(Probe around: do they have any plans? How does planning or lack of planning affect their outlook?)
- 14) What are your plans for the long term future?
(Probe around: Do they see themselves settling in Scotland? Do they see themselves moving to another country or going back to their country of origin?).

Conclusion:

- 15) If I have any further questions do you mind if I contact you in future

Appendix 2: Observation Information Sheet – CEE Participants



Topic: Migrants from post-2004 EU accession (A8 and A2) countries experiences of homelessness in Scotland

What is this research about?

My name is Jenny Galbraith and I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Stirling.

I am interested in researching the housing and homelessness experiences of people who have migrated from Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania. I am doing this to generate more understanding about the migration process and people from these countries experiences of homelessness, but also to see how services (such as homelessness services) cater to migrants and identify what works and what can be built on.

Why am I here?

I will be observing and talking with both staff/volunteers and people who come to this service, with a focus on people from the countries listed above. This is to help me gain an insight into what supplying and using the service is like.

Later on I plan to conduct interviews with people from the countries listed above, focusing on experiences before migration to Scotland up to present day. There is also the option for those wanting to take part in an interview to take up to 10 photos (either with their phone or a disposable camera) of places that are important to them in their daily life to discuss in the interview.

If you would like more information on the interview and photo-taking, please ask me for an information sheet.

Will observations and discussions be confidential?

Where possible the data from observations and discussions in my visits will be anonymised so that you will not be identifiable to a wider audience in outputs, for example reports, produced from this research, but those who know you may be able to identify you. Additionally there will be no reporting of information specifically referring to you in any outputs from this research unless you are comfortable with this, and so if you are uncomfortable please let me know.

If anything is observed/discussed that leads me to be concerned about your or others immediate safety, then I may need to alert the appropriate organisation.

Contact for further information or to arrange an interview:

If you would like more information about this research, have any questions, or wish to arrange an interview please contact me or my supervisors at:

Email: XXX

Phone/Whatsapp: XXX

Research Facebook profile: XXX

Supervisors: Professor Isobel Anderson – XXX

Dr. Marina Shapira – XXX

Appendix 3: Information Leaflet – CEE Participants



My name is Jenny Galbraith and I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Stirling.

I am interested in researching the housing and homelessness experiences of people who have migrated from Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania.

Your participation would involve a semi-structured interview discussing your life from before you migrated to Scotland up to present day. There is also the option to also take up to 10 photos (either with your phone or a disposable camera) of places that are important to you in your daily life to discuss in the interview. You do not need to have taken photos to do an interview.

If you decide to take part, the interview will take place at:

[insert place]

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time without giving a reason. If you want an interpreter present, please let me know on the form.

As a sign of thanks you will receive a £10 voucher at the end of the interview. If you also decide to take part in the photo element of this research, you can keep the original copies of the photos.

If you would like more information about this research, have any questions, or wish to arrange an interview please contact me at or my supervisors at:

Email: XXX

Phone/Whatsapp: XXX

Research Facebook profile: XXX

Supervisors: Professor Isobel Anderson – XXX

Dr. Marina Shapira – XXX

Appendix 4: Information Sheet – CEE Participants



Research title: Migrants from post-2004 EU accession (A8 and A2) countries experiences of homelessness in Scotland

What is this research about?

My name is Jenny Galbraith and I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Stirling.

I am interested in researching the housing and homelessness experiences of people who have migrated from Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania. I am doing this to generate more understanding about the migration process and people from these countries experiences of homelessness, but also to see how services (such as homelessness services) cater to migrants and identify what works and what can be built on.

What would taking part involve?

Your participation would involve a semi-structured interview discussing your life from before you migrated to Scotland up to present day. There is also the option to also take up to 10 photos (either with your phone or a disposable camera) of places that are important to you in your daily life to discuss in the interview. You do not need to have taken photos to do an interview. This research is to help me understand more about your experiences of migrating and your life within Scotland. The aim of this is to improve services (such as homelessness services) for people who are migrants.

If you decide to take part in the photo component of this research and are using a disposable camera to take your pictures, can you please get it back to me before the interview so I can get the photos developed. If that is not possible, then we can get the photos developed together before the interview starts or you can receive a voucher to develop them yourself.

You would also be asked for your contact details should I need to get in touch before or after the interview.

Where would this take place?

If you decide to take part, the interview will take place at:

[insert place]

If you want the interview to take place in another location then please let me know. Also if you want an interpreter present, please let me know on the consent form.

Do I need to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time without giving a reason. If you leave but want to return at a later date, my contact details will be provided, and they are also at the bottom of this sheet.

Will what I say be confidential

Your participation will be confidential. With your consent the interview will be audio recorded, and notes taken by myself and, if applicable, by the interpreter. If you decide to take part in the photo component of this research, with your consent I will also take copies of your photos. All data will be stored so that only I can access it. Where possible the data gathered will be anonymised so that you will not be identifiable to a wider audience, but those who know you may be able to identify you in the outputs.

If anything is reported that leads me to be concerned about your or others immediate safety, then I may need to alert the appropriate organisation.

If the location for the interview is in a public place, such as a café, then there is a possibility of us being overheard. If this is the case, and you are not comfortable with this, then please let me know.

Also if you want an interpreter present and they happen to know you, then I can get a new interpreter should you wish.

Will I benefit from this research?

As a sign of thanks you will receive a £10 voucher at the end of the interview. If you also decide to take part in the photo element of this research, you can keep the original copies of the photos.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

If you provide your contact details you will receive a summary of the results. Please let me know if you would like this translated. The results will also be summarised and made available to both the public and professionals through written reports, presentations, academic journals and the media.

Contact for further information or to arrange an interview:

If you would like more information about this research, have any questions, or wish to arrange an interview please contact me at or my supervisors at:

Email: XXX

Phone/Whatsapp: XXX

Research Facebook profile:

XXX

Supervisors:

Professor Isobel Anderson – XXX

Dr. Marina Shapira – XXX

Appendix 5: Original Ethical Approval



General University Ethics Panel (GUEP)
University of Stirling
Stirling FK9 4LA
Scotland UK
E-mail: GUEP@stir.ac.uk

Jennifer Galbraith
Faculty of Social Sciences

23 June 2017

Dear Jennifer

Re: Ethics Application: Migrant women from post-2004 EU accession (A8 and A2) countries experiences of homelessness in Scotland (GUEP 176)

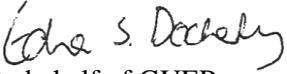
Thank you for your submission of the above to the General University Ethics Panel.

I am pleased to confirm that GUEP has approved your application, and you can now proceed with your research. The Committee appreciated your thorough consideration of all ethical issues and agreed it was an excellent application.

Please note that should any of your proposal change, a further submission (amendment) to GUEP will be necessary.

If you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee by email to guep@stir.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,
Pp


On behalf of GUEP
Professor Margaret Maxwell

Appendix 6: Amended Ethical Approval, August 2017



General University Ethics Panel (GUEP)
University of Stirling
Stirling FK9 4LA
Scotland UK
E-mail: GUEP@stir.ac.uk

Jennifer Galbraith
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Stirling

18 August 2017

Dear Jennifer

Re: Ethics Application: Migrant women from post-2004 EU accession (A8 and A2) countries experiences of homelessness in Scotland (GUEP 225)

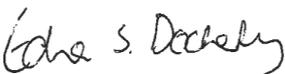
Thank you for your submission of the above to the General University Ethics Panel.

I am pleased to confirm that GUEP has approved your application, and you can now proceed with your research.

Please ensure that your research complies with Stirling University policy on storage of research data <http://www.stir.ac.uk/is/researchers/data/afteryourresearch/>

Please note that should any of your proposal change, a further submission (amendment) to GUEP will be necessary. If you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee by email to guep@stir.ac.uk.

Yours sincerely,
Pp


On behalf of GUEP
Professor Helen Cheyne

Appendix 7: Amended Ethical Approval, November 2017



General University Ethics Panel (GUEP)
University of Stirling
Stirling FK9 4LA
Scotland UK
E-mail: GUEP@stir.ac.uk

Jennifer Galbraith
Faculty of Social Sciences
University of Stirling
FK9 4LA

17 November 2017

Dear Jennifer

Re: Migrants from post-2004 EU accession (A8 and A2) countries experiences of homelessness in Scotland – GUEP 225

Thank you for making the requested revisions to your submission of the above to the General University Ethics Panel. I am pleased to confirm that your application now has ethical approval.

Please note that should any of your proposal change, a further submission (amendment) to GUEP will be necessary.

Please ensure that your research complies with the University of Stirling policy on storage of research data <http://www.stir.ac.uk/is/researchers/data/afteryourresearch/>

If you have any further queries, please do not hesitate to contact the Committee by email to guep@stir.ac.uk.

Good luck with your research.

Yours sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "Helen S. Cheyne".

p.p. On behalf of GUEP
Professor Helen Cheyne
Deputy Chair of GUEP

Appendix 8: Contact Information Sheet



Contact Information

Please only fill in what you are comfortable with sharing, you do **not** need to fill in everything. Any information you supply will only be used to contact you about this research and will **not** be shared with anyone else.

Full Name _____

Current address _____

Home Phone _____

Mobile Phone _____

Other Phone _____

Email address _____

Facebook or other
social network details
e.g. user name _____

Are there any other details that could help me contact you about the research if I needed to e.g. where do you think I would most likely find you?

Appendix 9: Consent Form – CEE Participants



Topic: Migrants from post-2004 EU accession (A8 and A2) countries experiences of homelessness in Scotland

I am consenting to take part in this research and I recognise that I can leave the research at any point if I so wish. Any questions about the research will be directed to the researcher. By consenting I understand and consent to the following **(please tick either Yes or No to the following)**:

	Yes	No
1) I understand the research and I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and been satisfied by the answers received. If I have any more questions, I will direct these to the researcher.		
2) I agree to take part in the semi-structured interviews outlined in the information sheet.		
3) I agree to take part in the photo element of this research outlined in the information sheet and that the researcher can take copies of the photos I produce.		
4) I require an interpreter for the interview*.		
5) I understand that the interviews will be audio recorded and notes will be taken by the researcher, and if applicable, the interpreter. If I do not wish this, I will make it known.		
6) I understand that any information or photos given by me may be used in future reports, articles, publications or presentations by the researcher.		
7) I know that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and my participation is voluntary.		
8) I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations.		
9) I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential and anonymised by the researcher to the best of her abilities.		

<p>10) I also understand that if any high-risk behaviour that can result in great harm or death to myself and/or others is witnessed by the researcher or discussed with the researcher then the appropriate organisations may need to be alerted.</p>		
---	--	--

*If you answered “Yes” to Statement 4 please circle one of the following and the researcher will do her best to fulfil this:

Female Interpreter

Male Interpreter

No Preference

Print Name:

Date:

Signature:

Appendix 10: Interview Schedule Without Probes – CEE Participants

Demographics:

- 1) How would you describe yourself?
- 2) Can you rank these descriptors by importance?

Pre-migration:

- 3) Just to start, can you tell me about your life before you came to the UK?
- 4) Why did you decide to migrate to Scotland?

Post-Migration:

- 5) What were your experiences like when you first arrived in the UK?

Homelessness:

- 6) How would you describe your current situation?
- 7) What led up to your current situation?
- 8) What places do you normally go in your daily life?
- 9) Who do you normally spend time with in your daily life?
- 10) Have you maintained contact with any family or friends outside or within the UK?
- 11) What have your experiences been like with homelessness services?
- 12) Since the UK's decision to leave the European Union, have your experiences of life in Scotland changed?

Future plans:

- 13) What are your plans for the immediate future?

14) What are your plans for the long term future?

[If applicable participants will then be asked to discuss photos]

Conclusion:

15) If I have any further questions do you mind if I contact you in future?

Appendix 11: Confidentiality Agreement for Externals

TERMS OF ACCEPTANCE FOR INTERPRETATION/TRANSLATION WORK

The following terms apply to all persons carrying out interpretation/translation work for the Faculty of Social Sciences, University of Stirling

1. Confidentiality

I will not divulge any information to a third party regarding the content of any interviews at any point, even once interpretation/translation has ended. In this way, participants' assurance of confidentiality is maintained and there is no risk of a third party gaining access to their information.

2. Quality

When interpreting/translating I will interpret/translate the responses of the participant as faithfully as possible. It is recognised a direct match will not be possible, and if the interpretation/translation deviates substantially, this will be made known to the commissioning researcher.

3. Storage

I accept that at all times the information obtained remains the property of the commissioning researcher.

For interpreters:

Any notes taken to aid interpretation will be given to the commissioning researcher immediately after the interview.

For translation:

Electronic copies will be stored for a maximum of three months and then be permanently deleted. Hard copies will be sent to the commissioning researcher or destroyed. While in my possession, electronic or hard copies containing any information from the interviews will be stored securely where no third party can gain access to them.

4. Subcontracting

I will not sub-commission or subcontract work without the commissioning researcher's knowledge and agreement.

5. Exploitation of knowledge acquired

I will not attempt to derive any gain from privileged information acquired in the course of work undertaken. I will not accept remuneration from any party in respect of this work other than as agreed with the commissioning researcher. I will carry out all work entrusted to me with complete impartiality and shall disclose any conflict of interest, business, financial or other interest which might affect this impartiality.

Signed..... Date.....

Print name.....

Address.....

Phone Number/s.....

E mail address.....

Emergency Contact Number.....

The University of Stirling is committed to complying with the Data Protection Act 1998. For further information please see <http://www.guides.stir.ac.uk/dataprotectionguide.htm>



Research Title: Migrants from post-2004 EU accession (A8 and A2) countries experiences of homelessness in Scotland

What is this research about?

My name is Jenny Galbraith and I am a doctoral student in the Faculty of Social Science at the University of Stirling.

I am interested in researching the housing and homelessness experiences of people who have migrated from Czech Republic, Estonia, Hungary, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Bulgaria and Romania. I am doing this to generate more understanding about the migration process and people from these countries experiences of homelessness, but also to see how services (such as homelessness services) cater to migrants and identify what works and what can be built on.

What would taking part involve?

Your participation would involve a semi-structured interview discussing your experiences working with people from the countries listed above, as well as migrants in general, within the homelessness sector. You would also be asked for your contact details should I need to get in touch before or after the interview. Your participation would provide invaluable insight into how services cater to migrants to better inform practice.

Where would this take place?

If you decide to take part, the interview will take place at:

[insert place].

If you want the interview to take place in another location then please let me know. Also if you want an interpreter present, please let me know on the consent form.

Do I need to take part?

Your participation is entirely voluntary, and you can stop taking part at any time without giving a reason. If you leave but want to return at a later date, my contact details will be provided, and they are also at the bottom of this sheet.

Will what I say be confidential?

Your participation will be confidential. With your consent interviews will be audio recorded, and notes taken by myself and, if applicable, by the interpreter. All data will be stored so that only I can access it. Where possible the data gathered will be anonymised so that you will not be identifiable to a wider audience, but those who know you may be able to identify you in the outputs.

If anything is reported that leads me to be concerned about your or others immediate safety, then I may need to alert the appropriate organisation.

If the location for the interview is in a public place, such as a café, then there is a possibility of us being overheard.

Also if you want an interpreter present and they happen to know you, then I can get a new interpreter should you wish.

What will happen to the results of the research study?

If you provide your contact details you will receive a summary of the results. Please let me know if you would like this translated. The results will also be summarised and made available to both the public and professionals through written reports, presentations, academic journals and the media.

Contact for further information or to arrange an interview:

If you would like more information about this research, have any questions, or wish to arrange an interview please contact me or my supervisors at:

Email: XXX

Phone/Whatsapp: XXX

Research Facebook profile:

XXX

Supervisors:

Professor Isobel Anderson – XXX

Dr. Marina Shapira – XXX

Appendix 13: Consent Form – Homelessness Workers



I am consenting to take part in this research and I recognise that I can leave the research at any point if I so wish. Any questions about the research will be directed to the researcher. By consenting I understand and consent to the following **(please tick either Yes or No to the following)**:

	Yes	No
1) I understand the research and I have had the opportunity to consider the information, ask questions and been satisfied by the answers received. If I have any more questions, I will direct these to the researcher.		
2) I agree to take part in the semi-structured interview outlined in the information sheet.		
3) I require an interpreter for the interview*.		
4) I understand that the interview will be audio recorded and notes will be taken by the researcher, and if applicable, the interpreter. If I do not wish this, I will make it known.		
5) I understand that any information given by me may be used in future reports, articles, publications or presentations by the researcher.		
6) I know that I am free to withdraw at any time without giving any reason and my participation is voluntary.		
7) I understand that my name will not appear in any reports, articles or presentations.		
8) I understand that any information I provide will be kept confidential and anonymised by the researcher to the best of her abilities.		
9) I also understand that if any high-risk behaviour that can result in great harm or death to myself and/or others is witnessed by the researcher or discussed with the researcher then the appropriate organisations may need to be alerted.		

*If you answered “Yes” to Statement 4 please circle one of the following and the researcher will do her best to fulfil this:

Female Interpreter

Male Interpreter

No Preference

Print Name:

Date:

Signature:

Appendix 14: Interview Schedule – Homelessness Worker

Background

- 1) What is your current job title?
- 2) How long have you worked in the homelessness sector?
- 3) Have you worked in other roles in the homelessness sector?

Experiences with migrant groups

- 4) Have you worked or know anyone who has worked with migrants?
- 5) What are the main challenges in working with migrant groups?
- 6) Do the challenges differ depending on the type of migrant group, for example, those from the European Economic Area and those from outside the European Economic Area?
- 7) Have you had any training in working with people from different countries?

Recommendations

- 8) How do you think homelessness services could work better with migrants?

Conclusion:

- 9) If I have any further questions do you mind if I contact you in future?

Appendix 15: Disclosure Protocol

Protocol for use in cases of disclosure (e.g. high-risk behavior, abuse):

1. Any participant might potentially be involved in high-risk behaviour, such as substance use. There is also the possibility of abuse being disclosed e.g. domestic violence.
2. If such information is disclosed during interviews or other participatory activities (such as observation), it may be appropriate to ask whether the individual has sought support. It may also be appropriate to give information about potential routes for seeking support – but care should be taken to suggest contact with agencies which are equipped to address this.
3. If having disclosed possible high-risk behaviour or abuse and the participant does not wish to discuss matters further, or insists that they do not need support, this will be respected as far as it is possible to do so but, having regard to the researcher's duty of care, maintaining confidentiality cannot be guaranteed and this must be clearly communicated to participants. This is especially relevant if the high-risk behaviour or abuse can result in immediate and severe harm to the participant or others.
4. Similarly, participants may not perceive their experiences as constituting high-risk or abuse. It is not for the researcher to redefine people's experience, but it is reasonable to make participants aware of the existence of support locally if it is appropriate.
5. The researcher's role does not extend to supporting people experiencing or perpetrating abuse or high-risk behaviour.
6. Interviews and other participatory activities may be stopped at any time by the participant's request. The researcher should also be alert to any danger they may be in – if the researcher uncomfortable, the activity will be brought to an end and they will leave.
7. If difficulties or concerns about any aspect of the fieldwork are experienced, it will be talked with supervisors and, if appropriate, staff/volunteers involved with the fieldwork. Guidelines of relevant homelessness organisations and charities will also be consulted.
8. Have appropriate literature available to refer people to potential sources of support if necessary, e.g. leaflets and information detailing local advice agencies.

Appendix 16: Researcher Safety Protocol

In case the researcher does not contact her colleague when fieldwork has finished, the following will occur:

